

five perspectives, acknowledging that they may not be exhaustive, fixed, or universal; that by nature of their abstractness, they do not portray the unique and complex aspects of a given individual's thought process; that similar categories may be found in men's thinking; and that others might organize the observations in a different way. However, the authors stated with conviction their finding that, for women, the development of voice, mind, and self are "intricately intertwined" (p. 18). Goldberger (1996b) noted that since the publication of their initial theory the authors had become "much more alert to the situational and cultural determinants of knowing and to the relationship between power and knowledge" (p. 8), aspects that were only implicit in their earlier work.

From the study of women of "diverse ages, circumstances, and outlooks" (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 13) emerged five "epistemological perspectives from which women know and view the world" (p. 15): silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, and constructed knowledge. Clinchy (2002) later indicated that the authors came to prefer "knowing" rather than "knowledge" in naming these perspectives.

The perspective of *silence* is characterized as mindless, voiceless, and obedient. In this perspective, women find themselves subject to the whims of external authority. Though rare as a current way of knowing among the women at the time they were interviewed, some interviewees who were found through the social service agencies described in retrospect the perspective of silence. They were among "the youngest and most socially, economically, and educationally deprived" (pp. 23-24) of the women. Belenky later suggested using the term "silenced" to reflect the coercion inherent in the position (Goldberger, 1996b).

Listening to the voices of others is a predominant trait of *received knowing*. A lack of self-confidence is evident in the belief that one is capable of receiving and reproducing only knowledge imparted by external authorities. First-year students may exhibit traits of received knowing as most are primarily conditioned to this type of learning. Creating knowledge independently does not emerge for consideration in this perspective.

With the perspective of *subjective knowing*, the pendulum swings, and truth is now seen as residing in the self, a shift that is particularly significant for women (Belenky et al., 1986). Among the research participants, a frequently cited contributing element was a failed male authority figure, such as a father who committed incest or an abusive husband. Inherent in the process of subjective knowing for women is a quest for the self, often including the element of "walking away from the past" (p. 76).