Alternative Session Type

TITLE

Listening: Why should you and why should you not?

ABSTRACT

We will present theory-driven experimental works showing that listeners strongly influence speakers: Good listeners increase speakers' verbal fluently, and attitude complexity, but reduce power disparity with speakers, and increase psychological safety mostly for speakers who are low on avoidance-attachment style. We will invited the audience to a facilitated discussion.

PRESS PARAGRAPH

Rare but effective – this is how practitioners describe good listening. Practitioners claim that good listeners are highly successful in being leaders, negotiators, parents, romantic partners and healers. This symposium will assess these claims and their relevance to industrial and organizational psychology through the prisms of established-psychological theories and experimental works. The data suggest that good listeners strongly affect the behaviors of others such that they can create motivated and productive workforce, but also that they are not feared, which may run against the instincts of many managers, and that listeners make people who are afraid of intimacy feel uncomfortable.

WORD COUNT excluding references, tables, & figure, but including figure notes.

[4576]

Alternative Session Type

Listening: Why should you and why should you not?

WORD COUNT of general summary 744

I propose a symposium with facilitated discussion. Following traditional four 12-minutes presentations, senior I/O researchers and the presenters will facilitate small-group discussions for 20 minutes. In these discussions, we will ask the audience to form small groups of 4-8 attendees and to share with the group "the one aspect of the four presentations that (a) I object the most and that (b) I find most useful." The facilitators will then summarize for the plenary, in 1-2 minutes each, the gist of the conversation in their group.

Research Theme

The goal of this alternative symposium is to attract the attention to the potential of listening in predicting outcomes of interest to I/O psychology and being used in interventions to improve both productivity and wellbeing. All presentations are about evaluating theories regarding listening with the gold standard of science—experiments. The presentations have two sub themes: the benefits of listening or "why should you listen", and the costs of listening or "why should you not listen." Specifically, first I (Kluger) will briefly present ongoing meta-analyses of listening correlations with I/O related outcomes, and then present theories claiming that listeners have a hidden power to shape the narration of the speaker, and consequently change the self of the narrator. Then, I will show that these theories are supported with meta-analyses and a quantitative review of experimental research. Next, Itzchakov will demonstrate that a Carl Rogers's theory, regarding listening in therapy, predicts that listeners make speakers more

tolerant of inner contradictions and consequently increase the complexity and reduce the extremity of their attitude towards other people, such as their coworkers. He will support these claims both with an experiment, and with a quasi-experiment of listening training of municipality employees. To consider the scarcity (and possible cost) of listening, Hurwitz will review theories regarding social-status attainment and will argue that good listeners are perceived to have low dominance but high prestige, suggesting the status attainment via dominance is forfeited by good listeners, but achieved via prestige. Consequently, she predicts that poor listeners gain status by dominating conversations, "reducing" the speaker, which results in a dyadic-power disparity. In contrast, good listeners gain status by acting as facilitators, empowering the speaker, thus creating mutual-power enhancement and equalization. She will support these arguments with two experiments, one of which asked people to recall listening events, including at the workplace. Finally, Castro will draw on attachment theory and argue that although listening confers many benefits, such as creating psychological safety, people high on avoidant-attachment style will react less positively to a partner demonstrating good and empathic listening, than people low on avoidant-attachment style. He will report five experiments in which avoidance-attachment style interacted with listening quality, such that people high on avoidant-attachment style experience less empathy and psychological safety from a good listener, than speakers who are low on avoidant-attachment style. He will also show support for these hypotheses in a correlational study of Swedish manager.

Fit Between Session Type and Papers Included

To walk the talk of listening, I propose that 30 minutes of the session will be devoted to listening to the audience. This engagement of the audience is both enjoyable and likely to allow the

emergences of common themes regarding challenges for the presented works and opportunities for development and collaborations.

Researchers Represented in this Session

As a SIOP fellow, I seek to introduce to SIOP my own research on listening and the best listening research of my former (Castro, Hurwitz) and current (Itzchakov) students. To facilitate this introduction, senior I/O researchers will facilitate the discussion: Gary Latham (Canada), Ben Schneider (USA), Angelo DeNisi (USA), Michael Frese (Singapore), and Fredrik Anseel (Belgium).

A Personal Note

I became a SIOP fellow largely due to my former work on feedback interventions, describing them as double-edged swords (Kluger & DeNisi, 1998) that could reduce motivation and performance in many circumstances (Kluger & DeNisi, 1996; Van Dijk & Kluger, 2011). Nevertheless, these works appear to have no impact on the use of feedback interventions in organizations. This discouraged me to the degree that I was seriously considering a career change. Fortunately, I stumbled on listening, which is in a sense opposite to feedback. That is, feedback, which is about *telling* employees something, is a risky intervention, whereas *listening* to employees, on average, does not yield any evidence that it is dangerous. Thus, I believe that listening could become a topic of research and interventions that will be embraced by I/O psychologists and their clients.

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The Hidden Power of Listening: Meta-Analyses

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WORD COUNT excluding references, tables, and a figure: 923

In this presentation, I seek to achieve two goals: (a) establish the high relevance of the perception of how well a person listens to I/O psychology, and (b) assess the experimental evidence regarding listening. Listening to employees, customers, peers, and people in general is largely ignored by I/O psychology. For example, I found only eight articles containing the topic of listening in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* (1965 – August 2014) out of 4,279 articles. These eight papers pertain to listening as listening to music, to lectures, or instructions, etc. In contrast, I am focusing on listening as a multi-dimensional constructs that is composed not only of auditory attention and comprehension, but also of signaling intention towards the speaker, or sending relationship signals (Bodie, 2012). To establish the relevance of listening, so defined, to I/O psychology, I present first the results of meta-analyses of correlations between listening and various I/O Psychology-relevant outcomes. As can be seen in Table 1, listening is correlated either moderately or strongly with all outcome variables, expect for task leadership. That is, the better a person is perceived to listen the higher the perception of the (people) leadership of that person, $\rho = .73$, the higher the job-satisfaction, commitment, psychological safety, and trust of the subordinates (or customers) of that person, and the lower is their burnout. Moreover,

perceived listening is positively correlated with actual sales among salespersons and better police work among detectives. Given that listening is so strongly correlated with I/O Psychology-relevant outcomes, I turn to assess listening theories in light of available experimental evidence.

Table 1.

Random model meta-analyses of raw correlations and correlations corrected for unreliability of listening with I/O-relevant outcomes

				95% CI					
Outcome	*k*	*N*	*r*	*LL*	*UL*	τ^2	*Q*	*p of Q*	**ρ**
Leadership	13	7,874	.61	.52	.69	.051	267.22	< .01	**.73**
Job Satisfaction	10	7,751	.49	.37	.59	.051	287.49	< .01	**.57**
Burnout	8	3,652	-.28	-.33	-.23	.002	11.11	.13	**-.34**
Psychological Safety	6	1,092	.62	.53	.70	.264	16.10	.01	**.70**
Trust	6	1,356	.58	.24	.79	.017	225.25	< .01	**.65**
Leadership Task	5	1,893	-.07	-.23	.09	.031	42.58	< .01	**-.08**
Performance	5	1,053	.33	.17	.46	.028	24.90	< .01	**.37**
Commitment	3	4,032	.37	.11	.58	.054	46.11	< .01	**.45**

Existing listening theories make strong claims about the power of the listener to shape the behavior of the speaker. Specifically, listeners are argued to (a) shape the narration of the speaker (Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2000), and (b) consequently the narrator's self-knowledge (Pasupathi, 2001), and even (c) the narrator's personality (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1991/1952). To assess these claims, I am searching all listening-related experiments. Thus far, I was able to

locate 41 experimental effects that appeared in 22 different articles. Some of the papers reported multiple *DV*s. Where *DV*s were deemed similar, I calculated the mean effect for these *DV*s. When *DV*s were deemed dissimilar, I have assigned them to a different topic (See Table 2 for topics organized by descending frequency –Table 2 can be *ignored* when reviewing this presentation).

As can be seen in Figure 1, listening has a consistent positive effect on speaker's fluency, $K = 14$, total $N = 597$, $\overline{d} = 0.83$, with a narrow-confidence interval, $LL = 0.65$, $UL = 1.01$, and a negligible estimate of true variability among effect sizes, $\tau^2 = .01$, $Q_{(13)} = 14.2$, $p = .26$. Thus, the theoretical argument that listeners shape the narration of the speaker (Bavelas et al., 2000) is strongly and consistently supported. That is, good listeners increase the quality of narration in terms of speech clarity, elaboration, and amount of disfluencies. It is important to note that in these experiments, listening was operationalized by comparing the effect of distracted listening to normal listening. These experiments do not inform practitioners in how to improve listening beyond normal listening.

The second most frequent topic was training effectiveness. Listening training appears effective on average, $K = 4$, total $N = 383$, $\overline{d} = 0.86$, with large confidence interval, $LL = 0.23$, $UL = 1.49$, and large estimate of true variance, $\tau^2 = .34$, $Q_{(3)} = 22.6$, $p < .01$. These results are very similar to a meta-analysis of quasi-experiments, $K = 7$, assessing training effectiveness with pre-test post-test only design (not reported here). When aggregating these meta-analyses, I found a significant negative correlation between the effect size and the sample size. Whereas this correlation could be explained by a publication bias, one possibility is that there is a true heterogeneity of effect sizes: "in intervention studies this can happen because the intervention is more intensely delivered in smaller more personalized studies" (Field & Gillett, 2010, p. 687).

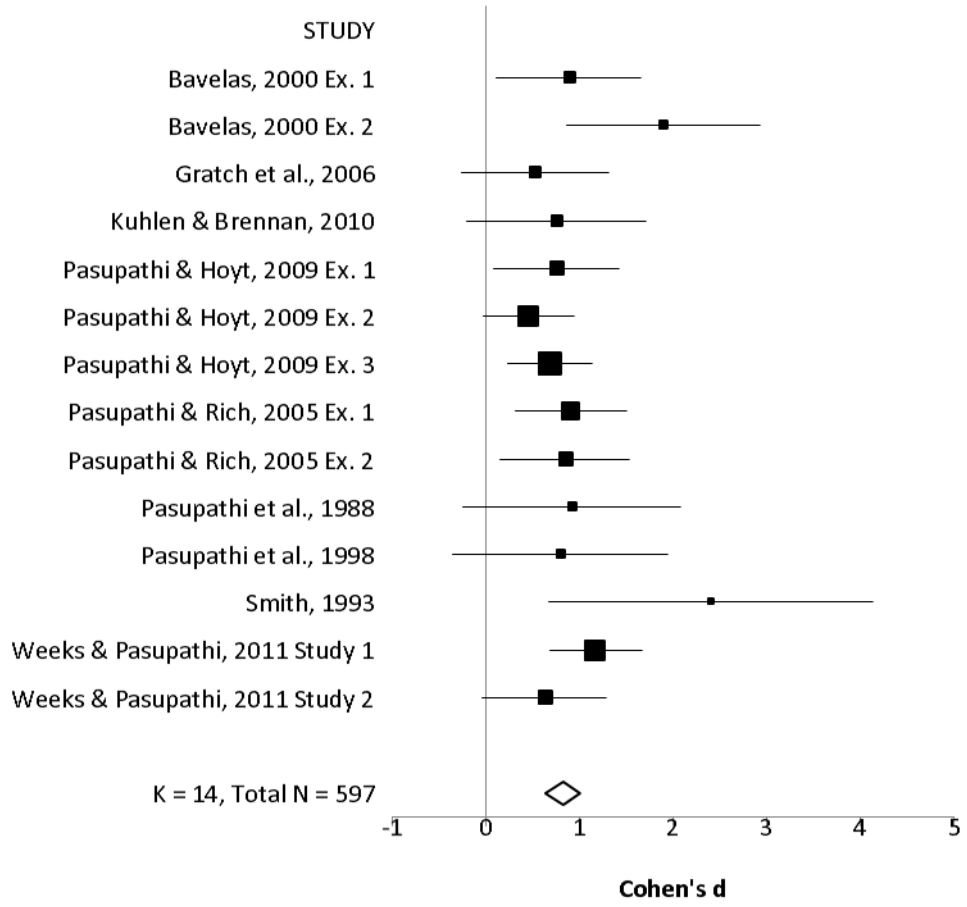

Figure 1. A forest plot of Cohen's d values reflecting the effects of good vs. poor listening on speaker's fluency.

The remainder of the studies (Table 2) suggest that listening also affect self-knowledge of the narrator. However, the four effects supporting this contention are based on a single paper (Weeks & Pasupathi, 2011). Yet, this is consistent with the finding that listener's expression affect the abstractness vs. concreteness of information shared by speakers (Beukeboom, 2009) and, in tandem with the meta-analysis on fluency, suggest that listening first changes what a speaker say and consequently what a speaker know about oneself.

Table 2

Studies reporting listening experiments, categorized by topic (e.g., Fluency)

Study	Sample	*N*	*d*	*IV*	*DV*	Notes
				Fluency		
Bavelas et al. (2000), Ex. 1	Psychology undergraduates (Canada)	39	0.89	Three different listening conditions vs. counting number of days from now [in February] until Christmas while listening (n=10).	Quality of Narration	

Bavelas et al. (2000), Ex. 2	Psychology undergraduates (Canada)	22	1.90	Listen and be ready to summarize vs. count speaker's words containing the letter 't'	Quality of Narration
Gratch et al. (2006)	volunteers from among employees of USC's Institute for Creative Technologies (USA)	28	0.53	Avatar mimicking listening behavior vs. Avatar emitting random response	An average of six speech quality measures (e.g,. disfluencies, number of words)

Kuhlen and Brennan (2010)	Undergraduates (USA)	19	0.76	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	Mean of elements of joke told, number of words, extra details and time	Mean of elements of joke told, number of words, extra details and time. The condition of expecting a distracted listener was not included in the meta-analysis, but F tests were used to estimate two components of the mean effect.

Pasupathi and Hoyt (2009), Ex. 1	Same-gender pairs of friends among undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA)	40	0.76	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	Number of speaker-generated facts and evaluations	d is estimated from F-test adjusting for other experimental factors
Pasupathi and Hoyt (2009), Ex. 2	Same-gender pairs of friends among undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA)	81	0.46	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	Account length	

Pasupathi and Hoyt (2009), Ex. 3	Same-gender pairs of friends among)	105	0.69	Attentive agreeable and disagreeable vs. distracted agreeable, disagreeable and neutral conditions	Amount of information
(Pasupathi & Rich, 2005), Ex. 1	Undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA	60	0.91	Attentive and Disagreeable listening vs. Distracted listening	Length of Narration
(Pasupathi & Rich, 2005), Ex. 2	Undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA	38	0.85	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	Length of Narration

Pasupathi, Stallworth, and Murdoch (1998)	Undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA	13	0.93	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	A mean of narrative length and lack of disfluencies	Within-subject design
Pasupathi et al. (1998)	Undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA	13	0.80	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	A mean of Length of Narration and (lack) of speech disfluencies	The design is unbalanced repeated measure. SD of attentive listening (first measured) used to estimate d.
Smith (2000)	Grandparents (USA)	9	2.41	Talking to Avatar vs. recording a story	Mean of story length and story time	"p-values <" were conservatively converted to d equal the critical p value

Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 1	Undergraduates (USA)	90	1.18	Speaker-Rated listener responsiveness	Overall story elaboration	Study design is correlational
Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 2	Same-gender pairs of friends among undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA)	40	0.63	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	Overall story elaboration	

Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 2	Same-gender pairs of friends among undergraduates taking an Introduction to Psychology course (USA)	40	0.63	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	Overall story elaboration	
Behrs (1994)	University-admission counselors (USA)	86	1.58	4 hr active listening training	75 item self-report of active listening	PPC design; post-test given at end of training and 3 weeks post training. Results here are for 3 weeks post training, which are similar to the immediate post test results.

Training

Rautalinko and Lisper (2004)	Insurance-company employees (Sweden)	21	1.43	16 hr of AL out of 24 hr training	Coding of reflection of facts and emotion (mean) in a conversation with a confederate	PPC design; Only reflection scores considered. Other behavior had zero variances or unclear meaning
Foynes and Freyd (2011)	University students and their friends (USA)	109	.29	15 minutes training	Unsupportive Social Interactions Inventory (Ingram, Betz, Mindes, Schmitt, & Smith, 2001)	PPC design; Data are averaged across dyads; regression beta converted to r

Kawakami, Kobayashi, Takao, and Tsutsumi (2005)	Employees at a software-engineering company (Japan)	167	.40	4 hour web-based training on work-site mental health (including listening) to 9 supervisors vs. relaxation training to 7 supervisors Self-change	Subordinates reported degree to which they "Felt supervisor was willing to listen to workers' personal problems	PPC design ;Data are nested within supervisors, but no HLM reported
Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 1	Adult friends (USA)	90	0.82	Speaker-Rated listener responsiveness	narrated event provided new insight and revealed something new about narrator	Study design is correlational
Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 2	Adults in same-sex friendship pairs (USA)	40	0.39	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	narrated event provided new insight and revealed something new about narrator	Reported correlation with experimental dummy code converted to d

				Self-stability		
Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 1	Adult friends (USA)	90	0.41	Speaker-Rated listener responsiveness	narrated event ‘‘fit’’ how narrator usually is	Study design is correlational
Weeks and Pasupathi (2011), Study 2	Adults in same-sex friendship pairs (USA)	40	0.20	Attentive listening vs. Distracted listening	narrated event provided new insight and revealed something new about narrator	Reported correlation with experimental dummy code converted to d
				Overconfidence		
Fay, Page, and Serfaty (2010)	Undergraduate psychology students (Australia)	48	0.66	Speaking to an actual listener vs. to an audiotape supposedly to be heard by a future listener	Speaker's overconfidence in the belief that the listener had understood his or her intended meaning	d value is the difference in reported d values of overconfidence in the experimental conditions

PA

Lambert et al. (2013), Study 2	Students (USA)	96	0.42	Taking about two minutes about a written positive experience vs. writing it only	PA	Equal N assumed
Foynes and Freyd (2011)	Largely students (USA)	105	0.11	15 min written training and quiz regarding listening vs. health issues	PA	Data are averaged across dyads; Design is pre-test post-test with control group; data supplied by author; data averaged across listener and discloser

NA

Itzchakov and Kluger (2014, July) Preliminary Study	Adults (Israel)	135	-0.85	Good vs. poor listening scenario by a professor accusing the respondent of cheating	NA	
Foynes and Freyd (2011)	Largely students (USA)	105	-0.18	15 min written training and quiz regarding listening vs. health issues	Mean of NA, stress, and negative arousal	Data are averaged across dyads; Design is pre-test post-test with control group; data supplied by author; data about experimental effect on listeners was similar and not coded

Unsupportive interaction

Foynes and Freyd (2011)	university students and friends or family (USA)	109	-0.29	10 minutes studying and 5 minutes quiz on supportive listening vs. healthy life style Liking	Unsupportive Social Interactions Inventory (USII)	Effect size is calculated from a semi-partial correlation controlling for pre-manipulation USII
Sprecher, Treger, and Wondra (2013)	undergraduate students (81.4% females) from a large Midwestern University (USA)	118	0.35	Listening to vs. disclosing in response to personal questions Depression	Mean of liking, enjoyment and closeness	Effect size is calculated from a semi-partial correlation controlling for pre-manipulation USII

Wiggins et al. (2005)	Mothers living in disadvantaged inner city areas (UK)	452	-0.01	A year of monthly supportive listening visits to take place in the woman's home, beginning when the baby was about 10 weeks old vs. control	Mean of two followups on Edinburgh postnatal depression scale	DV is dichotomized: score above depression threshold (>12)
Wearden et al. (2010)	Adults with chronic fatigue syndrome (England)	176	-0.15	10 sessions over 18 weeks with 30-90 minutes duration vs. treatment as usual	Mean of five scales (fatigue, physical functioning, sleep problems, anxiety, depression)	PPC design; Effect size is a mean of treatment effects on DVs averaged across measurement at week 20 and 70

Health

Wiggins et al. (2005)	Mothers living in disadvantaged inner city areas (UK)	452	-.01	A year of monthly supportive listening visits to take place in the woman's home, beginning when the baby was about 10 weeks old vs. control Support	Mean of two followups on Edinburgh postnatal depression scale	DV is dichotomized: score above depression threshold (>12)

Wiggins et al. (2005)	Mothers living in disadvantaged inner city areas (UK)	405	0.07	A year of monthly supportive listening visits to take place in the woman's home, beginning when the baby was about 10 weeks old vs. control	Mean of two followups on Edinburgh postnatal depression scale	DV is dichotomized: score above depression threshold (>12)
				Worry		

Wiggins et al. (2005)	Mothers living in disadvantaged inner city areas (UK)	435	-0.56	A year of monthly supportive listening visits to take place in the woman's home, beginning when the baby was about 10 weeks old vs. control	mean number of mother's child development worries)	A total of four different worries measured in two time periods
				Child-health		

Wiggins et al. (2005)	Mothers living in disadvantaged inner city areas (UK)	443	-0.01	A year of monthly supportive listening visits to take place in the woman's home, beginning when the baby was about 10 weeks old vs. control	Mean effect on 14 indicators of child health	The N reported here is the minimal N reported; the larges effect was .07, and the second largest .03; There were all deemed null and reported as an average

Social exclusion on Emotional listening

Hackenbracht and Gasper (2013), Study 2	Undergraduates (USA)	78	0.39	5 min writing about a recent event in which participants felt intensely socially excluded vs. intense academic failure, or felt neutral and indifferent.	A preference to listen to emotional disclosure controlling for descriptive disclosure	d calculated from ANCOVA's F test

Social exclusion on Descriptive listening

Hackenbracht and Gasper (2013), Study 2	Undergraduates (USA)	78	0.09	5 min writing about a recent event in which participants felt intensely socially excluded vs. intense academic failure, or felt neutral and indifferent. Alcohol	A preference to listen to descriptive disclosure controlling for emotional disclosure	d calculated from adjusted means and SE

Adamson and Sellman (2008)	Alcohol-dependents who sought treatment (New Zealand)	50	-0.07	Four sessions of nondirective reflective (Rogerian) listening by four therapist vs. non treatment control	Mean of five drinking definitions and across two measurement periods (after six months and after five years); Change from baseline was converted to d values, and differences in d values between groups served as the DV	DV is dichotomized: score above depression threshold (>12)
				Post-traumatic growth		
Slavin-Spenny, Cohen, Oberleitner, and Lumley (2011)	Students who reported having an unresolved traumatic or stressful event (USA)	64	.72	Disclosure to a passive empathic graduate student of clinical therapy listening vs. disclosure to tape	Post-Traumatic Growth Inventory (PTGI;Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996)	PPC design; Comparing two relevant groups from 6 experimental conditions

				Post-traumatic symptoms		
Slavin-Spenny et al. (2011)	Students who reported having an unresolved traumatic or stressful event	64	-.25	Disclosure to a passive empathic graduate student of clinical therapy listening vs. disclosure to tape	Mean of four effects: cognitive intrusion and avoidance, physical and psychological symptoms (USA)	PPC design; Comparing two relevant groups from 6 experimental conditions
				Listener-expression effect on abstraction		

Beukeboom (2009)	Undergraduates (Netherlands)	54	.58	A confederate listener exhibiting smiling, nodding, returning smiles of the participant and maintaining an open bodily position vs. adopting a serious, frowning facial expression, a closed bodily position, and not returning smiles of the participant	Abstract vs. concrete description of a short film	Manipulation check and similar variables not included in meta-analyses

Note. PPC = Pretest-posttest with control group design

Table 2 also suggests that (a) talking to a real listener increases the confidence that one's message is understood, (b) listening increases PA and decreases NA (albeit with large variance among two PA and two NA studies), (c) listening reduces unsupportive behaviors, (d) listening increases liking of the listener, (e) being listened to reduces some type of worries, and perhaps depression, but does not affect health, perception of support, or alcohol consumption, and (f) listening facilitates post-traumatic growth and may reduce post-traumatic symptoms. Finally, one experiment investigated how social exclusion affect tendency to listen and suggest that it increase listening to an emotional content, but not for descriptive content.

In conclusion, all the laboratory experiments appear to offer causal support for various theories regarding the power of listening to change the speaker and to confer multitude of benefits. In contrast, field experiments yield variable effect sizes ranging from nil to strong. In combination, this suggest that listening could be a very fruitful variable in explaining outcomes of interest to I/O psychology and that one challenge would be to identify factors allowing for effective-field interventions.

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If You Listen to Me, I Will Change My Attitude

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People often try to make their conversation partner consider alternative viewpoints by offering counter arguments. However, such attempts can backfire and create a Boomerang effect (Heller, Pallak, & Picek, 1973), that is, an extreme one-sided attitude (Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979). One unexplored alternative to persuasion attempts, which can change attitudes without causing a boomerang effect, is listening. Here, I studied the effects listening for understanding (Rogers, 1980), characterized by a non-judgmental approach, on attitude change. Listening for understanding enables the speaker to feel an atmosphere of safety, protection, and acceptance. This atmosphere should reduce social anxiety enabling the speaker to become aware of conflicting cognitions (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1991/1952). Awareness of conflicting cognition, in turn, increases attitude complexity and consequently reduces attitude extremity. Hence, listening for understanding:

H1: decreases social anxiety

H2a: increases attitude complexity

H2b: decreases attitude extremity via increasing attitude complexity

To test these hypotheses, I conducted three studies: A computerized-scenario experiment, a correlational study, and a quasi-experiment. In the scenario experiment (N =196), I instructed participants to think for 20 seconds about a person towards whom they hold a negative attitude. Next, I randomly assigned participants to read scenarios depicting a different friend portrayed as

a poor, good, or regular listener and report their social anxiety and attitude towards the first person. In the correlational study, I asked 172 employees in 75 work teams (comprised of 2-4 employees) to rate their supervisor's listening behavior, social anxiety, and attitude towards him or her. In the quasi-experiment (N = 31), I compared the change in social anxiety and attitude towards a co-worker among employees in a local municipality who participated in a six-hour training either on *listening* or on *confidence building*.

In all studies, I measured social anxiety with the state-social anxiety questionnaire (Kashdan & Steger, 2006; α's = .91, .90, and .92 respectively), and attitudes with Kaplan's split semantic-differential scale (1972). Kaplan's measure includes pairs of items, one positive, ranging from 0 to 10 on a Likert scale, and one negative, ranging from -10 to 0 on a Likert scale. An example of a pair of items is "Considering only your positive *thoughts* about the person *and ignoring* the negative *thoughts*, how positive is your attitude towards him/her"; and "Considering only your negative *thoughts* about the person *and ignoring* the positive *thoughts*, how negative is your attitude towards him/her." The pairs of items allow separating the attitude valence from its complexity and extremity. Specifically, attitude complexity is calculated as positive + |negative| - |Σ (positive + negative)|. Attitude extremity score was calculated as |positive + negative|. Higher scores on each index indicate a more complex/extreme attitude. Finally, I measured overall attitude, which reflects the extent to which the attitude is positive or negative. Overall attitude score is calculated as positive + negative, where higher scores indicating positive attitudes. Finally, in the correlational study I also measured perceived-supervisor listening with the constructive-listening subscale (Kluger & Zaidel, 2013; α = .95).

The results support the hypotheses. In the computerized-scenario experiment, listening for understanding reduced social anxiety, increased attitude complexity, and reduced attitude

extremity, *F*'s (2,193) = 19.10, 9.63, 7.56, *p*'s < .01, η^2 = .18, .13, .09, respectively. To test whether attitude complexity mediated the effect of listening for understanding on attitude extremity, I used regressions with 5000 bootstrapped samples. The direct effect, β = -.04 of the experimental manipulation on attitude extremity was insignificant, 95% CI [−.12, .05]; whereas the indirect effect, -.24 was significant, 95% CI [−.33,-.12], indicating full mediation and supporting H2b. Moreover, listening for understanding increased attitude complexity and decreased attitude extremity above and beyond the change in overall attitude, β's = .27, -.25, respectively.

In the correlational study, HLM estimates, taking into account the nested nature of the data, suggested that listening for understanding is negatively correlated with social anxiety; *B* = -0.75, 95% CI [-0.90, -0.60], positively correlated with attitude complexity; *B* = 0.04, 95% CI [0.02, 0.06] and negatively correlated with attitude extremity; *B* = -0.05, 95% CI [- 0.08, - 0.02]. Moreover, even after controlling for overall attitude, listening for understanding had a positive significant effect on attitude complexity; *B* = 4.11, 95% CI [2.93, 5.29], and a negative significant effect on attitude extremity; *B* = -1.91, 95% CI [- 2.47, - 1.35].

Finally, in the quasi-experiment, I compared the pre-training to post-training change in listening for understanding (the manipulation check) and the *DVs* (see Figures 1-4). All the interaction between time and type of training in mixed-*ANOVA*s were significant and the estimates of Cohen's *d* for change differences were -1.07, 1.15, and -0.81, for social anxiety, attitude complexity, and attitude extremity, respectively.

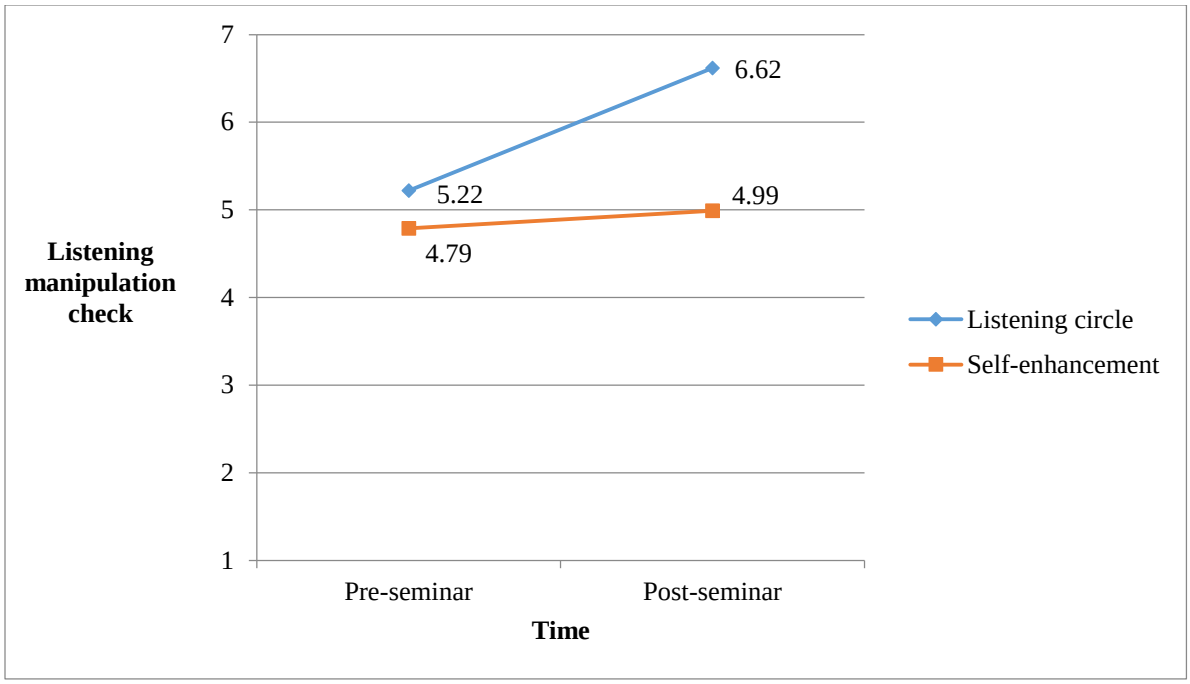

Figure 1. Listening manipulation check by time and condition

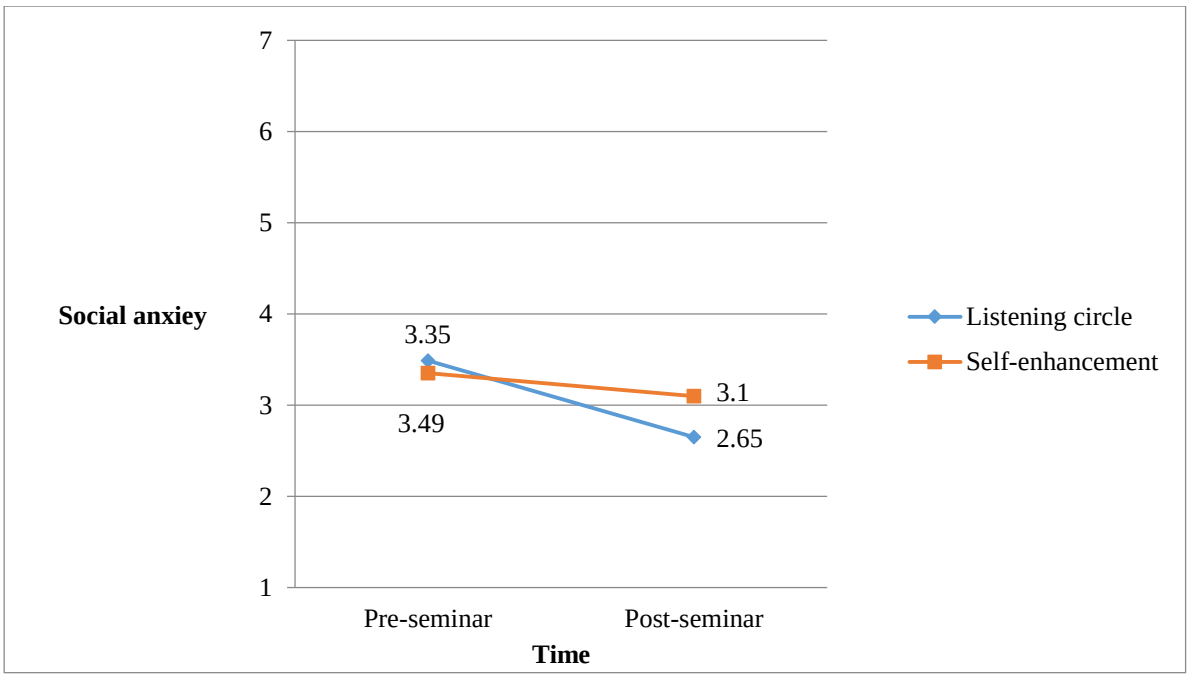

Figure 2. Social anxiety by time and condition

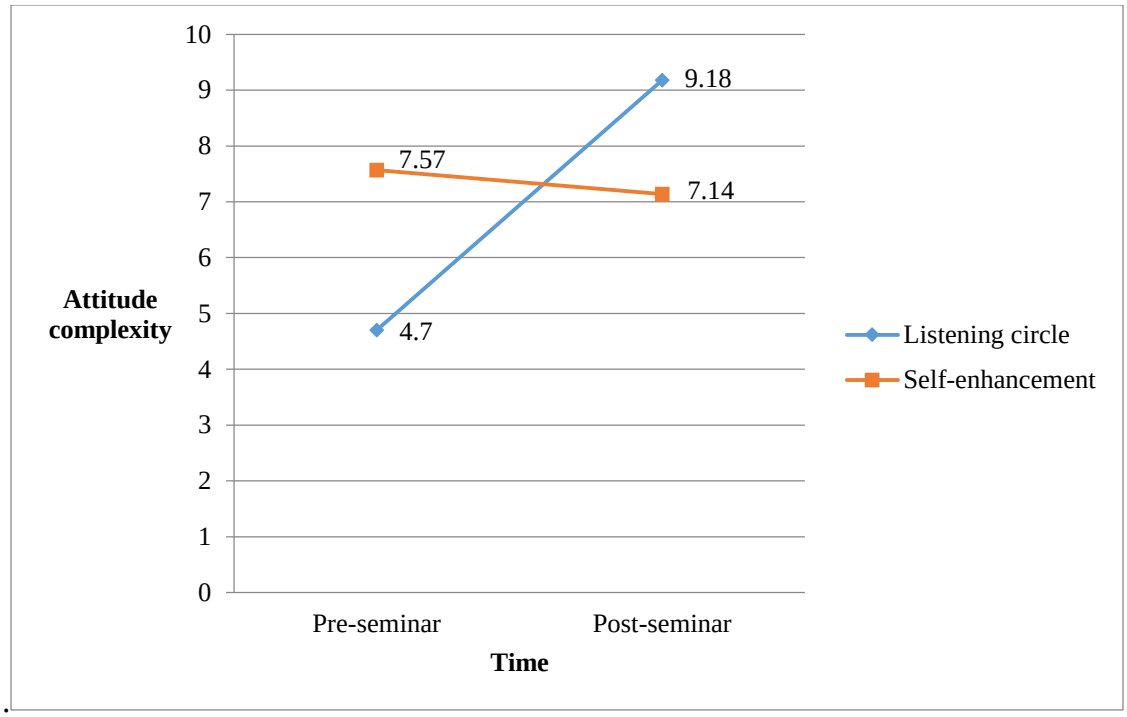

Figure 3. Attitude complexity by time and condition

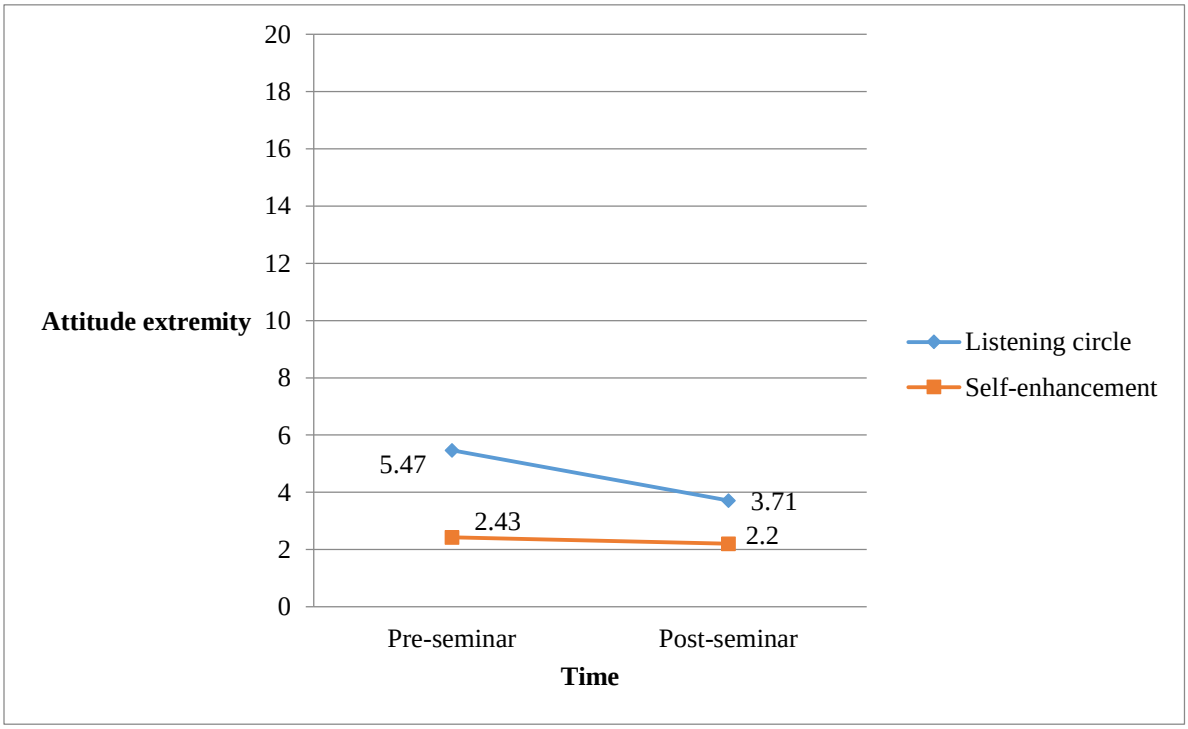

Figure 4. Attitude extremity by time and condition

Results of the three studies indicate that listening for understanding (a) decreases social anxiety, (b) increases attitude complexity and (c) decreases attitude extremity. The results support Rogers's (1980) arguments. The decreases in social anxiety levels, achieved by listening for understanding, may allow the individual to consider new information and develop a more dialectical, complex, and moderate attitudes.

My research has practical implications for the organizational field. First, by decreasing social anxiety, listening for understanding should serve as a useful mechanism for decreasing job burnout. This is because social anxiety and job burnout are known to be positively associated (Maslach, 2002). Secondly, by decreasing attitude extremity, listening for understanding could be used as a mechanism of resolving organizational conflicts, which are the most frequently noted job stressors in organizations (Keenan & Newton, 1984)

In summary, the results of this research may imply that one hitherto largely ignored avenue to reduce employee strain is to teach management to listen. Such listening, reduces emotional burden, and creates cognitive processes that are more adaptive for the workers in their organizations.

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Listening's Consequences for Social status and Dyadic power

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Listening has consistently been associated to a wide range of beneficial effects (Kluger, this symposium). Specifically, listeners can *benefit* speakers if they "listen with understanding" (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1991/1952), which consists of genuineness, empathy, nonjudgmental attitude, and regarding the other positively with respect and curiosity. However, despite the benefits of listening, good listening is not commonplace. To explain why listening is not commonplace, or why people may often be inclined *not to listen,* I suggest that good listening conflicts with power concerns. When people want to assert their power they are likely to publicly evaluate what the speaker say. This "tendency to evaluate" is a major barrier for good listening (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1991/1952). Specifically, I argue that people are more inclined to dominate conversations and less inclined to listen because of immediate social-status concerns. That is, by dominating conversations, people have the opportunity to signal competence and consequently enjoy greater influence (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009). Listening, on the other hand, requires restraint, and vacating space and time for the other, an act that can be perceived or experienced as submissive. However, I also argue that what people may be gaining *by not listening* (dominance) can actually be augmented *by listening* (prestige) and that this effect can manifest in both dyad members in the form of mutual-power enhancement. This theory and its derived hypotheses builds on previous work, that distinguished between two status-attainment strategies - dominance and prestige (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001) and two facets of emotion pride--hubristic and authentic (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010; Tracy & Robins, 2007) which

constitute the affective mechanism thought to evoke a particular strategy. In two studies, I find evidence for the notion that, poor listening increases listeners' feelings of hubristic pride, and speakers' perception of listeners' dominance. These findings suggest that, poor listening can immediately satisfy power and status needs via dominance and enhanced feelings of superiority. On the other side, I hypothesized and demonstrated that good listening increases listeners' prestige in the eyes of speakers (H1), authentic pride (H2), and listeners' *facilitation power* (H3). I also show that good listening increases listeners' and speakers' sense of power and reduces dyads' power differential (H4), thus serving as a power equalizer.

In these studies, I aim to shed light on common practices such as conversation domination and "turn grabbing" and on the importance of understanding the driving force behind them. I suggest that these types of often-unconstructive behaviors, all too familiar in organizations and work places, may be motivated by the fundamental drive for social status. Recognizing this need, in turn, may enable people to meet it with a similarly valued token, but with qualitatively different outcomes for the individual as well as for their counterparts. Specifically, good listing may supplant hubristic pride with authentic pride, harbor prestige over dominance manifesting in more prosocial and less anti-social behaviors associated with each respectively, and finally mutually enhance the dyad members' sense of power and mitigate power disparity.

Study 1 was an online-vignette study in which 307 participants were instructed to imagine themselves in one of 12 randomly assigned workplace-related scenarios. I used a 2x2x3 between-subjects experimental design, manipulating Listening (good/poor) X Role (listener/speaker) X Relationship type (supervisor-subordinate, colleagues, or strangers). After reading the scenario, respondents completed a set of questionnaires adapted to fit/developed for

the study: The authentic and hubristic pride scales (Tracy & Robins, 2007), the dominance and prestige scales (Cheng et al, 2010), the facilitation-power scale (Hurwitz & Kluger, under preparation) and a self – other perceived power measure, which I used to construct a measure of mutual-power enhancement.

Study 2 was an online recall study**,** aimed to replicate Study 1, addressing some of the limitations of a vignette design and expanding our understanding of the range of good listening experiences. Therefore, I included an intermediate condition "typical, every day listening", primarily to see whether the effects found are above and beyond "typical listening." For this study, 204 students were randomly assigned to one of six recall conditions. I used a 3x2 between-subjects experimental design, manipulating Listening quality (exceptionally good/'typical'/exceptionally poor) X Role (listener/speaker), followed by the same battery of questionnaires as in Study 1, this time relating to their recalled experiences.

Results from both experiments consistently supported the research hypotheses (examples shown in Figures 1-4). The effect sizes obtained throughout these studies indicate the listening very strongly affect perceived dominance and prestige, and that good listening create mutual-power enhancement. Interestingly, and contrary to our expectations, relationship type did not interact with any of the variables, suggesting that listening effect may be applicable in an array of different settings and relationships.

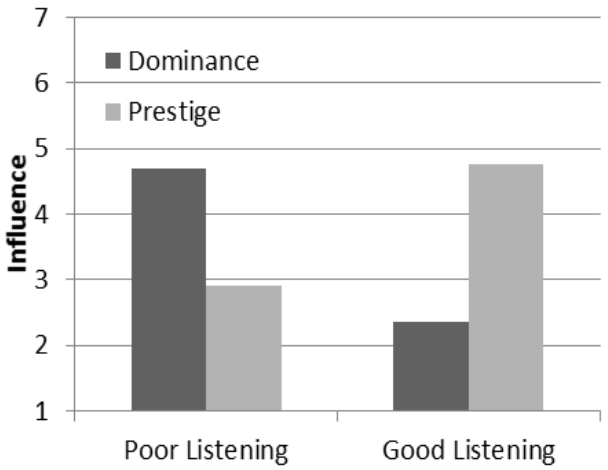

Figure 1. Study 1: The effects of listening on prestige, d = 1.47, p < .01, and dominance, d = -1.75, p < .01.

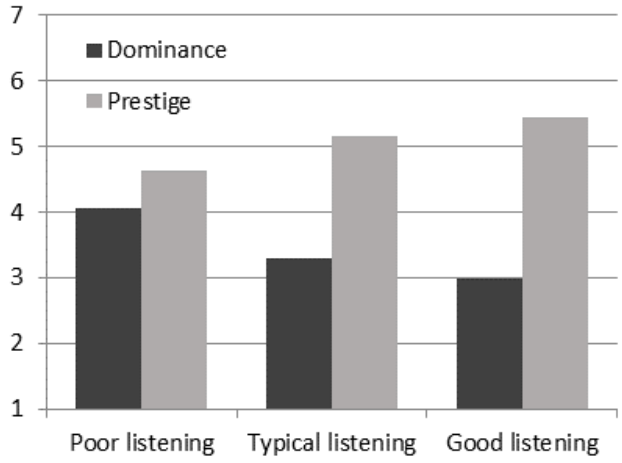

Figure 2. Study 2: The effects of listening on prestige and dominance.

Note. The interaction between listening and type of influence (dominance vs. prestige) yielded, $F(2,201) = 17.34$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .147$.

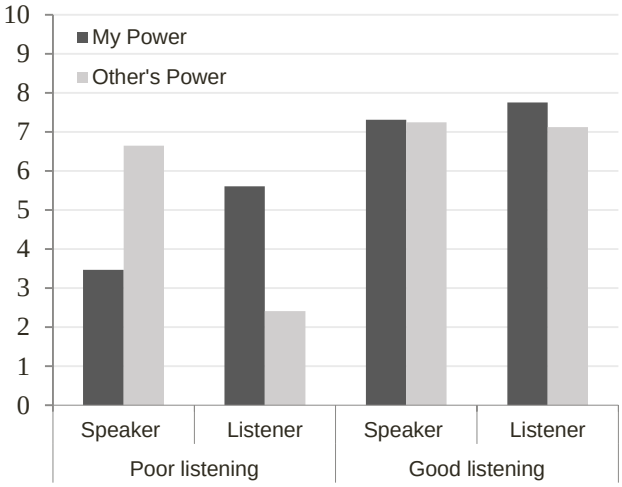

Figure 3. Study 1: The effects of listening on perceived power by role (speaker vs. listener) and power locus (my power/other power).

Note. The 3-way interaction between listening, role, and locus of power yielded $F(1,303) = 54.85$ $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$. It suggests that good listening (a) elevates and (b) equalizes the feeling of power of listeners and speakers, relative to poor listening.

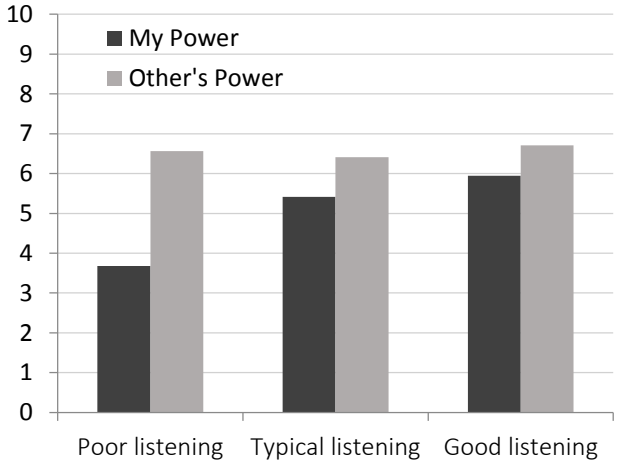

Figure 4. Study 2: The effect of listening on feeling of power by locus of power (my power/other power)

Note. The interaction between listening and locus of power yielded $F(2,201) = 12.92$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .114$. The 3-way interaction graph paralleling Figure 3, which is not presented here, yielded similar results, $F(2,198) = 12.92$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$.

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Listener Effects on Psychological Safety – Attenuated by Avoidance-Attachment Style

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WORD COUNT excluding references Table and Figure, but including Figure note: 989

When a person listens without judging the speaker, the speaker experience a sense of safety because such a listener reduces threat to the speaker (Rogers, 1951) and allows the speaker to feel valued and accepted (Rogers & Farson, 1987). Indeed, listening is strongly correlated with psychological safety (Fenniman, 2010, r = .70; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2012, r = .51). In a similar vein, research on inclusive-leadership theory suggest that some managerial behaviors, including listening, are associated with psychological safety (Carmeli, Reiter-Palmon, & Ziv, 2010). Thus,

H1: Listening increases speakers' psychological safety.

Barriers to Listening – Avoidant-Attachment Style

Practitioners strongly recommend listening in fields such as business (Covey, 2000), physician-patient interactions (Boudreau, Cassell, & Fuks, 2009), performance appraisals (Kluger & Nir, 2010), marketing (Drollinger, Comer, & Warrington, 2006), to name a few. Yet, if listening is as useful as theories suggest, why is it that so many practitioners need to preach it? I suggest that the benefits of listening are not universal, such that some speakers may become uncomfortable when they experience good listening. Specifically, I argue that avoidant-attachment style attenuates the positive effect of listening.

People who are high on avoidant-attachment style find it difficult to trust another person, share feelings, and depend on others (Hazan & Shaver, 1990). These people prefer to avoid intimacy, and they tend to dismiss the importance of social and interpersonal relationships (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). On the other hand, people who are low on avoidant-attachment style feel more comfortable with closeness. Thus, people who are high on avoidant-attachment style will not enjoy the benefits of being listened to because the presence of a truly attentive listener is incongruent with their habitual model of attachment. Thus,

H2: The effect of listening on psychological safety is attenuated by avoidant-attachment style, such that the higher people are on avoidant-attachment style the less psychological safety a speaker gain from being listened.

RESULTS

In five experiments, I invited students to the laboratory, had them fill out an attachment-style questionnaire, randomly divided them to listener-speaker pairs, instructed half the listeners to listen well and the other half I gave no-listening instructions, and finally I asked the speakers to report their psychological safety. In some experiments I instructed listeners just to listen without talking, and in some, I gave them either listening training or listening instructions.

To measure psychological safety, I used both existing instruments and items I wrote based on theoretical considerations. Given the debate regarding the measurement of psychological safety (Edmondson & Lei, 2014), I ran EFA with Promax rotation on 19 items that were measured consistently across three experiments and obtained two useful factors: *psychological safety,* which included seven items, such as “I wasn’t being judged” and “I felt

secure to talk freely"; and *good intentions* (Tynan, 2005) and empathy, which included eight items such as: "My partner has the best intentions for me"; "My partner really cared about me".

The results of these five experiments are presented and meta-analyzed with random-effect models in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that listening had a variable effect on both measures of psychological safety, and despite the significant main effect in the first two studies, the meta-analyses suggested an overall nil effect. Moreover, the variance among studies was insignificant ($Q < df$). Thus, H1 was not supported. In contrast, all the interactions of listening with avoidance-attachment style showed a consistent effect across the five experiments and the two measures of psychological safety. To assess the consistency of the results across the five experiments, I subjected the standardized regression coefficients of the interaction terms to meta-analyses. Note that although meta-analyses are typically not carried out on standardized regression coefficients, this is recommended where relevant (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2009). The meta-analyses suggested that the interactions are significant both for good intention, *UU = -.24*, *UL =* -.06, and for psychological safety, *UU = -.22*, *UL =* -.04. For both variables, the between study variance was estimated with $\tau^2 = .00$. Thus, H2 was consistently supported. To interpret these interactions, I plot for example the results from Experiment 2 in Figure 1.

Table 1.

Listening effects on good intention and psychological safety (Cohen's d), and the interaction between listening and avoidance-attachment style (β)

Experiment		Cohen's *d*		β	
		H1		*H2*	
	N	Good intention	Psychological safety	Good intention	Psychological safety
1	66	0.47	0.29	-.24	-.13
2	70	0.40	0.35	-.26	-.17
3	142	-0.11	-0.07	-.08	-.10
4	128	0.22	0.16	-.15	-.16
5	46	-0.01	-0.12	-.11	-.10
Meta-Analysis	**452**	**0.17**	**0.11**	**-.15**	**-.13**

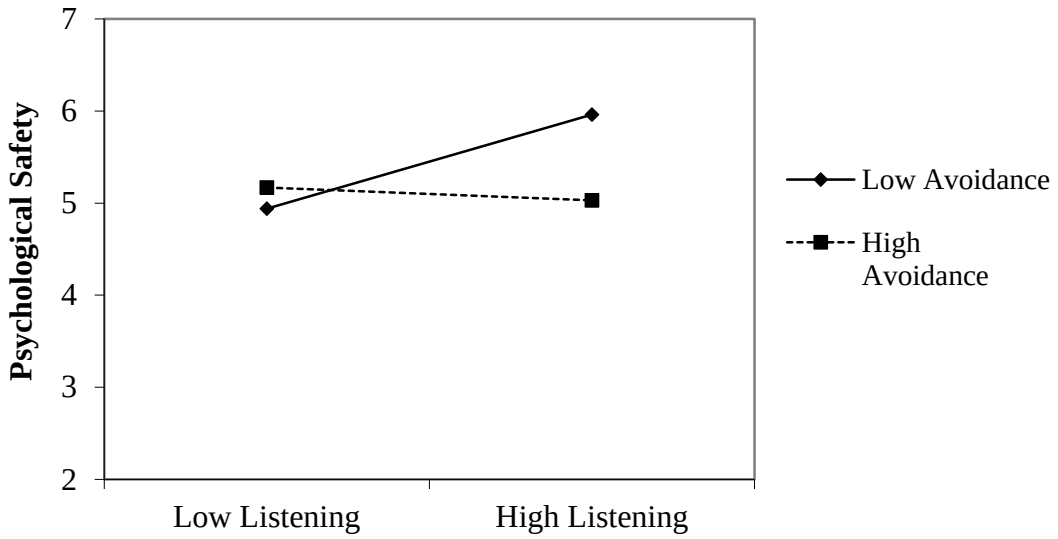

Figure 1. Psychological safety by experimental condition (free conversation vs. listening) and avoidance-attachment style, one standard deviation above and below the mean.

The lack of support for H1 could stem from weak experimental manipulation of listening. Therefore, I addressed this concern with two additional studies with better ecological validity. The first study requested Swedish managers to rate the listening of their supervisor, and their own psychological safety and avoidance-attachment style. The results (N = 129) showed that managerial listening is positively correlated with a short measure of psychological safety, r = .65; $p < .01$, replicating earlier correlational studies, and that this link is attenuated by avoidant attachment style, β = -.10, $p < .05$, one tailed. Finally, I ran a scenario experiment (N = 456) designed to increase validity and generalization across relationship types and manipulating three listening conditions: no listening, typical conversation, and good listening. As expected, listening increased psychological safety in the good-listening condition, relative to the typical conversation, d = 0.91, and relative to the no listening condition, d = 4.39. Moreover, this

listening effect was attenuated by avoidant-attachment style. Thus, in the correlational study and the scenario experiments both H1 and H2 were supported.

DISCUSSION

Whereas Carl Rogers strongly suggested that people and managers learn to listen (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1991/1952), our results suggest that people high on avoidant-attachment style may not benefit, and even suffer, from good listening, at least in short terms like those I studied the laboratory. This suggest that more research is needed to find out how listening can create psychological safety for people high on avoidance-attachment style. This is important for organizations seeking to increase psychological safety because it increase creativity (Carmeli et al., 2010). Yet, our field study may hint that on the long term, or in established relationships, everyone enjoys being listened to albeit to a different degree.

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