ED 400 466   CE 072 870

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TITLE   A Feminist Analysis of Educational Scholarship on
              Women: Twenty Years of Adult Education Literature.
PUB DATE   May 93
NOTE   28p.; Paper presented at the Adult Education Research
              Conference (University Park, PA, May 1993).
PUB TYPE   Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Conference
              Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Adult Development; *Adult Education; Adult Learning;
              Adult Students; *Educational Research; *Females;
              Feminism; Labor Force Development; Literature
              Reviews; Researchers; Research Needs; Research
              Projects; Womens Studies

ABSTRACT
              A study used the Educational Resources and
Information Center (ERIC) database as a resource for journal articles
on adult education and women since 1971 to examine the recent effort
at including inquiry on women and gender in the adult education
literature. Once the ERIC database was searched and analyzed for
possible trends, a random sample of journal articles on women was
drawn from the 193 located. The percentages of entries on women
ranged from a low of 3.6 percent in 1971 to a high of 8.2 percent in
1982, for a net gain through 1989 of 5.4 percent. In 1985, the
highest rate for journal articles was 7.7 percent; this slipped to
4.8 percent in 1989. The most frequent subject for research on women
was in the area of adult development and life changes, making up
almost one-fourth of all entries, followed by international
development and programming for higher education and human resource
development. Women made up two-thirds of authors undertaking research
in which women were included. Whereas females dispersed their
interests in a variety of subjects, males focused predominantly on
adult developmental issues as they pertained to women. Only 5
journals had carried more than 3 articles about women and some
aspects of adult education over the course of 20 years. Of 27
articles randomly selected for review, 19 addressed women as the
primary focus; 8 focused on women only as a variable within the study
or issue. The 19 that addressed women as primary were substantially
more feminist-focused efforts. (Contains 32 references.) (YLB)

A Feminist Analysis of Educational Scholarship on Women:
Twenty Years of Adult Education Literature

Peggy A. Sissel

A Paper Presented at the Adult Education Research Conference
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA
May, 1993

Introduction

While some fields of behavioral and social science have enjoyed a feminist analysis of their respective paradigms and practices, others have had little such scholarship focused at it. The field of education, while having had a long preoccupation with the issue of gender differences in certain topical areas such as achievement, has only recently begun addressing women as a central topic of study. The purpose of this study is to examine this recent effort at including inquiry on women and gender in the adult education literature. The analysis will consist of a two-fold process, the first of which will consist of a proportional analysis of the extent of which women have been written about in the field, along with a content analysis of journal articles pertaining to women published since 1971. The second phase of the study is a review of a random sample of adult education research on women as a means of assessing whether or not this scholarship contributes to a framework of a feminist analysis in the field.

In summary, the problem to be examined is the level, content and type of scholarship on women in the field of adult education. It is hypothesized that the field of adult education will show no particular trend of increased research and inquiry, but merely the halting beginnings of a focus on this area.

Background

The field of adult education has been informed by previous analyses of its body of literature (Allcorn, 1985; Boshier and Picard, 1979; Blunt, et al., 1990; Cervero, 1990; Grabowski, 1980; Imel, 1989; Plecas and Sork, 1986; Sork and Buskey, 1986). While these studies have looked at topics such as literature on program planning, administration, and types and quantity of research undertaken by graduate students, few have looked at the literature pertaining to women.

The tradition of reviewing the literature base acts to inform the field on pertinent issues and important topics in research (Imel, 1989). Another reason, and more fundamentally however, for engaging in this type of

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study, is the recent call for a meta-analysis of the adult education literature in an effort to bring attention to the need to further focus and deepen the research base, thereby strengthening the knowledge base of the field. This is critical not only as a means of understanding specific topical areas, but in order to enrich theory development in all areas of adult education (Long, 1987; Plecas and Sork, 1986).

Some research on women in the educational literature has been done. While not focusing on adult education, a small study reviewing the level of general educational literature on women was recently completed by DuBois, et.al.(1987). In their 15-year analysis of 10 mainstream education journals, they found little evidence of scholarship that focused on women. While an appreciable difference in the amount of research done on women was discerned over the period from 1966 to 1980, the percentages of such work in comparison to all research was found to be minuscule. Specifically, they noted that in 1966, only 1.8% of a total of 499 journal articles were about women, while 15 years later, in 1980, this percentage had risen to only 6.08% of all articles present in their journal population. Within that time period, the highest percentage of scholarship on women was found in 1979, with a total just above the 1980 figure, of 6.25%. The authors also draw attention to the fact that in many of the journals, when women were focused on, it was in a special research issue, rather than having articles incorporated into the general editorial structure of the journals.

A more recent study directly related to adult education was undertaken by Hayes and Smith (1990). Following the inspiration of DuBois, et al., Hayes and Smith chose eight sources of literature, including 6 adult education journals, one set of conference proceedings and Dissertations Abstracts and assessed their contents for the time period of 1966 to 1988. Both trend analysis and content analysis was undertaken for the purpose of counting research on women. Hayes and Smith had 3 purposes for their research; to ascertain whether articles, were primarily about women, and in the years 1987 and 1988, whether feminist research and nonsexist language was apparent in journal articles that weren't specifically on women. This last analysis was done in an effort to see if feminist scholarship had been taken up as mainstream by the field. In addition, the two researchers also examined the proportion of male to female authors in all sources.

While their study did show a slight increase of scholarship on women over a 23 year period, like DuBois, et al., Hayes and Smith's results were slight indeed, with an increase in journal articles, from only 2.4% to 5.1% in six major adult education journals. Conference proceedings and dissertations increased only 4.2% and 5.8 % respectively, in the same period. In their in-depth content analysis, little evidence of the integration of feminist

perspectives was found. In some instances, even when the editorial policy of the journal called for nonsexist language, examples of it existed in articles.

Finally, Hayes and Smith did find results of a more equitable nature in their analysis of the gender of authors contributing to the literature base since 1966. Women as authors of journal articles increased from 16% to 39%; women presenters of research at conferences went from 19% to 40%; and representing the largest increase, women writers of dissertations increased from 15% to 56%. Additionally, women were by far the most frequent authors of research about women, representing 79% of writers of journal articles,, 84% of conference papers and 88% of dissertations.

The research by Hayes and Smith and DuBois et al. provides a helpful background for further analysis of the literature related to women and adult education. However, while it calls attention to the fact that scholarship on women lags far behind traditional, male centered research, DuBois et al.'s method of simply counting the instances of literature, and Hayes and Smith's content analysis, while providing direction and interest, falls short of the full-fledged feminist critique which is needed in order to conduct a complete analysis of this literature. In purposefully limiting their studies from actually addressing whether or not the research they found on women was of a feminist nature, their research lacks that which makes feminist scholarship interesting and meaningful. This involves the critique of mainstream research and scholarship through the examination of the assumptions and values which guide that research; foundational to this is an analysis of the social construction of the gender-based roles and relations which shape those assumptions.

Without this subsequent analysis of the literature, the mere reporting of the level of scholarship on women does little to broaden our understanding of how women are studied, for what purposes, and under what assumptions. While there is recognized difficulty in discerning what articles on women could be considered feminist, and which could be considered as simply adding women as a subject of study, this is indeed a critical point which must be and is addressed by the research reported here.

Methodology

For the purposes of this study, the ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) data base was employed as a resource for journal articles on adult education and women. This was used in recognition of the fact that researchers in the broad field of adult education publish in many other types of journals besides those

which are strictly considered adult education journals. As a unit of analysis, only journal articles were selected from ERIC for inclusion, since journal articles are peer reviewed, published materials, which are considered as authoritative and scholarly, unlike other documents contained in the ERIC database.

In an effort to obtain a broad enough database search that would take into account the diversity of the adult education literature, searches were made for each year using the following combination of 5 words: adult education, adult literacy, adult development, adult educators, or adult learning. Similarly, in an effort to obtain items on women in combination with the search outlined above, four words were used to modify the search. These were women, females, feminism and gender.

While this particular search method yielded an extensive amount of data, several limitations must be addressed. First, since the ERIC database does not list any journal article entries with the "adult education" combination of word search used here, before 1971, searches for journal articles on women were also not possible prior to this year. While Hayes and Smith found 15 articles specifically on women prior to 1971, these are not among my population. In addition, some articles that I am aware of that could have fit under the search criteria are missing from the ERIC database. Therefore, while the population from which the sample has been drawn is great, it is not totally inclusive of all scholarship broadly related to adult education, nor of scholarship on women and adult education.

Once the ERIC database was searched for the above combinations over the twenty year span and analyzed for possible trends, (see results section), using a random numbers table, a random sample of journal articles was drawn from the 193 located articles on women. Of those 193, a total of 37 articles were indicated for review. This was done as a practical matter, since the reviewing of all 193 was not possible within the scope of this work.

The papers selected were chosen for review in an effort to critically assess the level and quantity of this work in relation to a definitional concept of feminist scholarship. This definition, developed for the purposes of this study, provided a framework by which articles were evaluated. Based on this criteria, articles were determined as to whether or not they could be considered examples of feminist scholarship.

Results

This section of the paper will provide the results and discussion of those articles obtained from the ERIC database. It will be organized into two separate sections, the first being the proportional results of the articles generated from the ERIC system, followed by the content analysis of the specific random articles selected.

Proportion of Articles on Women and Adult Education:

In attempting to assess the level of published scholarship that has been undertaken on women in the broad area of adult education, it was first helpful to see the levels of documents of all kinds on this topic that were contained within the ERIC database. Therefore, a search was made of all entries, not only journal articles, using the aforementioned search criteria for all twenty years. Table 1 lists the frequency of entries for all of the adult education items, juxtaposed to the similar search modified to look for entries with women, females, feminism or

Table 1
Total ERIC Entries on Women and Adult Education
1971 -1990

Year	# Entries (A/E)	# Entries (A/E & Women)	%
1971	676	25	3.6
1972	886	55	6.2
1973	785	34	4.3
1974	871	39	4.4
1975	955	84	8.7
1976	861	53	6.1
1977	774	80	10.3
1978	692	55	7.9
1979	243	19	7.8
1980	965	87	9.0
1981	885	80	9.0
1982	770	83	10.8
1983	783	52	6.6
1984	811	51	6.2
1985	788	80	10.1
1986	811	78	9.6
1987	964	88	9.3
1988	898	76	8.4
1989	807	73	9.0
1990**	111	6	5.4
Totals	15,336	1,198	
Mean Percentage			7.6

* Includes all ERIC listings, both "ED" and "EJ" entries.
** Partial year.

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gender in their title, abstract or identifiers. This search was first undertaken to be used as benchmark for comparison when measuring the category of journal articles on women and adult education.

For this particular search, it was found that the percentages of ERIC entries on women ranged from a low of 3.6% in 1971 to a high of 8.2% in 1982, for a net gain through the last complete year of 1989 of 5.4%. While not all ERIC documents and entries are peer reviewed or juried, but simply submitted to the database for inclusion, the mean percentage of entries on women appears to be quite low, only 7.6%.

Moving on to assess the journal article entries contained in the ERIC database, Table 2 shows that the picture is bleaker still. While noted earlier in the limitations section of the study the fact that journal articles were not listed until 1971 under the adult education word/search combination that was being sought in the study, it is

Table 2

Journal Articles on Women and Adult Education As Cataloged by the ERIC Data Base
1971 - 1990

	# Articles (A/E)	# Articles (A/E & Women)	%
1971	4	0	0
1972	1	0	0
1973	5	1	20
1974	12	0	0
1975	11	0	0
1976	12	0	0
1977	8	0	0
1978	79	0	0
1979	135	7	5.2
1980	340	23	6.8
1981	275	19	6.9
1982	272	17	6.3
1983	168	1	0.6
1984	132	6	4.5
1985	260	20	7.7
1986	342	18	5.2
1987	441	28	6.3
1988	488	27	5.5
1989	431	21	4.8
1990*	86	5	5.8
Totals	3,502	193	
Mean Percentage			4.28

* Partial year.

still alarming to note that prior to 1979, the ERIC database lists only 1 actual journal article. (A total of 8 were indicated on the database for the time period of 1971 to 1978, however they were not actual journal articles but other types of documents, and were listed in error.) After those years and into the 1980s, the proportion increases but only slightly, and not in a consistent manner. While in 1985 the highest rate for journal articles was 7.7%, this slipped to 4.8% in 1989. In fact, from 1971 to 1989, the last full year of the database, the percentage of journal articles concerning women underwent a net loss of .4%.

The question of whether or not the level of all ERIC documents and entries on adult education and women is significantly different than the numbers of entries listed in the database that are accepted for publication is a pertinent one. Table 3 illustrates through the use of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) the fact that the two mean percentages for these different entries is in fact statistically significant. Speculation as to the reasons for this discrepancy follow in the discussion section of this paper.

Table 3

Analysis of Variance for Total ERIC Entries on A/E and Women
Versus ERIC Journal Articles on A/E and women

N = 39   K=2

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Fcv	p
Entries/Women	170.45	1	170.45	24.7	7.4	.01
Error	255.3	37	6.9			
Totals	425.75	38				

The particular topics that were written about in relation to women are of great interest, and provide researchers with a better understanding of the type of scholarship that is missing concerning women. Table 4 presents a listing of the distribution of the 193 articles by broad subject area.

The most frequent subject for research on women has been in the area of adult development and life changes, making up almost one quarter of all entries. This is followed by international development and programming for higher education and human resource development.

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Table 4
Frequency Distribution of Articles by Subject

N=193

Subject	#	%
Life Changes and Adult Development	48	24.8
International Development	26	13.4
Human Resource Development	16	8.3
Higher Education	15	7.8
Economic Impact of Education	10	5.2
Learning	10	5.2
Program Assessment/Evaluation	9	4.7
Empowerment	8	4.1
Language and Meaning	7	3.6
Women's Roles	7	3.6
Participation	6	3.1
Women as Adult Educators	6	3.1
Community Development	5	2.6
Barriers to Education	5	2.6
History	5	2.6
Instructional Materials	5	2.6
Special Needs of Women	3	1.5
Leisure	1	0.5
Other	1	0.5
Total	193	100.0

The next step in the analysis of the journal entries garnered from the ERIC database was to look at the percentage of articles concerning women that were written by women and men. Table 5 illustrates the breakdown of the articles listed and the year they were published, by gender of the first author. While some authors' genders were not able to be determined from their names on the abstract entry, this was only a small percentage (5.2) of all contributors.

Table 5
Gender of First Author of Articles on Adult Education and Women
1971 - 1990

Year	# Articles	Female	Male	Not known
1971	0	NA	NA	NA
1972	0	NA	NA	NA
1973	1	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)
1974	0	NA	NA	NA
1975	0	NA	NA	NA
1976	0	NA	NA	NA
1977	0	NA	NA	NA
1978	0	NA	NA	NA
1979	7	5 (71.4)	2 (28.6)	0 (0)
1980	23	15 (65.2)	7 (30.4)	1 (4.3)
1981	19	14 (73.7)	4 (21.0)	1 (5.3)
1982	17	12 (70.5)	5 (29.4)	0 (0)
1983	1	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)
1984	6	4 (66.7)	2 (33.3)	0 (0)
1985	20	10 (50.0)	8 (40.0)	2 (10.0)
1986	18	12 (66.7)	6 (33.3)	0 (0)
1987	28	19 (67.8)	6 (21.4)	3 (10.7)
1988	27	18 (66.7)	7 (25.9)	2 (7.4)
1989	21	17 (80.9)	3 (14.3)	1 (4.8)
1990	5	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	0 (0)
Totals	193	129 (66.8)	54 (28.0)	10 (5.2)

NA: not applicable

Number in parentheses are percentages

It appears that throughout the years, a fairly consistent ratio of female/male scholarship on women has emerged in the literature, with women making up two-thirds of authors undertaking research in which women are included.

Combining the information gained from the previous two tables, the next question involves looking at the specific topics that each gender has written about over the past years. Table 6 below addresses this issue with some interesting results.

While females have dispersed their interests in research in a variety of subjects, males have focused predominantly on adult developmental issues as they pertain to women. The next highest category for men is higher education, followed by human resource development and learning. Women predominate in the area of

international development as it relates to women, and have focused on human resource development, higher

education and empowerment issues as the next greatest focus for scholarship.

Table 6

Frequency Distribution of Articles
by Subject and Gender of First Author

Females (N=129)   Males (N=54)   Unknown (N=10)

Subject	#	Female	Male
Adult Development and Life Changes	48	27	21
Programming- Int'l Development *	25	18	4
Programming- Higher Education	15	9	6
Human Resource Development	14	10	4
Economic/Occupational Impact of Educ.*	10	8	1
Learning*	10	5	4
Program Assessment/Evaluation*	9	6	2
Empowerment	8	8	0
Language and Meaning *	7	6	0
Participation	7	4	3
Women's Roles	6	5	1
Community Development	6	3	3
Women as Adult Educators	6	5	1
Barriers to Education	5	5	0
History *	5	2	2
Instructional Materials	5	4	1
Special Needs of Women	5	4	1
Leisure	1	1	0
Other	1	0	1
Totals	193	129	54

* Numbers may not add up in this category due to some authors whose gender was unable to be determined.

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While the previous discussions have focused on all of the journal entries that were selected by the ERIC

database, some articles used women only as a variable in the research, or as an added point of discussion in the

article. Because of this, the 193 articles located were separated out into one of two categories. Articles were

either determined to be about women as a primary focus or topic, or assessed as simply adding as an aside.

Of those 193 articles, 112 were determined to be about women as a primary focus, with the remainder addressing women in a minor way. Table 7 below lists the distribution of these categories by gender of first author.

Table 7

Articles Focusing Solely on Women: Distribution By Gender of First Author

Total Articles	Primarily on Women	Female Author	Male Author	Gender Unknown
193	112	93 (83.0)	11 (9.8)	8 (7.1)

Finally, journal articles were grouped into the journals in which they were published as a means of determining which journals held the greatest amount of scholarship on women and adult education. Table 8 is certainly one of the most interesting of tables, since in fact the 193 articles were contained in 109 separate journals. Only five journals had carried more than 3 articles about women and some aspect of adult education over the course of 20 years. The most prolific journal, Convergence, focuses on international issues, and the second most frequent source is the International Journal of Aging and Human Development. These two journals along offer some explanation for the large amount of articles present on these two topics. Sadly, the third highest journal, Lifelong Learning, is no longer being published. The remainder are evidenced appear to have a less than minor interest in publishing articles on these topics.

Table 8

Frequency Distribution of Articles on Adult Education and Women: by Journal

Journals (N=109)   Articles (N=193)

Journal Name	#
Convergence	15
International Journal of Aging and Human Development	12
Lifelong Learning	9
Adult Education	4
Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors	4
New Directions for Experiential Learning	3
Psychology of Women Quarterly	3
Journal of Gerontology	3
Journal of Home Economics	3
Labour Education	3
Adults Learning	3
Wisconsin Vocational Educator	3
Adult Education Quarterly	3
Journal of Reading	3
International Labour Review	3
International Journal of Lifelong Education	2
Southern College Personnel Association Journal	2
Journal of Clinical Psychology	2
Journal of Extension	2
Social Work	2
Sex Roles: A Journal of Research	2
Journal of Employment Counseling	2
Community Development Journal	2
Gerontologist	2
Indian Journal of Adult Education	2
Journal of Research and Development in Education	2
Journal of College Student Personnel	2
ASPBAE Courier	2
New Directions for Continuing Education	2
Training and Development Journal	2
NASPA Journal	2
Journal of Divorce	2
Australian Journal of Adult Education	2

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Table 8 (continued)

**Frequency Distribution of Articles on Adult Education
and Women: by Journal**

The following journals have only 1 article each

AGB Reports
Adolescence
Adult Literacy and Basic Education
Agricultural Education Magazine
American Demographics

Anthropology and Education Quarterly
Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education Courier
Bilingual Resources
Business Education Forum
Canadian Library Journal

Change
Clearinghouse
College and University
Community College Review
Community Services Catalyst

Continuing Higher Education Review
Counseling and Values
Counseling Psychologist
Education
Education Canada

Educational Broadcasting International
Educational Gerontology
Educational Horizons
Educational Leadership
Educational Record

Educational Review
European Journal of Engineering Education
Evaluation and Program Planning
Evaluation Review
Family Coordinator

Family Relations
Gender and Education
Graduate Studies Journal
Higher Education Review
Human Development

Illinois Teacher of Home Economics
Industrial and Labor Relations Review
Innovative Higher Education
International Journal of Behavioral Development
International Journal of Oral History

Table 8 (continued)

**Frequency Distribution of Articles on Adult Education
and Women: by Journal**

The following journals have only 1 article each

Journal for Specialists in Group Work
Journal of Adult Education
Journal of the American College Health Association
Journal of Consulting Clinical Psychology
Journal of Correctional Education

Journal of Counseling and Development
Journal of Curriculum Theorizing
Journal of Education
Journal of Educational Technology Systems
Journal of Educational Thought

Journal of European Industrial Training
Journal of Marriage and the Family
Journal of Mental Health Counseling
Journal of Moral Education
Journal of Nutrition Education

Journal of Research in Personality
Journal of the Community Development Society
Journal of Vocational Behavior
Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development
National Forum: Phi Kappa Phi Journal

Performance and Instruction
Phi Delta Kappan
Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education
Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women
Sociology of Education

Studies in Continuing Education
Studies in Family Planning
Studies in the Education of Adults
Suicide and Life Threatening Behavior
Teacher Education Quarterly

The Personnel Woman
Vocational Guidance Quarterly
Western European Education
Work Matters

Adding Women as a Variable:

What is Feminist Scholarship in Education?

Now that we have looked that the level of scholarship on women learners that is present in the academic journals available to researchers and students, our next move is to address what type of scholarship is being undertaken. More than a simple content analysis by topic, a basic understanding of the goals and reasons for pursuing scholarship on women is fundamental when engaging in such inquiry. As a researcher, one can either simply add women as a variable, or one can engage in feminist research. Both ends of this continuum are in evidence. This issue is the focus of the following discussion.

In attempting to assess specific instances of literature for their adherence to a feminist framework, it is first necessary to explore the nature of feminist thought as it connects to the field of adult education. The nature of adult education as a field presents both advantages and challenges to the scholar proposing a feminist analysis of this discipline. This is due to the fact that the field has two interdependent functions: that of creating educational theory and implementing educational practice and policy. Adult educational theory and practice is noted for its interrelationship with various fields: sociology, psychology, anthropology, counseling and social work, organizational behavior and administration, human resource development and economics. In addition to this theoretical challenge of blending a diversity of knowledge bases, educational practice must, ideally, interpret this theory, then develop policy and effectively deliver education within that determined framework. Questions such as how to teach, what to teach, and who to teach it to arise within this partnership of theory and practice. This complex arrangement presents both difficulties and opportunities for feminist scholarship in adult education.

The study of gender issues in all of education has tended to be practice or policy related, rather than theory related. DuBois et. al. has observed that feminist educators have focused on the institutions of education, their oppressiveness and possible ways to ameliorate this state. Indeed, when reading one of most recent reviews of the literature on continuing education for women (Rice and Meyer, 1989), it seems that most of the gender-focused research has been an effort to address how women are being discriminated against by institutions, rather than on how, if at all, they can be liberated through education.

This singular emphasis of addressing adult education as an oppressive institution, while central in many respects, is problematic however, for adult education is not one thing, but many. It's divergent areas of practice result in a sense of fractionalized service and instruction, policy and study. Hence, a feminist analysis of "the institution" of adult education, or any aspect of adult education, including practice, policy development and

research, would need to encompass many concerns. Fortunately, the multiplicative perspective that a feminist analysis lends to a critique of any situation will serve well in a field that is also, by its function, various, multifarious, and changing. A general feminist framework for analyzing adult education is discussed below.

Women's studies, and in particular feminist analysis, like other academic areas, has differing ways of framing questions for inquiry. Depending on one's perspective, whether it be as a Marxist feminist, radical feminist, lesbian feminist, ecofeminist, liberal feminist or any of the other multiple ways of viewing issues of gender and inequality, some ideas central to what is considered a feminist analysis have developed. By no means considered absolute, the feminist analysis includes the study of gender and its social construction, and attempts a critical analysis of the unequal power relations between genders, while also confronting important class, race, culture, sexual identity and situation-specific variables that affect these relationships. It starts from the realization that while women have been spoken of and studied as object, they have been absent in the discourse about themselves, and subsequently are made both marginal and invisible (de Lauretis, 1990).

Feminist analysis neither seeks to find meaning that is universal, nor adheres to an assumption that this is even possible. Instead, feminist analysis concerns itself with specificity (Harding, 1987), and in doing so, takes woman as the basic unit of analysis. This leads to an approach that concentrates on the multitude of variables that intersect with gender, and hence, at the most basic level effect all areas of individual women's lives. Feminist analysis helps women to see their social and sexual identity as something that is both shaped externally and constructed (MacKinnon, 1981).

Paradoxically, however, while individual women's lives are of central importance in this analysis, the overall consideration of their collective lives, when each one is intersected with another, reveals women as part of a social class, secondary in stature, regardless on which level the individual resides. This is due to the pervasive exploitation, domination and gender oppression that, while affecting all, provides each with a standpoint that is based both on one of shared knowledge and struggle (Wittig, in de Lauretis, 1990).

Feminist analysis means deconstructing knowledge as we know it, challenging it and exposing it for its claims and connections to hegemonic epistemology and the universality that it presumes. In opposing this construct of universal truth, other ways of thinking about the possibility of various truths become needed. Rather than accepting the polarity of subject and object, self and other, private and public, oppression and resistance, domination and agency, hegemony and marginality, and sameness and difference, an integration of these concepts is sought. Similarly, the juxtaposition of the constructs of man and woman, male and female are

challenged. The differing ways of thinking about each of these oppositions leads not to a singular and unified feminist framework, but one based on the acknowledgment of the idea that the presence of difference (de Lauretis, 1990) is inevitable and complementary, not negative or devalued.

This feminist critique also assumes that knowledge is not simply for knowledge sake, but for positive, progressive change in women's lives. This action orientation challenges the concept of neutrality in research, and seeks to make use of what is known within an inherently political atmosphere, whether that be the academy, the community, the family or the self. This concept of agency, purpose, and change and its relation to praxis in education is addressed well by one educator as she discusses her view of what education from a feminist perspective needs to be, she states: "my goal is to assist students in developing a framework to evaluate the social system, to question it, to understand how their own perceptions, life chances, options and opportunities, as well as those of others, are shaped by it. (Weber Cannon, 1990, p.127).

Outside of the realm of the classroom, other educators have addressed means for critiquing inquiry on women in the academy. Tetreault (1985) in her article, "Feminist Phase Theory: An Experience-Derived Evaluation Model," provides a 5 phase model for defining the types of scholarship that has and may result due to the feminist viewpoint becoming more accepted in academe. Beginning with phase 1, which is "Male Scholarship," a type of inquiry that assumes that the male experience is the universal and ideal, with little consciousness of women, to Phases 2 and 3, called Compensatory and Bifocal Scholarship, which begins to recognize that the male model is only one model, and the need to incorporate women into scholarship is essential, Tetreault challenges researchers to begin to look at the female experience as the norm as well, and through "feminist scholarship," to understand what womens' experience is and to investigate how that experience intersects with issues of race, class and other variables that affect women's lives. From this perspective, she then advocates moving to phase 5, which is a "Multifocal/Relational" way of viewing phenomena, searching for how issues intersect in all of men's and women's lives. In proposing a phasic approach to feminist scholarship, Tetreault recognizes the growth that must take place in the academy before inquiry can legitimately and acceptably be undertaken in the phase 5 approach. This growth of perspective is slow, yet in the process of becoming, at least in some areas of scholarship. In the field of adult education, it is within this continuum of scholarship, phases 1 through 4 that is evident.

It is in the summation of this brief discussion, that a definition of what a feminist analysis may mean in the context of scholarship about women in the field of adult education can be arrived at:

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Feminist Research would entail a critique of gender relations and the meaningful variables of class, race, age, culture and sexual identity that impact on those relations, combined with an analysis of the forces that construct or reinforce them, paying particular attention to both the individual and collective woman in the context of knower, learner, teacher, and researcher in the educational setting.

Analysis of the Sample

Of the 37 journal articles randomly selected for review, 27 were available for access for this analysis. The 27 papers assessed here represented the following categories and emphases: 19 of those reviewed address women as the primary focus of the paper; 8 focus on women only as a variable within the study or issue. The table below indicates the categories in both types of papers.

Table 9

Categories of Papers Randomly Selected for Analysis

Category	"Primary"	"Variable"
Adult Development	5	4
International Development	2	1
Participation	2	1
Language and Meaning	1	1
Program Assessment	1	1
Empowerment	2	NA
Higher Education	2	NA
Barriers	1	NA
Community Development	1	NA
Women as Educators	1	NA
Human Resource Development	1	NA
TOTAL	19	8

Assumptions and Purposes of Scholarship on Women

In beginning the analysis, the first questions asked were those which this paper began with; the search for an understanding of how women are studied, for what purposes and under what assumptions. Within the context of the looking at the "primary" papers versus the "variable" papers, several points about difference in methods and purposes for doing research on women comes to light. The way that women were studied in the variable papers was split in terms of methods; four were the result of a quantitative study (50%), the rest were descriptive with one philosophical discussion. This pattern was not the case with the "primary" papers however, for of those 19, 73% were descriptive or qualitative. Only 27% of these papers were quantitative results of research.

The more striking difference lies in the purposes and assumptions which these authors had when addressing women. While 42% of the "primary" papers addressed the needs of women first and foremost in the article, in the "variable" articles, this was not the case in any of them. In addition, it was only in the "variable" papers that the concept of the differences between women and men was addressed, this perspective was not taken in the "primary" papers. Similarly, while the assumption of the woman as learner was mostly as an individual, in 6 of the "primary" papers, both individual and collective learning was addressed. This issue was brought up in none of the "variable" papers.

The 27 papers represented the range of scholarship from qualitative, description, philosophical and quantitative methods of inquiry. Similarly, they also represented the range of perspectives on what it means to include women as a focus in research.

Levels of Feminist Viewpoints Represented

Of the 27 papers, only one could be considered strictly male scholarship, with little consideration of women. This paper, by Zagar et al., was an analysis of a testing instrument measuring memory through the aging process. In it, women were merely mentioned as a group in relation to this construct. The other 7 "variable" papers, while showing a greater interest in women as a topic of study, advanced the feminist perspective only slightly. Havighurst (1983) approaches the female issue from the perspective of changing gender roles, spending most of his discussion on the concept of androgyny; Nomura (1982), while discussing a learning center in Japan that serves a majority of homemakers, goes no further in addressing how this program meets the particular needs of women; Khan, (1986) focuses further on the problems which confronted him in implementing programs for women, yet the problems seem more his that theirs, and Couchman and Peck simply reiterate the economic and

demographic factors which are bringing women in to the workforce in greater numbers, and promote that home economics be marketed to the population of males and females needing jobs. Cooper et.al, in their study of adult's experience of time, raise interesting questions on how gender impacts on this phenomenon, and Seltzer provides a wonderful discussion of her personal experience as both subject (old woman) and researcher (gerontologist), yet does not gender the discussion to make it meaningful in that sense. Finally, in what is the most feminist-focused paper among the "variable" set, Tran's work on sex differences on language acculturation among Vietnamese immigrants provides some discussion on the inequities of the life of the female in this culture, and possible reasons for the significant differences in acculturation that were found. Among this group of papers, this would come the closest to the definition of feminist research provided above.

The range of scholarly perspectives among the group of papers that addressed women as "primary" was also as broad, but with substantially more feminist-focused efforts in evidence. These nineteen journal articles consisted of seven which were exemplary examples of feminist scholarship, eight articles which offered meaningful information about gender issues without encompassing the full dimensions of the feminist analysis, and the remainder (4) which, while addressing the lives and circumstances of women, do so in such a way as to provide no feminist analysis beyond the descriptive elements of the study. The discussion of their attributes will begin with the latter of these.

The four largely descriptive articles in the primary group which do not fulfill the definition of feminist scholarship as developed here do nothing towards critiquing gender relations, nor any of the other intersecting factors that impact on women and their relations in the world. Spivey and Scherman's (1980) description of divorced women refutes former findings about the psychological maladjustment of divorcees, yet their discussion provides nothing of context or specificity which connects their data to the experience of specific groups of women. A study on the mid-life crises that female teachers undergo is undertaken by Crow (1987), with similar results: no analysis is provided as to the structural factors in the teaching field which might precipitate crises of this type in this population of women. In both of these cases, it is this foundational discussion which would turn it from research about women into feminist research. Ntiri (1979) makes the same omission and Lee and Haggard (1985), in their article on women in agricultural employment compound that problem with their work by not even acknowledging that a woman can be a farmer without "inheriting it from her husband. (p.18)"

The next 8 articles in this "primary" group apply feminist literature and perspectives to their work, yet do not fully integrate all aspects of the feminist analysis. For example, Ellicott's (1985) work on psychosocial

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changes as tied to childbearing and family-centered tasks mentions no class or race based approach; the presumed group studied is middle class white women, although this is not mentioned. In addition, the presumption of child bearing and heterosexual orientation is primary in the analysis, without any mention of alternative ways for women to proceed in development without the family around her. Two other articles on adult development (Kahnweiler and Johnson, 1980; Sands and Richardson, 1986) make efforts to objectively address the developmental concerns of women, however the universality of their approaches again does not take into account the lifestyles, constraints and issues which women not of the middle class may confront. Kahnweiler and Johnson do suggest at the end of their paper that women of "other" social strata be looked at.

Knapp's (1981) criticism of the stereotypical sex roles which our culture engenders to females is to the point, but she too does not address this "other" population except in vague terms in her description of a program to assist dependent women. This article, and ones by Kirk (1982) and Pitman (1988) address programming for reentry women. Kirk and Pitman discover questions that must be addressed in a more systemic way than either of them attempt. These are the issues of whether programs are actually designed to meet women's needs, or are they shells put up to act as a semblance of effort. Kirk even goes so far as to be concerned about putting ideas about schooling for these women, since it seems to heighten their conflicts in the rest of their lives. It is this conflictual issue that lies at the heart of women's inaccess with education that must be addressed by institutions. McCall's 1987 article on the Cuba literacy campaign of 1961 is another example of the descriptive piece, that while offering information about women where none was before, simply provides no analysis.

In an article based on a quantitative study, Unger and Sussman (1986) provide the results of research that focused on cognitive barriers to discrimination in relation to the self and to others. This interesting study, utilized members of two women's studies classes as subjects and provides insight into the personal power beliefs that these individuals had in relations to circumstances of power held societally and by others. While their findings stress a cognitive dissonance of sorts in how feminists perceive their own and other's efficacy, there is no analysis presented for this, except to say that this can relate to discriminatory biases. Since this is the one of the main thrusts of the feminist movement to address such biases, the lack of further discussion on this is disappointing.

The remaining seven articles set themselves apart from the other 20 discussed above for their ability to address gender issues and women specifically and collectively while also addressing the structural and institutional issues which promote or prolong conditions of inequality and invisibility. It is this combination that

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comes closer to the role that feminist scholarship hopes to foster; critical analysis, recognition and acceptance of difference, and a call to action to make change.

In two articles that focus on the woman student returning to education as a means of upgrading her skills, Chandler (1984) and Kazemek (1988) provide enlightening essays on the fact that the needs of the ABE (Adult Basic Education) woman student have been completely ignored, both in the literature and in programming. While the returning woman student has had much emphasis placed on her in the area of higher education (Chandler), this "other" type of student has had no one to advocate for her. This class-conscious challenge to the administrators of programs, to women's groups and to educational scholars is pointedly apt. Kazemek's discussion places emphasis on the teaching methods that are used once these women get into programs, and challenges readers to think about a method of instruction that takes into account the various interpretations that scholars have come up with for how women learn about and understand their world. She states that "the unbelievable omission of study into the relationship between women and literacy suggests, at best, a naiveté or ignorance on our part... and at the worst, a conscious or unconscious disdain for the specific literacy needs of women within a patriarchal society. (p.23)" Her discussion ends by addressing the collective and supportive nature of learning and encourages programmers to consider past, successful attempts at collective learning and apply those to literacy efforts for women.

In a similar vein, Gray and Hughes (1980) critique all of what is considered continuing education for women, stating that its emphasis on domestic or self improvement subjects only further oppresses women. They call for radical change in both content and structure of programs, along with an emphasis that focuses not only on the need of the individual, but of women as a group in society. Skills must certainly be passed along, as they see it, but additional assistance to women that helps them confront the male-centered world and workplace also must be provided.

Stace (1987) addresses a specific type of woman and the problems she encounters, not only as a woman, within various class and resource distinctions, but specifically as a disabled woman. Her scathing review of how women, while already at a disadvantage in terms of training, education and opportunity, have these conditions further compounded by a disability is excellent. Her critique of the social forces and how they manifest themselves into problems that affect the individual is quite good, as well as the discussion provided about the sorry state of rehabilitative services as they now stand.

To all the authors, the issue of empowerment is key, regardless of the types of programming which is discussed, or the population affected. Two papers which address empowerment as a primary topic are by Stromquist (1986) and Machila (1989). These two articles are both representative of works about international development, and neither focuses on formal education as a means for empowerment, but on collective action, nonformal, community development programs and education for understanding and peace. These two works explore further the connections between women's private lives and situations and the greater societal framework that sets the backdrop for their struggles. By helping women understand these forces, and plan for ways to overcome them, not simply by having the academic or program administrator understand them and plan programs, but the people too, then women are empowered to act not only themselves, but with all others in mind.

Finally, an excellent paper on the sexist way that the educational system views older women teachers, and women teachers in general is undertaken by Grambs (1987). While not focusing specifically on teachers of adult education, this human resource development article questions the assumptions that the school system makes about women who continue to stay in teaching, committed to classroom instruction. The author posits the view that the idea of career is based on a male-model that denigrates women who choose to stay in teaching in a variety of ways. According to Grambs, the discussion about the failure of school systems is largely a backlash of the fact that the profession has been female-centered, and as such women are an easy mark for blame concerning their lack of status in the profession, their supposed reluctance to make change and undertake reforms, and ultimately, for not providing students with educations that are high enough quality to allow them to compete in a world economy. Noting that it is men who advance into the administrative positions, thereby calling the rules under which female teachers must teach, she notes that the criticisms are hypocritical, and endemic to the unequal and sexist view of women in education. This discussion, combined with the idea of age as a reason for discrimination, is compelling and well formed.

Of the 27 papers briefly outlined here, there is a variety of purposes, assumptions and methods used for addressing women in the area of adult education. As a representative sample of the types of literature currently available in the field, we can see that there are many perspectives about what type of scholarly work on women can and should be done.

Discussion

Following in the tradition of other scholars who have examined the adult education literature, this study serves as a means of further informing both research and practice in adult education.

The focus on adult education has traditionally been on "gender neutral" issues of adult development, teaching and learning styles, program development, participation in formal adult education and barriers to participation, when in fact most models where based on empirical data about men. The various philosophies that guide practice in adult education are also absent of a gender-based perspective. Whether one identifies with a liberal/progressive, structural-functionalist approach to adult education, the individualist, humanistic framework, or even the radical/counter critique, the issue of gender within these philosophies is missing. Even in the Marxist-based critical theory approach to adult education, the focus is on liberation of "oppressed people", with no discussion of women.

While literature concerning gender issues in education is available, only in some instances or subfields is it applied to adult education practice or theory. One such area, adult development, has only in the recent past addressed women as being credible subjects of research. As discussed above however, there is much critique in such developmental work as it relates to women.

The information that the field currently has about women as adult learners is largely anecdotal of the simplistic, descriptive kind addressed in this paper. Some areas have been examined more in-depth than others, including programming for displaced homemakers, women in development, reentry women into higher education, federal funding (Title IX), lack of support services and financial aid. While some is available, this research is just beginning. This is due to the lack women researchers (much less feminist researchers) in the field. In the past 10 years, more female researchers have entered the field than at any other time, and studies about the continuing education of women as a movement, along with the need for empowerment and support for reentry women is beginning. There are some signs that a subsequent feminist analysis of the situation will develop. Some new areas being explored is the discovery of agency in women's lives based on a model of consciousness raising called transformation theory.

Regardless of the problems and the need to make up for years of lost time, the field of adult education stands at an interesting vantage point in relation to the issue of gender based analysis of education. The fact that adult education practice follows all three of the other educational domains means that adult education sees the direct result of whether or not the educational system has benefited specific individuals or groups. Adult

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educators are forced to work with whatever educational foundation has been laid; one that has taught a women that her education is not necessary, one that has channeled her into a narrow view of what education for women can and should be, or one that has helped her view herself as a "self-directed learner" who can take advantage of all opportunities and be whatever she wants to be.

One can only conclude by the paucity of published research in this area, that either the work is not being done, it is not being done well, or it is being shunted aside as to unimportant to earn a place within the journals of the field.

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