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**AN ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS INFLUENCING
CHINESE CANADIAN AND CAUCASIAN WOMEN'S
IDENTIFICATION WITH FEMINISM**

BY

IVY G. Y. CHOW, B.A. (HONS.)

**A thesis submitted to
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Department of Psychology

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
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**An Assessment of Factors Influencing
Chinese Canadian and Caucasian Women's
Identification with Feminism**

**submitted by Ivy G. Y. Chow, B.A. (Hons.)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Psychology

Carleton University

September 1993

Abstract

The present study attempted to examine the factors behind feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women's identity with feminism. Women's social identities, perceptions of intergroup differences on values and interests, and their endorsement of actions in response to an issue of injustice, were explicitly examined as to whether they were contributing factors to women's feminist identification.

Chinese Canadians and Caucasians were preclassified on the basis of self-reports as feminist or nonfeminist ($N=66$), and were asked to complete a series of questionnaires regarding such background information as age, and whether they were members of a minority group; the extent of their group consciousness with women, Chinese Canadians, and Chinese Canadian women; their perceptions of the importance of values and interests for themselves, women, feminists, and Chinese Canadians; and, for their endorsement of strategies responding to a scenario of injustice. A series of analyses of variance and multivariate analyses of variance were computed on the responses, as well as correlations between perceptions of importance of values and interests to self relative to their perceived importance to women, feminists, and Chinese Canadians. As expected, feminists expressed higher group consciousness with all of the social groups, by contrast to nonfeminists. There were no differences between Chinese Canadians versus Caucasians, nor between feminists and nonfeminists with respect to value perceptions and priorities. However, results did indicate that participants perceived equality to be less important to themselves

than to women and feminists, and that their own values were more important to themselves than to women and feminists. Chinese Canadian participants believed that most of the given values were less important to Chinese Canadians in general compared to the participants themselves, women, and feminists. There were some differences between Chinese Canadians and Caucasians, but not between feminists and nonfeminists, with respect to perceptions of the importance of the interests. While both Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women perceived affirmative action to be less important to themselves than to women and feminists, and the reverse was true for their own interests, Caucasians perceived racism to be less important to self than to women and feminists, while Chinese Canadians perceived this issue to be equally important to themselves and all three social groups. Caucasian women also perceived all of the interests to be less important to women than to feminists, with the exception of their own issues, while Chinese Canadian women perceived no differences in the interests of women or feminists. Differences between Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women were not found on any other variables. The only variable that differentiated between feminists and nonfeminists was their endorsement of various strategies to deal with discrimination, where it was found that feminists were more likely to support actions that were private/collectivistic and public/individualistic. The implications of these results were discussed in terms of Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women's identification with feminism.

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Introduction

In recent years, feminist literature has documented the finding that, while there is generally high support for feminist issues, and happiness with the changes that the women's movement has brought (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988; Hyde, 1991), there is, nevertheless, a reluctance by many women to identify themselves as feminists (Adamson et al., 1988). Adamson et al. (1988) offered three explanations for this lack of identity. First, women may be influenced by the media, which tends to distort and deride feminist issues. Second, the feeling of powerlessness that many women experience may make them uncomfortable with the idea of engaging in active behaviour for change. Finally, women may fear that labelling themselves as feminists would threaten their relationships with men, who may be opposed to feminism.

Others have dealt with the subject of lack of feminist identification on a more specific level. In particular, a suggestion has been made that feminism only represents the concerns of white middle-class women. As a result, all other women, especially ethnic minority women, do not relate to their concerns, and thus decline to label themselves as feminists (E. Chow, 1989). However, this line of thought does not capture the fact that there are many white middle-class women who are similarly reluctant to associate themselves with feminism. Therefore, it was the goal of the present study to examine some of the factors that may contribute to identification for Caucasian and minority (in particular, Chinese born and/or raised in Canada) women, who identify with women's nontraditional

goals, and who may or may not identify with feminism.

Much has been written about ethnic minority women's lack of visibility in, and their relations to, feminism (e.g., Childers & Hooks, 1990; Collins, 1989). However, past literature regarding minority women has dealt more with Blacks than with any other minority group (Hyde, 1985). This has consequently left a large void in the study of Asian women, since the experiences of Black women are not necessarily representative of all minority women as a whole. While there is the common bond of having suffered from racism, there are, nevertheless, many experiences that Blacks and Asians (and even among Asian groups) endure which are different. For example, Chinese in Canada have experienced blatant, legal and institutionalized discrimination of a kind not faced by any other ethnic group, namely the Chinese head tax. In addition, there have been various Chinese exclusionary immigration laws and disfranchisement (Chan, 1983; Gorrie, 1991). More recent examples of discrimination include the W5 incident in which the television program accused the Chinese of occupying university classes that should "rightfully" be occupied by white Canadians (Chan, 1983), as well as the commonly made accusations that the rise of costly real estate prices are due to the influx of Chinese immigrants during the 1980s, and that urban crime stems from Chinese gangs (Gorrie, 1991). Other forms of discrimination include the existence of a "glass ceiling" that prevents Chinese employees from breaking through the ranks of higher management and executive levels in some organizations (Gorrie, 1991).

Therefore, as a minority that incontrovertibly faces racism, a question surfaces with respect to why Chinese Canadians, particularly many nontraditionalists (i.e., career-oriented, rather than oriented towards traditional domesticity), given the double discrimination of racism and sexism, are not visibly politically active to combat discrimination. More specifically, given the goals of feminist groups (e.g., National Action Committee on the Status of Women) to fight racism and sexism, it is surprising that Chinese Canadian women are not more visible in their alliance with the identity and activities of such organizations. This is not to say that all Chinese Canadian women are nonfeminist. However, of those who do identify with feminism, there is very little literature to assess the reasons why they choose to affiliate with feminism. Within the growing literature documenting Asian women's experiences, there does exist an examination of why Asian women in Western society decline to associate with the politically active feminist movement (E. Chow, 1989).

E. Chow (1989) offers several reasons for this lack of association; however, since these are proposed with both immigrant and American-born women in mind, some of these reasons may be relevant only to immigrants (e.g., unfamiliarity with the English language). Only women who are born in Canada, or have lived here since preadolescence, will be considered. Immigrant Chinese women are excluded so as to avoid overemphasizing such issues as social identity, which may be more rooted in the culture of their homelands, and therefore may

be different from the social identity of Canadian-born or Canadian-raised Chinese. As well, the problems they encounter as immigrants are difficult to distinguish from effects due to discrimination (e.g., unemployment or underemployment due to language difficulty). Given these circumstances, some of E. Chow's (1989) proposals are selectively outlined.

First, there are external barriers to political activism on the part of Asian women, namely, racial insensitivity. Asian women suffer from a double bind of racism and sexism¹, while many Caucasian women experience only sexism. Therefore, some white mainstream feminists may fail to understand or be sympathetic to the differences in concerns and priorities of Asians, who may be equally concerned with eradicating both types of prejudices (E. Chow, 1989).

Second, there are internal barriers, such as facing the cultural dilemma of growing up in a Western society that values individualism, yet being raised in a family and culture that emphasizes collective or familial values. E. Chow (1989) suggests that many of these women may find it difficult to balance between these two sets of values; having the inability to compromise the traits that are conducive to political activism with the traits that discourage such action, they may therefore abandon any thought of feminist participation. Chinese Canadians may be collective with respect to Chinese Canadians or to the family, in contrast to being collective with respect to women, which requires a sense of independence from the family and from the traditions of the patriarchal Chinese community;

therefore, their activism may extend only to the protection of the family, and no further.

These explanations would suggest that the basis for Chinese women's lack of identification with feminism may differ from Caucasian women. In particular, they may experience racism within the women's movement and/or they may have a very different cultural identity that results in different values and interests. The present study explored the extent to which this latter issue, namely Chinese Canadian women's unique cultural identity, may contribute to the alienation from mainstream feminism.

Identity

Social identity, as defined by Social Identity Theory, is "...that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [sic] knowledge of his [sic] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). Identity may be a factor that acts as a barrier between some Chinese Canadian women and feminism. Identity may be viewed with respect to several dimensions: group consciousness, values, interests, and strategy differences.

Group Consciousness

One chasm between Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists and nonfeminists may be nonfeminists' lack of group consciousness with respect to

women.

Group consciousness is "...a sense of collective discontent over the group's relative power, material resources or prestige; an appraisal of the legitimacy of the stratification system by which the group is favoured or disfavoured; and the belief that collective action is required to realize the group's interests" (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Thus, group consciousness is fundamental in determining Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminists' affiliation with feminism, of which these elements are constituent.

In a descriptive study examining Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women, I. Chow (1992) measured awareness of common fate, which is a property of group identity and is strongly related to group consciousness (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). It was found that both Chinese Canadian and nonfeminist Caucasian women lack a strong identification with women as a whole, as compared to Caucasian feminists, who expressed a high sense of common fate with women. However, there was no significant difference for Chinese Canadian women on a sense of common fate with Chinese Canadians versus a sense of common fate with women. Therefore, it seems that a lack of attachment or identification with their minority groups, including both Chinese Canadians and women, may be another contributing factor to the divide between nonfeminist Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women and feminists. This would suggest that nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women's lack of involvement is not necessarily due to the double-bind

of sexism and racism, but, similar to Caucasian nonfeminist women, they have not developed a sense of common fate, or a group consciousness, with other women or even with Chinese Canadians.

Another aspect of group consciousness is the perception of deficiencies in power, resources or prestige of one's own group relative to other groups (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Lack of consciousness of discrimination against women or against oneself may engender a perception that the changes that feminists advocate are not necessary. Griffin (1989) reported that some young women feel that things had improved greatly since their mothers' time. Drawing from this, it may be that women who do not identify with feminism feel that activism for change is unnecessary, since "it's all different now." Therefore, these women consider feminism to be irrelevant in a supposedly new, more enlightened era. Such may be the case for many nonfeminist women, independent of race.

Values

In an earlier study (I. Chow, 1992), it was hypothesized that a possible difference between Chinese Canadian women and feminists, and therefore a barrier between them, was their difference in identity with respect to values. It has been suggested that the Chinese value collectivism (or familialism), while Westerners value individualism (E. Chow, 1989; Leung, 1987; Tang & Kirkbride, 1986; Wheeler, Reis & Bond, 1989). Individualism has been defined as "...the tendency to be more concerned about the consequences of one's behavior for

one's own needs, interests, and goals" (Leung, 1987, p. 899). By contrast, collectivism is "...the tendency to be more concerned about the consequences of one's behavior for in-group members and to be more willing to sacrifice personal interests for the attainment of collective interests" (Leung, 1987, p. 899).

More specifically, E. Chow (1987, p. 295; 1989, p. 368) has proposed that Asians value "...obedience, familial interest, fatalism, and self control, (which) tends to foster submissiveness, passivity, pessimism, timidity, inhibition, and adaptiveness, which are not necessarily conducive to political activism." Furthermore, it is the Westerners who appreciate the more individualistic values, such as "independence, individualism, mastery of one's environment through change, and self-expression (which) generates self-interest, aggressiveness, initiative, and expressive spontaneity" (E. Chow, 1987, p. 295; 1989, p. 368).

Similarly, Feather (1986), in comparing the values of Australian students with those of students in China, found that the Australians valued mature love, national security, social recognition, wisdom, ambition, courage, and intelligence more than the Chinese. However, the Chinese valued family security, inner harmony, being cheerful, honest, and obedient, more highly than their Australian counterparts. It could be argued that many of the Australians' values were more individualistically-oriented, since most of them were concerned with self-enhancement. In contrast, the values of the Chinese could be conceived as being more collectively-oriented, because while some of these values involve an

improvement of one's self, they are self-improving with respect to others. In other words, being cheerful, honest, and obedient can be seen as being done for the sake of, and in relation to, others, not necessarily for oneself.

Mann (1986, p. 320) states that "[c]ollectivist cultures are concerned with maintenance of the entire social group over individual or sectional interests." This is related to the proposition, stated earlier, that joining the women's movement would be a "double bind" for Chinese Canadian women, "because it pits ethnic identity against gender identity" (E. Chow, 1989, p. 367). If Chinese Canadian women are collectivists, they may be collective with respect to the Chinese community or to the family, rather than with women. Chinese Canadians are raised with a collective identity with respect to the Chinese community and/or the Chinese family, and are therefore likely to be highly loyal to the ethnic group. Being collective with respect to women requires a certain independence from the family, in that if they are limited to familial collectivism, their activism may extend only to the protection of the family. In short, Chinese Canadian women may be reluctant to join the feminist cause because it is seen as a waste of energy that could be better used to "emancipate" the Chinese Canadian group as a whole, rather than just a subset of this group (i.e. women).

L. Chow (1992) tested the hypothesis that Chinese Canadian women and Caucasian feminist and nonfeminist women have different values. While there

were no real differences found between groups on their endorsement of the given values (e.g., loyalty to family and friends, personal independence, compliance to group opinion, etc.), there was a perceived difference on behalf of Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminist women, in comparison to Caucasian feminists. In other words, there was no difference in the endorsement of collectivistic or individualistic values between Chinese Canadian women, Caucasian nonfeminists, and Caucasian feminists; however, there was a significant difference between the groups with respect to the perception of differences in personal values and feminist values. Compared to Caucasian feminists, Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminists were more likely to agree with the statement, "The values of feminists and my own values are completely different", despite the fact that all three groups of women expressed a similar endorsement of values.

Therefore, perhaps nonfeminist women, and particularly Chinese Canadian women, are reluctant to associate with feminists because they perceive their identities to be different from feminists with respect to values, when in fact, on average, they are not. Hence, despite a great deal of literature which proposes that Chinese and Westerners have different values with respect to a collectivistic-individualistic dimension based on different cultural upbringings (e.g., E. Chow, 1989; Leung, 1987; Tang & Kirkbride, 1986; Wheeler et al., 1989), I. Chow (1992) did not find this to be true in the case of Chinese women born or raised in

Canada. Perhaps a different focus on values is required, whereby perceptual differences in values need to be examined. Therefore, the present study attempted to investigate the role that values play in women's identification. It was proposed that Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists would perceive their own values to be concordant with feminist values, although differences between Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists may be expressed by the strength of the perceptions of value similarities. More specifically, it may be that Chinese Canadian feminists moderate perceptions of value similarities, owing to their identity with Chinese Canadians and hence the influence of the cultural values of the Chinese. Thus, although they may perceive similar values, they may perceive somewhat different priorities with respect to those values. In contrast, both Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminists may perceive their values to be different from those of feminists', thus establishing perceptual differences in values as a possible barrier to feminist identification. For the Chinese Canadian nonfeminists, culture again may be a factor, in which case they may perceive the Chinese and feminists to have some values in common, such as equality, but may differentiate between the groups on other values.

Self-Interests

The reluctance of some Chinese Canadian women to identify as feminists may also stem from the probability that they have different social and self interests from feminists (e.g., I. Chow, 1992). As aforementioned, a primary

difference between Chinese Canadian and white women is that the former group suffers from both sexism and racism, which may be reflected in the dissimilarities in self-interest. E. Chow (1989, p.373) argues that "...the specific concerns of Asian American women are often not those of feminists." It has also been argued that feminists are predominantly white and middle-class (E. Chow, 1987, 1989; Hurtado, 1989) and are therefore preoccupied with issues that pertain to the enhancement or extension of white, middle-class privilege to these women. Therefore, their self-interests may not seem to coincide with the self-interests of minority women, who are interested in eliminating racism (E. Chow, 1989).

In particular, the former are concerned about "...the unhealthy consequences of standards of feminine beauty...(and) unequal division of household labour..." (Hurtado, 1989, p. 850). Added to this list are other issues that may be of less concern to Chinese Canadian women, such as reproductive rights, divorce laws, and universal daycare. Chinese Canadian women, on the other hand, may focus on issues that are more involved with racism.

However, there is some overlap in the concerns that both groups have. For example, both groups are interested in the issue of racism; it may be a matter of relative importance. For example, racism may be a top priority for Chinese Canadian women, but while it may also be important to white feminists, it may not be the most pressing issue for them.

I. Chow (1992) investigated the hypothesis that Chinese Canadian women

and feminists have different interests, or a different priority of interests (e.g., eliminating racism, adopting universal daycare, abortion rights, etc.), and found no significant differences between the groups. Similarly, Sears and Huddy (1990) studied women's political action based on self-interests, and did not find that women's political disunity was due to real differences in interests. These findings are congruent with feminist literature which indicates that women are generally supportive of feminist issues, and are happy with the changes generated by the women's movement, despite their reluctance to consider themselves as feminists (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988; Time, December 4, 1989, as cited by Hyde, 1991). The findings were also replicated in a Time magazine survey in which women were asked the degree of their endorsement of issues which the survey implicated as being women's issues, rather than feminist issues. Therefore, despite being supportive of feminist issues, they may have identified these issues as being women's issues, rather than feminist issues. Hence, as was found in the case of values, it is possible that there may be a perception of differences in interests. In other words, despite indications that they support feminist issues, it may be that nonfeminists are somehow not associating these issues with feminism.

Related to this is the perceived non-inclusiveness of feminism. There may be a perception among some women that feminism does not represent their interests, in the sense that feminists tend to criticize issues which many of these women may care about, such as attaining an attractive appearance. Thus, there

may be a feeling that there is 'no room' for women like themselves, who may, for example, like to wear cosmetics and fashionable clothing, which they believe feminists disapprove of. Therefore, this study attempted to determine interests as a factor in women's identification. It was proposed that, similar to values, Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists would perceive their own interests to correspond with feminist interests, although differences between Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists may be manifested in the strength of the perceptions of issues similarities. In particular, Chinese Canadian feminists may moderate their perceptions of interest similarities with feminist interests, due to their Chinese identity and the influence of Chinese interests. Thus, although they may perceive similar interests, they may perceive somewhat different priorities with regard to these interests. Concurrently, Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminists may perceive their interests to be different from those of feminists', establishing perceptual differences in interests as another possible barrier to feminist identification. Otherwise, Chinese Canadian nonfeminists may perceive the Chinese and feminists in general to have some interests in common, such as affirmative action, and therefore will not perceive a very great difference in these interests from those of feminists', but do perceive differences on those uniquely dealing with women and/or race alone.

Strategies

According to Social Identity Theory, people desire a positive social identity.

When individuals have an inadequate social identity, and they do not perceive alternatives to the existing intergroup situation, they may ignore collective action, and instead adopt individualistic strategies to improve their personal situation.

As aforementioned, I. Chow (1992) found that Chinese Canadian women lack a strong group consciousness with women in general and Chinese Canadians, and Caucasian nonfeminist women lack a strong group consciousness with women, as compared to feminists. Therefore, since Chinese Canadian women and nonfeminists do not express strong group consciousness with respect to women and/or Chinese Canadians, and if they do not perceive alternatives to the intergroup situation, they may forego changing their group's position, and instead adopt individualistic strategies to improve their personal situation.

Adopting individualistic strategies could mean a rejection of collective action, an integral part of feminism. Indeed, if they truly do not perceive an alternative, such collective actions may be viewed as "rocking the boat" and inviting backlash. The individualistic Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminists's disapproval of feminism's collective strategies and their endorsement of individualistic means to attain their goals could act as a further barrier between these groups.

However, consideration of actions in terms of individualism-collectivism may be too simplistic. In particular, the tendency to take such actions may be moderated by the extent to which they are public (actions taken in which there is

no public or little public acknowledgement of the individual's experience of injustice) or private (actions taken in which there is a relatively wider public acknowledgement of the individual's experience of injustice). Lalonde and Cameron (1991) remarked that a cost factor intrinsic to the private-public dimension may be an important element in determining social actions in response to injustice. In other words, private actions and public actions may each entail different psychological costs. Such psychological costs may include embarrassment, humiliation, and shame. Aside from the psychological costs briefly mentioned by Lalonde and Cameron (1991), one may include more tangible costs, such as the possibilities of getting fired from a job or of receiving a failing grade in situations of injustice, such as sexual harassment. Hence, greater psychological, or even tangible, costs may be associated with the more public actions. It could be argued that feminists utilize more public actions, given their high public profile with respect to many social issues, while nonfeminists endorse more private ones. With respect to differences between Chinese Canadians and Caucasians on the private-public dimension, this study explored the possibility of such a distinction.

Therefore, it was the goal of this study to examine the possibility that women's types of endorsed strategies in response to a situation of injustice was differentially related to their group identities, and as such act as another factor to explain feminist identification.

Social Perceptions

Central to the Social Identity Theory is the notion that people desire a positive social identity. If so, then it is conceivable that women reject a feminist identity due to negative social perceptions of feminism, as opposed to rejecting the ideas endorsed by feminists. In effect, nonfeminists may be supporting the goals of feminism, but do not want a negative sense of self, and thus reject a feminist identity. It may be the image rather than the goals of feminists that many women are repelled by, since women are influenced by the media and by their family and friends, and also by a feeling of powerlessness.

Adamson et al. (1988) suggest that women may find feminism to be disagreeable due to media influence, which tend to disparage feminism. For example, the media often portray feminists as man-hating, child-hating, anti-family, self-centred, power-hungry radicals. Therefore, if women desire a positive social identity, and the media distort the image of feminists, then it would be reasonable to assume that women would decline to associate with this image. In addition, the media often portray feminists as being white, and if there are any images of minorities at all, they are usually blacks. Therefore, Chinese Canadians may not identify with feminism due to the perception that the issues that these groups espouse are issues that may not concern them as minorities, or that they even belong to these groups.

Similarly, there may be a negative image of feminists due to an influence

from family and friends. Some women may not identify with feminism because of the belittlement of feminism by their family and friends. It has been suggested that some women may not label themselves as feminists, because they fear that it would harm their relationships with men (Adamson et al., 1988; Griffin, 1989), and this may include significant others in their lives. Likewise, Chinese Canadian women may not want to identify with what is perceived as a white movement, since they do not want to undermine their relationship with their Chinese family and friends, who may oppose feminism's anti-patriarchal and seemingly anti-family stance. Therefore, this study strived to determine the perceived influence of the media and family and friends on women's issues of interest.

Related to women's possible opposition to the image rather than the goals of feminists is a feeling of powerlessness. It is conceivable that many women have an image of feminists as being activists. Adamson et al. (1988) propose that a feeling of powerlessness that many women experience may make them feel uneasy about activism. If so, then it is likely that some women may not associate with feminism due to an impression of powerlessness that makes them feel uneasy about feminist activism, a collectivist conduct. They may feel more comfortable dealing with issues in their own way. Therefore, another goal of this study was to investigate women's perceptions of collective versus individual power in dealing with various issues.

The Study of Feminist Identification

The present study attempted to examine differences in perceptions as well as differences in self-definitions, both of which were proposed to be contributing factors to women's feminist identification. In particular, there was an investigation of factors behind feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women's identity with feminism. Therefore, the study explicitly explored women's social identities, perceptual differences on values and interests between these groups of women, as well as their endorsement of actions in response to a scenario of injustice.

The proposed study attempted to respond to concerns that studies of feminist identification must be set within their own social context to give a more comprehensive picture as to the reasons why some women choose not to associate with feminism (Griffin, 1989). Therefore, by using a more open-ended approach than that used by I. Chow (1992), this study endeavoured to be more responsive to the individual concerns and thoughts of each participant, and more specifically, to allow women to define for themselves the values and interests they viewed as being important to themselves and to others. The approach used was a variation on Personal Projects Analysis (Little, 1983, 1987, 1989), which is useful in that it attempts to place individuals in their social context, and helps to reveal their "core agents" (in this context, values and interests). The aspect of personal projects that is particularly relevant for determining women's identification with feminism is the

matrix. The matrix is valuable for its openness to reflect idiographic issues; respondents are able to express the values that are personally salient, and hence their self-definitions and perceptions are based on their own constructs as opposed to those defined a priori by the researcher. Thus, the notion of projects is replaced with other construct sets, namely, values and interests. In this sense, the underlying philosophy of measurement in personal projects is retained; still in use is the matrix with open constructs and fixed dimensions of comparison and evaluation.

In sum, the study tested the hypotheses that group consciousness, perceived value and interest differences, and endorsed strategies in response to a feminist issue, are related to Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminist women's lack of political activism, and more specifically, lack of identification with feminism. As well, the factors respectively reported by Adamson et al. (1988) and Griffin (1989), namely, influence from the media and from family and friends, and power as individuals or as a group, with respect to personal issues, were studied.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants consisted of 66 Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women. Most were Introductory Psychology students at Carleton University, while others had responded to advertisements placed throughout the university. In addition,

several participants were solicited from outside the university; these women mainly came from the workforce, and were a diverse group that represented the professions as well as the "pink collar" occupations (e.g., secretaries). Specifically, there were 21 nonfeminist Chinese Canadians, 5 feminist Chinese Canadians, 23 nonfeminist Caucasians, and 17 feminist Caucasians. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 41 ($M=23.11$).

Chinese Canadian participants were those who were born in Canada, or who have been raised in Canada, since at least preadolescence. Chinese Canadians and Caucasians were categorized into the feminist group if they defined themselves as feminists, and into the nonfeminist group if they identified themselves as not being feminists and not being traditional.

In order to acquire a sufficient number of participants based on their identity as feminist or nonfeminist, and Chinese as well as Caucasian women, participants were recruited in several ways. First, they were recruited from among those who had taken part in mass testing. Second, they were recruited from among all women who had signed up for an experiment concerning social issues, for experimental credit or for payment (\$5). Due to the difficulty of finding Chinese Canadian women who met the specific criteria, a third method involved the placement of advertisements across campus, indicating that a psychology study was searching for Chinese Canadian women, and the offer of payment (see Appendix A). An additional method was the placement of a similar

advertisement in the university student newspaper inviting Chinese Canadian women to participate. The advertisements specified the need for women who were either born in Canada, or were raised in Canada since at least the age of 12. All women who indicated an interest in the study were screened through an initial telephone contact, in terms of their self-identity regarding the group to which they belonged: feminist or nontraditional nonfeminist Chinese Canadians, or feminist or nontraditional nonfeminist Caucasians (see Appendix B). Those who agreed to participate were invited to the campus and given questionnaires to complete. They were subsequently given experimental credit or \$5 for participation.

A final method was networking. Through a network of relatives, friends, and acquaintances, and associates of these people, several more participants, both Chinese and Caucasian, were recruited. Although most of these respondents were from the Ottawa area, two were from the Toronto region; the questionnaires were sent to them by mail. All nonstudent participants were given the questionnaires to complete on their own time, either at home or at work. They did not receive experimental credit or money.

Materials

All participants responded to a questionnaire that required approximately one hour to complete.

Background Information. If collective action is a component of group consciousness (Gurin and Townsend, 1986), then an inquiry into the activities of

Chinese women, vis-a-vis the Chinese community, would be helpful in determining community participation as a factor in a greater identification with the Chinese as a social group, and therefore, more awareness of the need for collective action to realize the group's interests, such as tackling racism. To the extent that self-professed membership in a minority group or club, or involvement in a women's studies or Asian studies course, influences respondents' identity or perceptions of differences between social groups, participants were asked for their age and year at university, and if they were members of any minority group, club, or organization based on race, language, sex, sexual orientation, religion, or physical disability (see Appendix C). Moreover, they indicated whether they had ever taken any courses concerned with women's studies; if they were Chinese Canadian respondents, they were asked if they had ever taken any Asian studies courses.

Feminist Identity. To assess the validity of participants' categorization as feminists or nonfeminists, they were given a questionnaire that required their response, on 11-point scales (from -5 "Strongly disagree" to +5 "Strongly agree"), to four statements beginning with the phrase, "Women who consider themselves to be feminists...", and ending with one of four statements (e.g., "...in my opinion, have very little that is positive to contribute to society.") (see Appendix D). Furthermore, they were asked to state, on an 11-point scale (from -5 "I do not identify with feminism" to +5 "I highly identify with feminism"), the extent to which they explicitly identified with feminism, by their own definition of feminism.

Finally, they were asked to write down their definition of feminism. Scores on some of the items were reversed, such that higher scores were equal to more positive perceptions of feminism, and the mean of the five items provided an index of participants' identification with feminism (Cronbach's $\alpha=.82$).

Group Consciousness. To determine participants' identification with women as a social group, 6 questions were asked (see Appendix E). The first three questions were derived from Gurin and Townsend (1986), and included a question related to identity defined in terms of centrality of gender to self-identity (i.e., "How often in your everyday life do you think about being a woman and what you have in common with other women?"), as well as two questions assessing awareness of common fate with women, which is related to group consciousness (i.e., "To what extent do you think that what happens to women generally in Canada will have something to do with what happens in your life?"; and, "Do you think that the movement for women's rights has affected you personally?"). To enhance the reliability of the measure, three additional questions were asked, the first inquiring about the personal relevancy of the accomplishments of women in Canada (i.e., "To what extent have the accomplishments of women in Canada affected you personally?"), and the personal relevancy of the accomplishments of women that they know personally (i.e., "To what extent have the accomplishments of women that you personally know affected you personally?"). Finally, the women were required to respond to the question, "To what extent do you feel

close to women?" All questions were assessed along an 11-point scale (e.g., from -5 "No effect" to +5 "Extreme effect"). The mean for the six items was computed to provide an index of participants' sense of identity with women (Cronbach's $\alpha=.74$), such that higher scores reflected a stronger identity.

Chinese Canadians received two additional identity questionnaires. The first assessed the extent of their identification with Chinese Canadians as a social group. The five questions were identical to those that assessed participants' identity with women, except that the word "women" was replaced by "Chinese Canadians". However, one question was excluded from this questionnaire ("Do you think that the movement for women's rights has affected you personally?"), because no equivalent question could be developed. The mean of the five items formed the index of perceptions of identity with Chinese Canadians (Cronbach's $\alpha=.79$), such that higher scores reflected a stronger identity.

Finally, Chinese Canadian women's identification with Chinese Canadian women as a social group was assessed. Again, all five questions were modifications of the original identity questions previously presented, except that they referred to Chinese Canadian women. Similar to the previous questionnaire, the question, "Do you think that the movement for women's rights has affected you personally?", was excluded because no equivalent question could be developed. The mean for the five items was computed to provide an index of respondents' sense of identity with Chinese Canadian women (Cronbach's

alpha=.81), such that higher scores reflected a stronger identity.

Values. Participants were asked to think about and list their most important values (see Appendix F). To aid them in identifying their own values, a definition of values was provided (i.e., "A value is a guiding principle that you use to determine your beliefs and actions"). As well, examples of values compiled by Schwartz (1992) were provided to facilitate this task (e.g., wisdom, social justice, a world at peace, etc.) To assess respondents' views on these values, they transferred their seven most important values to a response matrix. The response matrix already listed three values, one of which was a value fundamental to the collective identities of feminists and minorities (equality), another which was individualistic (individual success), and the last which was neutral with respect to women or race (creativity). Participants rated each of the three predefined values, as well as their own, along several dimensions. The first three dimensions asked respondents to estimate the degree to which they thought that each value was of importance to themselves, of importance to women, and of importance to feminists, along an 11-point scale (i.e., from -5 "Not at all important" to +5 "Very important"). An additional dimension was given to Chinese Canadians on which they estimated the degree to which they thought each value was important to Chinese Canadians.

Interests. After completing the values matrix, participants were given a similar measure assessing their interests (see Appendix G). They were asked to

think about, then list issues of interest to them, and transfer the seven most important issues onto a response matrix. The matrix also included three predefined interests or issues that were either of concern to feminists and minorities (affirmative action), were specifically relevant to minorities (racism), or were individualistic (personal employment). All participants rated these three issues as well as their own, along several dimensions, including the extent to which they considered each issue to be of importance to themselves, of importance to women, and of importance to feminists, along an 11-point scale (-5 "Not important" to +5 "Very important"). Chinese Canadians were given an additional dimension to assess the extent to which they considered each issue to be of importance to Chinese Canadians. Several additional dimensions were included in this matrix, including participant ratings along 11-point scales of how much they thought that they were influenced by the media with respect to each issue, how much they thought that they were influenced by family and/or friends with respect to each issue, how powerful as an individual they felt to bring about changes to each issue, and how powerful as a member of a group they felt to bring about changes to each issue.

Strategies. To assess how participants would respond to a feminist issue, they were presented with a situation of discrimination against women in which they were asked to read a scenario of sexual harassment by the professor of a compulsory course (see Appendix H). Respondents were then required to

checkmark a list of actions that they would take in response to the scenario. Such actions, adapted from Foster (1991), included such strategy statements as, "I would drop out of the course", and "I would confront the professor and demand that he stop this treatment." They were developed to reflect collective (e.g., "I would organize events and protests against this professor") versus individual strategies (e.g., "I would collect information on sexual harassment"), and strategies that were private (e.g., "I would warn others about this professor by privately putting up posters, anonymously informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be kept secret") or public (e.g., "I would publicly warn other women about this professor by approaching them personally, putting up posters, informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be fully revealed to everyone").

A principle components factor analysis, limited to four dimensions with a varimax rotation, was conducted on the responses. Only items weighted greater than .4 were used to form the subscales. Given that the scales consisted of items endorsed by a checkmark, the means represented the proportion of items endorsed in each subscale. Although the content of the subscales was similar to that expected, they also seemed to consist of a continuum of actions, such that the actions increased in the degree of involvement or concern with the issue, in the individual's decision to take actions on one's own or with others, and in the degree of public acknowledgement of the sexual harassment (see Appendix I).

Hence, the first dimension could be interpreted as subsuming actions that involved little or no action, more individualistic action, and relatively more private actions. This dimension was termed private individualistic actions (e.g., "I would pretend that nothing happened, and refrain from dealing with this issue"). The mean level of endorsement for the four items that comprised this dimension was computed to provide an index of participants' endorsement of private individualistic actions (Cronbach's $\alpha=.69$).

A second dimension could be interpreted as being nonthreatening in its actions, and appeared to reflect more of a private collective response, which entailed private actions that served to help and/or work with others (e.g., "I would warn others about this professor by privately putting up posters, anonymously informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be kept secret"). The mean endorsement of the four items that embodied this dimension provided an index of their endorsement of nonthreatening actions (Cronbach's $\alpha=.55$).

The third dimension appeared to involve public individualistic actions in which individual action was taken against the perpetrator in an exoteric manner (e.g., "I would try to gather evidence against him and present it to the proper authorities"). The mean endorsement of the five items that represented this dimension was computed to provide an index of respondents' support of public and individualistic actions (Cronbach's $\alpha=.63$).

The final dimension expressed highly public and collective actions (e.g., "I would participate in fundraisers, consciousness-raising events, etc., that attempt to increase awareness of and action against sexual harassment"). The mean endorsement of the three items that comprised this dimension provided an index of participants' endorsement of highly public and collective actions (Cronbach's $\alpha=.72$).

All participants were fully debriefed at the end of the study (see Appendix J).

Results

Women were categorized into groups on the basis of their original self-identifications as Chinese or Caucasians and feminist or nonfeminist at the recruitment stage. A series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) were used to examine Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women's identification with the relevant social groups and feminism. To assess whether the groups of women differed in their possible exposure to women's or Chinese issues, the first set of analyses examined self-reports of age, membership in minority groups or organizations, and participation in women's or Asian studies courses. Women's identities in terms of the various dimensions were then explored in terms of differences between feminist Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women, and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women,

the perceived importance of their values and interests, and their endorsement of various intergroup strategies. Finally, ipsative analyses investigated the extent to which the relative importance that the individuals attributed to their values and interests was related to their perceptions of the relative importance to the various social groups, including women, feminists, and Chinese Canadians.

Background Information

Age. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 41 ($M=23.11$). The mean age for Chinese Canadian feminists was 23.4; for Chinese Canadian nonfeminists was 25.1; for Caucasian feminists was 22.2; and, for Caucasian nonfeminists was 22.0. To determine whether there was a difference between groups with respect to age, a 2 (affiliation: feminist vs. nonfeminist) x 2 (race: Chinese Canadian vs. Caucasian) ANOVA was conducted.² There was a significant main effect for race ($F(1,63)=3.99$, $p<.05$), indicating that Chinese Canadians ($M=24.8$) were older than the Caucasians ($M=22.1$). Neither the main effect of affiliation nor the interaction between race and affiliation were significant ($F_s<1$).

Minority group membership and studies participation. To further assess the nature of the minority groups, women reported membership in frequency counts (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

It was found that for the Chinese Canadian participants, all of the feminists and approximately half of the nonfeminists referred to being Chinese, as well as women in some cases, with the exception of one feminist who stated her minority group status as being both Chinese and sexual orientation. For Caucasian participants, half of the feminists and approximately one-fifth of the nonfeminists specified women as being the minority group to which they belonged. The exceptions were two nonfeminists, one who had referred to being Polish, and another who declared herself to be a member of minority groups on the bases of being a woman and being Jewish.

To determine whether there were any differences between groups on their self-acknowledged membership in a minority group, minority club, or participation in a women's studies course, 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) ANOVAs on responses to these three items were employed. Since the items were responded to as "yes" or "no", the means refer to the proportion of women in the groups who had identified as belonging to a minority group, club, and women's course. Results revealed a significant main effect for affiliation for identification as a minority group member ($F(1,62)=5.44$, $p<.05$; $\text{Eta}^2=.08$), such that feminists ($M=.59$) were more likely to indicate that they were members of a minority group, as compared to nonfeminists ($M=.41$). There was also a significant main effect for race on participants' self-identity as a minority group member ($F(1,62)=11.72$, $p<.001$; $\text{Eta}^2=.16$), suggesting that Chinese Canadians ($M=.69$) were more likely

than Caucasians ($M=.33$) to denote their membership in a minority group. The two-way interaction between affiliation and race was not significant ($F_s < 1$). There were no differences between the groups of women on their membership in a minority club or in their having taken a women's studies course ($F_s < 1$).

To assess whether there were any differences between feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women on their self-acknowledged participation in an Asian studies course, a oneway ANOVA with affiliation as the independent variable was conducted. Once again, since the items were responded to as "yes" or "no", the means refer to the proportion of Chinese Canadian women who reported taking an Asian studies course. Chinese Canadians did not differ as a function of affiliation ($F < 1$); on average, most had not taken any Asian studies courses (4 participants had taken an Asian studies course; 22 participants had not).

Group Consciousness

To ensure the validity of the precategorization of women into feminists and nonfeminists, a 2 (affiliation: feminist vs. nonfeminist) x 2 (race: Chinese Canadian vs. Caucasian) ANOVA was conducted on the self-reported scores expressing their identification with feminism. Consistent with the original categorization, a significant main effect was found for affiliation ($F(1,65)=21.66, p < .001$), such that feminists ($M=3.22$) indicated a stronger identity with feminism than did nonfeminists ($M=1.38$). Neither the main effect for race, nor the

interaction between race and affiliation were significant ($F_s < 1$).

To assess the extent to which group membership entailed a social psychological identity with the group, responses to the measures assessing identity with women, Chinese Canadians, and Chinese Canadian women, were examined (see means in Table 2). A 2 (affiliation) $\times$ 2 (race) ANOVA on the identity with women scores revealed a significant main effect for affiliation ($F(1,65)=20.86, p<.05$), but not for race ($F < 1$). There was also no significant interaction between race and affiliation ($F(1,65)=1.17, ns$). Thus, both Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists indicated a stronger identity with women ($M=2.60$) than did nonfeminists ($M=.97$).

It was suggested that the social identity of Chinese Canadian women would be more focused on their ethnic group rather than with women. To assess this possibility, a 2 (affiliation) $\times$ 3 (identity with groups: women vs. Chinese Canadians vs. Chinese Canadian women) mixed-measures ANOVA was conducted, in which affiliation was a between-subjects variable, and identity with groups was a within-subject variable. The results showed a significant main effect for affiliation ($F(1,22)=9.84, p<.01$; $\text{Eta}^2=.309$). As can be seen in Table 2, Chinese feminists indicated a stronger group consciousness across all three groups ($p_s < .05$).

Insert Table 2 about here

There was also a significant main effect for group ($F(2,44)=3.26, p<.05$; $\eta^2=.129$). To establish the source of this effect, orthogonal contrasts were performed on the mean ratings for the three group identities. When identity with women was contrasted with identities with Chinese Canadians and Chinese Canadian women, a significant difference was found ($F(1,23)=6.26, p<.05$), such that Chinese Canadian participants were more likely to identify with women ($M=1.26$) than with Chinese Canadians ($M=.817$) or Chinese Canadian women ($M=.19$). There was also a significant difference between the identities with Chinese Canadians versus Chinese Canadian women ($F(1,23)=7.40, p<.05$), suggesting that the participants identified more with Chinese Canadians in general ($M=.82$) than with Chinese Canadian women ($M=.19$).

The two-way interaction of affiliation by identity with groups was nonsignificant ($F<1$).

Values

Normative analysis. It was suggested that women's differential identity with feminism may be the result of perceived differences in value priorities, as opposed to any real differences. A comparison was made between feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women and feminist and nonfeminist Caucasian

women on their perceptions of the importance of the three predetermined values and their self-defined values to themselves, to women, and to feminists (see means in Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here

Women's ratings for their own values were assessed by computing their mean ratings across all of their self-defined values for their perceptions of importance for each group. A 2 (affiliation: feminist versus nonfeminist) x 2 (race: Chinese Canadian vs. Caucasian) x 4 (value: equality vs. individual success vs. creativity vs. own values) x 3 (target of rating: importance to self vs. importance to women vs. importance to feminists) mixed-measures design was conducted. Affiliation and race were between-subjects variables, while value dimensions and the targets of ratings were within-subjects. There were no significant main effects for affiliation or race, nor did these variables interact with any other variable ($ps > .05$). However, there were significant main effects for values ($F(3,177)=24.31, p < .001; \eta^2=.292$), as well as for target of rating ($F(2,118)=6.51, p < .01; \eta^2=.099$). These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between values and target ($F(6,354)=6.59, p < .001; \eta^2=.100$).

To further analyse the interaction between values and target, simple effects were computed, revealing significant effects for target for each value ($ps < .01$).

Contrasts were then conducted comparing respondents' ratings of the perceived importance of each of the four values to themselves versus women and feminists, followed by a comparison of the ratings of perceived importance to women versus feminists. In terms of the differential importance of the values for themselves versus women and feminists, there was a significant difference between their ratings on the value equality ($F(1,62)=7.68, p<.05$), such that this value was viewed as being less important to one's self ($M=4.11$) than it was to women ($M=4.44$) and feminists ($M=4.73$). There were no differences between importance to self versus women and feminists for creativity and individual success. However, not surprisingly, with respect to the participants' own values, there was a significant difference between the ratings of the importance to self versus women and feminists ($F(1,62)=64.55, p<.05$), such that one's own values were viewed as more important to one's self ($M=4.54$) than to women ($M=3.55$) and feminists ($M=3.46$). Thus, both Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women perceived their own personal values as being more important to themselves than to either feminists or women, and the value of equality as less important.

Differences in the values of feminists in comparison to women were also perceived. Specifically, differences were perceived on the values of individual success ($F(1,62)=7.91, p<.05$) and creativity ($F(1,62)=22.31, p<.05$), such that women were seen as valuing individual success ($M=3.91$) and creativity ($M=2.30$) less than feminists (individual success: $M=4.51$; creativity: $M=2.84$).

In contrast, women ($M=3.55$) were perceived to value the participants' own values more than feminists ($M=3.46$) ($F(1,62)=14.18, p<.05$). Interestingly, feminists and women were similarly perceived to value equality ($F<1$).

There were no other significant two-way interactions, nor any significant three-way or four-way interactions ($ps>.05$).

To assess whether Chinese Canadian women had a stronger identity with the perceived values of Chinese Canadians than with women, a comparison was made between feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women on their perceptions of the three predetermined values and their own values in terms of the importance of the values to themselves, to women, to feminists, and to Chinese Canadians. A 2 (affiliation) x 4 (values) x 4 (target of rating: importance to self vs. importance to women vs. importance to feminists vs. importance to Chinese Canadians) mixed-measures ANOVA was conducted for Chinese Canadians, with affiliation as a between-subjects effect, and values and target of rating as within-subject effects. Once again, the main effect for affiliation, as well as any interactions involving affiliation, were not significant ($ps>.05$). There were significant main effects for values ($F(3,66)=7.30, p<.001; \eta^2=.249$), as well as for target ($F(3,66)=7.75, p<.001; \eta^2=.230$). These main effects were further qualified by a two-way interaction between values and target ($F(9,198)=2.36, p<.05; \eta^2=.097$).

Follow-up comparisons were conducted within each value to examine

whether Chinese Canadians were perceived to have different value parameters from the participants themselves, women, and feminists (see Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here

As illustrated in Table 3, for the value of equality, there was a significant difference between importance to self versus Chinese Canadians ($F(1,24)=5.85, p<.05$), such that Chinese Canadian women viewed themselves as valuing equality more than Chinese Canadians. The results were similar for creativity and the participants' own values. There was a significant difference between importance to self versus Chinese Canadians for both creativity ($F(1,24)=23.70, p<.001$) and their self-defined values ($F(1,23)=16.89, p<.001$), such that they perceived themselves as valuing creativity and their own values more than Chinese Canadians. There was no difference perceived in the importance of individual success for the participants themselves and Chinese Canadians ($F<1$).

The pattern of results was similar for importance to women versus Chinese Canadians (see Table 3). There was a significant difference between importance to women versus Chinese Canadians for equality ($F(1,24)=13.04, p<.001$), revealing a perception among Chinese Canadian women that equality is more important to women than to Chinese Canadians. Similarly, there was a belief that women value creativity ($F(1,24)=8.54, p<.01$) and their own values

($F(1,23)=5.178, p<.05$) more than Chinese Canadians. Again, there was no difference perceived for individual success ($F<1$).

Finally, there was a significant difference between importance to feminists versus Chinese Canadians, such that Chinese Canadian women viewed equality as being more important to feminists relative to Chinese Canadians ($F(1,24)=10.29, p<.01$) (see Table 3). Concordantly, feminists were seen as considering individual success to be more important as compared to Chinese Canadians ($F(1,24)=5.85, p<.05$), as well as creativity ($F(1,24)=12.83, p<.01$). There was no significant difference for respondents' own values ($F<1$), in that they perceived no difference between feminists and Chinese Canadians in terms of the importance placed on their own values.

Ipsative analysis. It is possible that while there were no group differences on the value ratings, women's relative value priorities may be seen as being different from the relative importance they perceived women, feminists, or Chinese Canadians to place on the values. A series of correlations were computed for each participant between the importance perceptions for each of the targets. In particular, for each individual, the correlation between the ratings of the values in terms of importance to self and importance to women were computed. Similarly, correlations were computed between the ratings of each of the three rating targets (i.e., between importance to self and feminists, and importance to women and feminists). To assess whether differences in the

relationship between the relative importance of the values existed, a 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) MANOVA was computed on the three correlations. There were no significant main effects for either affiliation (Pillai's=.02; $F(3,57)=.42$, ns) or race (Pillai's=.05; $F(3,57)=.90$, ns), nor for the two-way interaction of affiliation and race (Pillai's=.02; $F(3,57)=.46$, ns). On average, there were moderately positive correlations for importance to self and women, such that the participants perceived a moderately high relationship between the importance they placed on the values and the relative importance to women ($r=.320$), and between importance to self and feminists ($r=.303$), implying a perception that the importance they placed on the values was moderately related to the relative importance perceived for women and feminists. There was also a moderately high correlation between importance to women and feminists ($r=.518$), again suggesting a perception among women of a moderately high relationship between women's and feminists' value priorities. All of these average correlations were significantly greater than zero ($ps<.05$).

These ipsative correlations were also computed for each Chinese participant between their self-ratings and importance to Chinese Canadians, as well as importance to women and Chinese Canadians, and importance to feminists and Chinese Canadians. A oneway MANOVA examining differences between Chinese Canadian feminists and nonfeminists was conducted on these three correlations. Again, there was no significant main effect for affiliation

(Pillai's=.13; $E(3,21)=1.06$, ns). Once more, on average, all correlations were significantly different from zero. There was a low positive correlation for importance to self and Chinese Canadians, such that Chinese Canadian women perceived a small relationship between their own value priorities and those of Chinese Canadians ($r=.138$). However, there were moderately positive correlations for perceived importance to women and Chinese Canadians ($r=.402$), and feminists and Chinese Canadians ($r=.344$), implying a perception among Chinese Canadian women of a moderately high relationship between the importance women and feminists were perceived to place on the values and the perceived importance to Chinese Canadians.

Interests

Normative analysis. Similar to values, it was proposed that women's differential identity with feminism may be related to perceived differences in self-interests, rather than any real differences. Once again, a comparison was made between feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women and feminist and nonfeminist Caucasian women on their perceptions of the three given issues of interest and their self-defined interests in terms of the importance of the interests to themselves, to women, and to feminists. Women's ratings for their own interests were assessed by computing their mean ratings across all of their self-defined interests for each target group being rated (see Table 4). A 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) x 4 (interests: affirmative action vs. personal employment vs. racism vs.

own interests) x 3 (target of ratings: importance to self vs. importance to women vs. importance to feminists) mixed-measures design was employed. Affiliation and race were between-subjects effects, and interests and target of ratings were within-subject effects. There was a significant main effect for interests ($F(3,168)=12.85$, $p<.001$; $\eta^2=.187$), but not for affiliation, race, or target ($ps>.05$). This main effect was qualified by a significant two-way interaction between interests and target ($F(6,336)=18.36$, $p<.001$; $\eta^2=.247$), which was further qualified by a significant three-way interaction between race, interests, and target ($F(6,336)=2.28$, $p<.05$; $\eta^2=.039$). There were no other significant interactions at $p<.05$.

Insert Table 4 about here

To follow up on the three-way interaction between race, interests and target, simple effects were assessed for Caucasian women and for Chinese Canadian women. For Caucasian women, it was found that the main effects for interests ($F(3,114)=16.77$, $p<.001$; $\eta^2=.306$) and target ($F(2,76)=10.50$, $p<.001$; $\eta^2=.216$), and for the two-way interaction of interests and target ($F(6,228)=23.62$, $p<.001$; $\eta^2=.383$) were significant. This two-way interaction was further explored by comparing Caucasian participants' ratings of the importance of each of the four interests to self versus women and feminists, and

for women versus feminists, were conducted for Caucasians (see Figure 2).

Insert Figure 2 about here

In terms of the differential importance of the interests for themselves versus women and feminists, there were significant differences for affirmative action, racism, and their own issues. In other words, Caucasian women perceived one's self ($M=2.41$) as considering affirmative action to be less important as compared to women ($M=4.03$) and feminists ($M=4.82$) ($F(1,38)=47.98, p<.001$). Similarly, there was a significant difference for racism, such that there was a belief that the issue of racism was less important to one's self ($M=2.80$) than to women ($M=2.92$) and feminists ($M=3.97$) ($F(1,38)=10.22, p<.01$). Conversely, yet not surprisingly, the Caucasian participants believed that their own interests were more important to themselves ($M=4.20$) than to women ($M=2.29$) and feminists ($M=2.13$) ($F(1,38)=41.42, p<.001$). There was no significant difference for personal employment ($F(1,38)=2.40, ns$).

In comparing perceived importance to women versus feminists for Caucasian women, there was a significant difference on all four interests. In short, there was a perception among Caucasian women that affirmative action ($F(1,38)=5.68, p<.05$), personal employment ($F(1,38)=8.55, p<.01$), and racism ($F(1,38)=5.77, p<.05$) were more important to feminists than to women (see

Table 4). However, the results were reversed for respondents' own issues, such that there was a perception that their own issues of interest were more important to women than to feminists ($F(1,38)=22.65, p<.001$).

To follow up on the three-way interaction between race, interests and target, simple effects were also assessed for Chinese Canadian women (see Figure 3).

Insert Figure 3 about here

Results indicated that the main effects for interests ($F(3,60)=6.17, p<.001; \eta^2=.236$) and target ($F(2,40)=5.85, p<.01; \eta^2=.226$), and for the two-way interaction of interests and target ($F(6,120)=5.82, p<.001; \eta^2=.225$) were significant. This two-way interaction was further explored by comparing Chinese Canadian respondents' ratings of the importance of each of the four interests to themselves as individuals versus women and feminists, followed by a comparison of the ratings of importance to women versus feminists. In terms of the differential importance of the interests for themselves versus women and feminists, there were significant differences for affirmative action, personal employment, and their own issues (see Table 4). Similar to Caucasian women, Chinese Canadian women perceived one's self ($M=3.00$) as considering affirmative action to be less important as compared to women ($M=4.24$) and

feminists ($M=4.76$) ($F(1,20)=28.46, p<.001$), and their own issues to be more important to one's self ($M=4.10$) than to women ($M=3.02$) and feminists ($M=2.49$) ($F(1,20)=12.48, p<.01$). In contrast to the Caucasian women, there was a significant effect for personal employment, in that the Chinese Canadian women perceived this issue to be more important to one's self ($M=4.86$) than to women ($M=4.29$) and feminists ($M=4.43$) ($F(1,20)=5.09, p<.05$). Also in contrast to the Caucasian women, there was no significant difference in the perceptions of the importance of racism, nor were there any differences in the perceived importance of the interests to women versus feminists ($ps>.05$).

To assess whether Chinese Canadian women had a stronger identity with the interests of Chinese Canadians than with women, a comparison was made between feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women on their perceptions of the three predetermined interests and their own interests in terms of the importance of the interests to themselves, to women, to feminists, and to Chinese Canadians. A 2 (affiliation) x 4 (interests) x 4 (target of rating: importance to self vs. importance to women vs. importance to feminists vs. importance to Chinese Canadians) mixed-measures ANOVA was conducted for Chinese Canadians, with affiliation as a between-subjects effect, and interests and target of rating as within-subject effects. Once again, the main effect for affiliation, as well as any interactions involving affiliation, were not significant ($ps>.05$). The main effect for target was also not significant ($p>.05$). There was a significant main

effect for interests ($F(3,57)=4.05, p<.05; \text{Eta}^2=.176$). This main effect was further qualified by a two-way interaction between interests and target ($F(9,171)=2.53, p<.01; \text{Eta}^2=.117$).

Follow-up comparisons were conducted within each interest to examine whether Chinese Canadians were perceived to have different interest parameters from the participants themselves, women, and feminists. In comparing perceptions of importance to self versus Chinese Canadians, the participants perceived their own issues to be more important to themselves ($M=4.10$) than to Chinese Canadians in general ($M=2.42$) ($F(1,20)=21.22, p<.001$), but did not perceive differences on any of the other three issues. In comparing perceptions of importance to women versus Chinese Canadians, participants viewed affirmative action to be more important to women ($M=4.24$) than to Chinese Canadians ($M=3.43$) ($F(1,20)=20.25, p<.001$). Similarly, participants believed affirmative action to be more important to feminists ($M=4.76$) than to Chinese Canadians ($F(1,20)=29.74, p<.001$). There were no other significant differences in perceptions of the importance of the interests to women and feminists versus Chinese Canadians at $p<.05$.

Ipsative analysis. Similar to values, it is possible that women's own interests may be seen as being differently related to the relative importance they perceived women, feminists, or Chinese Canadians to place on the interests. A series of correlations were computed for each participant between the perceptions

of importance placed on the issues for each target. In particular, for each individual, the correlation between the ratings of the interests listed in terms of importance to self and importance to women were computed. Similarly, correlations were computed between the ratings of each of the three importance perceptions (i.e., between importance to self and feminists, and importance to women and feminists). To assess whether differences in the relationship between the relative importance of the interests existed for each of the groups, a 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) MANOVA was computed on the three correlations. There were no significant main effects for either affiliation (Pillai's=.12; $F(3,57)=.35$, ns), or race (Pillai's=.11; $F(3,57)=2.38$, ns), nor was the interaction between them significant (Pillai's=.04; $F(3,57)=.74$, ns), suggesting that neither affiliation nor race had any influence on the responses. Once again, on average, there was a moderately positive correlation between importance placed on the interests by self and by women ($r=.267$). There was a relatively high positive correlation for perceived importance to women and feminists ($r=.609$), suggesting a perception among women that the relative importance of the interests to women was perceived to be similar to the relative importance placed on them by feminists. The correlation between the importance ratings to self and to feminists was not significantly different from zero at $p<.05$.

These ipsative correlations were also computed for each Chinese participant between their self-ratings and importance to Chinese Canadians, as

well as importance to women and Chinese Canadians, and importance to feminists and Chinese Canadians. To assess any differences in perceptions of the relative importance for Chinese Canadian feminists and nonfeminists, a oneway MANOVA was conducted on these three correlations. Again, there were no significant main effects for affiliation (Pillai's=.09; $F(3,21)=.68$, ns). On average, all correlations were significantly different from zero. There was a moderately positive correlation for importance to self and Chinese Canadians ($r=.374$), such that Chinese Canadian women perceived a moderately high degree of similarity between the importance they placed on the interests and the perceived relative importance to Chinese Canadians. As well, there was a moderately positive correlation for importance to women and Chinese Canadians ($r=.470$), and for importance to feminists and Chinese Canadians ($r=.458$), suggesting a perception of similar priorities in the interests of the three social groups.

Influence of media and family and friends. To assess whether women's feminist or nonfeminist identity was associated with sources of influence, namely images of feminists as expressed by the media or by family and friends, and perhaps due to feelings of powerlessness, women's ratings of these dimensions with respect to various issues were examined. To determine whether feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women and feminist and nonfeminist Caucasian women differed on the degree of influence by the media in comparison to the influence by family and friends, a 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) x 4 (interests) x 2

(sources of influence: family and friends vs. the media) mixed measures design was employed. Affiliation and race were between-subjects effects, while interests and sources of influence were within-subject effects.

The main effects of affiliation, race, and their interaction were not significant ($F_s < 1$). However, there was a significant two-way interaction between race and source of influence ($F(1,58)=4.78, p<.05; \eta^2=.076$). While none of the follow-up comparisons were significant, it appears that this interaction reflects the greater influence by family and friends perceived by Chinese Canadian women, in comparison to Caucasian women, and in comparison to influence by the media (see Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

Furthermore, while there were no significant main effects for issues of interest and source of influence at $p<.05$, there was a significant two-way interaction between them ($F(3,174)=24.45, p<.05; \eta^2=.297$). Simple effects analyses were undertaken to examine the nature of this two-way interaction, by examining the relative degree of influence of the two sources for each issue. These analyses indicated a significant difference between the influence of the media versus the influence of family and friends on all four interests. In particular, media was more influential than family and friends on affirmative

action ($F(1,161)=5.95, p<.05$, and racism ($F(1,61)=22.31, p<.05$). However, the reverse was true for personal employment ($F(1,61)=40.82, p<.05$) and for their own issues ($F(1,61)=28.31, p<.05$), such that there seemed to be a perception among participants that their family and friends had more influence than the media on their opinions of these issues.

Power. To examine the perceptions of feminist and nonfeminist Chinese Canadian women and feminist and nonfeminist Caucasian women regarding the degree of power they felt as an individual or as a group to change each issue, a 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) x 4 (interests) x 2 (locus of power: as an individual vs. as a group) mixed-measures ANOVA was undertaken. Race and affiliation were between-subjects effects, while interests and locus of power were within-subjects. There were no significant main effects for affiliation, race, interests, or locus of power, nor were there any significant interactions at $p<.05$.

Strategies

To assess whether group membership was associated with the endorsement of particular strategies in response to a situation of discrimination against women, a 2 (affiliation) x 2 (race) MANOVA was conducted on participants' scores reflecting the extent to which they would take each of the four actions. Results indicated that the main effect of race was nonsignificant (Pillai's=.05; $F(4,59)=.79, ns$). However, the main effect of affiliation was significant (Pillai's=.17; $F(4,59)=3.03, p<.05$), although the two-way interaction of race and

affiliation was not (Pillai's=.10; $F(4,59)=1.64$, ns). Simple effects for the interaction between affiliation and type of action revealed that feminists were more likely to endorse public/individual actions ($F(1,62)=5.38$, $p<.05$), as well as private/collective actions ($F(1,62)=6.29$, $p<.05$), relative to nonfeminists. Feminists and nonfeminists did not differ on their endorsements of private/individual and public/collective actions; both groups were fairly likely to report private/individual actions, but least likely to endorse public/collective actions (see Table 6).

Insert Table 6 about here

Discussion

An attempt was made to understand Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women's identification with feminism. In particular, it was hypothesized that group consciousness, perceived value and interest differences, and strategies to attain goals, would be related to Chinese Canadian and Caucasian nonfeminist women's lack of identification with feminism. As well, the factors respectively reported by Adamson et al. (1988) and Griffin (1989), namely, media influence, influence from family and friends, and powerlessness, with respect to various feminist issues, were also studied to determine their relationship with women's

identification.

Attempts were made to get a broad-based sample from the various groups. Not surprisingly, given the original impetus for this study, the sample of Chinese Canadian feminists was very small despite extensive efforts to recruit them. Not only were these numbers small, but at least one feminist commented on finding the research paradigm itself as being ideologically problematic, and therefore preferred not to participate. Thus, the results should be interpreted with caution, particularly in terms of the representativeness of the small sample of Chinese Canadian feminists who participated.

As well, it should be noted that the Chinese Canadian participants, particularly the feminists, were on average older than Caucasians by almost three years. Although age was not consistently related to the dependent variables, perhaps a future study with a larger age range could investigate the influence of the experiences that are gained with age on feminist and minority group identifications.

It was proposed that greater collective action, or active involvement with the communities of the participants' social groups, namely, women and Chinese Canadians, may engender a higher group consciousness. In support of this hypothesis, feminists were more likely to indicate that they were members of a minority group, namely, women and/or Chinese Canadians, as compared to nonfeminists. Similarly, Chinese Canadians as a whole were more likely to

profess their membership in a minority group, namely, Chinese Canadians and sometimes women, relative to Caucasians. However, there were no differences for acknowledgement of membership in a minority club or organization, or for women's studies, nor were there any differences between Chinese Canadian feminists versus nonfeminists with respect to Asian studies. These results were surprising to the extent that, according to this researcher's personal knowledge, many of the Chinese participants were members of a Chinese dance troupe or a church with a Chinese congregation, yet they neglected to indicate this. This oversight, coupled with the fact that not all Chinese Canadians perceived themselves as being a member of a minority group, may be related to their lack of group consciousness with Chinese Canadians in general, and with Chinese Canadian women in particular.

In line with this were the findings with respect to the women's self-reported social psychological identification with the social groups. These results revealed feminists as exhibiting a stronger group consciousness with women and feminists than nonfeminists, irrespective of race. Moreover, Chinese Canadian feminists indicated a stronger group consciousness across all social groups, including Chinese Canadians and Chinese Canadian women, as compared to Chinese nonfeminists. Interestingly, and contrary to expectations, Chinese Canadian women were more likely to indicate a stronger group consciousness with women than with Chinese Canadians or particularly with Chinese Canadian women.

The results were partly concordant with conclusions reached by I. Chow (1992), who also found that Chinese women and nonfeminist Caucasians lacked a strong group consciousness with women, and that the predominantly nonfeminist sample of Chinese Canadian women did not significantly differ on their group consciousness as Chinese Canadians versus women. Therefore, it seems that an absence of group consciousness with women may help to explain nonfeminists' reluctance to identify themselves as feminists, and hence perhaps be as politically involved as feminists are in combatting discrimination.

Moreover, Chinese Canadian nonfeminists' lack of group consciousness with women, Chinese Canadians, and Chinese Canadian women, may suggest that they lack a feminist identity not necessarily because of a double-bind of racism and sexism, but for the same reasons as Caucasian nonfeminists. In other words, Chinese Canadian nonfeminists' absence of a feminist identity may not solely be due to the double-bind of racism and sexism, but, similar to Caucasian nonfeminists, they have not developed a sense of group identity or a group consciousness with women, or even with Chinese Canadians. If Chinese Canadian nonfeminists do not express a high group consciousness with women, then they may not necessarily be concerned with issues perceived as being relevant to women, such as sexism. Likewise, if they do not express a high group consciousness with Chinese Canadians, then they may not be deeply concerned with issues that affect Chinese Canadians, such as racism. This lack of support for

E. Chow's (1989) theory of the double-bind may also be corroborated by the finding that, on the whole, the Chinese Canadian participants were more likely to identify with women than with Chinese Canadians and Chinese Canadian women. Indeed, when comparing their group consciousness with Chinese Canadians versus Chinese Canadian women, they indicated that they identify more with the former than the latter.

Therefore, Chinese Canadian nonfeminists may not be deeply contemplating issues of racism and sexism, let alone these issues with respect to the double-bind, if they identify more with women when compared to their own ethnic group. As it is, the Chinese Canadian women did not even perceive a difference in importance of racism to themselves versus women and feminists, or themselves, women, and feminists, respectively, versus Chinese Canadians in general, as will be later discussed at length.

It was also hypothesized that there may be a perception among nonfeminists that differences exist between themselves and feminists with respect to endorsements of values and interests, whether or not this is really the case. At the same time, it was proposed that feminists would perceive their values or interests to be concordant with those of feminists', although differences between Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists may manifest in perceptual differences in the prioritized values and interests.

Normative analyses conducted on the value and interest responses indicated that, contrary to expectations, there were no differences between

feminists and nonfeminists. Subsequent analyses indicated that, overall, participants felt that equality was less important to themselves than to women and feminists, and that there were no differences between women and feminists on the importance of equality. This result may be related to the finding that individual women may acknowledge the existence of sex discrimination against women in society, yet deny that they themselves as individuals are affected by it (Crosby, Pufall, Snyder, O'Connell, and Whalen, 1989). It may be that the women in this study recognize equality as an issue that is important to feminists, and indeed, to women as a whole, yet fail to identify equality, and all of the issues related to it (e.g., discrimination) as being important to themselves. In professing that equality is not as important in their own lives when compared to other women and feminists, they may be attempting to deny that they themselves experience discrimination, so as to avoid the emotional threat of viewing themselves as victims (Crosby et al., 1989).

Conversely to the findings for equality, participants did not perceive a difference between themselves and women and feminists on individual success and creativity, although they thought that these two values were more important to feminists than to women. It could be that the women may have been rating a caricature of feminists, in that they may have a stereotype of feminists as craving individual success.

Not surprisingly, they perceived their own values to be more important to

themselves than to women and feminists; however, more interestingly, they also perceived their own values to be more important to women than to feminists.

This may indicate that some women may not identify with feminism because they believe their own values to be unimportant to feminists; on the other hand, since these participants consisted of both feminists and nonfeminists, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusion. It is possible that while both feminists and nonfeminists reported perceptions that their own values differed from feminists, the basis for these perceptions may differ. In particular, to the extent that feminism is an ideology, the feminists in this study may not have perceived the values which guide them on a day-to-day basis to be entirely relevant to feminism, and as such, did not perceive these values to be important to feminists. In contrast, the nonfeminists may feel that they and feminists simply do not share the same values.

Chinese Canadian women perceived themselves as well as women as valuing equality, creativity, and their own values more than Chinese Canadians, with no differences for individual success. Additionally, there was a perception that equality, individual success, and creativity were more important to feminists than to Chinese Canadians. With respect to equality, perhaps the Chinese Canadians were responding to a stereotyped characterization of the Chinese as a people who are uncomplaining, and who are not vocal about or politically active with issues that relate to equality, such as racism. This stereotype may be even

more salient when contrasted with groups who are stereotypically vocal, such as feminists, African Canadians or Native Canadians.

In addition, Chinese Canadian women did not perceive their own values as being any more important to Chinese Canadians than to feminists. These results may be corroborative of the low group consciousness that they expressed with Chinese Canadians. Perhaps if they do not see values that are important to themselves as also being of importance to Chinese Canadians as a group, then they may indicate a low group consciousness with Chinese Canadians. Alternatively, they may be attempting to justify a desire to be distinct from Chinese Canadians and feminists, by defining themselves as being different. However, despite the similarity in their reported value perceptions, feminists and nonfeminists may again have a different basis for perceiving differences in the importance they place on their own values with the importance placed by Chinese Canadians. Chinese Canadian nonfeminists may not believe their values to be important to feminists or Chinese Canadians, because they relegate these groups to the status of homogeneous outgroups, who are distinct from themselves (Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1986). In contrast, Chinese Canadian feminists may not report their values to be important to feminists or to Chinese Canadians in general, because they may identify these groups as ingroups, and as such, are more likely to perceive heterogeneity in the characteristics of the group members. Given such heterogeneity (e.g., different groups of Chinese, different forms of

feminism), they may report less similarity due to a lack of within-group consistency, rather than due to perceptions of difference.

Concordant with values, the normative analysis of responses for the interests measure did not yield any differences between Chinese Canadians and Caucasians, nor between feminists and nonfeminists. However, unlike values, there was a three-way interaction between interests, target of ratings, and race, suggesting that Chinese Canadians and Caucasians were different in their perceptions of the importance of the issues to themselves and the social groups. Results indicated that both the Chinese Canadians and Caucasians perceived affirmative action to be less important to themselves than to women and feminists. Moreover, in contrasting self, women, and feminists, respectively, versus Chinese Canadians, findings revealed that women as well as feminists were perceived to consider affirmative action to be more important relative to Chinese Canadians. As was the case for equality, it may be that there is a "denial of personal disadvantage" (Crosby et al., 1989) or even a denial of group disadvantage, in that they acknowledge affirmative action, and hence, the greater attendant issue of employment discrimination, as issues that are germane to other women, but not for their own individual lives, nor for Chinese Canadians. In this way, they can avoid thinking about unpleasant realities, or avoid feeling threatened by a view of themselves or of Chinese Canadians as victims (Crosby et al., 1989).

Likewise, and consistent with the finding for values, both Chinese Canadian and Caucasian participants perceived their own issues to be more important to themselves than to women and feminists, and also Chinese Canadians in general. Therefore, as with values, a lack of belief in the commonality between their own interests and the interests of women, feminists, and Chinese Canadians may be associated with the nonfeminists' low group consciousness with women and Chinese Canadians. Alternatively, for feminists it may be another case of ingroup-heterogeneity versus outgroup-homogeneity in perceptions of interests (Linville et al., 1986), as previously delineated for values. This possibility needs to be explored in future research.

In contrast to affirmative action, Chinese Canadian women observed personal employment to be more important to themselves than to women and feminists, while there was no difference for Caucasian women. This may be related to the Chinese values of competence, scholarship, and hard work (Feather, 1986). These values may be especially pertinent for Chinese in the diaspora, since they may perceive that success in education will lead to employment in the professions, and hence, to greater acceptance in Western society. Therefore, placing a high value on personal employment may be a survival strategy in the Canadian milieu, especially if education and hard work are values that are approved of by mainstream Canadian society, and if this strategy of entering the professions, and thus assimilating into mainstream Canadian society, is supported

and reinforced by the media's labelling of Asian Canadians as a "model minority" (Hurtado, 1989). While Caucasians viewed racism as being less important to themselves than to women and feminists, Chinese Canadians did not perceive such a difference, nor did they perceive any difference in importance for self, women, and feminists, respectively, versus Chinese Canadians. Perhaps the Chinese Canadian participants' declination to perceive racism as an issue being of any greater importance to themselves or to Chinese Canadians in general than to women and feminists was a reflection of two things: one being a denial of personal disadvantage, or even of group disadvantage, so that they would not have to acknowledge the unpleasant realities of racism for themselves or for Chinese Canadians; and the other being a stereotyped image of the uncomplaining, docile Chinese, who are not (visibly, at least) active in the community regarding racism, and therefore do not consider racism to be an issue that is as important as other groups may (e.g., Native Canadians, African Canadians). Alternatively, it could mean that the Chinese Canadian respondents realize that racism affects them, but also feel that it is an issue that is equally important for Caucasian women and feminists to deal with. In addition, they may see racism as being an important issue, but do not place a high priority on it. As for the Caucasian women, their perceptions of racism as being less important to themselves than to women and feminists could be illustrative of the notion of symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981). In particular, recent research suggests that expressions of present

-day racism have changed, such that while individuals may report a lack of prejudice, they nevertheless perceive intergroup differences as due to characteristics of the minority group members themselves. In particular, symbolic racists may say that they are not racist, and that society is doing everything it can for ethnic minorities, but that these minorities just do not have the right priorities to do better. Therefore, for Caucasian women, there may be a denial of personal racism.

In comparing perceptions of importance of each of the interests to women versus feminists, some interesting findings resulted. Consistent with the previous result for values, Caucasian women perceived their own interests to be more important to women than to feminists. They perceived affirmative action, personal employment, and racism to be less important to women than to feminists. However, Chinese Canadian respondents did not perceive any differences between women and feminists for all of the issues. It may be that the Caucasian participants believe feminists to represent stereotyped extremist positions with respect to issues such as affirmative action, personal employment, and racism, that go beyond what is needed by women in general. In contrast, "women" and "feminists" may have been perceived by Chinese Canadians to simply apply to Caucasian women, and as such, they may have not observed any differences between the two.

Contrary to predictions, ipsative analyses of values and interests did not

exhibit any significant differences between feminists and nonfeminists, between Chinese Canadians and Caucasians, nor any interactions between them. Nevertheless, there were moderately positive correlations, such that there was a perception among all women that their own values and interests were also moderately important to those of women, and that there was a moderately high relationship between women's and feminists' values and interests. Therefore, while there was differentiation in terms of the extent of value and interest importance, there were perceived similarities in the prioritization of values and interests between self and women, and between women and feminists. While they perceived a moderately positive relationship for perceived importance for self and feminists for values, in support of the hypothesis, they perceived a low relationship between importance to self and feminists for interests, which may correspond with their low feminist identification. In other words, women's nonidentification with feminism may be related to a perception of differences in the priorities of their own interests and those of feminists'. However, these results were not moderated by affiliation. Once again, it is possible that the basis for the perceived differences in interest priorities was different for feminists versus nonfeminists, in that the feminists recognize that not all of their interests are as coincident with feminist interests as they feel they ought to be, or that they do not perceive all feminists to have the same positions; for example, not all feminists agree with affirmative action. In contrast, it may be that nonfeminists really do perceive

different priorities in interests.

Alternatively, given the fact that they perceived a moderately positive relationship for importance to self and feminists for values in comparison to a low relationship with respect to interests, the differences in results may have been due to the difference between the two concepts. Participants may have had more difficulty thinking about differences between themselves and feminists when it came to values, which are more abstract and less thought about in people's daily lives. Conversely, it may have been easier to think about differences for interests, because they are more concrete and more identifiable in terms of their importance to themselves. Therefore, it may have been easier to reject any association between themselves and feminists when it came to thinking about interests rather than values. It may also be noted that while the correlation for values between self and feminists was moderately positive, it was still lower than the correlations for the other two contrasts; thus, the possibility of the relationship for this correlation with the nonidentification with feminism with respect to values may still hold. Furthermore, it could also be that nontraditional nonfeminists do not disagree with feminist values, but rather how these values are expressed in terms of issue priorities and in strategies.

Chinese Canadian participants perceived moderately high relationships between importance to women and Chinese Canadians, and between importance to feminists and Chinese Canadians, with respect to values and interests. While

they also perceived a low relationship between self and Chinese Canadians for values, at the same time, they perceived a moderately positive relationship with respect to interest priorities. Perhaps the predominantly nonfeminist Chinese Canadians were contrasting all of the minority group memberships from themselves, so that they perceived all of these groups to be similar to one another, but different from themselves. Additionally, it may be that they did not perceive themselves as sharing the same values as Chinese Canadians in general, but that they did observe themselves as being affected by some of the issues that concern Chinese Canadians.

The findings for values and interests were limited in that they only examined perceived differences, rather than real differences. While it was beyond the scope of the present study, it may be beneficial for future research to analyze each value and interest that the respondents listed, and see if they significantly differed qualitatively from the ones listed by other groups. Although no real differences were found by I. Chow (1992), given that the values and interests in the present study were generated by the participants themselves, differences between groups may still lie in the different personal values and interests of the different groups of women.

Another problem with both the values and interests measures is that, although respondents were able to rate their values and interests according to the perceived importance to Chinese Canadians, there was no equivalent dimension,

namely, importance to Chinese Canadian women. It would have been interesting to see if there were any differences among feminists and nonfeminists in rating these two items.

It was also proposed that a difference would be expressed among groups with respect to perceptions of influence by media or family and friends. More specifically, it was suggested that women may be reluctant to identify with feminism due to negative publicity by the media, or negative opinions by family and friends. However, results revealed no differences between feminists and nonfeminists, with respect to these influences. Therefore, as with values and interests, participants were assessed together. It was found that participants perceived the media to be more influential than family and friends with regard to the more socially relevant issues of affirmative action and racism, perhaps because they may not be popular topics of discussion among family and friends, or because the media may be more likely to address social rather than personal concerns. Given that feminism deals with such social issues as affirmative action and discrimination, perhaps the biases of the media on such social issues may reflect poorly on feminists, which in turn may prevent nonfeminists from identifying with feminism. Conversely, they perceived family and friends to be more influential than the media on the more personal issues of personal employment and their own defined interests. Therefore, perhaps nonfeminists do not identify with feminism due to the influence of family and friends on the formation of their

personal interests, such that these people may have no interest in the concerns of feminism, and hence, neither would nonfeminists.

Another hypothesis stated that feminists and nonfeminists may differ with respect to a perceptual difference in power. In other words, it was thought that nonfeminists may not be identifying with feminism due to a belief that they are powerless to evoke any changes in regard to women's issues, and that furthermore, they may have a belief in their power as individuals to make changes, as opposed to the belief in collective power by feminists. Results did not indicate any differences between feminists and nonfeminists, nor between Chinese Canadians and Caucasians, with respect to individual versus collective power.

It may be noted that a problem with both the dimensions of influence of media versus family and friends, and individual versus collective power, is that it is questionable as to whether all items were "rate-able" across all dimensions. For example, if a respondent's self-interest included walking the dog, then it may not make conceptual sense to rate it under perceived influence of media versus family and friends, or under perceived power as an individual versus a collective.

The final hypothesis stated that there may be a difference among groups in the endorsement of strategies used in response to a scenario of sexual harassment. It was proposed that nonfeminists would approve of individual strategies, and reject the more feminist collective strategies. Although the more extreme strategies along both ends of the continuum (i.e., private/individual and

public/collective) were not significantly different for feminists versus nonfeminists, feminists were significantly more likely to endorse the middle range of strategies. In short, feminists were more likely to endorse the private/collective and public/individual strategies. Therefore, it seems that feminists are willing to attend talks and participate in discussion groups on sexual harassment, to write letters and petition, and to gather evidence and confront the perpetrator, among other things, suggesting that feminists are willing to take action when necessary. In short, then, another possible barrier to nonfeminist women's potential identification with feminism is their difference from feminists in their support of strategies in response to injustice. In addition, perhaps this endorsement of the middle-range of strategies by feminists may be related to the feminists' perceptions of differences between themselves and feminists found for values and interests; that is, these feminists as individuals may believe that they are different from feminists as a group, since they would take private/collective and public/individual actions, rather than the highly active public/collective strategy, which they may assume to be more associated with feminism. As well, given the scenario of sexual harassment, it may be that the feminists would not suggest greater action, since they realize that the victim may only suffer more if she were to go through a justice system that often discriminates against victims of violence and harassment.

A problem associated with the use of this scenario is that, although there

was a substantial number of participants who were not university students, the scenario was geared towards a university student population. It was concerned with a situation that occurred between a professor and a student, and all responses were concordant with this theme. Perhaps a scenario that all participants could identify with would have been more appropriate, and hence would have elicited a greater effect for feminists and nonfeminists.

Another problem is that the sexual harassment scenario was arguably very individualistic in that it affected one person, so subsequent research could examine a situation of injustice that affects an entire identifiable group, such as ethnic minorities, and determine if there are any differences in responses among feminists and nonfeminists, and among Chinese Canadians and Caucasians. On the other hand, feminists would argue that sexual harassment does affect an entire group (women), despite the scenario in which one person is blatantly affected. Furthermore, given Chinese Canadians' even lower identity with Chinese Canadians in comparison to women, it is questionable whether a scenario of injustice against Chinese Canadians would really have "raised their consciousness" and stirred them to action in a markedly different manner from the sexual harassment scenario.

The present study found that overall, feminist identification may be contingent upon the individual's group consciousness with women. To the extent that collective action is a component of group consciousness (Gurin & Townsend,

1986), and that both Chinese Canadians and women are minority groups with some common goals (e.g., eradicating discrimination), Chinese Canadian nonfeminists' lack of a group consciousness may help in part to explain their lack of identification with the collectively active feminist movement. More importantly, it would seem that, given Chinese Canadian women's lower group consciousness with Chinese Canadians in general and also with Chinese Canadian women relative to women in general, and even an acknowledged lack of commonality of values and interests with Chinese Canadians, their absence of a feminist identity may not necessarily be related to a double-bind of sexism and racism, in the sense that they are aware of racism within feminism, but in fact, they may not be identifying for the same reasons as Caucasian nonfeminists.

This supposition is plausible, given that the current debate regarding racism within the mainstream feminist community is likely only familiar to Chinese Canadian feminists. Thus, it would take great insight for Chinese Canadian nonfeminists to go from recognizing racism as an issue for the Chinese community to acknowledging the current debate within feminism. In contrast, it may be that Chinese women who are already self-identified as feminists are the ones who decline to associate with white mainstream feminism since they are more aware of racism within mainstream feminism, rather than Chinese nonfeminists, who did not even perceive a difference between themselves versus women and feminists, nor between Chinese Canadians versus women and

feminists, with regard to racism, and therefore may not be highly conscious about this issue. In addition, it may be that Chinese Canadian nonfeminists view feminism as being a movement concerned with sexism, rather than racism.

However, racism could still have an effect on Chinese Canadian nonfeminists' nonidentification with feminism, on a different level that is unrelated to an explicit consciousness of racism within feminism. Racism may play an influential role in their lives to the extent that they may be encouraged to integrate in a predominantly white society, rather than be collectively active in fighting discrimination. The social stereotypes applied to Chinese Canadians actively reward their assimilationist behaviours (i.e., working hard), while placing the onus of their lack of integration on themselves (i.e., that the Chinese work so hard that they do not socialize). Thus, while encouraging and rewarding their activities, Western white society also places the blame for segregation and discrimination on Chinese Canadians themselves. In the context of such treatment, it would not be surprising if Chinese Canadians are more likely to attempt to assimilate individually, rather than underline their collective identity through collective action. Future research could study this conjecture.

In line with this, the Chinese Canadian participants expressed a lower identification with Chinese Canadians in general and also Chinese Canadian women than with their identification with women in general. It may be that, because this sample of Chinese women were raised in Canadian society, they have

accepted the Western stereotypes of the Chinese, especially the Chinese woman, and have chosen to express their rejection of this stereotyped identity. On the other hand, in a conference that discussed Chinese identity, one final conclusion resulted: that "...the only relevant criterion of identity is the self-identity perceived by a person. The bottom line of self-identity is the recognition of one's membership in a collective entity" (Hsu, 1991, p. 227). Therefore, if Chinese Canadian nonfeminists do not even highly associate themselves with women, Chinese Canadians, or Chinese Canadian women, and thus do not acknowledge their membership in a collective identity, then this lack of a collective identity could in turn lead to a disregard for collective action, either within the Chinese community or within the women's movement. If being Chinese is contingent upon the individual to identify or acknowledge oneself as being Chinese, rather than any other kind of factor, such as physical appearance or a common culture, then how does an individual go about obtaining this identity? To go from knowing that one is Chinese to having a political consciousness about being Chinese may actually involve a process. Griffin (1989, p. 189) suggests that one should study the "...process of identification rather than the formation of a static identity....Feminist identification was not simply a matter of individual attitudes: of agreeing or disagreeing with a set of ideas and principles." Hence, it may be insufficient to examine value and interest priorities, or to assess strategy endorsements, although these may be seen as elements of a

process; rather, it seems that there may be other elements of such a process that were not captured by this study.

A problem with all of the measures is that, in asking Chinese Canadian participants to consider the extent of their group consciousness with and perceptions of Chinese Canadians, there was no differentiation among Chinese Canadians as a target group. One participant remarked that there were two types of Chinese Canadians: those who were raised in Canada, and those who were immigrants. Perhaps they would have expressed a higher identification had they been given such an option, since, as with feminists, there is no single group of Chinese Canadians.

In many ways, this research represents an attempt to depict the identity of Chinese Canadian women, in that it is "about" these women. As such, it falls prey to many of the problems of research "about" any group or individual, in which the researcher is held objective and distinct from the subject. In so doing, a number of ethnocentric elements were introduced that may not have otherwise occurred. For example, in asking Chinese Canadians to identify with women versus Chinese Canadian women, a situation may have been contrived such that Caucasians were not only inadvertently established as "women", but also as the norm to be measured against with respect to all of the measures, while Chinese Canadian women became the deviation from the norm. In fact, what may have been more useful was a comparison with another disadvantaged group, such as African

Canadians. It might have been interesting to see if there were any differences between the two minority groups, and where these differences lie with respect to feminist identity and identity with their social groups. Alternatively, future research could also be directed towards studying Chinese Canadian or Asian women in and of themselves, for their own purposes and from their own perspectives, rather than comparing them to any other group.

Despite the limitations, this study was still useful in that it provided a "voice" for Chinese Canadians where it has traditionally been missing in social psychology. It has also dramatically disclosed the lack of consciousness that many Chinese Canadian women seem to have with respect to Chinese Canadians and Chinese Canadian women, to the extent that they have a higher group consciousness with women in general than with their own ethnic groups. As well, there was a finding of a high degree of perceptual similarities with Caucasian women. While it is tempting to suggest that this is problematic for Chinese Canadian women in achieving a positive and distinct identity, it is clear that a better understanding of the experiences and visions of Chinese Canadian women is necessary. Thus, this research was an attempt to make a step in that direction.

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Footnote

¹ The double bind of sexism and racism has been reported to be a barrier to ethnic minority women's feminist identification, such that some women may feel that feminism does not sufficiently address these equally important concerns (E. Chow, 1989); as such, they may feel that their ethnic identity is pitted against their gender identity if they join the feminist movement. Thus, the meaning of the double bind used here predicates a consciousness by ethnic minority women of racism and sexism, and an equal concern with both types of discrimination.

² Because age was not independent of the independent variable of race, it was not employed as a covariate in all further analyses. However, to assess whether women's identity was expressed differently with age, the correlation between age and the identity variables were examined for Chinese Canadian women and for Caucasian women. For Caucasian women, age was positively correlated with their sense of identification with women ($r=.32, p<.05$), such that older women were more likely to report a stronger sense of identification with women. Age was not significantly related to Caucasian women's value and interest priorities, nor their perceptions of the priorities of women or feminists. However, age was negatively correlated with the tendency to report taking private/individualistic strategies to deal with discrimination ($r=-.46, p<.01$), such that younger women were more likely to say that this was the strategy they would adopt.

For Chinese Canadian women, age was not significantly correlated with their social identification with women, Chinese Canadians, or Chinese Canadian women, nor with women's action strategies for dealing with discrimination. However, for Chinese Canadian women, there were some, albeit inconsistent, significant correlations between age and value and interest priorities. In particular, age was negatively correlated with perceptions of the importance feminists ($r=-.51, p<.05$) and Chinese Canadians ($r=-.41, p<.05$) placed on participants' own values. Thus, the younger women were less likely to perceive feminists and Chinese Canadians as viewing their personal values as being important. Chinese Canadian women's age was also negatively correlated with perceptions of individual power on affirmative action ($r=-.43, p<.05$) and on their own issues ($r=-.77, p<.01$), and with perceptions of group or collective power on their own issues ($r=-.49, p<.05$). Younger women were therefore less likely to view themselves as having personal or collective power.

Table 1

Number of Chinese Canadian and Caucasian feminists and nonfeminists who have identified themselves as members of a minority group, and type of group specified

	Type of Group Specified		
	Chinese	Women	Other
Conditions			
Chinese Canadian			
Feminist	5 / 5	1 / 5	1 / 5 ^a
Nonfeminist	13 / 21	8 / 21	1 / 21 ^b
Caucasian			
Feminist	-	8 / 17	-
Nonfeminist	-	5 / 23	2 / 23 ^c

Notes. Each cell contains the number of participants who identified themselves as belonging to the minority group / and the sample size.

^a One Chinese Canadian feminist denoted sexual orientation and women as her minority groups.

^b One Chinese Canadian nonfeminist denoted a Chinese-Jamaican ethnicity and women as her minority groups.

^c One Caucasian nonfeminist denoted a Polish minority group status. Another Caucasian nonfeminist denoted both Jews and women as her minority groups.

Table 2

Means and standard deviations of social identities as a function of race and feminist identity

	Group Identity					
	Women		Chinese Canadians		Chinese Canadian Women	
	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD
Conditions						
Chinese Canadian						
Feminist	2.97	.55	2.48	2.34	2.24	2.50
Nonfeminist	.81	1.01	.38	1.86	-.35	1.78
Caucasian						
Feminist	2.49	1.42		-		-
Nonfeminist	1.04	1.55		-		-

Note. Scores could range from -5 to +5, such that higher scores reflect higher identification with each social group.

Table 3

Means and standard deviations on perceived importance of ratings for each value to each target

	Equality		Individual Success		Creativity		Own Values	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Importance to Self								
Chinese Cdns	4.13	1.15	4.00	1.35	3.63	1.35	4.54	.42
Caucasians	4.10	1.45	4.31	1.10	3.03	2.10	4.54	.51
Importance to Women								
Chinese Cdns	4.46	.72	4.04	1.23	2.67	1.81	3.81	.87
Caucasians	4.44	.79	3.82	1.30	2.08	2.03	3.39	1.13
Importance to Feminists								
Chinese Cdns	4.71	1.04	4.54	.66	3.00	1.96	3.42	1.11
Caucasians	4.74	1.04	4.49	.89	2.74	2.26	3.49	1.05
Importance to Chinese Canadians								
Chinese Cdns	3.42	1.59	3.88	1.42	1.88	1.90	3.18	1.58

Note. Scores could range from -5 to +5, such that higher scores reflect higher perceptions of importance of each group for each value.

Table 4

Descriptive statistics for Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women on perceptions of importance for each target of ratings and interests

	Affirmative Action		Personal Employment		Racism		Own Issues	
	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD
Importance to Self								
Chinese Cdns	3.00	1.98	4.86	.36	3.24	3.08	4.10	.76
Caucasians	2.41	2.11	4.64	.78	2.80	2.63	4.20	.77
Importance to Women								
Chinese Cdns	4.24	1.14	4.29	1.10	2.57	2.71	3.02	1.50
Caucasians	4.03	1.27	4.08	1.16	2.92	1.90	2.29	1.64
Importance to Feminists								
Chinese Cdns	4.76	.70	4.43	.81	2.95	2.48	2.49	2.45
Caucasians	4.82	.51	4.41	.85	3.97	1.78	2.13	2.04
Importance to Chinese Canadians								
Chinese Cdns	3.43	1.75	4.24	1.41	3.29	3.00	2.42	1.99

Note. Scores could range from -5 to +5, such that higher scores reflect higher perceptions of importance of each group for each interest.

Table 5

Descriptive statistics for the influences of media versus family and friends on interests for Chinese Canadian and Caucasian women

	Affirmative Action		Personal Employment		Racism		Own Issues	
	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD
Source of Influence:								
Media								
Chinese Cdns	.86	2.73	.00	3.24	2.23	2.64	.96	2.41
Caucasians	2.20	2.47	.75	3.15	3.35	1.81	.56	2.44
Family and Friends								
Chinese Cdns	1.14	2.82	3.36	1.89	1.73	3.01	2.72	1.81
Caucasians	.50	3.00	3.00	1.95	1.05	2.99	1.30	2.24

Note. Scores could range from -5 to +5, such that higher scores reflect higher perceptions of influence for each interest.

2 of/de 2

Table 6

Means and standard deviations for strategy endorsements for feminists and nonfeminists

	Feminists		Nonfeminists	
	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>M</u>	SD
Types of Strategies:				
Private/Individualistic	.25	.18	.27	.16
Private/Collectivistic	.21	.27	.11	.16
Public/Individualistic	.38	.27	.21	.24
Public/Collectvistic	.14	.24	.08	.19

Note. Higher scores reflect a higher proportion of items endorsed on the checklist.

Figure 1 Chinese Canadian women's perceptions of importance for each target of ratings and value

Figure 2 Caucasian women's perceptions of importance for each target of ratings and interest

Chinese Canadian women's perceptions of importance for each target of ratings and interest

APPENDICES

Appendix A

A psychology study is being conducted to examine people's values, interests, etc. We are looking for Chinese-Canadian women 18 years and older. You must be either born in Canada or raised in Canada since the age of 12 or younger. You don't have to be Chinese-speaking. \$5 for participation (takes about 15 minutes). Phone 788-2600 x.2680 and ask about the Social Issues Study.

(The Charlatan, 22 (29), April 1, 1993)

Appendix B

Phone Script

For Sign-Up Participants:

Hi, I'm calling from the Department of Psychology at Carleton. You signed up for a Social Issues Study that has to do with assessing values, interests, and so forth.

Are you still interested in participating?

[If yes]: Before I sign you on, I need to know just one thing. Would you define yourself as:

(a) a feminist, by your own definition of feminism

(b) a nontraditional nonfeminist; or,

(c) a traditionalist?

[If (c)]: I'm sorry, but I'm looking for feminists or nontraditional nonfeminists.

Thanks for offering to help, though.

[If (a) or (b), record answer; give times/sessions/dates/room number]

For Mass-Testing Participants (names procured from a list of women who participated in mass-testing):

Hi, I'm calling from the Department of Psychology at Carleton. We're currently doing a Social Issues Study that has to do with values, interests, and so on, and we're looking for participants. We're offering either one credit for the one-hour session, or \$5. Would you be interested in participating?

[If yes, for Chinese only]: Before we go any further, I should mention that,

in particular, we need Chinese-Canadians, who were either born in Canada, or was raised in Canada since the age of 12 or younger. Are either of these situations the case for you? [If no]: I'm sorry, but I'm looking for people who fit this criteria. Thanks for offering to help, though.

[If yes, for all participants]: Before we go any further, I need to know just one thing. Would you define yourself as:

(a) a feminist, by your own definition of feminism

(b) a nontraditional nonfeminist; or,

(c) a traditionalist? [If (c)]: I'm sorry, but I'm looking for either feminists or nontraditional nonfeminists. Thanks for offering to help, though.

[If (a) or (b), record answer; give times/sessions/dates/room number]

Appendix C

Name (please print): _____

Age: ____ Year at university (e.g., first year): _____

Are you a member of any minority group based on race, language, sex, sexual orientation, religion, or physical disability?

(Check one): No ____
Yes ____

If yes, please name the group(s):

Are you a member of any minority club/organization based on race, language, sex, sexual orientation, religion, or physical disability? (Check one): No ____

Yes ____

If yes, please name the club(s)/organization(s):

Have you ever taken any courses concerned with women's studies?

(Check one): No ____
Yes ____

If yes, please name the course(s):

Name (please print): _____

Age: ____ Year at university (e.g., first year): _____

Are you a member of any minority group based on race, language, sex, sexual orientation, religion, or physical disability?

(Check one): No ____
Yes ____

If yes, please name the group(s):

Are you a member of any minority club/organization based on race, language, sex, sexual orientation, religion, or physical disability? (Check one): No ____

Yes ____

If yes, please name the club(s)/organization(s):

Have you ever taken any courses concerned with women's studies?

(Check one): No ____
Yes ____

If yes, please name the course(s):

Have you ever taken any courses concerned with Asian studies?

(Check one): No ____
Yes ____

If yes, please name the course(s)

Appendix D

The following are several statements that we would like you to respond to. Please circle the number that best represents your thoughts.

Women who consider themselves to be feminists:
Is a group I would be proud to be a member of

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree										Strongly agree

Are the kind of women I would not be friends with

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree										Strongly agree

In my opinion, give women as a whole a bad name

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree										Strongly agree

In my opinion, have very little that is positive to contribute to society

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree										Strongly agree

To what extent do you identify yourself as a feminist (by your own definition)?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
I do not identify with feminism					Moderately identify with feminism					I highly identify with feminism

What is your definition of feminism?

Appendix E

How often in your everyday life do you think about being a woman and what you have in common with other women?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Never					Once in a while				Frequently	

To what extent do you think that what happens to women generally in Canada will have something to do with what happens in your life?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Nothing at all to do with me									Very much to do with me	

Do you think that the movement for women's rights has affected you personally?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all									Extremely	

To what extent have the accomplishments of women in Canada affected you personally?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No effect									Extreme effect	

To what extent have the accomplishments of women that you personally know affected you personally?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all									Extremely	

To what extent do you feel close to women?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not close									Extremely close	

How often in your everyday life do you think about being Chinese and what you have in common with other Chinese-Canadians?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Never									Frequently	

To what extent do you think that what happens to Chinese-Canadians generally will have something to do with what happens in your life?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Nothing at all to do with me									Very much to do with me	

To what extent have the accomplishments of Chinese-Canadians affected you personally?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No effect									Extreme effect	

To what extent have the accomplishments of the Chinese that you personally know affected you personally?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No effect									Extreme effect	

To what extent do you feel close to Chinese-Canadians?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not close									Extremely close	

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5
Never **Frequently**

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Nothing at all to do with me										Very much to do with me

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5
No effect **Extreme effect**

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5
No effect **Extreme effect**

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

Not close **Extremely close**

Appendix F

Values Questionnaire

We are interested in people's values.

A value is a guiding principle used to determine your beliefs and actions (for example, equality, success, etc.).

We are interested in knowing the kinds of values that are important to you, personally. We would appreciate it if you could begin by writing down as many values as you can think of that you feel are an important part of your life. You don't have to spend more than 10 minutes on this. Please list all values that are important to you in the space below.

The following are some examples of values. Use this list to help you in deciding the kinds of values that you feel are important to you. If there are any values below which you feel are particularly important to you, that you had not thought of, add them to your list on the previous page. If you feel that none of these values are important to you, do not add them to your list.

Inner harmony (at peace with myself)
Social power (control over others, dominance)
Pleasure (gratification of desires)
Freedom (freedom of action and thought)
Spiritual life (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)
Sense of belonging (feeling that others care about me)
Social order (stability of society)
An exciting life (stimulating experiences)
Meaning in life (a purpose in life)
Wealth (material possessions, money)
Self-respect (belief in one's own worth)
A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
Respect for tradition (preservation of time-honoured customs)
Mature love (deep emotional and spiritual intimacy)
Self-discipline (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)
Personal security (safety for myself and loved ones)
Social recognition (respect, approval by others)
Unity with nature (fitting into nature)
Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)
Authority (the right to lead or command)
True friendship (close, supportive friends)
A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)
Social justice (correcting injustice, care for the weak)
Independence (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
Choosing own goals (selecting own purposes)
Health (not being sick physically or mentally)
Accepting my portion in life (submitting to life's circumstances)
Enjoying life (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)
Devoutness (holding to religious faith and belief)
Community security (safety for everyone in the community)
Success of others (success of others in accomplishments)
Politeness (courtesy, good manners)
Detachment (from worldly concerns)
Moderation (avoiding extremes of feeling and action)
Loyalty (faithful to my friends, group)
Ambition (hard-working, aspiring)

Broadminded (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)
Humbleness (modest, self-effacing)
Influential (having an impact on people and events)
Honesty (genuine, sincere)
Preserving my public image (protecting my "face")
Obedience (dutiful, meeting obligations)
Intelligence (logical, thinking)
Helpfulness (working for the welfare of others)
Responsibility (dependable, reliable)
Curiosity (interested in everything, exploring)
Forgiving (willing to pardon others)

Now copy the values on the **VALUES MATRIX** on the left-hand column of the next page. There is space for 7 values. If your list contains more than 7, select the 7 that are the most relevant for you, or that determine your beliefs and actions best.

There are 3 values that are already provided on the grid that we would like you to rate. Please think about these values:

Equality: political, social, and economic equality between sexes and races

Individual success: my personal success in accomplishments

Creativity: uniqueness, imagination

In columns 1 to 3 of the **VALUES MATRIX** on the next page, please rate each one of the 3 given values described above, plus your own values, along the dimensions and scales given below. Do not simply checkmark the spaces on the **Values Matrix**; fill the spaces in with the numbers of the rating scales below. Do not circle the numbers below -- these dimensions simply describe to you the kinds of rating scales you are to use on the **Values Matrix**.

1. **Relative importance to me** -- To what extent are each of the values on the left-hand side of the matrix important to you, personally, compared to your other values? Using the scale below, please indicate your rating on the **Values Matrix**.

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all						Very important				
important to me						to me				

2. **Relative importance to women** -- To what extent do you think that each value is important to women, compared to other values that women hold?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all important						Very important				
to women						to women				

3. **Relative importance to feminists** -- To what extent do you think that each value is important to feminists, compared to other values that feminists hold?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all important						Very important				
to feminists						to feminists				

Values	Relative Importance to me	1	2	3
1. Equality				
2. Individual success				
3. Creativity				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10				

Now copy the values on the **VALUES MATRIX** on the left-hand column of the next page. There is space for 7 values. If your list contains more than 7, select the 7 that are the most relevant for you, or that determine your beliefs and actions best. There are 3 values that are already provided on the grid that we would like you to rate. Please think about these values:

Equality: political, social, and economic equality between sexes and races

Individual success: my personal success in accomplishments

Creativity: uniqueness, imagination

In columns 1 to 4 of the **VALUES MATRIX** on the next page, please rate each one of the 3 given values described above, plus your own values, along the dimensions and scales given below. Do not simply checkmark the spaces on the **Values Matrix**; fill the spaces in with the numbers of the rating scales below. Do not circle the numbers below – these dimensions simply describe to you the kinds of rating scales you are to use on the **Values Matrix**.

1. **Relative importance to me** -- To what extent are each of the values on the left-hand side of the grid important to you, personally, compared to other values that you hold? Using the scale below, please indicate your rating on the **Values Matrix**.

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all						Very important				
important to me						to me				

2. **Relative importance to women** -- To what extent do you think that each value is important to women, compared to other values that women hold?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all important						Very important				
to women						to women				

3. Relative importance to Chinese-Canadians – To what extent do you think that each value is important to Chinese-Canadians, compared to other values that Chinese-Canadians hold?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all important to Chinese-Canadians						Very important to Chinese-Canadians				

4. Relative importance to feminists -- To what extent do you think that each value is important to feminists, compared to other values that feminists hold?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not at all important to feminists						Very important to feminists				

Values	1 Relative Import- ance to me	2 Relative Import- ance to women	3 Relative Import- ance to ChineseCdns	4 Relative Import- ance to feminists
1. Equality				
2. Individual success				
3. Creativity				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10				

Appendix G

Issues / Interests Questionnaire

We are interested in the kinds of issues that are important to you personally.

An issue is anything of interest to you that may have a consequence for you either directly or indirectly and which you think needs to be addressed or resolved; they are interests of concern to you, that characterize your life at present.

Here are some examples of issues:

- Finding a job
- Getting homework done
- Visiting my grandmother more often
- Organizing petitions against sexism/racism in advertising
- Trying to find more time to spend with my loved ones
- Cleaning up the environment
- Going on a diet

We are also interested in finding out how people feel about their issues of interest, and so on. We would appreciate it if you could begin by just writing down as many issues as you can think of that you feel are of concern to you in your life. You do not have to spend more than 10 minutes on this. Please write down as many issues as you can in the space below.

Now copy the issues on the ISSUES MATRIX on the left-hand column of the following pages. There is space for 7 issues. If your initial list contains more than 7, select the 7 that you think are the most relevant for you in your life.

Additionally, there are 3 issues that are already provided on the Issues Matrix that we would like you to rate. Please think about these issues:

Affirmative action: policy that helps women and ethnic minorities in employment areas where they are traditionally not well represented due to past discrimination.

Please indicate your position on this issue:

☐ I support affirmative action

☐ I am against affirmative action

Personal employment: having a job (summer job or lifelong career) for myself that is both rewarding and enjoyable.

Racism: a policy or action that involves the belief that one's own race is superior to any other.

Please indicate your position on this issue:

☐ I believe that some races are superior

☐ I do not believe that some races are superior

In columns 1 to 7 of the ISSUES MATRIX on the following pages, please rate each one of the 3 given issues described above, plus your own issues, along the dimensions and scales given below. Do not simply checkmark the spaces on the Issues Matrix; fill in the spaces with the numbers of the rating scales below. Do not circle the numbers below – these dimensions are simply to describe to you the rating scales that you are to use on the Issues Matrix.

1. **Relative importance to me** – To what extent are each of the issues that you have listed important to you, personally, compared to your other issues of interest? Using the scale below, please indicate your rating on the Issues Matrix on the following pages.

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important						Very important				

2. **Relative importance to women** – To what extent do you think that each issue is important to women, compared to other issues of interest to women?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important to women						Very important to women				

3. **Relative importance to feminists** -- To what extent do you think that each issue is important to feminists, compared to other issues of interest to feminists?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important to feminists						Very important to feminists				

4. **Media influence** -- To what extent do you think that the media has influenced your opinions, feelings, and/or actions about each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No influence						Great influence				

5. **Influence from family/friends** -- To what extent have family and/or friends influenced your opinions, feelings, and/or actions about each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No influence						Great influence				

6. **Power as an individual** -- If change is desired, to what extent do you, as an individual, feel powerless or powerful to make changes with respect to each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Very powerless						Very powerful				

7. **Power as a group** -- If change is desired, to what extent do you, as part of a group, feel powerless or powerful to make changes with respect to each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Very powerless						Very powerful				

Issues	Relative importance to me	Relative importance to women	Relative importance to feminists	Media influence	Influence from family & friends	Power as an individual	Power as a group
1. Affirmative action							
2. Personal employment							
3. Racism							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							
9.							
10.							

Now copy the issues on the **ISSUES MATRIX** on the left-hand column of the following pages. There is space for 7 issues. If your initial list contains more than 7, select the 7 that you think are the most relevant for you in your life.

Additionally, there are 3 issues that are already provided on the Issues Matrix that we would like you to rate. Please think about these issues:

Affirmative action: policy that helps women and ethnic minorities in employment areas where they are traditionally not well represented due to past discrimination.

Please indicate your position on this issue:

- ☐ I support affirmative action
☐ I am against affirmative action

Personal employment: having a job (summer job or lifelong career) for myself that is both rewarding and enjoyable.

Racism: a policy or action that involves the belief that one's own race is superior to any other.

Please indicate your position on this issue:

- ☐ I believe that some races are superior
☐ I do not believe that some races are superior

In columns 1 to 8 of the **ISSUES MATRIX** on the following pages, please rate each one of the 3 given issues described above, plus your own issues, along the dimensions and scales given below. Do not simply checkmark the spaces on the **Issues Matrix**; fill in the spaces with the numbers of the rating scales below. Do not circle the numbers below -- these dimensions are simply to describe to you the rating scales that you are to use on the Issues Matrix.

1. **Relative importance to me** -- To what extent are each of the issues that you have listed important to you, personally, compared to your other issues of interest? Using the scale below, please indicate your rating on the Issues Matrix on the following pages.

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important									Very	
important										

2. **Relative importance to women** -- To what extent do you think that each issue is important to women, compared to other issues of interest to women?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important									Very important	
to women										
to women										

3. **Relative importance to feminists** -- To what extent do you think that each issue is important to feminists, compared to other issues of interest to feminists?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important to feminists						Very important to feminists				

4. **Relative importance to Chinese-Canadians** -- To what extent do you think that each issue is important to Chinese-Canadians, compared to other issues of interest to Chinese-Canadians?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Not important to Chinese-Cdns						Very important to Chinese-Cdns				

5. **Media influence** -- To what extent do you think the media has influenced your opinions, feelings, and/or actions about each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No influence						Great influence				

6. **Influence from family/friends** -- To what extent have family and/or friends influenced your opinions, feelings, and/or actions about each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
No influence						Great influence				

7. **Power as an individual** -- If change is desired, to what extent do you, as an individual, feel powerless or powerful to make changes with respect to each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Very powerless						Very powerful				

8. **Power as a group** -- If change is desired, to what extent do you, as part of a group, feel powerless or powerful to make changes with respect to each issue?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Very powerless						Very powerful				

Issues	Relative importance to me	Relative importance to women	Relative importance to feminists	Relative importance to ChineseCdn	Media influence	Influence from family & friends	Power as an individual	Power as a group
1. Affirmative action								
2. Personal employment								
3. Racism								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								

Appendix H**Personal Strategies Scale**

Imagine that you are taking a course in university that is compulsory, but you are having problems with it. You approach your professor during his office hours for help. While there, he indicates that he will help you to pass the course in return for a date, and possibly sexual relations afterward. You are convinced that this is a situation of sexual harassment.

Stop now and take a few minutes to think about how you would feel in this situation. Then, please checkmark the following actions that you would do in response. In other words, what would you do, even if the actions below are not the initial approaches that you would take? What are the actions that you would really take, if necessary? Please checkmark only the actions that you really feel that you would do, if this were a real-life situation.

- ☐ 1. I would not give in to the professor's demands, and try to work out my problems with the course on my own.
- ☐ 2. I would drop out of the course.
- ☐ 3. I would attend talks on sexual harassment.
- ☐ 4. I would discuss this issue with family or friends, and try to get advice from them.
- ☐ 5. I would gather signatures for a petition to bring formal action by the university against this professor.
- ☐ 6. I would try to raise awareness of this issue by distributing information on sexual harassment around campus.
- ☐ 7. I would try to get changes made, if necessary, to the University Charter such that sexual harassment will be dealt with appropriately should it ever occur again in future.
- ☐ 8. I would volunteer for groups that deal with sexual harassment.
- ☐ 9. I would donate money to organizations that deal with sexual harassment.
- ☐ 10. I would give in to the professor's demands.

- ☐ 11. I would write letters to newspapers to express my views with regard to sexual harassment.
- ☐ 12. If, in a group of strangers (i.e., people whom I haven't known for long or well), a comment is made representing an opinion on sexual harassment which is opposite to my own opinion, I would argue against it, or make it clear I disagree.
- ☐ 13. I would collect information on sexual harassment.
- ☐ 14. I would participate in protests regarding sexual harassment.
- ☐ 15. I would warn others about this professor by privately putting up posters, anonymously informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be kept secret.
- ☐ 16. I would publicly warn other women about this professor by approaching them personally, putting up posters, informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be fully revealed to everyone.
- ☐ 17. I would pretend that nothing happened, and refrain from dealing with this issue.
- ☐ 18. I would inform the proper authorities about the professor's conduct and demand that action be taken against him.
- ☐ 19. I would take "time out" from dealing with this issue, and think about how to deal with it later.
- ☐ 20. I would try not to let this issue bother me.
- ☐ 21. I would participate in discussion groups on sexual harassment.
- ☐ 22. I would encourage friends to collect information or join an organization that deals sexual harassment.
- ☐ 23. I would participate in fundraisers, consciousness-raising events, etc., that attempt to increase awareness of and action against sexual harassment.
- ☐ 24. I would try to avoid the professor by skipping classes and his office hours, and try to pass the course on my own.

- ___ 25. I would try to gather evidence against him and present it to the proper authorities.**
- ___ 26. I would seek therapy to deal with this.**
- ___ 27. I would organize events and protests against this professor.**
- ___ 28. I would laugh it off and ignore it.**
- ___ 29. I would avoid all situations and people in the future that I believe may lead to sexual harassment.**
- ___ 30. I would confront the professor and demand that he stop this treatment.**

Appendix I**Items in subscales derived from factor analyses of responses to strategies for dealing with discrimination.****Factor
Loading****Private / Individual**

1. I would pretend that nothing happened, and refrain from dealing with this issue.	.66
2. I would inform the proper authorities about the professor's conduct and demand that action be taken against him.	-.68
3. I would take "time out" from dealing with this issue, and think about how to deal with it later.	.63
4. I would try not to let this issue bother me.	.66

Private / Collective

1. I would attend talks on sexual harassment.	.69
2. I would warn others about this professor by privately putting up posters, anonymously informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be kept secret.	.06
3. I would participate in discussion groups on sexual harassment.	.50
4. I would encourage friends to collect information or join an organization that deals with sexual harassment.	.61

Public / Individual

1. I would gather signatures for a petition to bring formal action by the university against this professor. .65
2. I would write letters to newspapers to express my views with regard to sexual harassment. .48
3. I would publicly warn other women about this professor by approaching them personally, putting up posters, informing the student newspaper, etc., such that my identity would be fully revealed to everyone. .72
4. I would try to gather evidence against him and present it to the proper authorities. .64
5. I would confront the professor and demand that he stop this treatment. .46

Public / Collective

1. I would volunteer for groups that deal with sexual harassment. .75
2. I would participate in protests regarding sexual harassment. .68
3. I would participate in fundraisers, consciousness-raising events, etc., that attempt to increase awareness of and action against sexual harassment. .75

Appendix J

You have just completed a study that seeks to understand the factors involved with women's identification with feminism. Past studies have shown that while women are generally supportive of women's issues and are happy with the gains that feminists have achieved, many women are nonetheless reluctant to identify themselves as feminists. This study assessed the values and self-interests of one minority group, Chinese Canadian women, and another minority group, white Canadian women, particularly feminists and nonfeminist nontraditionalists (i.e., women who identify themselves as being nonfeminist, but are also nontraditional). Values and interests were examined to see if nonfeminist women are reluctant to identify with feminism because they perceive differences in these items between themselves and feminists, rather than there being an actual difference, as a previous study suggests. It also investigated the extent to which you identify with a particular social group (women and Chinese Canadians as social groups, respectively, if you are a Chinese participant; women as a social group, if you are a non-Chinese participant), because past studies have shown that women who do not highly identify with women usually do not consider themselves to be feminists. Finally, your preferred strategies for change were examined, because it may be that nonfeminists prefer individualistic strategies for change (i.e., achieve change on their own), while feminists endorse collectivistic strategies (i.e., achieve change by getting together with other women). Thank you for your participation in this study.

END

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