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ABSTRACT

This review of the research on listening offers general guidelines to help teachers be more effective listeners and to help them teach their students more effective listening skills. The process of listening is discussed according to three components, attentiveness, understanding, and evaluation, which are viewed as occurring sequentially, cumulatively, and often almost concurrently in the ongoing process of communication. Research on these three processes is organized into discussions on three different kinds of messages: informational or content oriented messages; feelings or emotion oriented messages; and aesthetic messages, including music, poetry, and drama. (MKM)

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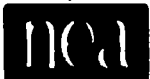
Listening Processes: Attention, Understanding, Evaluation

by Paul G. Friedman

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INTRODUCTION

When students enter a classroom for the first time, they look to the teacher and wait for the messages that will tell them what to expect. Simultaneously, the teacher is sizing them up. Each is alert, attentive, listening. From that moment on, they will spend most of their time together trying to gain and hold each other's attention, striving to understand and be understood, determining where they stand with each other, silently judging and evaluating—in short, they will be concerned with listening. In fact, listening occupies the major portion of time in school—one study of elementary school pupils estimates it at 57.5 percent. (94)*

Despite the importance of listening in the classroom, the *ability* to listen often has been taken for granted and given little attention in language arts programs. However, we now know that listening ability is worthy of educators' attention for several reasons. A child's level of listening comprehension is related to subsequent development of reading skills. Listening and reading comprehension scores usually are highly correlated. (53) The exception to this pattern exists among low achievement readers. Their listening scores are as high as those of their peers who read well, suggesting that their instruction would be more effective if received aurally. (58) Also, studies show that while listening ability improves normally with age, students exposed to structured training experiences have performance scores significantly higher than those of their peers who receive no training or who receive only daily reminders to "listen carefully." (40) Hence, the ability to listen is significant and can be learned.

Listening is an essential but elusive process. It occurs internally, out of sight. Although a class is quiet and all faces are turned toward the teacher, something different may be occurring within each individual, and that process can vary from moment to moment. The only observable common element is that no one is emitting verbal messages. Inside, a variety of events, not all of which can properly be considered listening, might be taking place.

Since people talk at the rate of about 120 words per minute, and since most spoken material can be comprehended equally well at rates up to 250 words per minute, there is much extra mental time to be used. (37) Some students may be using that surplus for deepening their comprehension of

*Numbers in parentheses appearing in the text refer to the Selected References beginning on page 28.

the message being received, while others are reflecting on unrelated past or future events that concern them.

The normal volume of a speaking voice is between 55 and 85 decibels. Its normal pitch range is between 500 and 4,000 cycles per second. (92) Usually, the human ear can pick up these sounds. Occasionally, however, a student's hearing apparatus is unable to respond to either of those levels. The ability to listen is also affected when the speaker's volume is reduced by distance from the listener (the volume that reaches the back of the room is significantly lower than at the front) and when distracting sounds exist in parts of the room. In these instances, hearing—the physical basis of listening—is not taking place.

Listening, however, consists of much more than mere hearing. Hearing assumes only the physiological ability to receive a message aurally—just the first step. Once a message passes the ear, the brain employs listening processes such as selection, organization, comprehension, interpretation, and evaluation to decode it. Listening is a process that actually subsumes a whole series of subprocesses, any of which can be activated during a communication exchange. (64)

These components of listening may be thought to fall along a bipolar continuum. At one end is a mental state characterized by receptivity to others, alertness to external stimuli, acceptance of messages, and openness to input. In this state, the listener is attuned entirely to the speaker, giving full attention to the messages being received and imposing her or his own point of view only minimally. The key element at this point is *attentiveness*—i.e., maintaining an external focus only on the speaker and on the message being transmitted.

In the middle of the continuum is a state in which the listener is more actively *selecting* and *organizing* the material being received. Mentally the listener is trying to distinguish what information is most essential to the speaker's message, what information is most personally relevant, and how the concepts presented are interrelated. The focus here is on *understanding* the message.

At the far end of the continuum, the listener is weighing the message against personal beliefs, questioning the speaker's motives, challenging the ideas presented, suspecting the validity of the message, holding the speaker's ideas up to standards of excellence, wondering what has been omitted, thinking how the message could have been improved, and in other ways *evaluating* what is being said.

These three states can be viewed as occurring sequentially, cumulatively, and often almost concurrently in the ongoing process of communication. One might sum up the listening process in this way. A mental image and a rush of emotional energy impel a person to speak.

Once that message has been uttered, the speaker's orientation shifts to the other person who has been the listener. Curiosity arises as to how the message has been received and what response it has elicited—i.e., one stops talking and listening begins. That instant is the moment of greatest *attentiveness*. As the other's message takes on some degree of complexity, the cognitive processes of selectivity and organization that lead to *understanding* are set in motion. Memories and attitudes soon are triggered, against which the incoming message is compared, interpreted, or *evaluated*, and a response comes to mind. At this point, receptivity and functional listening have essentially ended, and the receiver is simply waiting for a turn to speak.

Roughly speaking, therefore, a listener pays attention to a message, tries to understand it, and evaluates it. Each process can occur, almost indistinguishably, in an instance of listening; or each can predominate at a particular moment. If the message is familiar and uncontroversial, the listener may be primarily attentive (e.g., when hearing a favorite song or poem or a ritualized greeting); if it contains some new information that is not being questioned, the listener will be seeking understanding (e.g., when hearing an informative lecture, a narrative of a person's experience, or a new joke or story); if the message deals with opinions, values, or other topics on which people differ, the listener will be evaluative (e.g., when hearing a play, a sales pitch, or feedback about oneself). Most often, all three processes are activated and are interrelated. However, in order to review more precisely and practically the processes that affect listening, we will here distinguish among them.

Attentiveness, understanding, and evaluation summarize the "how" of listening. Another important dimension is the "what"—the message. Messages are not all the same; they, too, are profitably subdivided into types. Different kinds of messages "hit" us, or are listened to, in distinct ways. We can also "tune in" to particular *levels* (e.g., the emotional level or the intellectual level) of a single message. A triadic partition into messages emphasizing content, emotions, and aesthetics is most common in this domain. Some messages emphasize one aspect more than the others, some combine two aspects, and many contain all three. They appear here in no particular order, but each has some distinct implications for the listening process.

The first type of message emphasizes *content*, information, or task-related material. Included are directions, lectures, descriptions, and other material usually subsumed under the cognitive domain of the educational process. Such messages comprise what most classroom curricula are to cover, whatever people want others to know or believe.

The second type reports or affects how the speaker or the listener is *feeling*, the involvement, the degree of intensity, and the value that each places on a comment. Included are comments that describe how close or distant people feel, whether they like or dislike something, how dominant or submissive they are toward each other, and other reactions usually subsumed under the affective domain of education. Talk about classroom rapport, discipline, and cohesiveness would fall into this category.

The third type of message is meant to have an *aesthetic* impact, to be enjoyed or appreciated, to affect the senses. Included are messages expressed through the arts—music, poetry, drama, literature, etc.

To summarize, some messages primarily concern content, some emotions, some aesthetic reactions. These relate respectively to the fundamental human issues of truth, love, and beauty. Many messages concern all three. Nevertheless, each type elicits a somewhat different response from the listener and therefore merits separate treatment. We will deal with each of these factors and with their interrelationships in the material included in this report. Thus, our examination of listening will be divided into nine sections:

CONTENT EMOTIONS AESTHETICS

| | | | |
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The last dimension to be considered in organizing this material is the "why." For what purpose will we be examining research related to listening?

If we view it as a component of the communication process, listening is intentional. As speakers, we want listeners to pay attention to us, to understand what we have to say, and to evaluate our messages fairly—whether our messages emphasize content material, reveal our emotional reactions, or have an aesthetic, artistic purpose. As listeners, we want our decoding to achieve these same ends. The success of listening in realizing these aims varies considerably from instance to instance. Because communication is fundamental to all endeavors in which people deal with people, much effort, from many sources, has been expended in the attempt to understand what affects it, both

positively and negatively. (3) Our goal is to identify what is known about how listening is approached when it works and when it doesn't.

Taken together, this material provides a wealth of insights into how communication goes astray and into how it can be optimized. Nevertheless, this research has not yet transformed communication into a science; it remains an art. Our review offers only general guidelines to help the practitioner be more effective—i.e., to minimize the forces that distort listening and to maximize those that enhance it. This material will examine the elements pulling in these two directions.

LISTENING FOR CONTENT

Attention

"Pay attention!" is a command given when someone seems not to be listening. "I am giving you my undivided attention!" implies the opposite. Attention is receptivity to a message. Attention spans vary, but few people can attend to a single stimulus for more than 20 seconds without shifting focus. (70) That shift can be to another element within the parameters of the message content, to an associated thought that the message brings to mind, or to something entirely unrelated.

Whether or not listeners essentially "stay with" the content material to be heard, taking only minor, brief mental trips in other directions, depends upon their inner needs and values and upon aspects of the message itself. (23) Within listeners a cognitive choice-making system determines where they will place their attention. At times, this system operates out-of-awareness; at times it is being consciously controlled. It is generally thought that a reward/cost ratio determines choice—i.e., a message must fulfill salient needs of listeners, without being unduly "threatening," to warrant their attention. (84) Hence, listening is enhanced when the message is relevant to the listeners' current life interests, or when the message itself arouses an interest that they will want to satisfy. This explains why speakers begin by highlighting the significance of their topic with a dramatic opening story, or by appealing to a fundamental human concern. (28) When students seem distracted, it would be worthwhile to consider that their inner needs (e.g., physical needs, such as hunger or fatigue, or social needs, such as gaining approval from classmates) momentarily supersede listening to the

message and to consider either how to make listening more rewarding to their current need state or how to express the message so that it creates a more pressing need that they will want to satisfy.

The costs of listening can inhibit this process as well. It was common recently to turn off a news broadcast describing the Vietnam War or a Watergate event because it evoked unpleasant feelings of frustration—an example of withdrawing attention from a "costly" message. "I don't want to talk about it anymore!" is said when the inner cost of listening to complaints or accusations seems to outweigh what can be gained from continuing a conversation. We turn our attention away from messages that prove inwardly disturbing, that are without much hope of ultimate redeeming value. (20) Perhaps this explains why students who aren't upwardly mobile "turn off" some classroom messages or why sermon-like reprimands are tuned out. Being forced to sit through apparently unrewarding and even irritating (or costly) classroom experiences causes students to want to turn their attention to things other than what the teacher is saying, even to leave that situation. However, they must suppress that impulse and sit it out. This causes a general numbing of their natural energy flow, a feeling usually labelled *boredom*.

There isn't much that can be done about a student's inner state, but external conditions can be manipulated to increase the amount of attention given to messages. (88) The *background* or *setting* can serve to focus attention as desired, or it can provide competing, distracting stimuli. Notice how television directors set the stage and pick their camera shots to guide listeners' attention. Seating arrangements and bulletin boards can have this effect in the classroom. The *intensity* of a stimulus also affects attention. The louder, the brighter, the more vivid, the more personally charged the message and the speaker are, the more likely they are to maintain listeners' attention. The *extensity*, or the size or amount, of the stimulus directs attention. We attend to bigger objects or signs before we notice fine print. The *concreteness*, versus the complexity or abstractness, of a stimulus calls attention to it. Thus, a story describing a specific event is more attention-holding than an abstract overview synthesizing many such events. This tendency explains why speakers often begin with an anecdote, why commercials depict an everyday scene and end with a short (noncomplex) slogan, and why literature usually is more absorbing for longer periods of time than is philosophy. A message with greater *contrast* and *velocity* attracts attention. Since our nervous systems usually attend to a single stimulus for only five to eight seconds, listeners need to shift attention regularly to new objects or ideas. If a message continues to evoke new images, attention can be kept on it; if not, the listener shifts periodically to

alternate external stimuli. Hence, novelty, variety, change, movement, and animation maintain our attention. A subset of this characteristic is *impressivity*, or the unusual repetition and duration of a stimulus. An exceptionally long pause, a long wait for someone, or another unexpectedly extended or repeated event can impress itself on our attention despite its apparent tedium. (64)

Understanding

Communication of information begins when an idea or image arises in the mind of a speaker that s/he wants to share. It is completed successfully only after the listener has interpreted or decoded this message and thus possesses a relatively similar mental image. This process is carried out through the use of symbols, organized into patterns, and presented in a style, all of which must be filtered through the cognitive system of the listener. It is a very imprecise process, fraught with pitfalls.

Misunderstandings in classrooms can occur for a variety of reasons. Symbols can be misinterpreted, patterns of organization can be distorted, and styles of presentation can be ill-suited to the cognitive habits of students. We will examine each of these problematic areas in turn.

Words do not have intrinsic meaning. People give meaning to words based on the experiences they have when those words first arise. Since everyone's life experience is unique, individuals come to develop idiosyncratic images for words, and then use and interpret those words based on their own subjective reality. (12) Hence, when listening we can only *hope* to know what a speaker actually is thinking and trying to convey. Often, our attempts at "mind reading" (which is a useful way to view listening for understanding) are inaccurate. (19)

There are several major ways of minimizing this fallibility. The first is to use very concrete terms. General or abstract words that subsume many specific items (such as "schools") are more likely to be misunderstood than words that refer to precise physical objects (such as "Sunrise Elementary School"). (16) The second is to be redundant. Restating an idea in many ways increases the likelihood that students will get the point as intended. (51) The third is to ask questions regarding the perceived meaning. From the listener's point of view, the question "Do you mean to say . . . ?" (adding one's interpretation of the message) and, from the speaker's point of view, "What did you hear me say?" help to clarify how accurately a message was received.

Words are the building blocks of larger units of discourse. As a message is lengthened, the organization or interrelationship of ideas

becomes a listening concern. Among the comments made in a lecture, the sequence, emphasis, and similarity or contrast among ideas can be distorted in their transmission. (86) People tend to organize ideas into wholes (a gestalt) by some common patterns. We connect what we perceive by relating to past experiences (i.e., by remembering how we had previously viewed them), by jumping to conclusions or assuming that we know the whole of it (premature closure), and by grouping items that have some similar attributes or that are presented right after each other and generalizing about them. Material that is presented first and/or last in a message is remembered better than that which is presented in the middle. (83)

Both teacher and student can help to assure that the organization of ideas leads to accurate reception of the message. The teacher can use "proactive" or "feed-forward" techniques by indicating to the students the pattern to be used in structuring ideas, by providing a summary of the content in advance, or by using phrases such as "this is the main point," "in summary," and "now, don't forget this." (27) The student can be taught to grasp the overall patterns in the message through mentally or overtly outlining while taking notes. Experiments indicate that the act, rather than the form, of note-taking can increase listening comprehension because it increases attention and behavioral involvement in listening.

(65) Subsequent review of these notes is an important step in maximizing their usefulness. In fact, for older students, lectures should be broken into segments of 10 to 15 minutes to allow for mental pulling together of what has been covered. (90)

Finally, students' overall approach to processing information will affect their ability to listen. People comprehend and enjoy some kinds of messages more than others. One dimension that helps to explain this is concreteness-abstractness. Some people prefer specific, firm directions; are more concerned with details; prefer familiar, routine methods; and have low tolerance for ambiguous, creative assignments. Others prefer the opposite. This variation should be viewed as falling along a continuum. Most people need some of each. (50)

These processing patterns are deeply imbedded in one's cognitive style and need to be accommodated (or extended) rather than changed. To present material in a way that can be assimilated by all is challenging and demands that a teacher be able to specify objectives and define terms, and have concrete information to present, as well as having the ability to pose thought-provoking, abstract, or controversial questions and issues. As listeners, students must be encouraged to ask the questions that lead to greater concreteness, as well as those that open up new possibilities in the topic under discussion.

Evaluation

Once a listener has given attention to a message and understands it, the next step is evaluating—i.e., agreeing or disagreeing with it. In general, the teacher's communicative goal is to inform, which is achieved at the point of understanding. Occasionally, the teacher goes further and has a persuasive intent as well—e.g., when the student's interest in the subject matter is sought or when common social values or standards of classroom behavior are being encouraged. However, it is outside the classroom that students are exposed most intensely to persuasive messages that they must evaluate. Peer groups and mass-media pressure then to conform to others' expectations. We want their decisions to be made consciously and sensibly, but all too often students agree or disagree with a message impulsively, without carefully weighing the ideas presented. Hence, critical listening is a skill that should be taught.

Listeners commonly evaluate messages in terms of how they fit in with previously held beliefs, rather than judging them on their own merits. This results from the human preference for maintaining internal consistency among personal beliefs, feelings, and actions. (76) People experience tension when pondering new ideas that contradict existing attitudes and tend to reject them in order to preserve balance or congruence. This is done in many ways, such as (1) criticizing the source of the message, (2) bolstering their position by joining others who support it, (3) distorting the contradictory message, (4) compartmentalizing (seeing the inconsistent positions as not relevant to each other), (5) attempting to convince the source that his or her position is wrong, and (6) refusing to think about the issue. Changing our attitudes so that they are consistent with the new view and developing a superordinate concept that somehow reconciles both points of view are processes that also restore a sense of harmony among our ideas. (87) The more deeply held the original belief (i.e., the more ego involvement it is said to elicit), the more likely it is that the contradictory new idea will be rejected. People who feel personally threatened by most views different from their own are considered "dogmatic" and tend to assume an authoritarian posture toward others. (29)

Awareness of this tendency in human thought can be useful to teachers in several ways. First, it helps to explain why some students resist agreeing with the teacher's point of view. Rather than viewing them as stubborn or hostile, this concept provides a less judgmental rationale. Second, it provides an approach for teaching them how to evaluate critically the commercial or political messages that are manipulated to

appear compatible with less controversial or fundamental beliefs they already hold. Third, it can suggest ways in which they can make their own messages more likely to be acceptable and persuasive, rather than dissonant, to their own listeners.

There also are listening processes that encourage positive evaluation of a persuasive message. Listeners are more inclined to agree with a message spoken by someone they value, someone credible to them. Listeners give credibility to a speaker when they perceive evidence of trustworthiness, competence, and dynamism. (7) If a speaker's behavior leads us to infer that s/he would not mislead us or lie, we view this person as being trustworthy, as providing reliable messages. If a person has a general reputation for being intelligent and informed or if his/her demonstrated knowledge in a specific area seems high, we deem the speaker competent and the message valuable. If a speaker is dynamic and sociable, the high levels of energy and warmth that s/he exudes usually encourage listeners to believe her or him. (41)

Another condition that enhances a speaker's credibility is the degree to which listeners see the speaker as being similar to themselves. *Homophily*, the term used to describe this perception, seems to be based on three factors: attitude, background, and value. If students see the teacher as having attitudes akin to their own about politics, sports, clothes, social relationships, or other topics, if they see the teacher as having gone through childhood experiences like ones they have had, and if they and the teacher hold similar moral or ethical values, the students are most likely to adopt the teacher's points of view into their own frame of reference. (63)

A final influence on listeners' judgment leading toward positive evaluation is peer pressure or "groupthink." When members of friendship or work groups spend time together, they can come to value sustaining their unity or cohesiveness more than they do carefully evaluating ideas. Opposing thoughts may not be shouted down overtly; rather, each group member is likely to decide independently that his or her misgivings are not relevant and should be set aside. This can result in such patterns as minimizing upcoming problems, rationalizing past actions, ignoring the ethical consequences of a decision, holding negative stereotypes of enemy groups, pressuring members who maintain deviant beliefs, self-censorship of dissenting ideas, failing to consider alternative plans should theirs falter, assuming more unanimity of opinion than actually exists, and overlooking information that does not support their preferred policy. Such processes need to be called to a group's attention when they are observed. Of course, there may be some initial resistance

to seeing and addressing them, but awareness of these distortions of good judgment is necessary for students to develop perceptive critical listening skills. (52)

LISTENING FOR EMOTIONS

Attention

At times listeners are less concerned with the content of a message than they are with perceiving accurately the kind of person the speaker is, how the speaker is feeling at the moment, and the state of their relationship. This often is called the *process or maintenance* level of an interaction. It begins as people make contact, form first impressions, and become acquainted. These events take place at the initial stages of a relationship, the point at which paying attention to each other is the pre-eminent listening task.

Students are not in school simply to accumulate information and learn skills. They bring emotional and relationship needs along with them that require satisfaction, needs that can be classified into three types: inclusion, affection, and control. In other words, students are listening for invitations to be included in social and work groups, for indications that others care for them, and for opportunities for control (i.e., to make a difference, exert influence, or have power over how things turn out). In a classroom situation where any of these needs must go unfulfilled there is likely to be uncomfortable anxiety and anti-social behavior. (79)

Hence, when people first meet, they are listening or sizing each other up to determine how likely it is that their own needs will be met and how adequately they will meet others' needs in a subsequent relationship. Since having a relationship involves the risk of pain, as well as the chance for need satisfaction, people experience an immediate desire to reduce uncertainty about these issues. Several common methods for doing so are to unobtrusively watch the other person interacting with others; to observe the person in a situation where a wide variety of social behavior is called for; to ask people who have had frequent contact with the person about her or him; and to use various strategies in face-to-face interaction to uncover information about the person (e.g., asking questions, sharing opinions, revealing things about oneself, etc.). (6)

These methods yield impressions that vary in accuracy and that differ depending upon who is doing the observing. We usually begin by observing an individual behave in a certain way, we then assume that this

implies that s/he consistently behaves in this way, and then we assume that this trait fits a personality type with which we are familiar. Everyone has *central organizing traits*, particular traits they consider most personally significant in judging others. Some students look immediately for clues as to whether a teacher is strict or lenient, warm or cold, demanding or easy in terms of work load, etc. Teachers, too, have overriding crucial traits by which they judge students. (48)

An assumption we quickly make is whether the behavior observed is attributable to the individual's personality (and therefore should be part of our impression of her or him) or is due to the situation or circumstances impinging on the person. Experiments show that we tend to err in the direction of attributing actions to enduring predispositions of the person and to discount situational demands. (81) For example, when 30 junior high school teachers and students who interacted in disruptive incidents were interviewed, the teachers tended to attribute the causes of the disruption to the characteristics and traits of the acting pupil, while the pupils tended to attribute the causes to entities and circumstances in the environment. (26) Thus, we can jump to premature conclusions about people, and our first impressions can be faulty.

Impressions also become distorted when we assume that others are similar to ourselves, a process sometimes called *projection*. If I feel insecure about doing well and if I am ruthless about pursuing success, then I am likely to assume that others are obsessively involved in the same quest. This distortion occurs again when we assume that someone is just like others we have met or heard about who have similar features, a process sometimes called *stereotyping*. An example is to assume that all English persons, blacks, Jews, women, soldiers, athletes, or members of any other group are alike. (93)

It seems that people fill in whatever information they lack about others whom they meet from a storehouse of *implicit personality theories* that they have developed. That is, once one trait in an individual is identified, a cluster of others is assumed to exist as well. For example, white students viewing a videotape of a purported ongoing interaction occurring in another room labelled an act (an ambiguous shove) as more violent when it was performed by a black than when the same act was perpetrated by a white. In this case, causal attributions were also found to be divergent: Situational attributions were preferred when the harm-doer was white, and personal (dispositional) attributions when the person was black. (17)

Initial impressions color later ones. The first word used to describe someone often is used to interpret those descriptions provided afterward. This is called the *primacy effect*—i.e., the first information we receive about someone is given inordinate weight. For example, if someone is

introduced as "very intelligent," his or her subsequent comments, even those that make little sense, often are believed to contain some underlying wisdom. This phenomenon also is known as the *halo effect*—i.e., a person is seen positively at first and then whatever is said afterward is perceived to be meritorious. This tendency explains our concern with first impressions. (56)

Two factors especially tend to give first impressions a positive tint: similarity and attractiveness. Many studies show that we tend to see people who have backgrounds, morals, attitudes, and appearance similar to our own as more attractive. This is because we are likely to understand them better and believe that they will like and appreciate us more. Furthermore, we tend to value their ideas and achievements more, be less harsh in judging their misdeeds, and pay more attention to them. (18) People whom we see as physically attractive, too, are usually thought to be happier and more confident, candid, amiable, complex, and flexible at the moment of our first impression than they may actually be. (8) Teachers need to be aware of these factors that affect their perceptions of students.

Some psychologists theorize that there are other factors that affect assumptions of ability, such as size (taller people usually are rated higher), dress, names [some elementary school teachers graded identical compositions higher if their authors were named Michael or David, rather than Elmer or Hubert (47)], and many other extraneous aspects of a student.

What we respond to upon first giving attention to others is significant because their subsequent behavior, as well as our own, is affected by it. How we see students affects how we treat them, which in turn affects how they respond to us, how they see themselves, and how they will perform their school work. This phenomenon is called the *self-fulfilling prophecy* or the *Pygmalion effect*. Studies show that teachers who perceive their students as capable of good work establish a warmer interpersonal climate, give them more feedback, teach them not only a larger amount of material but also more difficult material, and give them more opportunities to respond in class. (32) Even counselors who were given a "diagnostic label" for a patient slanted their impressions of a taped interview much more than did those who were not given any label. (74)

Secondly, people try to anticipate the factors that will affect others' perception of them, and then they try to adapt to make this perception as positive as possible. In other words, they put on a mask or facade in order to look good in others' eyes. Not only does this lead to false, manipulative role playing, to confusion, to disappointment, or to conflict as relationships progress, but it also restricts one to a narrow range of behaviors.

(43) Thus, a teacher trying to look only easy going (or stern) to his or her students can seem artificial, can later shock them by changing abruptly, or can become limited to a much smaller set of responses than s/he potentially is capable of.

Understanding

We have said that the first concerns of listening in relationships are to form (and give off) impressions of each other and to foresee what the future of the relationship will be. Once relatively positive impressions have been formed and people are sufficiently attracted or motivated to invest attention and to continue interacting (or are compelled to, as in a classroom), they must next listen to deepen their mutual understanding. All the while that information is being exchanged between teacher and student, each is experiencing feelings about what is going on. Their affective reactions may be toward the class or toward each other. Whatever the target, if each is to understand fully what is being said, the emotional or personal level of their dialogue must be heard sensitively.

Feelings are potent messages to exchange. They can render us vulnerable or upset, sometimes intensely so. Hence, people often hesitate to reveal feelings openly. The first task of a sensitive listener, therefore, is to project oneself as a person whom other people trust sufficiently to risk expressing themselves freely. People are more likely to risk self expression in a situation where the likelihood of positive consequences outweighs the chance of a negative outcome.

Generally speaking, this confidence to express one's feelings is encouraged most when the listener "confirms" the speaker. (44) A listening stance of confirmation has several characteristics.

First, the listener must provide *recognition* of the speaker as a worthwhile human being. To ignore, isolate, or be indifferent to someone is a harsh form of punishment in many contexts. Examples are exile, solitary confinement, the silent treatment, or sitting in the corner of a classroom. When a listener is acknowledging someone with a greeting, using her or his name, or showing nonverbal interest by eye contact, leaning toward the person, smiling, nodding, etc., greater openness is encouraged. (82) Reduction of interruptions and considerate turn-taking also have this effect. (10)

The second factor is the *relevancy of the response* to what has been said. The listener who misses the point of a message, picks up on a minor element rather than the main thrust, changes the topic from one that is uncomfortable to one less threatening, or simply tells a minimally related

story is discouraging the speaker from continuing to share himself or herself.

The opposite of these patterns is characterized by true *dialogue* in which the exchange is focused on the central issue and feelings expressed by the speaker. (13) The listener can communicate his or her effort to understand the other by offering empathic responses. Empathy involves focusing attention on the speaker's (rather than the listener's) needs and intentions, making an effort to take her or his point of view or to put oneself in the speaker's shoes, and then making a series of guesses as to the full meaning of the message being expressed in terms of the feelings being experienced and the reasons they have arisen. (11) This is often done by *paraphrasing*, a process whereby the listener puts what is heard into his or her own words in a way that is virtually interchangeable with what the speaker is trying to say. (36)

The third factor is the *acceptance* of the speaker's message, rather than reinterpretation or criticism of it. Too often a teacher who wants to relieve unpleasant feelings inhibits the exchange by trying to manipulate the student's feelings. This is done in such ways as ordering, directing ("You have to . . ."); warning, threatening ("You'd better not . . ."); preaching, moralizing (You ought to . . .); advising, giving solutions ("Why don't you . . ."); lecturing, informing ("Here are the facts . . ."); evaluating, blaming ("You're wrong . . ."); praising, agreeing ("You're right . . ."); name-calling, shaming ("You're foolish . . ."); interpreting, analyzing ("What you need . . ."); sympathizing, supporting ("You'll be okay . . ."); questioning, probing ("Why did you . . ."); withdrawing, avoiding ("Let's forget it . . ."). These processes attempt to impose the teacher's viewpoint on the student and tend to arouse guilt or anger in the student about feeling as s/he does. (45)

An acceptant response imposes no judgment on the speaker. It is descriptive of what has been heard, not critical. Its intention is to comprehend or understand. It is problem-oriented rather than control-oriented, expressing a desire to collaborate in defining a mutual concern and seeking its solution, rather than trying to get the other person to see something the way we do. It is receptive, indicating a need for additional data and seeking clarification of a situation as the speaker views it, rather than having all the answers. It indicates respect for and supports the use of the speaker's own ability to think through and respond appropriately to what is bothering her or him. (75)

The fourth factor is an indication of involvement or *relatedness* with the speaker. This is the opposite of a cold, pseudo-professional, distant, aloof, or mechanically warm style of listening. Such a listener maintains

his or her status and control of the situation at all times, uses only impersonal language (talking about people in general, using professional jargon frequently, citing authorities, or avoiding the expression of feelings), and giving few clues as to his or her own affective experiences in the past or at the moment.

Conversely, a caring, involved listener is perceived as a genuine, open, responsible person who is responding on an emotional as well as an intellectual level. Without distorting the speaker's message or unduly shifting attention to himself or herself, the personally involved listener might share how s/he experienced a similar situation, what s/he sees in the speaker's behavior that could be self-defeating, and how s/he is feeling about their interaction at present. (72)

No matter how confirming a teacher might be, some students may remain hesitant about sharing personal feelings. Perhaps 10 to 20 percent of our students suffer from general apprehension about speaking to anyone. They tend to sit at the periphery of a room, to avoid the attention of others, and to make only brief, safe utterances. As a result, they have few friends, do less well academically, and limit themselves to considering only vocations with a low demand for socializing. Their dysfunctional patterns are maintained in classrooms where quiet and meekness are encouraged, where comments that are incorrect are chastised, and where ridicule and sarcasm are allowed. To diminish their apprehension, these children need both extra doses of the listening methods advocated here and graduated, structured opportunities to participate orally in situations with minimal exposure, judgment, and risk. (73)

When students occasionally hesitate to state their real feelings in open, identifiable ways, teachers need to be alert to indicators of their feelings that are "given off" rather than stated explicitly. When people don't say overtly what is on their minds, their nonverbal behavior often provides meaningful clues. For example, clothing choice indicates how students want to be seen and how they view themselves. (46) The face generally provides the most information about *how* we feel, and body cues indicate the *intensity* of the specific emotion. (31) Some emotions—happiness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust/contempt, interest, and sadness—are expressed similarly in virtually all cultures. (30) Other emotions are learned and are more subject to misinterpretation. For example, lowering one's eyes and looking down is a sign of respect in some communities and a sign of guilt in others. Some people (internalizers) do not display much emotion in their faces, but have inner physiological signs of the emotion; others (externalizers) are more apt to indicate their mood in their faces and have less inner arousal. (15) Males tend to be internalizers more than

do females, although this distinction is not found in pre-schoolers: (14)

Frequency and duration of eye contact generally accompany a desire for inclusion and affiliation. Again, females tend to use eye contact more. (33) Eyes are used to regulate interaction: We look at others to indicate that we want to talk; we look away as we formulate our messages; we look back to check on listeners' reactions and to signal that it is their turn to speak; we look away at points of high emotion, arousal, or embarrassment; we look toward the listeners when we want to emphasize a point, or, when listening ourselves, to communicate our interest in the topic and the person; we look away to indicate boredom or disinterest. (35)

One's body movements also reveal internal states to the perceptive listener. The degree to which people turn their bodies toward or away from others generally correlates with how well they like them. (68) People maintain higher status when they remain seated while subordinates are standing. Hands often indicate impatience, nervousness, and/or boredom when tapping on a desk, formality or tension when clasped, nervousness or upset feelings when shaking, and helplessness or inability when the palms are turned up. (77) When deliberately deceiving others, we tend to face our bodies toward them less, smile more, speak more slowly, and indicate our true feelings more in the movements of our legs, arms, and bodies than in our faces. (67)

Voices also reveal the emotions people feel. Differences in loudness, pitch, timbre, rate, inflection, rhythm, and enunciation are related to the expression of different emotions. For example, usually affection is soft, anger is loud; affection is low in pitch, anger is high; affection is steady inflection, anger is irregular; affection is a regular rhythm, anger is irregular; affection is a slurred enunciation, anger is clipped. (22) Generally, joy and hate are most easily identified through the voice, whereas shame and love are least evident. Emotions whose vocal indicators often are confused include fear and nervousness, pride and satisfaction, and love and sadness. (62) Anxiety is indicated in nonfluencies such as pauses, changes in sentences, repetitions, and stuttering. (21) In short, we can listen with our eyes and ears to much more than words ever provide.

Evaluation

As people engage in interaction, not only do they come to know and understand one another, but also they develop opinions or evaluations about their shared experiences and about how each is doing. A teacher's role includes evaluating students' behavior and performance. This

involves a judgment that must be communicated in a way that guides and encourages their improvement. Students, too, often are critical of teachers' procedures and manner. Ideally, exchanges of this information should be welcomed and productive. Unfortunately, this aim often is thwarted because evaluative comments are hard to accept; resistance and destructive conflict are common results. Listening to critical feedback is the focus of this section.

If an evaluative comment is heard as intended, then it merely requires skills of listening for understanding. When it meets resistance, then an additional element—conflict—has entered into the interaction. Students often are uncomfortable and unskilled in expressing themselves in conflict situations. Conflict, however, can be a productive stimulant to growth in any relationship, if it is well handled. (39)

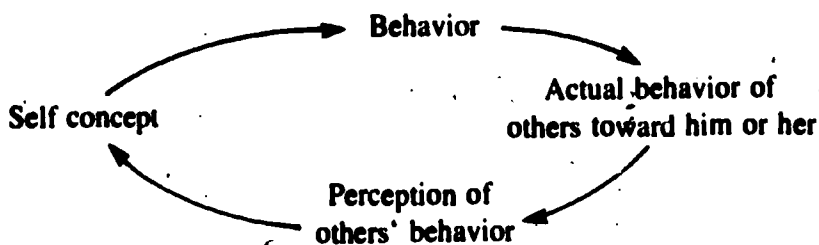
There seem to be five consistent ways that people respond to evaluative comments with which they disagree: (1) some swallow their reactions and *accommodate* the criticizer; (2) some *deny* the point being made and accept the worth of only their own viewpoint; (3) some *avoid* conflict situations entirely; (4) some *compromise* by accepting part of what has been said; and (5) some acknowledge the worth of both perspectives and suggest *collaboration* to develop a creative approach to the situation in a mutually satisfactory way. (54) Common socialization patterns of children have encouraged girls to employ the first and third approaches and boys the second. (2)

A major factor in the acceptance of critical comments is the degree of power one person has over another. Person A has power over person B to the extent that B is dependent upon A for goal attainment, especially if the goal is important to B and no one else can fulfill it. (34) Thus, if a student is concerned about earning a high grade, the teacher has considerable power over him or her. If a student primarily wants peer affection, the teacher has much less power, and her or his classmates have power in regard to the student's behavior. There are several kinds of power: reward or coercive power (determining grades), legitimate power (having the socially designated responsible role), referent power (being a hero that others want to emulate), and expert power (having knowledge others need). (38)

Clearly these powers are amply available to parents and teachers, especially those dealing with younger children. Many psychologists agree that children come to view themselves (develop self concepts) based on the evaluative reactions that they receive from authority figures. Peer evaluations assume greater significance as students mature.

Generally, reactions to evaluative comments follow the process diagrammed on page 22. An individual performs an action to which

others respond; s/he perceives their response as positive or negative, which affects self concept, and then modifies her or his behavior as a result. (55) This process is affected by the human desire to feel good about oneself, to maximize one's self concept. People try, therefore, to do things which they will be proud of and which will bring positive responses from others—i.e., they usually perceive themselves as trying their best under the circumstances.



This tendency, which often makes them resistant or defensive listeners to evaluative comments, is revealed in several kinds of responses. In any critical reaction there are several elements: Someone does or says something that is criticized and then feels badly about that. To avoid this experience, students (and teachers) are likely to deny that they performed the action or that it ever occurred ("I didn't do it"), to reject the standard of behavior that was used or to condemn the person judging ("You're not fair"), or to repress their bad feeling or transform it, perhaps into resentment ("Who cares, anyway").

These processes help ease the pain of experiencing failure, but they avoid engagement in a productive consideration of the message. There are ways of minimizing the likelihood that this will occur. One is to affirm the worth, the "okayness," of the person and to criticize only a specific behavior. This is a fundamental guideline. Criticism is received best when embedded in a caring, supportive relationship. (42) To enhance receptivity to evaluative comments, focus feedback on—

1. Observations of actual events, rather than inferences of motivation.
2. Descriptions, rather than judgments.
3. Statements of "more or less," rather than "either/or."
4. Very recent or current events, rather than dim memories.
5. Alternatives, rather than solutions or answers.
6. Shared information and ideas, rather than advice.
7. The value that it has to the recipient, rather than the "release" it provides the giver.
8. The amount a recipient can actually use, rather than how much the giver has to offer.

9. The limits of the time and place, rather than disregarding the social norms of the situation. (40)

In summary, critical comments are heard best when they are couched in terms that are useful to the recipient and when they are primarily descriptive, as well as evaluative. (61)

Receivers of critical feedback need not take what the giver says without question. Critics have their own biases, and whenever possible, others' views should be checked out before a decision is made about changing. We can't please all of the people all of the time. Of course, feedback is essential if someone is to grow, but the receiver must weigh how pervious or impervious to be in each instance. Too much receptivity leads to an other-directed, wishy-washy posture; too little leads to rigidity and inflexibility. A rule of thumb to follow is this: When listening to critical feedback, weigh it in light of the giver's bias.

LISTENING FOR AESTHETIC RESPONSE

Attention

There may be several moments in the course of a school day when teachers seek to enhance students' enjoyment or aesthetic appreciation of works of art. If that artistic piece is a musical presentation or a selection from literature delivered orally, then the aesthetic response is achieved through listening. In this domain of instruction, one might assume that students would be maximally receptive, that aesthetic listening would demand less of a student than listening in other subject areas, and that, in fact, such courses would be universally attractive and easy. None of these assumptions is necessarily true.

In the aesthetic domain, particularly when listening to music, which will be the focus of this section, we may have more focus than in the other areas on listening with only the intent of keeping attention on incoming stimuli. Here, simply being open to the impact that music can have on us, just allowing it to work its magic on our sensory organs, rather than analyzing its content or feelings, can be a major part of the listening response. Sound alone can have a dramatic impact. (Imagine the difference between the effects of seeing and hearing an explosion nearby.) Studies have shown that music produces changes in pulse, respiration, and blood pressure. (66) One's respiratory rate tends to adapt to musical rhythms, and music can affect muscular activity. "Fundamen-

tally, musical stimuli are sensations rather than images. Chords, intervals, pitches, timbres are qualities, not ideas or objects. We feel them, we don't just observe them. They don't occur to us, they stimulate us." (4, p. 75) That is, if we allow them to.

Music potentially is capable of having a deep and visceral impact on its listeners. (25) A fundamental responsibility of the listener is to permit that impact to occur. At first hearing, the music should control or direct the nature of the listener's experience. Hence, it seems that in order to attend receptively to music, the listener must first enter into an optimally neutral or open state in which the music can have its intended effect. The listener "will hear the music only to the extent that he identifies himself with it, establishing a fresh and essentially naive contact with it, without preconceived ideas and without strained effort." (80, p. 88)

This basic state of open attentiveness is affected by the listener's emotional and relaxation levels. The rhythms of the body—the tempo of walking, heartbeats, respiration, and spontaneous movements—are interrelated and operate at a median rate commonly considered normal, neutral, neither fast nor slow in many different cultures.

The median activity rate is important in determining the particular feeling of different sensory stimuli. Stimuli which tend to match our physiological activity level are felt as moderate; those which deviate from this level tend to be experienced as exciting or relaxing, calming or intense. A sound is loud or soft, a light is bright or dim, a motion is fast or slow, in relation to our median physiological rate. (4, p. 13)

One's emotional state alters this median rate. When we feel stimulated (e.g., angry, joyful), we experience a rush of energy, and our physiological rate rises; when we are depressed or peaceful, an opposite change occurs. These deviations from the neutral, median rate affect how music is perceived. (69) Perhaps this variation is what affects our selection of music when we have many records to choose from. It suggests, too, that teachers must either keep in mind the students' level of emotional arousal when selecting music or try to change it in order to appropriately match their receptivity to the piece being played.

Recent research on brain functioning indicates that there is a division of labor between the right and left hemispheres. (71) For most people the right hemisphere processes, among other things, nonverbal, aesthetic stimuli, while the left hemisphere responds to linear, logical, analytic materials. The right hemisphere seems to require that one's organism be in a relaxed, receptive state to become operative.

However, under the complex, changing, demanding conditions of modern life, our organisms are most often in a "fight-flight" response mode. When we feel stress, pressure, or threat, our bodies undergo "an involuntary response that includes an increase in blood pressure, heart rate, rate of breathing, blood flow to the muscles, and metabolism, preparing us for conflict or escape." (5, p. 24) These changes are triggered by activation of the sympathetic nervous system, resulting in secretion of the hormone epinephrine that essentially brings about these reactions. When in this state, an individual is ready to take action, to have impact, to exert force. In this state, brain wave activity is at a higher frequency and the left hemisphere is dominant.

On the other hand, when an individual feels generally calm, safe, and peaceful, an opposite body state exists—the *relaxation response*. All of the aforementioned physiological symptoms are reversed. (5) In this state, receptivity and attentiveness to aesthetic stimuli are heightened. Consequently, another dimension of attentive aesthetic listening is one's level of relaxation.

It is unlikely that students absorbed in the academic and social tensions of a school day would enter a music class sufficiently relaxed to attend openly to music. It may be necessary to guide them to shifting their organismic state from a fight-flight to a relaxation response. (9) This can be done in several ways: (1) Sitting quietly for a few minutes, with one's eyes closed, and being aware of one's breathing while maintaining a passive mental attitude is one; (2) Systematically tightening and relaxing all of the muscles of the body beginning with the feet and progressing through the calves, thighs, hands, forearms, biceps, stomach, chest, buttocks, back, neck, and face also can lead students into a more holistically relaxed state; (3) Finally, bringing into the mind's eye an image of the place where one would go to feel most at ease, such as a favorite chair, a beach, a mountain top, a meadow, etc., can help to enhance relaxation. (57)

In sum, we are suggesting that attentive listening to music involves the body as well as the mind of the listener. In fact, the human being may be thought of as a "transducer." This word derives from the Latin *trans*, meaning "across," and *ducere*, meaning "to lead"—a transducer leads something across something else. The simplest examples of transducers are microphones, which lead sound waves (small changes of pressure in the air) into oscillating electrical currents or voltages, and loudspeakers, which do just the opposite. (59) The state on one's organism in regard to emotional arousal and relaxation affects the degree to which that person can operate effectively as a transducer of music or any other aesthetic message into an internal aesthetic response.

Understanding

A person relaxed and in a neutral energy state can give full attention and be openly responsive to a musical experience. In this state one's body and mind spontaneously react to the aural stimulation provided by the music. As the effect takes hold, imaginative, affectively laden images are aroused, and soon higher mental faculties are triggered into activity, as well. Some tension is experienced as a result, and our inner cognitive gyroscope strives to restore equilibrium by foreseeing and hearing how that tension will be resolved. We desire, as in other modes of listening, to perceive complete, well-balanced units. Unfinished musical actions seem to yearn for completion. We want to project the course of each episode and anticipate its conclusion. (24) Thus, a desire for understanding begins to emerge.

We are able to project the course of musical events by abstracting the generative principle that unifies the action. Once we have grasped the superordinate forms that guided its composition, and have discovered how some of its qualities are fundamental characteristics which define it conceptually, then we can appreciate the uniqueness of each particular segment, the deviations that individualize and distinguish it from others of its kind. (1)

Knowledge of how a musical event is made, of how a composer writes as s/he does, helps us to recognize subtle musical nuances that otherwise might go unnoticed. To lack this understanding limits aesthetic listening to an experience equivalent to that of a viewer at a baseball game who doesn't know the rules of the sport, or of someone listening to a conversation in a foreign language. The pure sensory experience provides some minimal rewards, but they are far less than what is possible.

However, overemphasis on understanding, without the full primary receptive experience, often drains the vitality from classroom listening. If the listener becomes too concerned with the principles of musical form and structure, his or her enjoyment of the pure musical experience may be diminished.

A key to imparting understanding effectively is to do so through involvement. Some methods for accomplishing this are:

1. Physical movement—e.g., marching, performing physical exercises, skating, dancing
2. Playing an instrument
3. Singing
4. At a concert—clapping, stamping, joining in the chorus
5. Reading—e.g., concert programs, reference works, histories,

biographies, album covers, scores, opera librettos, and plot summaries

6. Creating pantomimes as the music plays
 7. Drawing abstract designs in response to the form and/or the themes.
- (78)

The understanding of aesthetic forms can be developed by examining how moods are created through music via rhythm, major and minor modes, melody, tempo, various instruments, and volume changes. Forms of music, such as the symphony, concert, chamber music, solo instrumental music, music for dance, opera, etc., can be treated separately. Music from different periods, program and abstract music, etc., need to be distinguished. (85)

However, it must be emphasized that much enthusiasm for music has been smothered in efforts to teach history through music, in irrelevant facts about composers' lives, and in definitions of terms that distract from the aesthetic experience itself. Understanding music requires a well-balanced integration of cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions. (89)

Evaluation

Listening critically to music is a demanding process not commonly pursued in public education. Consequently, it will not be examined here. However, the foundation for taking such a stance is laid by developing receptive and comprehending listeners—for these stages must be mastered before meaningful evaluations can be made. In fact, an aesthetic evaluation may be viewed simply as the process whereby the listener articulates what has been heard and how it was experienced. (91)

CONCLUSION

A "quiet classroom," traditionally prized in so many schools, is sought on the assumption that silent children are absorbed in listening and learning. Readers should now be aware that evidence from contemporary theory and research indicates that this is an unreliable inference. We have examined many variables that influence the process of listening, as well as ways for dealing with them. Since classroom teachers essentially fulfill their function through communication, both understanding and skill in listening are fundamental competencies to master.

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