

STUDIA PHILOLOGICA JYVÄSKYLÄENSIA 19

AINO SALLINEN-KUPARINEN

FINNISH COMMUNICATION RETICENCE

PERCEPTIONS AND SELF-REPORTED BEHAVIOR



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, JYVÄSKYLÄ 1986

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ABSTRACT

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This study explores Finnish *communication reticence* by means of introspective methods. Communication reticence is conceptualized as a *negative dispositional or situational affective response toward oral communication likely to restrict or inhibit one's interactive functions*. Communication reticence is primarily operationalized as a person's score on the Likert-type *Communication Reticence Scale* (N = 1094). Additionally, communication reticence is operationalized as a person's score on the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* (N = 145) and a subject's written responses to sentence completig tasks on the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* (N = 110). The distribution of communication reticence followed theoretical expectations based on the normal-curve equation. The level of communication reticence was significantly affected by environmental factors, such as education, growth milieu, and family's socio-economic status. Representing various facets of communication reticence, a low incidence of interpersonal communication reticence but a high prevalence of stage fright and general social anxiety were observed. The hierarchy of anxiety-arousing communicative situations was developed, and attributions salient to the rhetorical thinking of communication reticents were analyzed. Empirical evidence on communication reticence is confronted with national myths and common beliefs regarding Finns as oral communicators. Special attention is paid to the role of talk in society and different values placed on oral interaction in different cultures. Based on empirical findings, a series of theoretical, cultural, and pedagogical applications is proposed.

intercultural communication. speech education. communication apprehension. stage fright. unwillingness to communicate. shyness. reticence. social anxiety.

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January, 1986

A.S.-K.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. *An overview of the research problem*

Over the past 50 years communication scholars have been interested in an individual's proclivity to either approach or avoid oral interaction. In conjunction with the rapid growth of speech communication as an academic discipline, the last two decades have witnessed an abundance of empirical research concerning one's likelihood to approach or avoid oral discourse. Currently, research on maladjusted social-communicative behavior constitutes the most extensive paradigm in the speech communication field, entertaining various schools of thought regarding the etiology, manifestations, and treatment of communication dysfunctions.

The ability to communicate efficiently enables individuals to perform useful and necessary functions in their personal lives and for society. Conversely, deleterious internal states, elicited in interaction, or inability to communicate may profoundly interfere with one's social-communicative function. People suffering from communication problems may engage in interaction less than is socially acceptable or less than they want to. Viewed from a utilitarian perspective, people are regarded as having a communication problem if they fail to accomplish their interaction goals.

It is well supported in the communication research field, that withdrawal from oral activities with serious social-communicative effects as concomitant constitutes a pervasive problem in modern society, where oral communication plays a vital role in everyday transactions (for a review, see e.g. Daly & Stafford 1984; McCroskey 1977; Richmond 1984). Extensive studies of the American population suggest that approximately 20 percent of individuals suffer from a high level of fear or anxiety in communication situations (McCroskey 1977). Anguish aroused when giving a speech in front of an audience appears to be one of the most common fears among Americans (Bruskin; The Bruskin Report, 1973). The number of persons classified as reticent varies between estimates of 10% to 33% (Phillips 1968:44; Phillips & Metzger 1973b:221; Rosenfeld & Plax 1976:25). Further, research conducted in Anglo-American cultures suggests that approximately 40% of the population suffer

from shyness profound enough to interfere with social interaction (Zimbardo 1977).

In European studies related to classroom interaction it has been found, for example, that 35% of Swedish pupils reported that they remain silent in classes often or always. Approximately 80% of them experienced at least situational discomfort when speaking in front of a class. (Lanerfeldt 1982:59-60.) Based on observational data, 31% of students in Portugal were classified as silent (Pedro 1981:192). Approximately 45% of British students were observed communicating rarely or not at all with their teachers or classmates (Galton & Croll 1981:145).

Is the incidence of avoidance of oral communication still greater among Finns, who are supposed to be silent according to old national stereotypes concerning their communication behavior? The main purpose of the present study is to analyze the prevalence of Finnish communication reticence and its nature. The following question, then, is of specific interest to the present study: Assuming that the myth regarding Finnish silence would receive empirical corroboration, would silent behavior be primarily accounted for by oral skills deficits, attitudinal factors related to interaction, inhibitive internal states hampering speech communicative functions, or cultural-bound variables which regulate interaction behavior and intertwining of talk and silence in transactions? Prior to conceptualizing the target phenomenon and discussing its presuppositions, various approaches to the research problem prevalent in the literature are delineated and a series of current controversial issues are introduced.

Studies related to communication problems have been conducted under a wide variety of labels: *stage fright* (Clevenger 1955; 1959), *audience sensitivity* (Paivio & Lambert 1959), *speech anxiety* (Beatty, Kruger & Springhorn 1976; Behnke & Beatty 1981; Behnke, Carlile & Lamb 1974; Mulac & Sherman 1974), *audience anxiety* (Buss 1980; Daly & Buss 1984), and *performance anxiety* (Latané & Nida 1980). In addition to these, related studies have been conducted under the heading of *reticence* (Phillips 1968), *communication apprehension* (McCroskey 1970), *unwillingness to communicate* (Burgoon 1976), *predisposition toward verbal behavior* (Mortensen, Arntson & Lustig 1977), *shyness* (Buss 1980; Pilkonis 1977a; Pilkonis 1977b; Zimbardo 1977; Zimbardo, Pilkonis & Norwood 1975), *communication reticence* (Burgoon & Hale 1983a; Burgoon & Hale 1983b), *social-communicative anxiety* (Daly

1978), *social anxiety* (Buss 1980; Leary 1983c; Schlenker & Leary 1982), and *social anxieties* (Clevenger 1984).

Since the 1930s and continuing through the 1970s, a public speaking tradition was predominate in American communication research. Also in Europe, communication problems have been primarily discussed within the framework of a public speaking orientation, with special emphasis on didactic issues. For example, according to Teuchert (1984:26), stage fright is the most frequently selected theme in German conferences concerning speech education. However, in German speech texts, the issue is less emphasized. In the oldest Finnish texts on public speaking, stage fright was regularly discussed (Kaikko 1948; Kivijärvi 1932; Laurila 1912; Laurila 1915; Marjanen 1947; Räsänen & Wuorenrinne 1928; Salola 1949; Saraja 1937; Wuorenrinne 1932). It was first mentioned in the first Finnish public speaking text, written by Peltonen in 1901. With regard to Sweden, Atterström (1983) reports only occasional studies dealing with communication problems among Swedes, and those that do exist primarily concern problems originating in stage fright. In the European literature related to communication problems, a shift in focus from public speaking to a broader communication orientation took place at the beginning of the 1980s, when constructs affected by American communication apprehension and social anxiety research such as *kommunikationsångslan* (Swedish; Atterström 1983), *viestinnän pelko* (Finnish; Wiio 1979), *viestintäarkuus* (Finnish; Lehtonen 1982) and *Sprechangst* (German; Allhoff 1983; Kriebel 1984) were introduced.

Illustrating the proliferation of literature on the above constructs, in a current bibliography, Payne and Richmond (1984) have listed over 1100 studies on communication apprehension, reticence, shyness and related research. According to Daly (1978) there were at least 25 self-report measures of social-communicative anxiety available in the American literature at the end of the 1970s. The communication apprehension construct and its operationalization the *Personal Report of Communication Apprehension* (PRCA) constitute the predominant perspective regarding communication problems. In total, communication apprehension has been the subject of more than 200 reported studies over the past decade (McCroskey, Simpson & Richmond 1982:129).

Given the divergence of labels, controversial interpretations have emerged regarding the nature of the particular phenomena and the degree of interrelatedness the constructs share. Employing various explanations, some

constructs have been used interchangeably (e.g. McKinney 1982; Pucel & Stocker 1982; Stacks & Stone 1982; Stacks & Stone 1984). Kelly (1982a) has asserted that reticence, communication apprehension, unwillingness to communicate, and shyness do not denote discrete problems due to a sizable theoretical and empirical overlap between them. Conversely, important conceptual differences have been revealed as well (Burgoon 1976; Burgoon & Hale 1983a; Burgoon & Hale 1983b; Clevenger 1984; Daly 1978; McCroskey 1977; McCroskey 1984a; McCroskey & Richmond 1982; Miller 1984; Phillips 1980). Representing etiological differences in the theoretical basis of various constructs, both communication apprehension and unwillingness to communicate are conceptualized as cognitions (Burgoon 1976; McCroskey 1984a; McCroskey 1984b). Contradicting the original definition which identified anxiety as the causative agent of communicative disorders, reticence is currently viewed as a learning problem caused by ineffective communication skills (Phillips 1968; Phillips 1984; Phillips & Metzger 1973b; Phillips & Sokoloff 1979; Sokoloff & Phillips 1976.)

Apart from extensive studies providing empirical support for the theoretical presuppositions of the above constructs, the inherent nature and mechanism of the target phenomena have been also questioned. For example, according to Lustig and Grove (1975:156), the construct of reticence is extremely amorphous including an amalgam of different characterizations. The conceptualization of reticence is primarily based on comprehensive descriptions regarding reticent behavior (see Phillips 1984). Kelly (1982b) found no support for the basic assumption that reticence is a problem of deficient communication skills. In her view, the results suggested the existence of perceptual problems manifest by persons labeled reticent. Shyness, in turn, has been said to present a conceptual problem because it has been defined by various researchers differently (see Leary 1983b; McCroskey 1982b; McCroskey 1984a; McCroskey & Richmond 1982; Slivken & Buss 1984). Factor analyses of Burgoon's *Unwillingness to Communicate (UCS)* instrument have consistently yielded two separate factors (Burgoon 1976; Burgoon & Hale 1983a; Daly 1978; Kelly, Phillips & McKinney 1982), warranting the use of two separate factors rather than a single score (Burgoon & Hale 1983b:242).

Evidence on the reliability and validity of the communication apprehension construct and the *PRCA* has been reported by McCroskey (1977; 1978).

However, it has been claimed that communication apprehension may not be a distinctive construct but a sub-set of generalized anxiety (Porter 1979:256), and public speaking apprehension may be a sub-set of the fear of evaluation (Porter 1981:68). Also the relationship between stress and communication apprehension has been discussed (Porter 1979; Pucel & Stocker 1982). According to Lehtonen (1983b:139), personality factors associated with communication apprehension tend to obscure the target construct.

During the conceptual and empirical development of communication apprehension over one decade, the construct has been modified and its scope has been expanded from the exclusive original "oral" qualifier to all modes of communication. Currently, communication apprehension is conceptualized as "a person's level of fear or anxiety associated with any form of communication with other people, experienced either as a traitlike, personality-type response or as a response to the situational constraints of a given communication transaction" (McCroskey 1982a:139). The revised definition permits apprehension about talking, writing, and singing to fall within the boundaries of communication apprehension. However, thus far, little is known about the underlying theoretical construct and the interplay of its hypothesized facets, and a general communication apprehension instrument has not been generated. The existing research suggests only a low correlation with communication apprehension and writing apprehension (see Burgoon & Hale 1983a:247; McCroskey 1984b:14; Scott & Wheelless 1977:254). Further, low correlations between the Test of Singing Apprehension and the *PRCA* have been detected (Andersen, Andersen & Garrison 1978). Consequently, the underlying general construct and the theoretical usefulness of a broadly based definition of communication apprehension remain hypothetical.

In the literature, a distinction is not always made between a disruptive anxiety response and facilitative activation elicited in the presence of an audience, thus obscuring the conceptual basis of the stage fright construct. Illustrations can be found, for example, in American (Clevenger 1959; Clevenger & Phifer 1959), German (Teuchert 1984), and Scandinavian (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985b) speech texts. Representing an extreme response to fear promoted in public speaking contexts, German *Logophobie* implies psychiatric problems (Allhoff 1983:145; Lehtonen 1982:6; Lehtonen 1983b:134).

During the last few years, there has been growing interest in an intercultural examination of avoidant communicative behavior. Communication

apprehension operationalized as a person's score on the *PRCA* has been found to fluctuate from one culture to another (Fayer, McCroskey & Richmond 1982; Klopf & Cambra 1979; Klopf & Cambra 1980; Klopf, Ishii & Cambra 1979; McCroskey, Fayer & Richmond 1985; McCroskey & Richmond 1981; Wolfson & Pearce 1983). The *PRCA* has been said to be useful also transculturally when appropriate research procedures are followed and when it is administered to subjects possessing an English first or second language capability (Klopf 1984; McCroskey 1982b). Recently, the generalizability of the empirical findings of communication apprehension to other cultures has been questioned. For example, considerable difficulty in obtaining adequate translations of the instrument have been encountered (Fayer et al. 1982; Klopf 1984:159), and caution when administering the *PRCA* to foreign or second language subjects has been expressed (McCann 1982).

Klopf (1984) introduced the *emic-etic* distinction when discussing problems arising when measuring instruments designed in one culture are administered in another. To quote Klopf (1984:159), *emic* refers to "research that ferrets out monocultural principles of behavior, while '*etic*' refers to the search for pancultural principles." An example of an *emic* type of research is the *PRCA* originally conceived to investigate communication apprehension in the United States. Using the *PRCA* cross-culturally in an *etic* way implies that the target phenomenon can be registered in other countries and, moreover, it can be understood within the *PRCA* framework. (Klopf 1984:159.)

Studies related to avoidant communicative behavior have been predominantly conducted in cultures which place a high value on verbal interaction. In verbal cultures, remaining silent presents a problem; in cultures with a high tolerance of silence, the same overt behavior is socially more acceptable. The crucial question is, how does a culture affect and guide interpretations of avoidant communicative behavior? In discussing intercultural communication research, Pilotta (1983:273) points out that any cultural phenomenon should be investigated in its own right - in light of the particular culture in which it is meaningful. Following this line of reasoning, research projects focusing on communication problems should take into account cultural values and norms regulating communicative behavior, and norms influencing an individual's perceptions of rhetorical processes and, subsequently, examine social-communicative behavior within a cultural framework.

Given the current extensive and even perplexing body of knowledge on communication apprehension and related constructs and their potential for

cultural bias, the position taken in the present study suggests that a synthetic approach to communication problems rather than an orthodoxical observance of any specific school of thought is needed. Consequently, for the purpose of the present study, the construct of *communication reticence* is selected. It is conceptualized as *a negative dispositional or situational affective response toward oral communication likely to restrict or inhibit one's interactive functions.*

In an attempt to incorporate the diversity of approaches which emerge in the area of communication apprehension and its related constructs, and to avoid entanglement with any one approach, a broad construct was chosen. The focus of the construct remains exclusively oral in nature. It thus excludes other modes of communication, unlike the construct of communication apprehension. The communication reticence construct is defined in both situational and dispositional terms, and thus resembles the current communication apprehension construct in this respect.

In the conceptual definition of communication reticence, no causative element is explicated. Because it is conceptualized as a broad construct, communication reticence may be viewed as stemming from inadequate skills or deleterious internal states such as fear or anxiety. Presupposed is a primarily cognitive phenomenon with potential for physiological and behavioral manifestations, thus suggesting the presence of a multifaceted construct. Given the broad scope of the target construct and the salience of a cultural framework when interpreting individuals' perceptions of their communicative behavior, the present study purports to discover characteristics of communication reticence as it exists in Finnish culture.

1.2. A cultural approach to communication

Each culture attempts to create a uniform system for its members in which people can interpret their experiences and convey them to one another. Given the notion that culture and communication are interlocking systems, all human social interaction is culturally bound, the cultural background thus affecting an individual's communicative actions and reactions.

For the purpose of the present study, culture is defined as the sum of those characteristics which identify and differentiate human societies (Watson & Hill 1984). Cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and sociopragmatic rules constitute a collective reality which regulates socio-communicative attitudes and within which symbolic behavior is interpreted. Culturally regulated are, for instance, value assumptions that influence how each culture views the role of speech and silence which are the focus of the present cultural approach to communication.

Values are the core element of a culture. Speech is differently valued in different cultures. In the United States, for example, oral communication is highly appreciated (see Barnlund 1975:89; Elliott, Scott, Jensen & McDonough 1982:591; McCroskey 1982b; Minnick 1979:7-8; Okabe 1983:39; Richmond 1984:145; Scollon & Scollon 1983:170). The Israeli culture places an even higher value on oral communication (McCroskey 1982b). Also societies such as Australian and Korean reward verbal behavior (Klopf & Cambra 1979:28).

It has been suggested (Saville-Troike 1982:227-228) that children in societies, such as British and American, which emphasize individual achievement generally talk more. Umiker-Sebeok (1981:313) has observed that by the age of five, the American child not only avoids gaps in conversation by taking his own turn as quickly as possible at a turn-transition relevance point, but also by creating conversational situations in which co-participants would be obliged to assign a restricted set of meanings to silences. Thus, the acquisition of the cultural-bound norms, which regulate the intertwining of periods of active verbal communicative exchange and silence, takes place during the preschool age.

In some African and Asian cultures, oral communication is less valued. For example, the Paliyans of India, the Apaches of Southwestern United States, and the Quaker religious group avoid talk in some contexts (Scollon & Scollon 1983:170), and Chinese, Japanese, and Hopi children are considered as relatively silent (Saville-Troike 1982:227). According to Klopf and Cambra (1979:28), Japanese are people who de-emphasize oral skills. Klopf (1984:163) cites Rogers and Izutsu who claim that many Japanese view constant verbal communication as unnecessary, a talkative person being considered insincere. Traditionally, in the Nordic and German cultures, silence is positively valued (Stedje 1983:18). Scandinavian cultures are said to be less verbal than English-speaking ones (Haines 1984; Marsh 1984) and when compared to the Mediterranean

nationalities such as the Italians, the North-European cultures, such as the Finns and Swedes, appear as silent (Stedje 1983:8).

Silence is an integral part of communicative interaction. Cultures differ with respect to what is perceived as silence and when it is deemed appropriate (Tannen 1984:189). Increased interest in silence in communication grew out of nonverbal communication research in the 1970s. Much of the silence research concerns itself with speech production, especially with pauses. Apart from research on these micro-level silences, scientific attention has been focused on the macro-level silence related to interruptions beyond the linguistic structure of the message (Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1982:4). For instance, the variance of how interactants experience silence in communicative encounters (Newman 1982), as well as various forms and functions of silence (Bruneau 1973; Geissner 1975; Jensen 1973; Saville-Troike 1985; Stedje 1983) have been discussed.

Stedje's (1983) analysis of the various functions of silence is based on the position that silence must be analyzed within a cultural framework as well as in social and situational contexts. Consequently, silence is divided into three main categories:

- (1) culture-bound silence (Kulturbedingtes Schweigen),
- (2) silence as an inhibition and strategy (Schweigen als Hemmung und Strategie), and
- (3) communicative silence (Kommunikatives Schweigen).

The first category is characterized by mainly anthropological themes of interest, such as religious-ritual silence and silence related to tabus. The second category is based on a psychological-psychiatric approach that emphasizes emotional inhibitions and disorders such as speech anxiety and cognitive disturbance. These affective and cognitive factors reduce communicative activity or impede it. The third group focuses on intentional, communicative functions of silence. For example, silent segments in social interaction accompanied by intentional nonverbal cues convey messages. (Stedje 1983:10-16.)

As noted above, Stedje underlines socio-cultural and personality-bound factors of silent behaviors. Due to the inherent ambivalent nature of silence, it takes its meaning partly from the larger context in which it is embedded, and both socio-cultural and situational factors influence whether it is positively or

negatively interpreted (Geissner 1975:195; Lehtonen 1984a:183; Newman 1982:148; Tannen 1985:94-95). In talkative cultures, speech is appreciated, whereas remaining silent can be interpreted as an inferior behavioral strategy originating in inhibitions which impede effective and socially expected verbal activities. However, remaining silent can emerge as a skillful strategy in encounters where the communicator lacks motivation or does not possess a sufficient knowledge about the subject under discussion (see Geissner 1975:184). Furthermore, the different proclivity of people to verbally participate in interaction may be deeply embedded in personality factors, such as introversion. In cultures with lesser emphasis on spoken language, silent sequences in social interaction are tolerated and engaging in non-verbal demeanors is considered as an appropriate communicative strategy in relevant encounters.

The quantitative aspects of talk bear on interpersonal judgments in social perception. Some of the judgments made about co-participants are based on observable reality involving the way they talk and the amount of their oral activity. In the literature on interpersonal communication, talkativeness appears as one of the primary factor-analytic dimensions of interpersonal behavior and social evaluation. It has been known for decades in verbal cultures that perceptions of the quality of an individual's communication are significantly correlated with perceptions of the person's quantity of communication. This is a direct, linear relationship, with increased quantity resulting in perceptions of increased quality. Consequently, people who talk more are perceived as more competent, attractive, and sociable as well as exerting more leadership over others (McCroskey & Richmond 1979:57).

In addition to the linear relationship between judgments of vocal activity and judgments of evaluation, a U-shaped relationship has been proposed (see Hayes & Meltzer 1972:554). Persons who talk very little or a great deal are rated unfavorably and they are described as having predominantly unpleasant attributes. The most favorable appraisals are given to individuals who contribute actively to the conversation but whose amount of talk does not represent either of the extreme ends of the continuum.

As Newman (1982:142) has pointed out there appears to be a built-in assumption that when people are engaged in conversations it is their responsibility to keep verbal communication active. Therefore, silent members of a group are perceived as less effective in their interactions (see Fisher

1980:178; McKinney 1982:126). Daly, McCroskey, and Richmond (1977:185) report a generally positive linear correlation between the amount of time a person was perceived to talk in a small group and observers' perceptions of their competence, sociability, extroversion, composure, power, social attractiveness, and task attractiveness. The same attribution holds true also for public performance. According to Freimuth's (1976:295) findings, the increased amount of silence during the presentation of a speech caused a corresponding decrease in perceived competence of the speaker.

Interpersonal judgments made on the quantity of oral interaction or on one's decision to remain silent usually represent socially learned stereotypes. In other words, some perceptual units in one's overt social-communicative behavior are given labels which become stereotypes. According to Lippman (1966:119), the stereotype represents an idea "transmitted in each generation from parent to child so that it seems almost like a biological fact." In Zanden's (1966:80-81) view, the stereotype is a "category that singles out an individual as sharing characteristics on the basis of his group membership." Boss (1979:22-23) refers to cognitive structure perception, and reasoning which influence stereotypes and points out that the behavior of anyone assigned to or belonging to the specified group should exhibit consistence with the prescription of characteristics contained within the stereotyped label. Thus, when one says that a certain individual fits a stereotype, one usually means that the person possesses a cluster of traits characteristic of a specific category of individuals.

Far East Asian cultures (e.g. Japan, Korea, China) are increasingly contrasted with the United States in their characteristic communication patterns in intercultural studies (Barnlund 1975; Gudykunst & Nishida 1984; Gudykunst, Yang & Nishida 1985; Klopff 1984; Nishida 1981; Nishida & Gudykunst 1981; Wolfson & Pearce 1983). To take an example of national stereotypes related to communication, the Americans describe themselves as self-assertive, frank, informal, spontaneous, and talkative, whereas the Japanese see themselves as reserved, formal, silent, cautious, evasive, and serious (Barnlund 1975: 50, 54).

Making judgments about people according to their linguistic and communicative features is a common and inevitable form of national and intercultural stereotyping. Social categorization is a necessary part of our strategies for coping with the outside world and observable reality. In essence, social typing should be seen as a potentially positive process. The typing may, however, cease to carry facilitative features and yield deleterious consequences

due to its potential for negative connotations. In such situations, social typing may become a means of disaffiliation or rejection, or of rationalizing prejudice, and stereotypic expectations may well become self-fulfilling prophecies. (Saville-Troike 1982:181-183.) Perceptions that result from negative evaluations of differences in the distribution of talk become ethnic stereotypes when people regularly experience them in communication with members of a particular ethnic group (Scollon 1985:24-25; Scollon & Scollon 1982:162). Then stereotypes can detrimentally affect social interaction, yielding, for instance, misunderstanding between interlocutors who hold firm cross-cultural negative stereotypes.

1.3. *The Finn portrayed as oral communicator*

One common stereotype related to communication is *the silent Finn*. In this chapter, a portrait of the Finn is outlined as it appears in the press, proverbs, and speech texts, with the main emphasis on stereotypes and myths related to the Finns' communication behavior. Examples are taken from literature, newspapers, magazines, phone interviews, and TV programs. With the exception of the speech texts and empirical studies, this material is separately listed in Appendix 1 and is not repeated in the Bibliography.

In the lay vocabulary, the Finns are characterized as quiet, timid, taciturn, sullen and stubborn. The taciturnity of the Finns has offered a delicious issue for literal satires (Pakarinen 1976)¹ and humoristic pseudo-scholarly articles (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1977)² and it has elicited a series of national jokes. Illustrative of stereotyped characterizations of the Finns, the following descriptions have been mentioned in the press: the Finns are said to suffer from low self-esteem³ and a life style that causes inhibitions and repression impeding creative activities.⁴ A common explanation for the claimed melancholy of the Finns is the polar night.⁵

The stubborn, silent Finn is also a common stereotyped image abroad. Bertolt Brecht, referring to Finland's bilingual tradition, has said that the Finns keep silent in two languages. This phrase has become one of the national myths and it is often cited in casual speech.⁶ Seen from a multinational perspective, Finns are introduced to foreign businesspeople as formal, reserved, and conservative.⁷ Exemplifying socio-pragmatic rules related to language use and

behavior, the greeting ritual in Finland is characterized by modest and depreciating behavior. One is not expected to engage in self-disclosive and self-assertive communication.⁸ In other words, greeting behavior conveys a minimal amount of personal information and requires little emotional involvement. According to Marsh (1984) and Haines (1984), Finnish greetings may sound cool and detached to the English ear.

Proverbs and popular sayings reflect cultural values and commonly shared attitudes. Expressions implying trust in the verbal mode of communication constitute one group of proverbs, such as:

The tongue is the poor man's money. (VS)⁹
He that has the quicker tongue, has the sweeter milk. (SKS)

Language is also seen as possessing danger due to its perceived power:

A spoken word is an arrow shot. (MMT)
Sparks kindle fires, words kindle wars. (MMT)
The sword kills a man, the tongue kills thousands. (MMT)

In the Finnish tradition reflected in proverbs, mistrust of talkative persons is obvious. A great deal of talk is not valued since volubility is associated with foolishness. For instance:

He that speaks much, knows little. (SKV)
Speak less, think more. (SKV)
A loud voice shows an empty head. (MMT)
You are considered wise if you don't say a word. (SKS)

Although speaking is highly recommended in many proverbs as an effective strategy especially in interpersonal conflicts, a silent individual is seen as a wise, pleasant, and compliant person. The following expressions illustrate this attitude:

Silence wins all. (SKS)
A silent mouth hurts no one. (MMT)

People are instructed to carefully weigh their thoughts before expressing them. Proverbs often pinpoint Finnish tolerance for pondering one's thoughts.

A thorough consideration of talk is important because the speaker must take responsibility for what he says. For instance:

Speak right, even if it is a word a day. (SL)
Say it once, think twice. (SL)

Popular opinion manifested in Finnish proverbs appreciates people who do not speak much (Lehtonen 1983a; Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1985). Specifically, a person who carefully ponders his words is valued. Spoken words if wisely used are seen as powerful. A utilitarian function of speech is mirrored in proverbs.

Newspapers and magazines maintain the stereotype of Finnish silence. The entire nation is said to be characterized by muteness¹⁰ and shyness.¹¹ Even a superficial inspection of Letters to the Editor reveals that many writers are concerned about issues related to the role of speech in Finnish society, such as the insufficient amount of discussion in families¹², in school and in our educational system, in general.¹³ Argumentation is normally based on stereotypes which portray the Finns as disfluent, quiet, and pessimistic.¹⁴

The Finns are also portrayed as suffering from communication skills deficits.¹⁵ For instance, it has been claimed that the main obstacle confronting Finnish foreign trade is the exporters' lack of oral skills.¹⁶ A further illustration of skills deficits is the criticism of Finnish parliamentary debates. For example, one chief critic, Prime Minister Sorsa, has alleged that Finnish parliamentary sessions have become arenas of political propaganda instead of free discussion.¹⁷ Also the politicians' habit of reading their manuscripts without engaging in extemporaneous debate has been criticized.¹⁸ In the press, political speeches are characterized as uninteresting and reserved.¹⁹ In general, deep concern about the assumed "low level" of Finnish speech culture has been publicly expressed especially by oral interpretators, among others by Ahonen-Mäkelä and Majapuro.²⁰

One variation of the stereotype constitutes the notion that when Finnish silence is broken the resulting oral performance is slow, laborious, mumbling, disfluent, slack in articulation, stiff and inexpressive. Already in the first Finnish speech text published at the beginning of the twentieth century it was mentioned in passing that characteristic of the Finnish articulation style, the Finn hardly moves his lips and tongue, especially when singing (Peltonen 1901:81). When making comparisons between the Swedish and Finnish languages

Bergroth (1917:31) described the speech of Swedes as clearer, more melodious and richer in nuances than that of Swedish-speaking Finns, whose speech, according to Bergroth, was colourless, dry, and monotonous.

The above explanation was adopted for the description of Finnish-speaking Finns as well. In Hakulinen's (1961:6,15) influential textbook on the Finnish language²¹ it is stated that Finnish is in general characterized by "a lax, comfortable mode of speaking", which is made possible by the phonetic structure of Finnish which "even loosely articulated, achieves the minimum required for comprehensibility with remarkably slight vocal effort." The same misconception and biased opinion has continued to be cited in some Finnish speech texts (Marjanen 1947:68; cf. Aalto & Parviainen 1985:89) and, for example, it has been quoted in a recent textbook on radio advertising (Kähkönen 1985:69).²² Teachers can also be found who support such a view. For instance, in interviews with Majapuro and Riikonen, these same features have been named as typical for Finnish speakers.²³

The oldest Finnish speech text discussions usually begin with a short characterization of a Finn's speech skills. The Finns are, for instance, said to lack the skill to carry on spirited discussions and to suffer from a monotonous and long-winded mode of speaking (Räsänen & Wuorenrinne 1928:5), to be clumsy and pitifully helpless in oral performance (Laurila 1912:7), sullen, reserved, and taciturn (Marjanen 1947:28). Reflecting the general German influence on Finnish culture at the beginning of the twentieth century, Finns are often compared with Germans, who are said to be more skillful in their communication (see Laurila 1912:8).

The most popular explanation of Finnish silence seems to be the national character of the people. According to Laurila (1915:6), the entire Finnish culture is characterized by a stiffness and heaviness of mental and bodily structure. The assumed low level of Finnish speech culture (Kivijärvi 1932:8; Laurila 1915:6) is primarily attributed to the Finns' general inability to learn communicative skills. For example, Laurila (1912:7-8) believes that the lack of skills is due to an innate lack of talent and that the Finnish race has greater difficulties than others in learning to express their thoughts fluently. Wuorenrinne (1932:3, 6) is convinced that the Finns require plenty of practice in order to acquire oral skills since the national character impedes them from emerging as orally competent. In Marjanen's (1937:395) view, speech education possesses potential for removing inhibitions and helping the reserved Finnish nation to speak more fluently.

Finnish silence is attributed not only to low self-esteem, national character, nordic climate, and lack of oral skills, but also to tension or anxiety elicited in interactive encounters. This explanation seems to grow increasingly more common in newspapers and magazines. It is asserted, for instance, that general anxiety is particularly characteristic of the Finns.²⁴

One specific form of social anxiety is the so called *coffee cup neurosis*. It tends to arise in social settings, such as parties and dinners, where one is exposed to others' attention. Characteristic of the symptoms of tension elicited in these social settings, one is afraid of becoming embarrassed in the presence of others, or is concerned about various somatic reactions, such as blushing, sweating, and trembling. Compared with other countries, this phenomenon is said to be very common in Finland. (Achté, Alanen & Tienari 1971:176.)²⁵ It is a popular issue in question and answer columns of magazines and it is discussed in textbooks on psychology and in popular publications.²⁵ This theme was discussed with Dr. Fried, a researcher in psychology, who was interviewed for the purpose of the present study. According to him, the "coffee cup neurosis" is a typically Finnish construct and is not found in concept systems in other countries.²⁶

Popular opinion about verbal behavior is reflected in statements in which the Finns are typified as suffering from an unusual amount of stage fright compared with other nationalities.²⁷ It is intuitively attested that only a small minority of the Finns experience public speaking as rewarding.²⁸ In adult education, stage fright is often named as the main reason for taking speech classes²⁹ and presumably due to stage fright, classes have also had to be cancelled.³⁰ Stage fright experienced by students in speech classes has been discussed often in didactic texts on the Finnish language.³¹

As the previous discussion indicates, the predominant portrait of the Finn as communicator is mainly based on negatively loaded value judgments. Only a small proportion of the statements concerning Finnish speech culture questions the predominant stereotype. In 1933, Marjanen attacked the general pessimistic pedagogical attitudes in speech education which argue that it is impossible to get the Finns to learn anything. A similar view was expressed in Finnish language curriculum for schools in the fifties, stating that it is controversial and exaggerative to maintain that the Finns' difficulties in speech education originate in their assumed reserved national character.³² The common view of Finnish reticence is questioned in Johansson, Kirstinä, Panhelainen, and Vähäpassi's (1983) textbook on Finnish language for colleges. In this book

it is asserted that it is one of the functions of education to refute this view.³³

As an example of attitudes expressed in television, it was stated in the commentary section of a newscast that the widespread belief about Finnish muteness could be proved false in light of empirical data indicating that Finns have a great amount of social hobbies and they move a lot.³⁴ Robinson, an American linguist, has refuted the commonly held view that Finns are mute and portrayed them as being lively, witty and eager to express themselves in casual encounters.³⁵ The common stereotypes of Finnish modesty and low self-esteem have recently been criticized by the secretary of foreign trade Laine.³⁶ In the press, the widely held beliefs about Finns as communicators have been analyzed by Lehtonen³⁷ and Sallinen-Kuparinen³⁸ in light of empirical findings on intercultural communication research.

In an article, Broms (1983) approaches Finnish culture from a cultural historical point of view. He describes Finland as a land of mystic twilight whose culture is characterized by silence which represents a strong pre-Siberian tradition. He alludes to a timelessness of the Finnish soul which has been found by Russian researchers in ancient Finno-Ugric fairy tales and 10 000 year old cave paintings. Furthermore, he foretells that in the future Finnish culture will be valued as something silent, strong, and representing age-old traditions.³⁹

Empirical research on Finns' oral behavior is so far scanty. The results of speech rate measurements do not support the argument that an average Finn speaks slower than speakers of other languages. The articulation rate of approximately six syllables per second in the Finnish language represents a universal norm (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1981:133-140). Also the percentage of pauses out of total speaking time is about the same in Finnish as it is in other languages (Lehtonen 1978; Lehtonen 1979; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1981:164). In terms of some temporal parameters Finns appear, however, to deviate from, for instance, Central European nationalities.

Given the hypothesis of the different thresholds of silence tolerated by participants in different cultures, Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1985:194) have compared the intuitive data about the situation in Finland with similar data about America or Central Europe and found that the duration of silences tolerated by Finns in conversation is much longer. Compared to Swedish conversation, the tempo of the exchange moves in Swedish is said to be faster than it is in Finnish discourse (Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1982:5). Allwood (n.d.), in turn, claims that the response time seems to be longer in Swedish conversation

than in American. Allwood (ib.) hypothesizes that response time in oral discourse is shorter in cultures in which the interactants are more tolerant of being interrupted.

Apart from a high tolerance of silence, observations on the exchange of speaking turns by Finns allude to low tolerance of interruptions (Lehtonen 1984a:89; Lehtonen 1984b:184). Marsh (1984:25) has pointed out that "the Finnish pragmatic norm requires more silence and space between one speaker's utterance and the next." Studies indicate that backchannelling is less frequent in Finnish than in Central European languages or in English as spoken in America and Britain (Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1985:195-196). Therefore, the Finnish listener can be described as a relatively silent one.

In general, as Lehtonen (1984b) summarizes, many of the typical features of a Finnish speaker and many of the misinterpretations of his communicative intentions can be explained in terms of differences in the perception of time and in the temporal organization of oral communication. The timing typical for Finns is comprised of long waiting periods between turns, low tolerance of interruptions and high tolerance of silence. The way oral communication is interpreted and appraised depends ultimately on the relationship between the participants and their cultural background.

The examples in this chapter suggest and provide evidence for common stereotyped images of Finns as communicators. When compared to Germans, Southern-Europeans, and Americans, Finns appear as silent. To date some temporal parameters in spoken Finnish have been corroborated. These studies have suggested that the articulation rate and speech rate in spoken Finnish are comparable to the rate universally found in different languages. Further, they have suggested differences in the perception of time and in the temporal organization of oral communication. The portrait of the silent Finn has, however, become one of the national myths which is cherished in popular opinion, especially by Finns themselves.

1.4. Hypotheses and research questions

The main objective of the present study is to analyze the prevalence of Finnish communication reticence and its nature. Since the present study is the first large investigation of Finns as oral communicators, reluctance is displayed in proposing directional predictions. In addition to hypotheses, a series of

research questions is formulated for the purpose of this exploratory study. Thus, the inquiry involves an alternation between deduction and induction.

As was noticed in the introductory chapter, the Finns are portrayed as silent. Their taciturnity is partially attributed to an exceptionally high level of tension and fear related to oral interaction. The stereotyped views suggest a high incidence of communication reticence. Preliminary findings regarding Finns' communication apprehension do not, however, support this assumption (see Lehtonen 1983a:15). The number of subjects reporting a high level of communication apprehension has varied in range from 13% (Valkonen 1983), 17.2% (Manninen 1984) and 19.1% (Valkonen 1984). In the pretest of the present study, similar proportions of communication reticence were found, 16.7% for females and 18.1% for males (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). These findings suggest tentatively that the distribution of communication reticence does not differ from a normal curve. Data from over 25,000 subjects indicate that the score on McCroskey's *PRCA* form a normal distribution (McCroskey 1984b:38).

Subsequently, the hypothesis concerning the prevalence of communication reticence is based on the normal-curve equation:

H₁: The incidence of Finnish communication reticence will follow a normal distribution, with the result of 16% being classified as high communication reticents, 68% as moderate and 16% as low communication reticents.

Given communication reticence as the criterion variable in the present study, the relationship between the level of communication reticence and the following classification variables are assessed: family's socio-economic level, education, rural and urban background, and sex. The hypothesized relationships are deduced from empirical findings reported in the literature on stage fright, reticence, communication apprehension, and shyness.

Conditioning and reinforcement patterns in childhood have been mentioned as a major suspect cause of communication apprehension (McCroskey 1977:80; McCroskey, Andersen, Richmond & Wheeless 1981:123; McCroskey & Richmond 1978:212). Phillips (1968:47; 1984:54-55) has pointed out, that characteristic of reticent people is, among others, low valuation of oral interaction, which is particularly common in lower socio-economic groups. If this holds true for Finnish society as well, individuals with a low socio-economic background are predicted to report a higher level of communication reticence than individuals

raised in higher socio-economic families. Given this, the following hypothesis is proffered:

H₂: There is an inverse relationship between communication reticence and a family's socio-economic status: the higher the level of communication reticence, the lower the parents' socio-economic status.

The causes and effects of communication apprehension have been largely discussed in the literature. It has been found, for instance, that though no clear relationship between intelligence and communication apprehension has been revealed (see Davis & Scott 1977; McCroskey 1977), a high degree of apprehension can be a serious learning disability (Scott, Wheelless, Yates & Randolph 1977). American studies suggest that high communication apprehensives maintain significantly lower grade-point averages and obtain lower scores on standardized achievements tests than low communication apprehensives (McCroskey & Andersen 1976; McCroskey & Daly 1976; Scott & Wheelless 1977), are evaluated significantly lower in communication courses (Powers & Smythe 1980), and elicit negative teacher expectations for achievement levels as elementary (McCroskey & Daly 1976) and college students (Smythe & Powers 1978). Illustrating the withdrawal tendency of high communication apprehensives, they favor instructional strategies which do not emphasize oral communication (McCroskey & Andersen 1976; Scott & Wheelless 1977).

Since academic achievement and verbal ability are strongly associated (see Davis & Scott 1978:457), it can be postulated that if communication reticents suffer from oral skills deficits and experience disruptive emotions which hamper their verbal outcomes, they are likely to be represented less among higher educated populations than individuals exhibiting lower levels of communication reticence. Based on the above rationale, the following relationship is predicted:

H₃: There is an inverse relationship between communication reticence and education: the higher the level of communication reticence, the lower the level of education.

American studies on communication apprehension suggest that a rural environment accounts for higher levels of apprehension than an urban environment (McCroskey 1977; McCroskey & Richmond 1978). Consequently,

the following hypothesis is advanced:

H₄: Individuals from rural areas report significantly higher levels of communication reticence than those from urban areas.

The existing literature does not suggest a clear relationship between the level of communication reticence and sex. It has been found, for instance, that females report more stage fright than males (Clevenger 1959; Gilkinson 1942; Porter 1974) and that males consider themselves shyer than females (McCroskey et al. 1982; Pilkonis 1977a; Zimbardo 1977). Further, studies suggest that no significant differences exist for women and men in terms of their general levels of speech anxiety or communication apprehension (Fayer et al. 1982; Infante 1983; Infante & Fisher 1978; Jensen 1976; Mulac & Sherman 1975).

Previous Finnish findings reflect the same inconsistency. In Manninen's (1984) study, male and female students did not differ significantly in their levels of communication apprehension when conversing in English. Valkonen (1984) observed that women received significantly higher scores on communication apprehension than men, and in the pretest of the present study males reported more communication reticence than females (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). Since controversial empirical findings do not allow firm predictions, the following research question is posed:

Q₁: Do females and males differ in their levels of communication reticence?

Based on the literature reviewed in conjunction with the formulation of the hypotheses and keeping in mind that communication apprehension and reticence have been shown to be associated with a variety of social withdrawal behaviors (see McCroskey 1977; McCroskey 1978; Phillips 1984), there is a theoretical basis for the prediction that communication reticents exhibit a high tendency to avoid oral interaction with potential for negative effects on their lives. It is assumed here that communication reticents do not engage voluntarily in social activities which require verbal participation and public speaking. They are not expected to be exposed to additional speech classes apart from school. It is likely they do not hold as favorable attitudes toward speech education as individuals with a low level of communication reticence. Further, it is

predicted that communication reticence shapes an individual's academic achievement negatively, resulting in lower average grades in school reports. Finally, if communication reticence demonstrates a remarkable feature of stability, thus suggesting a dispositional characteristic of a person, communication reticents are expected to report prior withdrawal tendencies.

Theoretically, communication reticence should be highly associated with the above attitudinal and behavioral patterns of avoidance of oral communication. Knowing them, one should be able to predict the presence of communication reticence. Concomitantly, the following research question is generated:

Q₂: What are the best predictors of communication reticence?

Recently, Clevenger (1984) has discussed areas of conceptual underdevelopment especially critical to advancing the understanding of social anxieties. According to him, some of the conceptual problems deal with the internal structure of cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains and with interactions among these three domains. (Clevenger 1984:229.) The salience of this approach has been emphasized by Miller (1984:241) as well.

In the literature on communication apprehension and its conceptual relatives the dimensionality of measures and the constructs being tapped is one of the most controversial issues. The discussion dates back to Gilkinson's (1942) classical scale (see Friedrich 1970; McCroskey 1970). Given the Likert-format questionnaire most widely employed in the research on communication apprehension and related constructs, if the items with the highest loadings on the first unrotated factor have been retained for a refined scale, there is theoretical basis to expect that the instrument will emerge as unidimensional. Empirical findings - which are partially controversial - constitute, however, evidence of a more complicated phenomenon.

Factor analyses of Burgoon's *Unwillingness to Communicate Scale* have consistently yielded two separate factors (Burgoon 1976; Burgoon & Hale 1983a; Daly 1978; Kelly et al. 1982). Conversely, empirical findings on the dimensionality of the *PRCA* are not consistent (see Beatty & Andriate 1985; Burgoon & Hale 1983a; Garrison, Seiler & Boohar 1977; McCroskey 1970; McCroskey 1978; McCroskey & Richmond 1982; Porter 1981; cf. Daly 1978; Daly 1980; Seibold & McPhee 1980).

In the present conceptualization of communication reticence, presupposed is a primarily cognitive phenomenon with potential for physiological and

behavioral manifestations. Instead of proposing a direct prediction on its structure, the following research question is advanced:

Q₃: What is the structure of communication reticence?

The extensive literature on communication apprehension clearly indicates that people vary not just in their dispositional proclivity to approach or avoid oral interaction but in their situational behavior as well. Lustig and King (1980) emphasize a situation-sensitive approach to communication apprehension. According to them: "Future research must carefully identify situations used and not collapse scores across situations. Further, derivation of an adequate taxonomy of communication situations is an objective that clearly warrants research attention." (Lustig & King 1980:81.) Also Kelly (1982a:107) refers to the utility of eliciting a precise taxonomy of communication problems. The understanding of communication reticence would profit from the knowledge of relevant situational factors affecting the communicator. Subsequently, the following research question is formulated:

Q₄: What communicative situations elicit the most communication reticence and why?

Since no single cause of communication reticence is explicitly presupposed in the present study, one might question the inherent nature of the phenomenon being analyzed. Does communication reticence originate in problems manifested in cognitive and affective domains or is it caused by skills deficits? Does oral communication as a cognitive-motor function elicit tension or fear or do other factors in a social-communicative setting account for inhibitive feelings and potential disruptive behavior as concomitant? What is the role of communication reticence in the rhetorical thinking of individuals? In this study, rhetorical thinking refers to a person's cognitive processes related to the analyzing and interpreting the communicative processes. These problems yielded the formulation of the last research question:

Q₅: What is the nature of communication reticence and how does it appear in the rhetorical thinking of the respondents?

2. METHOD

2.1. *Theoretical framework of operationalization*

In the present study, communication reticence is primarily operationalized as a person's score on the Likert-type *Communication Reticence Scale* (see Appendix 2) developed by the present researcher. Secondly, tension, fear, or anxiety related to oral communication is operationalized as a person's score on the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*. The nature of communication reticence is operationalized as a subject's written responses to sentence completing tasks on the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences*. In other words, communication reticence is measured by means of introspective methods.

The decision to select self-reports for the operationalization follows prevalent theoretical and methodological paradigms in the research related to communication problems. In the research area of communication apprehension and its conceptual relatives, the most widely employed approach to measurement is that of self-reports, the stream initiated in the early days of research on stage fright in the 1940s. The assessment of communication apprehension as well as the measurement of unwillingness to communicate are exclusively based on self-reports. In the research on stage fright and shyness, multi-methodological approaches combining cognitive, physiological and behavioral measures have been taken. The identification of reticent people relies heavily on observable symptoms and self-reports. (Beatty 1984; Kelly 1982a; McCroskey 1984a.)

Given a construct directed toward the cognitions of an individual, the target phenomena are not necessarily anchored in observable behaviors, and scales represent an efficient, indirect way of inferring their existence (McCroskey 1984b:85-86; cf. Hyde 1984:127-128). Being conceptualized as a cognitively mediated phenomenon with potential for behavioral outcomes, communication reticence is theorized as being most reliably measured in terms of communicators' personal reports of their feelings, attitudes and skills, and additionally, in terms of their own thoughts about the possible impact of their internal states on their communicative activities. The conceptual definition does not, however, exclude multimethodological assessment techniques.

For the purposes of the present study, self-reports were considered sufficient for the following reasons. The self-report procedure allows for large

populations to be tested in a short period of time, enables precise statistical manipulation in analyzing the data, and permits a numerical classification of the subjects along varying degrees of severity of their problems (Kelly 1982a:106).

Illustrating the inherent theoretical nature of self-reports, they can be analyzed by using the classification of methodology into *quantitative* and *qualitative* approaches. Studies following positivistic paradigms in the communication field focus on behavioral aspects of human communication, emphasizing quantitative aspects of regularities in social reality. The data drawn by means of self-reports are almost instantly available for statistical analysis. They permit generalized conclusions about social regularities and aggregated patterns of communicative behavior and the determination of logical and persistent phenomena in social life. (Babbie 1979:35-38; Bowers & Courtright 1984:91.) Quantitatively oriented research predicts specific patterns and explains phenomena presupposed prior to testing, thus lending itself uniquely to hypothesis testing.

Representing qualitative aspects in communication research, self-reports aim to obtain information about respondents' perceptions and attitudes. Consequently, their inherent nature is usually a phenomenological one, focusing on an individual's inner world, on his internal states and cognitive processes. Underlying is the assumption that individuals' feelings and experiences are both susceptible to and worthy of theoretical and empirical study and that reality is accurately revealed by respondents' perceptions of their feelings and behaviors (Grönfors 1982:21; Hyde 1980:141; Porter 1982:237).

A qualitatively oriented scholar attempts to describe reality as it is experienced by people. Whatever is "given" or "appears" to consciousness in experience has an intrinsic quality and lawful manner of constitution (Pilotta 1983:271). The main goal is to understand how reality is constituted, rather than to explain it (Grönfors 1982:13; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1980:15). Consequently, the qualitative research contributes to theory development rather than to testing direct hypothesis.

The mainstream of the literature related to communication avoidance bears on self-reports of the respondents and follows the quantitative approach to the particular phenomenon. Humanistically or qualitatively oriented researchers have suggested that feelings associated with communication problems may not be susceptible to discovery with traditional social psychological scaling techniques. For instance, a cause-effect relationship between anxiety and communicative ability, dominant in the current literature on communication

problems, has been criticized by Hyde (1980). According to him, the tendency of science to presuppose a phenomenon as a cause when studying its effects presents a problem, obscuring its ontological nature. Hyde encourages the usage of alternative methods in understanding the relationship between anxiety and communicative ability.

Daly (1978:218) suggests the use of at least three different measures of anxiety in order to best isolate the anxious person. Kelly (1982a:107) emphasizes the importance of generating information about the exact nature of the individual's problem and recommends systematic interview, perhaps used alone or in conjunction with a self-report scale. Although both of these recommendations arise from treatment procedures of communication dysfunctions, they show an awareness of the importance of expanding the scientific focus beyond the predominant assessment techniques.

In the present study, three different questionnaires are used to assess communication reticence. The core empirical data is derived by means of the *Communication Reticence (CR) Scale*. Since a Likert-form questionnaire strictly imposes the phenomenon being investigated and may ignore other facets that might be more pertinent from the respondents' point of view, two additional scales are used to complete the core data bank. Both additional scales use free-response techniques advocated for use in communication research, for instance, by Delia (1977) and Bradac, Sandell, and Wenner (1979), because they allow greater variance in responses than standardized scales and reveal, in that sense, more individualized response patterns (cf. Cronbach 1970:30).

The measurement of communication reticence in the present study, although composed of self-reports exclusively, permits both quantitative and qualitative analysis of empirical findings, providing then a rich data base for conclusions. Furthermore, the additional scales serve as partial replications of the study, thus contributing to the assessment of the validity and reliability of the present project.

2.2. Construction of the scales

2.2.1. The Communication Reticence Scale

Deducing from the conceptual definition of the communication reticence construct, *a priori* criteria to be met in the operationalization were established and are as follows:

- (1) Conceptual origins of the particular instrument are endogenous to oral communication.
- (2) Perceptions of communicators' typical, generalized feelings about communication across a wide variety of communicative encounters, as well as appraisals of their oral skills are represented.
- (3) An attempt is made to link inner state and overt communicative behavior in order to shed light on the interplay of the various hypothesized response domains of communication reticence and to focus on behavioral impacts of negative affects aroused in interaction.
- (4) Items are focused entirely on the respondents' perceptions of themselves as communicators. Subjects are not asked how they think they are perceived by others in communication encounters.

Next, a list of variables previously found to be associated with communication apprehension and its conceptual relatives and those hypothesized as being related, was generated. The following variables were included in the scale:

- tendency to approach or avoid oral communication and evaluation of one's communicative strategies
- feelings elicited in various communicative encounters
- cognitive, physiological, and behavioral manifestations of tension, fear or anxiety
- verbal skills
- coping mechanisms
- attitudes toward the role of speech.

To measure these dimensions, 51 items were written for the first draft of the scale, approximately 10% of which were directly influenced by the various forms of the PRCA (McCroskey 1970; McCroskey 1978; McCroskey 1982a), the UCS (Burgoon 1976), and the *Shyness Scale* revised by Cheek and Buss (1984).

These items tap shyness and the level of fear or anxiety aroused in public speaking contexts and in interpersonal and dyadic settings. To avoid an acquiescence response set, one half of the items were written in the direction of a high amount of communication reticence, the other in the direction of a low amount of communication reticence. The order of the items was randomized.

Empirical evidence on communication apprehension and related constructs suggests that the following potential behavioral manifestations are associated with detrimental internal states: direct communication avoidance, communication withdrawal, and disruptive communication behavior. Given the findings on high apprehensives' tendency to exhibit social-communicative withdrawal tendencies, communication reticents should avoid oral contacts, this particular behavior representing an extreme reaction. Indicative of this prediction are the following statements: *I tend to postpone oral contacts as long as I can* and *If possible, I avoid situations where I could be called upon to speak*. As regards withdrawal tendencies, it was stated: *I like to initiate conversations* and *I speak up in class, discussions, or meetings only when I am asked a question*. Of specific theoretical interest are the effects of withdrawal behavioral strategies on the communicator's judgments about a particular discourse, resulting in the formulation of the following item: *I often regret not having spoken*.

Described as a cognitively mediated phenomenon, communication reticence is expected to influence speech processing, yielding disturbances in the flow of speech. Apart from the others, anxiety has shown to contribute significantly to disfluency (see e.g. Mahl 1956; Rochester 1973). According to Mahl's (1956) reasoning, since anxiety tends to disrupt complicated behavior, disfluencies in speech might be caused by anxiety. In the present study, the question whether disfluency is attributed to anxiety or inefficient verbal skills remains open, prior to empirical findings. Therefore, the item tapping fluency was worded neutrally as follows: *My speech is fluent*. Cognitive disruption was operationalized as the subject's reaction toward the following statement: *In general, my thoughts seem clear when I speak*. Representing general noxious effects of tension and fear, the subjects are asked to evaluate the influence of their potential inhibitive feelings on their communicative activities and social life in general. Typical responses are: *I feel so tense about speaking that it makes my performance worse* and *My relations with people are hampered because of fear of speaking*.

The operationalization of physiological manifestation of communication reticence is derived from a cognitive-physiological model of speech anxiety developed by Behnke and Beatty (1981). Extending Schachter's formulation of emotion it is proposed in this model that labeling of autonomic arousal elicited by public performance as anxiety is dependent upon a speaker's predisposition toward public speaking. Elevation in heart rate and PRCA scores used as predictors were found to account for 79.60% of the variance in self-reported speech state anxiety experienced during public speaking, thus providing support for a Schachterian model of speech anxiety. (Behnke & Beatty 1981.) Derived from this model, a typical response is expected to be the following interpretation of one's arousal: *I find it embarrassing to have a rapid pulse when performing in public.*

More problematic was the choice of items tapping behavioral symptoms of tension. For instance, in Clevenger and King's (1961) study, as well as in Mulac and Sherman's (1974) research, 18 symptoms were used as an operationalization of behaviorally assessed stage fright. The Pucel and Stocker (1982) study lists a repertoire of over 130 different forms of nonverbal behavior experienced in stressful communication encounters. Based on Clevenger and Sallinen-Kuparinen's (1983) tentative factor analyzed findings of auditive and visual symptoms of communication apprehension, the following dimension was selected: *My voice trembles when I speak.*

Apart from studies conducted by Powers (1977), Jordan and Powers (1978) and Burgoon and Hale (1983a), only limited attention has been paid to linguistic manifestations of fear or anxiety. Differing from other measuring scales of communication problems, the present study seeks information about the respondents' perceptions of their verbal ability. The following items serve as an operationalization of communicators' appraisals of their verbal skills: *I often feel that I cannot find appropriate words to express my thoughts; I can trust myself to find something to say even in unanticipated situations; In a conversation, I can continue the conversation from what others have said.* Finally, if communication reticents are inclined to suffer from verbal skills deficits (see Phillips 1968:41; McCroskey 1977:83-84), they should disagree with the following statement: *I express myself better in speech than in writing.*

So far in the present study, no conceptual distinction has been made between fear and anxiety. In the literature on communication apprehension and its conceptual relatives, inconsistent and controversial use of these two

concepts can be found. For instance, Ickes (1971) considers them as being synonyms, and Carlile and Behnke (1973) reject the whole classification. When the distinction is clarified, anxiety is defined as a non-specific emotion that knows no single cause, whereas fear is viewed as a specific emotion that is usually related to some concrete object or situation. Fear is based on factors in the outside world, while anxiety is derived more from inner psychological problems, often with complete unawareness of the cause of this apprehensiveness (Hyde 1980:151; Jensen 1976:102; Phillips & Metzger 1973b:224; Phillips & Sokoloff 1979:389; Porter 1974:268; Porter & Burns 1973:159.) In the original conceptualization of the communication apprehension construct, fear and anxiety were not distinguished conceptually. Recently, McCroskey (1982a; McCroskey & Beatty 1984) has clarified the distinction and emphasized that it is the irrational anxiety which is assimilated into communication apprehension.

Given the above conceptual controversy, Hyde (1980:151) claims that "many researchers using self-report instruments to explain the occurrence of reticence in terms of anxiety actually have been measuring a person's fear of specific communication interactions." In the present study, an attempt is made to distinguish between fear and anxiety using the definitions given above. The respondents' ability to analyze their feelings in terms of this distinction is represented by such items as: *If I feel tense about speaking, I am usually able to tell what causes the tension.* Closely related to fear, the following item is purported to tap the communicators' coping mechanisms: *Even if I am nervous while speaking, I can control my nervousness.*

Empirical findings on shyness and anxiety suggest excessive preoccupation with the self in the presence of others (see Jones & Russell 1982). Izard and Tomkins (1972:107) point out that anxiety can reduce the amount of the stimuli which a person perceives from his environment. Communication, however, requires sensitivity to situational cues and ability to adapt to them with as much flexibility as possible. An item representing the assumption that communication reticents are not sensitive to situational cues was worded as follows: *I am quick to notice how people respond to my opinions.* On the other hand, communication reticents are assumed to be concerned about the impression they leave on their listeners, the prediction leading to the formulation of the following item: *When speaking, I often wonder what the listeners think of me.*

In Chapter 1.2., a number of various forms of silence were promulgated, silence originated in fear or anxiety being one of them. Lederman (1983) remarks that for many communication apprehensives, being quiet is anxiety-related. If silence experienced by Finnish communicators is strongly associated with communication reticence, the respondents should agree with the following statement: *When other people speak and I remain silent, my silence makes me feel anxious.*

2.2.2. *The Situational Taxonomy Scale*

For the purpose of examining the fluctuations of communication reticence, the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* was developed. As Parks (1980:224) emphasizes, an adequate test of cross-situational consistency of communication apprehension requires active comparisons of clearly different situations. In his criticism of Park's study, McCroskey (1983) discusses the problematic concept of situation. He points out that, within the field of communication, the term appears to be used interchangeably with context, environment, and setting. When discussing the situational approach in studying group leadership, Fisher (1980:198) remarks that a comprehensive list of situational ingredients has not been compiled, and there is no way of determining which ingredients provide the greatest impact on the situation. For the purposes of the present study, situational variables, such as the size of the group, clearly defined roles, familiarity versus unfamiliarity with coparticipants and the amount of preparation were used to increase the likelihood of isolating plainly different situations.

The development of the questionnaire was begun by gathering an initial repertoire of communication situations. Next, six advanced students majoring in speech communication were asked in a brain-storming session to produce a list of various communicative situations a young adult might encounter. After the creative phase of the process, the group was asked to critically evaluate their products and develop a list of the most common situations for general use. The members were encouraged to respond with agreement or disagreement, extension or revision, and asked to progressively modify the list until validation of its final content was achieved through consensus.

Following the above step, the initial checklist created by the present researcher and the list developed by the students were compared. The initial

list was slightly modified. As a result, the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* containing 29 communicative encounters was designed. After being read by a speech teacher for comments, the scale was pretested using 10 undergraduates, whose judgments resulted in a few modifications in wording.

In the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*, the respondents are asked whether they usually feel *not at all*, *some* or *much* tension, fear, or nervousness in the particular situations. Next, those subjects who select either the option *much* or *some* are asked to specify the reason for their feelings. In other words, respondents are expected to make attributions about their communicative environment. According to Kelley (1967:193), attribution refers to "the process of inferring or perceiving the dispositional properties of entities in the environment." Relevant to the focus on an attribution perspective in the present study is the question of how people use information to explain their own behavior (cf. Saari 1983:77; Zuckerman & Feldman 1984:541). No attributional model is tested because different types of attributional decisions call for different types of models, and the present study aims to inquire into the various types of attributions salient to the rhetorical thinking of the respondents.

2.2.3. *The Inventory of Communicative Experiences*

Communication apprehension and its relative constructs have been primarily studied quantitatively. Only little is known about their qualitative variance. As Lederman (1983:233) points out, the thoughts of apprehensives are a rich, yet untapped source of data. For the purpose of the present exploratory study, an open-ended questionnaire, the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences*, was developed, with the main objectives being:

- to enrich the description of Finnish communication reticence,
- to enlarge the understanding of it, and
- to examine its occurrence as it emerges in the rhetorical thinking of Finns.

The following subsidiary goals were set:

- to establish the lexicon the subjects use when discussing their communication problems, and
- to contribute to the assessment of the validity of the communication reticence construct and to the establishment of the criterion validity and the construct validity of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

The *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* contains three parts. The first part consists of six open-ended stimulus questions on the respondent's communicator image. The first two stimulus questions are intended to tap the subjects' typical behavior in interpersonal encounters and when addressing an audience. Next, in order to discover the occurrence of communication reticence in the respondents' rhetorical thinking, they are asked to write about their expectations on speech classes, and about factors contributing to their communication satisfaction and confidence when interacting. It is of significance to note that the present questionnaire represents an attempt to approach the target phenomenon indirectly. Normally in those studies in which alternative methodological approaches have been taken (e.g. Lederman 1983), the target population has been extracted on the basis of a self-report imposing a presupposed phenomenon.

In the second part of the questionnaire, the scope of the questionnaire becomes narrower. The subjects are asked to select between two options which are stated in the direction of lacking or experiencing tension or fear when speaking. Thus, the content of this question parallels that of the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*, representing one hypothesized facet of communication reticence. The subjects are asked to describe manifestations of their tension and their ability to cope with their internal states when speaking.

In the third part of the questionnaire, seven statements are proposed, which are purported to shed light on the conceptual relationship between communication reticence and social anxieties. Given this objective, the data is expected to clarify the analysis of the conceptual boundaries of the communication reticence construct. In sum, the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* takes a primarily phenomenological, cognitively-based approach to communication reticence. As a corpus, the responses illustrate cultural-bound reasoning and explanation shared by members of the same culture.

2.3. Pretesting of the Communication Reticence Scale

The first version of the Likert-type *Communication Reticence Scale* contained 51 items purported to tap variables previously found to be associated with communication apprehension and related constructs as well as variables theoretically hypothesized as causing communication reticence. In this

chapter, the main results of the various steps in pretesting are summarized; for a more detailed discussion, see Sallinen-Kuparinen (1985a).

The baseline version of the instrument was pilot-tested using nine advanced speech communication majors. They were first asked to fill out the questionnaire. After completing the scale, the students were told about the purpose of the experiment, and were asked to give evaluative written comments about the scale. The third step was a discussion with the researcher about the criticism the students offered.

The responses and reactions resulted in clearer and more carefully worded questions for the next version of the instrument. In some cases, the context of the items was specified. A few items, which were evaluated to be of secondary theoretical interest, were substituted with more pertinent ones.

The second version of the scale was then administered to 10 speech majors enrolled in basic communication courses. After completing the questionnaire they were asked to examine the questions critically. After minor modifications, the third version was scrutinized by some communication faculty members to determine its readiness for reliability assessment. Its applicability to heterogeneous samples was also discussed, and some items with excessive student-bias were rewritten.

For an empirical assessment of the scale, the instrument was administered by teachers of Finnish language or speech communication to a purposive sample of 108 university undergraduates and technical school students. The questionnaires were completed during regular classroom sessions. The sample consisted of 72 (66.7%) males and 36 (33.3%) females. The average age of the respondents was 20.

The background information given by the subjects indicated a low frequency of public performances: every second (51.9%) had spoken in front of an audience only a few times a year. Of the respondents, 42.6% had taken speech classes less than 10 hours, 31.5% courses between 10 and 30 hours, while only 23.8% had attended courses longer than 30 hours. More than two-thirds of the students estimated the amount of their speech education as insufficient, about 20% sufficient, and 20% did not have an opinion. The background information unequivocally suggested that Finnish students have positive attitudes toward speech classes but few opportunities to practice their oral skills.

For every questionnaire, an overall score representing the underlying variable was computed with the method of summated ratings. Of the 51 items, 22 had reversed coding. The theoretical range of responses varied from a low

score of 51 to a high score of 255, the empirical range for females from 98 to 186 and for males from 96 to 192. High scores pointed to a high level of communication reticence; lower scores suggested lower levels of communication reticence. The mean was 145.44, with a standard deviation of 21.79. The males were more reticent than the females, the means being 146.6 and 141.0 and medians 147.0 and 138.5, respectively. In sum, 16.7% of the females and 18.1% of the males scored one standard deviation above the mean, thus being classified as *high* communication reticents. The distribution of the scores strongly suggested that the empirical observations were normally distributed.

For the whole sample, a Cronbach's coefficient alpha of .91 was obtained. The value of alpha was .91 for the females and .92 for the males, suggesting high reliability and homogeneity of the scale. Item-total correlations varied from .11 to .67, with the exception of one item with $r = -.06$. Of the 51 items 26 (51.0%) showed correlations greater than .40, while 12 items (23.5%) failed to reach an item-total correlation of .30. The items with the highest item-total correlations ($r > .60$) appeared, on face validity, to tap one's likelihood to engage in oral communication or to avoid it.

To examine the substructure of the construct under study and the preliminary *Communication Reticence Scale*, and to contribute to the selection of items for the final scale, the scores were subjected to a principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation. In total, 16 factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 emerged, accounting for 72.7% of the total variance. Factor I appeared as a large general factor with the eigenvalue of 11.13, accounting for 21.8% of the variance of the subjects' responses. Eight factors were required to account for approximately 50% of the variance. A four-factor solution accounted for 37.6% of the variance and was retained for discussion.

Factor I was labeled an *approach-avoidance* dimension. It was most heavily loaded by items reflecting one's tendency to withdraw from oral interaction, the presence or lack of communicative initiative, shyness and apprehension of unknown people, fear of speaking, and negative social-communicative effects of tension. Factor II comprised items which tapped one's ability to cope with nervousness when speaking, items of rapid pulse during public performance, quivering voice, and problems with nonverbal behavior when performing. Consequently, the dimension was called a *stage fright* factor.

Factor III consisted entirely of positively worded items which probed one's confidence in his communicative skills and a lack of cognitive and affective disturbances. It was named a *confidence* factor. Factor IV was a *sociability* dimension, combining items measuring one's tendency to actively engage in social-communicative functions and reflecting the degree to which one enjoys communication.

It is of theoretical significance to note, that items measuring communication reticence in interpersonal and public contexts were found to be loaded on different factors, providing tentative support for their being distinct facets of communication reticence. The items with highest primary loadings on the first unrotated factor were selected for the final scale, with additional criteria of item-total correlations, intercorrelations, and item distributions. Taken together, the factor-analyzed results and the item analysis provided strong empirical support for the reliability of the *Communication Reticence Scale*, and also for its content and construct validity.

2.4. Subjects

2.4.1. The sample design

For the purpose of the present study, a sample design combining characteristics of both probability and nonprobability samples was chosen. The following reasoning preceded the decision to draw the sample.

First, studies on communication apprehension and related constructs predominantly rely on college students who volunteer. This provides potential for sampling bias, tying the results inextricably to the subjects used in the research and reducing the generalizability of the findings beyond the college population (Miller 1979:20). According to McCroskey and Richmond (1978:214), communication apprehension research employing college students has, however, when replicated, been found to generalize also to other population groups. Given the strong empirical evidence of the effects of communication apprehension on general withdrawal tendencies and on reduced academic achievement, it is reasonable to conclude that the incidence of communication reticence may be lower among college students than among individuals with lower education. Therefore, to avoid sampling bias and to insure as much generalizability as possible, it was decided that the measures be derived from diverse groups with heterogeneous demographic backgrounds.

Second, young adults were selected for the target population. Young adults attending different schools or institutions are easily available for research purposes. Additionally, since they are exposed to speech classes, they should be able to disclose their impressions of their own communicative functions and thus optimally contribute to the didactic applications of the present study.

Third, each culture cultivates a singular set of behavior patterns, and its members begin to display sufficient distinctiveness of behavior by adulthood at the latest, which permits them to be identified as members of that particular culture (Barnlund 1975:65). By early adolescence, anxiety is a stable individual characteristic (cf. Daly & Friedrich 1981:246). Therefore, young adults were thought to serve as a reliable source for the purpose of making inferences regarding the prevalence of communication reticence among Finns and its nature.

With this rationale in mind, pure probability samples were considered inappropriate, impractical, and invalid for the purpose of this study. Applying characteristics of stratified samples, the following *a priori* criteria, pertinent to the present investigation, were established: (1) subjects across a wide variety of schools must be represented, (2) females and males must be equally represented for comparisons, and (3) all geographical districts in Finland must be represented. Subsequently, purposive subsamples were designed. To avoid reactive arrangements jeopardizing the external validity of the measurement (see Campbell & Stanley 1963:6, 59; Ventry & Schiavetti 1980:84), intact classes and groups served as sampling units. In some cases, all students enrolled in speech classes in a given school were asked to participate. Otherwise, various randomly assigned classes were selected, a procedure recommended by Campbell & Stanley (1963:22).

Due to the exploratory nature of the present study, the main sample was supplemented by two subsamples. The main purpose for using three independent samples was to enrich the material to be analyzed, to increase the external validity of the measurement, since the same subjects were not asked to respond to the set of questionnaires (cf. Daly & Friedrich 1981:252), and to contribute to the establishment of the criterion validity of communication reticence construct and the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

2.4.2. Demographic characteristics of the respondents

Comprising the main sample, a total of 1134 subjects completed the *Communication Reticence Scale*, 40 (3.7%) of whom were discarded due to either inadequate or incomplete data. The questionnaires of 1094 subjects were accepted. The second data set comprised 145 subjects' responses to the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*. The third set of material was derived by means of the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* completed by 110 students. In sum, 1349 respondents participated in the present study.

The main sample comprised six subgroups, representing basic-trainees doing their mandatory military service, students attending vocational and commercial schools and students enrolled in fundamental speech classes at three universities. (For detailed information, see Appendix 3.) The main characteristics of the respondents' demographic backgrounds are described in what follows. The specific information is provided in Appendix 4.

Of the 1094 respondents in the main sample, 503 (46.0%) were females and 590 (53.9%) males; sex was not indicated by one subject. The age of the respondents ranged from 16 to 37, with a mean of 21 and median of 20 years. As regards age, the sample can be considered homogeneous ($SD = 2.84$).

Every second subject was a high school graduate. Also the category of vocational and commercial school graduates was sizeable (28.5%). The minority was composed of subjects with a college or university degree.

All Finnish counties with the exception of Swedish-speaking Ahvenanmaa were represented in the sample. A majority of the respondents came from Middle Finland and from the Western part of the country. The other areas were equally represented.

Slightly more than a half of the subjects (55.6%) had lived for the greater part of their life in the countryside. The proportion of respondents with urban background was about 40%. The respondents were also classified according to the socio-economic level of their families determined by means of their parents' or guardians' occupations. For the purpose of the present study, the four-class classification employed by the city of Helsinki (see Table 4 in Appendix 4) was considered sufficient. Most subjects were classified as members of the second socio-economic class. Every third had a lower social background, while approximately every fifth came from the highest socio-economic class. Less than 10% were classified as members of the lowest class. With respect to the subjects' academic achievement measured in terms of their

average grades in their last school reports, the sample can be regarded as representing a normal population, since the mean and the median of their grades were placed between 7.6-8.0 (4-10).

The second subsample consisted of 145 and the third sample of 110 respondents. The proportion of females and males can be seen in Table 1. As indicated in the table, two-thirds of the subjects were females and one third males.

Table 1. Sex of the subjects in the second and third subsamples.

Category label	The second subsample.		The third subsample	
	N	%	N	%
Females	94	64.8	77	70.0
Males	<u>51</u>	<u>35.2</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>30.0</u>
Total	145	100.0	110	100.0

In the second sample, the respondents ranged in age from 18 to 36 ($\bar{X} = 23$) and in the third sample, from 17 to 35 ($\bar{X} = 22$). Most of the subjects in the second subsample were high school graduates (see Table 2), while the educational level of the respondents in the third sample was almost equally divided between that of high school, vocational school, and primary school (see Table 2).

Most of the subjects (68.3%) in the second sample attended a business school in Middle Finland. Every fourth (24.1%) was a technical school student and less than 10% were university undergraduates majoring in social sciences and enrolled in fundamental speech classes. Of the subjects in the third sample, every fourth (26.4%) attended a business school, approximately every fifth (17.3%) a technical school, and every fourth (25.5%) was an undergraduate majoring in social sciences, humanities, or arts, and enrolled in basic speech classes. Because a noticeable number of these subjects answered the open-

ended questionnaire extremely briefly, the material was supplemented with a subsample of 34 (30.9%) prospective vocational school teachers, who were completing their teaching practice.

Table 2. Educational level of the subjects in the second and third subsamples.

Category label	The second subsample		The third subsample	
	N	%	N	%
Primary school	15	10.3	38	34.5
Vocational or commercial school	5	3.4	34	30.9
High school	<u>125</u>	<u>86.2</u>	36	32.7
Missing			<u>2</u>	<u>1.8</u>
Total	145	100	110	100.0

2.5. Administering the questionnaires

The questionnaires were administered by teachers of Finnish language or speech communication as an essential part of classes during regular classroom sessions. Conducting data collecting by regular school staff was purported to increase the external validity of the measurement (see Campbell & Stanley 1963:21).

At first, the respondents were told that the investigation dealt with Finns' communicative attitudes and experiences. Anonymity and confidentiality was emphasized and they were assured that the information received would not affect the subjects' academic achievements. Then the subjects were asked to familiarize themselves with the written instructions included in the questionnaire.

When administering the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences*, the respondents were asked to answer each question before reading and answering the next question. This was done because later questions of the scale introduced vocabulary and ideas that the researcher did not want to impose

on the subjects. The same procedure was required of every teacher who administered the test session. The teachers were given the same information as the subjects regarding the purpose of the present study.

The army sample was obtained in a separate session organized for the purpose of the present study. First, a captain read aloud the official research permit granted by the Main Headquarters and pointed out that participating in the test was part of their regular service. Second, the trainees were given instructions for completing the questionnaires by the present researcher.

The total time spent in filling out the questionnaires was 15 minutes for the *Communication Reticence Scale* and the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* and 25 minutes for the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences*. The data was collected at the end of Fall semester in 1983 and during Spring semester in 1984.

2.6. Data analysis

The method of summated ratings was used when computing the overall scores for the 5-point *Communication Reticence Scale*. Of the 28 items 15 were reversed (# 3, 6, 7, 12-16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25-27). A high score implies a high level of communication reticence. Of the obtained 30632 item responses, 47 (0.1%) were missing; mean values were substituted.

Both univariate and multivariate analyses were applied to the data using SPSS. From inferential tests, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-sample goodness-of-fit test (Koponen 1981:127-128; Schmidt 1979:126-127; Siegel 1956:47-51) was carried out to analyze the distribution of CR scores. The classification-by-standard-deviation procedure, used in the great preponderance of studies on communication apprehension (e.g. Biggers & Masterson 1982; Daly 1978; Davis & Scott 1978; Klopff 1984; McCroskey 1970; McCroskey & Richmond 1976; McCroskey & Richmond 1977; McCroskey & Sheahan 1978; Powers & Smythe 1980; Porter 1982; Scott, McCroskey & Sheahan 1978) was employed when dividing the subjects on the basis of severity of their communication problems. The individuals scoring one standard deviation above the mean on the CR Scale were classified as *high* communication reticents, those within a standard deviation above or below the mean were classified as *moderate*, and those below a standard deviation of the mean as *low*.

The reliability and the test-retest consistency of the *CR Scale* were assessed by using Cronbach's alpha. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was performed when calculating intercorrelations and the item-total correlations of the items. The relationships between communication reticence and classification variables were analyzed by using *t*-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA).

The scores of the *CR Scale*, as well as continuous classification variables, were submitted to a series of principal axis factor analysis followed by varimax rotation. Since some items appeared to cause specific variance, a principal components factor analysis was run as a follow-up analysis. The factorial consistency of the scale was tested in terms of sex. To elaborate the analysis of the relationship between communication reticence and classification variables, a united factor analysis of *CR* scores and a set of classification variables was performed as a *post hoc* analysis.

As recommended for instance by Sänkiaho (1974:29) and Valkonen (1981:120), a factor analysis should be followed by further analysis. In the present study, a regression analysis was conducted to shed further light on the relationship between communication reticence and a set of predictor variables. Factor scores computed in the separate factor analyses of the *CR Scale* and classification variables were used in the analysis.

The derivation of the taxonomy of tension-arousing communication situations was based on the absolute and relative frequencies of the options *much* and *some* tension, fear, or nervousness experienced in oral encounters in the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*. Free responses tapping the attribution processes were rewritten and analyzed primarily quantitatively by applying the classification procedures that are described in what follows.

The free responses elicited by means of the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* were categorized for a primarily qualitative analysis. The decision to apply soft content analysis procedures (cf. Grönfors 1982:147; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1980:128-130; Valkonen 1981:10-13) was derived from the phenomenological orientation discussed in Chapter 2.1. The most salient units related to the examination of the nature of communication reticence were coded numerically. Otherwise, the material was coded in the following way.

First, the free responses were thoroughly read and analyzed in terms of their themes. Second, every response consisting of an utterance was rewritten, extracted from the individual answering form, and, subsequently, coded as a

unit. Due to the guiding remarks on the questionnaire, the material was, with some exceptions, already inherently amenable to the coding process. For instance, there were three units in the following example: (*When I speak in front of an audience...*)

- (1) I blush
- (2) my voice is soft
- (3) I am not fluent

Some answers were expressed in a coherent list, such as, for example: (*I am satisfied with my performance when...*)

- (4) I feel natural, am able to express myself, and feel that other people understand me

Examples like this were divided into single units, the above mentioned example thus having three units.

Third, after unitizing the data, various themes were collected for the construction of the category system. Prior predictions or categorizing system did not exist. However, variables salient in terms of the objectives, hypotheses and research questions of the present study, such as talkativeness, untalkativeness, silence, inefficient skills, tension, fear, and shyness, were presupposed to lead the development of the category system to be adopted. The units were placed into rough and tentative categories.

Fourth, the collection was read repeatedly to gain familiarity with the text as a totality. As a result, a more refined categorizing system was continually developed, with increased dimensionality of the system. For instance, in the initial phase of categorizing, the following units were placed into the rough category of "Situational determinants": (*While speaking, I feel sure of myself and at ease, when...*)

- (5) the audience seems to be listening
- (6) I get comments
- (7) the subject is important to me
- (8) I like my topic
- (9) I don't preplan what I am going to say
- (10) I can use the right rhythm in my speech

Subsequently, the preceding examples were regrouped into three categories as follows: (5) and (6) into the category of "Interaction", (7) and (8) into "Motivation", and (9) and (10) into "Delivery".

Though the material was categorized for a primarily qualitative analysis, the basic requirements of category systems being finite, exhaustive, and mutually exclusive (cf. Babbie 1979:242; Bowers & Courtright 1984:75-76; Eskola 1975:118-121) were purported to be met sufficiently. The main problem was that variables included in the communication process tend to overlap, providing potential for various category labels. An attempt was made to categorize the material softly without interfering with the reality reported by the respondents and thus retaining the richness and complexity of their communicative experiences.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Reliability of the Communication Reticence Scale

To examine the reliability of the *Communication Reticence Scale*, Cronbach's alpha was computed and the test-retest reliability was assessed. For all items, intercorrelations were counted, and the item-total correlation was calculated by using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient.

The obtained reliability of the 28-item *CR Scale* was .905, thus suggesting high internal consistency for the instrument. The test-retest reliability over a four weeks period displayed some increase, yielding an alpha value of .927 (N = 109).

Table 3. Internal consistency of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

Item	Average correlation with total	Alpha if item deleted
1.	.62	.900
2.	.52	.901
3.	.42	.903
4.	.28	.906
5.	.60	.900
6.	.51	.901
7.	.55	.901
8.	.48	.902
9.	.47	.902
10.	.16	.907
11.	.25	.906
12.	.64	.899
13.	.55	.901
14.	.55	.901
15.	.30	.906
16.	.52	.901
17.	.56	.901
18.	.42	.903
19.	.58	.900
20.	.43	.903
21.	.51	.902
22.	.46	.902
23.	.62	.899
24.	.52	.901
25.	.31	.905
26.	.52	.901
27.	.66	.899
28.	.44	.903

The item-total correlations, which are summarized in Table 3, ranged from a low of .16 to a high of .66. In total, 23 items out of 28 obtained moderate or substantial correlations ($r > .40$). The items having the highest ($r > .60$) average correlations with the total scale deal with detrimental effects of tension on one's social-communicative activities (# 27 and 12), avoidance of oral contacts (# 23), and lack of confidence when interacting (# 1 and 5). Among these items with the highest item-total correlations, both the affective and psychomotor domains are represented, illustrating reduced involvement both in terms of quantity and quality of communicative behavior.

Substantial correlations ($r = .50 - .60$) appeared for the items which tap verbal skills (# 13, 17 and 21) and oral initiative (# 2 and 16). In a similar manner, the items reflecting one's tendency to experience shyness (# 14) and apprehension due to strangers (# 19) made essential contributions to what the scale is measuring, as well as those concerning one's likelihood to postpone oral contacts (# 6) and regret of remaining silent (# 26). A public speaking item (# 7) correlated substantially with the scale, though an interpersonal item measuring one's likelihood to speak up boldly in meetings, negotiations and discussions (# 5) had a higher correlation ($r = .55$ and $.60$, respectively).

Moderate correlations ($r = .40 - .50$) were detected for the items measuring stage fright symptoms (# 18 and 22), nervousness in dyadic (# 9) and formal encounters (# 3), cognitive confusion when speaking (# 8), attitudes toward speech communication (# 28) and one's ability to cope with tension (# 20). For three items, an alpha less than .30 was observed. Contradicting the theoretical expectations expressed in Chapter 2.2.1., preference for writing (# 4), reduced perceptual ability in terms of sensitivity to audience responses (# 10), and attributions related to tension (# 11) did not provide essential contribution to the scale.

Inspection of the correlation matrix which is given in Appendix 5 confirms that the majority of the items obtained significant intercorrelations. In sum, the computation of reliability estimates, the obtained item-total correlations and intercorrelations of the items suggested high internal consistency for the CR instrument.

3.2. The prevalence of communication reticence

3.2.1. The distribution of scores

The theoretical scores on the 5-point *Communication Reticence Scale* ranged from 28 to 140 and the empirical scores from a low of 32 (indicating *low* communication reticence) to a high of 128 (indicating *high* communication reticence), with a range of 96. For the distribution of the scores, see Appendix 6; the grouped frequency distribution is given in Table 4. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution. The mean was 76.00 with a standard deviation of 15.79. For 51.6% of the subjects, a score ≥ 76.00 was detected. Kurtosis of the distribution was $-.219$, skewness $.146$, the modal score 81.00 and the median score 75.83.

Table 4. Grouped frequency distribution for 1094 communication reticence scores.

Scores	N	%
30 - 39	7	0.6
40 - 49	41	3.7
50 - 59	113	10.3
60 - 69	228	20.8
70 - 79	255	23.3
80 - 89	231	21.2
90 - 99	140	12.8
100 - 109	55	5.0
110 - 119	22	2.0
120 - 129	2	0.2
Total	1094	100.0

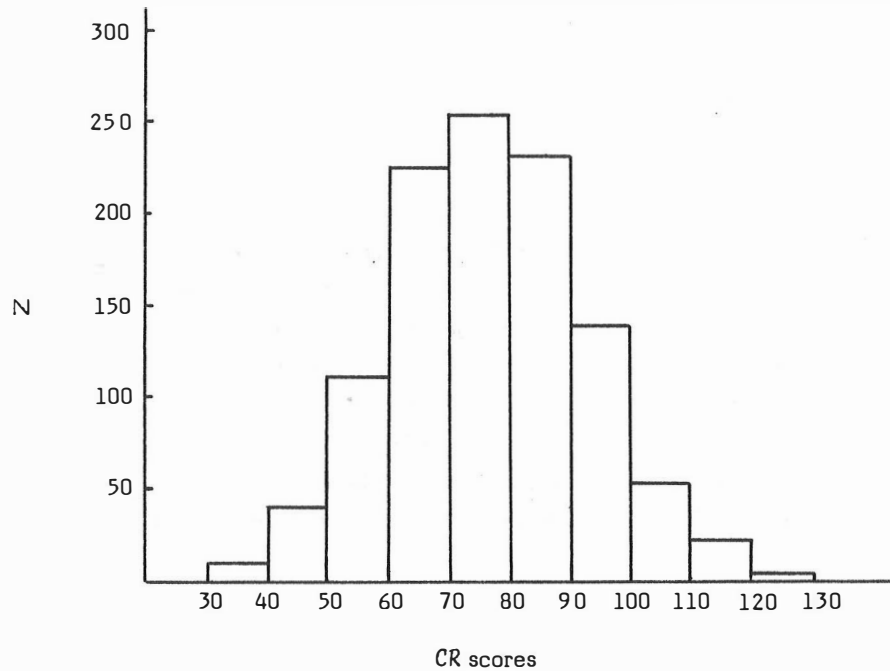


Figure 1. Frequency histogram for the CR scores in Table 4.

By employing the classification-by-standard-deviation procedure, the respondents were divided into three subgroups, with frequencies as indicated in Table 5. As can be seen in the table, 17.1% were classified as *low* commu-

Table 5. Relative and absolute frequencies of *low*, *moderate*, and *high* communication reticents.

Subgroups	N	%
<i>Low</i> communication reticents	187	17.1
<i>Moderate</i> communication reticents	732	66.9
<i>High</i> communication reticents	175	16.0
Total	1094	100.0

nication reticents, 66.9% as *moderate*, and 16.0% as *high*, the theoretical estimates based on the normal distribution being 15.87%, 68.26%, and 15.87%, respectively.

The characteristics of the distribution discussed and visualized above suggest that empirical distribution is nearly identical to the theoretical curve. To determine whether the shape of the distribution fits the normal-curve equation and, consequently, whether the scores obtained can reasonably be thought to come from a population with the theoretical distribution, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-sample goodness-of-fit test was employed. The test provided support for H_1 (K-S $z = 1.147$, 2-tailed $p = .144 > .05$), indicating that the observed sample did not differ significantly from the theoretical curve.

3.2.2. Communication reticence and environmental factors

To compare the prevalence of communication reticence experienced by people with various demographic backgrounds, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed using communication reticence scores as the criterion

Table 6. The level of communication reticence of respondents with different socio-economic backgrounds.

Socio-economic level	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error
Management executives and others	205	72.19	16.20	1.13
Entrepreneurs, work supervisors, senior office staff	456	76.81	15.82	.74
Skilled labourers, junior office staff	324	76.71	15.37	.85
Unskilled labourers	81	79.19	15.16	1.68
Total	1066	76.07	15.81	.48

$F = 5.741$, $df = 3$, 1062, $p < 0.001$

and the level of education and family's socio-economic status as the classification variables. When making bivalent comparisons, a t -test for unrelated measures was employed.

Consistent with the second hypothesis, the results clearly indicated that an inverse relationship between communication reticence and family's socio-economic level exists. The mean scores for various socio-economic groups are reported in Table 6; for the sum-of-squares, see Appendix 7. As can be seen in Table 6, the higher the family's socio-economic level, the lower the level of communication reticence ($p < 0.001$). Note that standard deviations decreased when the level of communication reticence increased, thus suggesting an increased homogeneity in groups with lower socio-economic background.

Table 7 shows the mean scores of communication reticence for various educational groups. Concomitant with the prediction included in the third hypothesis, subjects with the lowest education reported the highest level of communication reticence. Subjects graduated from high school exhibited less communication reticence than those graduated from vocational or commercial schools. The trend is not consistent with the pool of university graduates: they reported the second highest level of communication reticence.

Table 7. The level of communication reticence of respondents with various educational backgrounds.

Education	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error
Primary school	133	79.81	14.21	1.23
Vocational or commercial school	312	75.63	15.11	.86
High school graduate	561	75.18	16.00	.68
College graduate	18	70.72	15.58	3.67
University degree	66	78.45	18.33	2.26
Total	1090	76.00	15.75	.48

$F = 3.30, df = 4, 1085, p < 0.05$

The F-value observed surpassed the critical value at alpha level of 0.05, thus indicating that although the data suggest a substantial relationship between the level of communication reticence and education, the differences in the incidence of communication reticence between various educational groups remain statistically low. The data provided partial support for H₃.

The individuals who had lived for the greater part of their life in the countryside exhibited higher communication reticence than subjects with urban background, the means being 77.68 (SD = 15.53) and 73.83 (SD = 15.89), respectively ($t = 4.03$, $p < 0.001$). The results provided strong support for H₄. The females scored significantly higher ($\bar{X} = 78.37$; SD = 15.87) than the males ($\bar{X} = 73.97$; SD = 15.46) on the CR Scale ($t = 4.63$, $p < 0.001$).

Two additional analyses were run. First, substantial relationships between communication reticence and social activities requiring oral participation were observed. Subjects who held a supervising, teaching, or counseling post scored significantly ($t = -6.40$, $p < 0.001$) lower ($\bar{X} = 68.60$; SD = 14.26) on the CR Scale than respondents who did not hold such posts ($\bar{X} = 77.19$; SD = 15.69). The tendency was even more obvious for those subjects who had previously been involved in counseling tasks, the mean number being 70.77 (SD = 15.25) and 81.18 (SD = 14.54), respectively ($t = -11.54$, $p < 0.001$).

Second, because a relatively homogeneous age group was selected for the present study, no hypothesis was advanced in terms of relationship between age and the level of communication reticence. Comparison of the mean scores in various age groups indicated, however, that the level of communication reticence exhibits a slight tendency to increase with age (see Table 8). The

Table 8. The level of communication reticence in various age groups.

Age group	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error
16-19	265	75.54	15.15	.93
20-23	704	75.63	15.91	.60
24-27	76	78.70	16.02	1.84
28-37	47	79.21	16.76	2.44
Total	1092	75.98	15.78	.48

$F = 1.59$, $df = 3$, 1088, n.s.

homogeneity of the age groups appeared to decrease with age. The differences in the levels of communication reticence in various age groups did not, however, reach statistical significance.

3.2.3. Item distribution of whole sample

In this section, item distributions are analyzed by means of three measures of central tendency: means, modes, and medians. The variability of the item distributions is illustrated by standard deviation. Table 9 contains the descriptive statistics.

Table 9. Descriptive statistics for the items of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

Item	Mean	Median	SD
1.	2.51	2.26	.97
2.	2.56	2.32	1.01
3.	3.63	3.87	1.11
4.	2.72	2.67	1.25
5.	3.17	3.36	1.09
6.	2.18	2.01	1.03
7.	3.64	3.87	1.10
8.	2.70	2.46	.98
9.	2.89	2.76	1.14
10.	2.44	2.35	.88
11.	2.52	2.29	.98
12.	2.07	1.92	1.00
13.	2.82	2.47	1.18
14.	2.47	2.25	1.16
15.	2.52	2.27	1.17
16.	2.64	2.30	1.16
17.	2.87	2.78	1.04
18.	3.25	3.50	1.14
19.	3.17	3.46	1.14
20.	2.55	2.34	.95
21.	2.66	2.56	.89
22.	2.21	2.06	1.00
23.	2.22	2.05	1.04
24.	2.68	2.60	.90
25.	3.22	3.51	1.12
26.	3.25	3.53	1.19
27.	2.44	2.23	1.07
28.	2.03	1.89	.99

To facilitate the comparison of the relative frequencies of the items, the data are reduced to a summary of strong and moderate agreements and disagreements. Appendix 8 presents the complete information.

As a characteristic feature of the item distributions, a skewed distribution was detected (see Table 9 and Figure 2). In a positively skewed distribution the mean is greater than the median and the median greater than the mode. Conversely, in a negatively skewed distribution, the mean has a lower value than the median, which, in turn, has a lower value than the mode.

In the present study, a low score indicates a low level of communication reticence. Thus, as can be seen in Table 9, the lowest mean ($\bar{X} = 2.03$) with a standard deviation of .99 was detected in the last item measuring the subjects' attitudes toward the role of speech in problem solving. The overwhelming majority (76.1%) either strongly or moderately agreed with the statement that was worded positively. Every tenth (10.8%) disagreed.

To a discernible majority (77.5%) of the respondents tension did not pose a problem that would have detrimental social-communicative effects (# 12; $\bar{X} = 2.07$), while 12.3% suffered from tension with hampered social relations as concomitants. Slightly greater was the number of subjects who tended to postpone their oral contacts (# 6; $\bar{X} = 2.18$). In sum, 14.1% exhibited this tendency to some degree, while 72.2% did not. In both items, the relative frequencies of neutral responses were low, being 10.2 and 13.7%, respectively.

Positively skewed distributions were discovered also for Items 22 and 23. Every tenth (11.3%) suffered moderately from a quivering voice and 2.0% highly, whereas 70.5% had no problems with their voices (# 22; $\bar{X} = 2.21$). Moderate or strong avoidance of communication was admitted by 16.0% of the respondents (# 23; $\bar{X} = 2.22$). Of particular theoretical interest is the notion that this number is exactly the same as the relative frequency of the subjects who were earlier classified as *high* communication reticents. For 70.5% avoidance of communication was not typical.

Items 2 and 16 measure initiative in oral discourse. Two-thirds of the subjects (58.5%) reported willingness to initiate interaction while slightly more than every fifth (23.6%) did not (# 2; $\bar{X} = 2.56$). In interpersonal encounters, such as classes, discussions, or meetings (# 16), the number of those respondents who speak up only when they are asked a question was higher ($\bar{X} = 2.64$): 31.5%. Once again, two-thirds (59.1%) took a different stand, speaking also on a

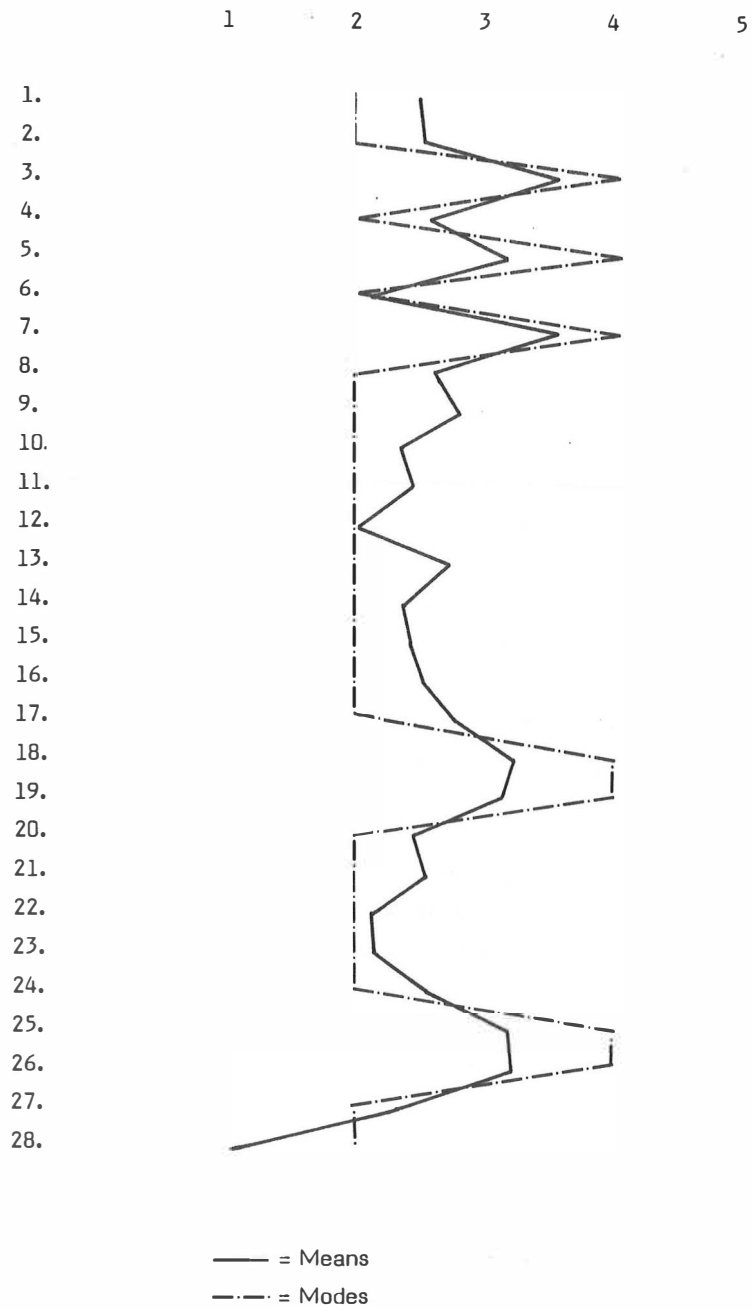


Figure 2. Means and modes for the items of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

voluntary basis. Compared with the entire item pool, this particular item with a highly specified context yielded the lowest number of neutral responses (9.4%).

For every second (51.9%) of the respondents, speaking did not entail cognitive disturbances (# 8; \bar{X} = 2.70), whereas every fourth (25.0%) suffered from them; 2.8% reported the highest level of cognitive confusion. Slightly lower (21.0%) was the number of those communicators who reported a lack of relaxation when speaking, whereas 53.6% felt quite at ease and 9.3% totally relaxed (# 1; \bar{X} = 2.51). For two-thirds (61.9%) of the respondents, fear did not impede their public performance, while for 19.4% of the subjects, tension exceeded the level beyond which performance is likely to be hampered (# 27; \bar{X} = 2.44). The number of subjects with problems in coping with tension (19.3%) was virtually the same (# 20; \bar{X} = 2.55). For the majority (57.9%), the issue was not problematic. A similar pattern could also be found in Item 11. Specifically, two-thirds (60.5%) were able to name the agent of their tension, while every fifth (21.0%) was not (\bar{X} = 2.52). Finally, while 56.8% of the respondents evaluated themselves as being sensitive toward listeners' reactions (# 10; \bar{X} = 2.44), only a minority (12.3%) of the subjects reported lack of sensitivity.

As Figure 2 illustrates, Items 13 through 15 also had positively skewed distributions. To half of the subjects (51.4%) verbal skills in terms of finding appropriate words did not pose a problem (# 13; \bar{X} = 2.82). However, a substantial number of the respondents (37.3%) reported inadequacy in their verbal skills. With regard to shyness, two-thirds (59.5%) did not regard themselves as shy and silent, whereas every fifth (22.3%) did (# 14; \bar{X} = 2.47). Every fourth (26.7%) felt anguish because of remaining silent when coparticipants were speaking (# 15; \bar{X} = 2.52). However, it was more typical (59.2%) not to associate silence with anxiety.

In contrast with the results above, there were items with negatively skewed distribution indicating communication skills deficits or inhibitive internal states which exacerbate communicative functions. The biggest problem area appeared to be public speaking (# 7; \bar{X} = 3.64), followed by addressing unknown people or speaking in formal situations (# 3; \bar{X} = 3.63). For the majority of the subjects, public speaking induced tension. Nearly every second (45.4%) reported a moderate level of tension and every fifth (21.2%) a high one. In sum, 66.6% experienced stage fright while 20.4% did not. Virtually the same was the number of the respondents who were talkative when conversing with their friends but remained silent among unknown people or in formal situations; 44.1% moderately agreed with the statement while 22.0% took a stronger stand.

Every fifth (22.8%) was not affected with these situational patterns as regards their talkativeness.

Every second (51.2%) subject often regretted not having expressed his thoughts (# 26; $\bar{X} = 3.25$), whereas 31.5% did not. Furthermore, every second (50.5%) was concerned about listeners' judgments (# 25; $\bar{X} = 3.22$). It was equally usual to find that it was embarrassing to have a rapid pulse when performing in public (# 18; $\bar{X} = 3.25$). Exactly one half of the respondents agreed with the statement either moderately or strongly. One third (31.4%) reported opposite feelings.

A number of items divided the respondents into two approximately equal groups. As a whole, 47.4% preferred speaking and 32.2% writing (# 4; $\bar{X} = 2.72$). In terms of their likelihood to boldly speak in interpersonal encounters, the respondents were clearly different (# 5; $\bar{X} = 3.17$). The number of confident and reticent speakers demonstrated the same trends. Specifically, 4.7% reported the highest level of ease and 29.4% a moderate level of ease in communication. Nearly every second (46.6%) was moderately or profoundly affected by an inhibitive internal state. Furthermore, 45.9% experienced no nervousness when conversing with a person holding a position of authority (# 9; $\bar{X} = 2.89$). For 38.0% of the subjects, this particular situation was problematic. Even greater (49.3%) was the number of those respondents who felt apprehensive among unknown people (# 19; $\bar{X} = 3.17$), whereas 36.2% were not troubled with feelings of apprehension.

Nearly symmetrically distributed were the responses in Item 17 which tapped one's trust in his impromptu skills ($\bar{X} = 2.87$). Characteristically for the answers, more than every fourth (27.0%) took a neutral stand. Approximately 40% trusted their skills, while every third (30.5%) exhibited verbal skills deficits. Also Items 21 and 24 displayed a strong tendency to produce neutral responses. More than every third (33.5%) could not appraise whether they can easily contribute to conversation (# 21; $\bar{X} = 2.66$) and whether they are fluent or not (35.5%). The number of subjects experiencing lack of impromptu skills and disfluency was 18.0% and 18.2%, respectively.

To illustrate the prevalence of communication reticence in different interactive situations, the frequencies of the responses in items measuring communication reticence in public, interpersonal, and dyadic settings are summarized in Figure 3. As can be seen, speaking to a person holding a position of authority promoted the lowest level of communication reticence and sharply discriminated the sample. Public speaking and speaking to strangers or in formal situations precipitated feelings of tension of nearly similar degree.

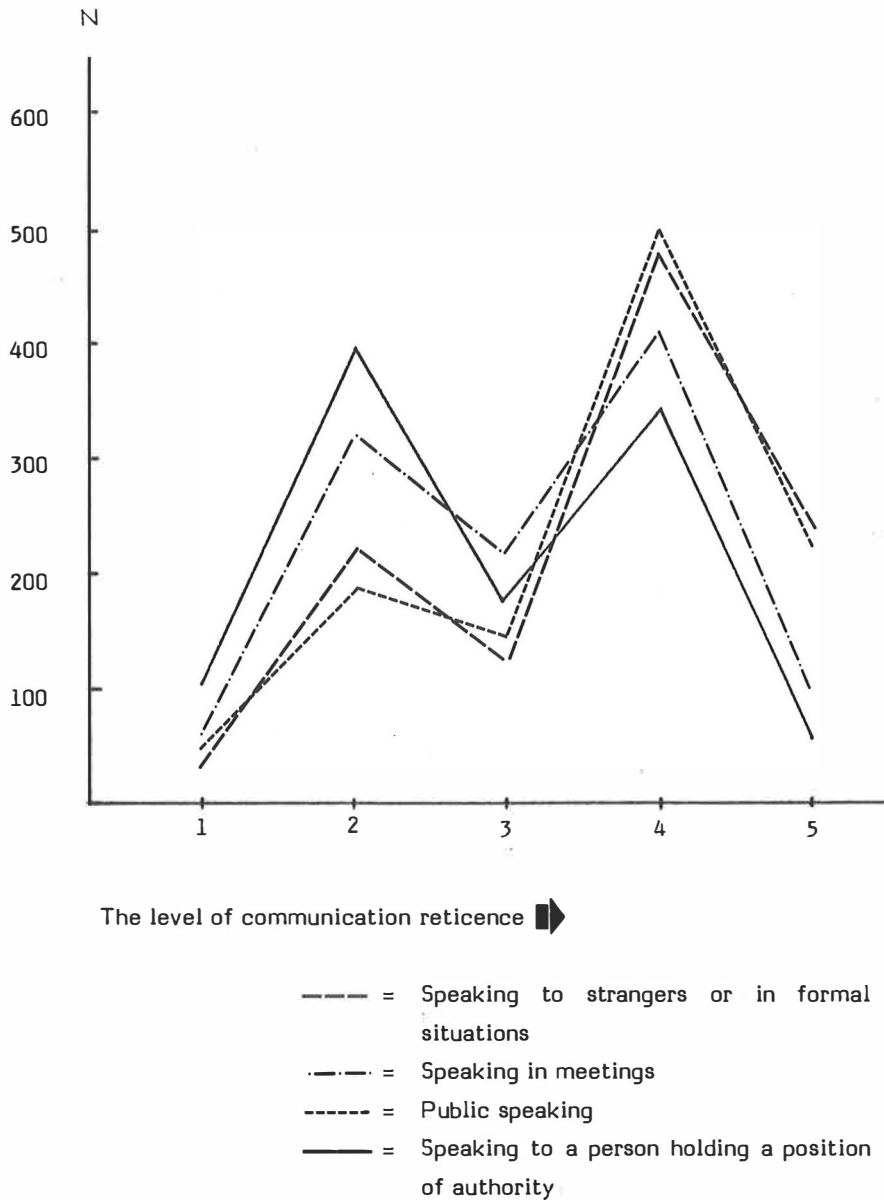


Figure 3. The prevalence of communication reticence in interpersonal, public and dyadic communication contexts (N = 1094).

In sum, the item distributions clearly suggested that the number of communicators who suffered from detrimental effects of tension comprised approximately 20% of the sample, thus slightly exceeding the relative proportion of the respondents being classified as *high* communication reticents. For approximately 2%, communication reticence constituted an extreme problem with direct avoidant demeanor and hampered social-communicative activities as concomitants. The approximate percentage of respondents who reported general confidence and ease when interacting was 60%. In general, the items sharply divided the respondents in terms of the target phenomenon. The largest proportion of neutral responses, as well as the smallest standard deviations, were found in items reflecting the respondents' appraisals of their communication skills.

3.2.4. Item distribution with regard to sex

The item distributions were analyzed with regard to sex. The means for the females and males were compared by a *t*-test for unrelated measures. The mean scores for the females and males are provided in Table 10.

Table 10. Means of the items for females and males.

Item	Mean	SD	Standard error	<i>t</i>
1. F	2.58	1.03	0.46	2.20*
M	2.45	.91	0.37	
2. F	2.59	1.05	0.47	.94
M	2.53	.98	0.40	
3. F	3.78	1.13	0.50	4.13***
M	3.50	1.09	0.45	
4. F	2.96	1.31	0.58	5.76***
M	2.53	1.17	0.48	
5. F	3.34	1.07	0.48	4.70***
M	3.03	1.09	0.45	
6. F	2.22	1.05	0.47	1.36
M	2.14	1.01	0.42	
7. F	3.85	1.04	0.46	5.92***
M	3.46	1.11	0.46	
8. F	2.94	.99	0.44	7.83***
M	2.49	.92	0.38	
9. F	2.92	1.12	0.50	1.01
M	2.85	1.15	0.47	

10.	F	2.40	.91	0.41	
	M	2.47	.86	0.35	-1.31
11.	F	2.40	.99	0.44	
	M	2.62	.97	0.40	-3.62***
12.	F	2.09	1.03	0.46	
	M	2.05	.98	0.40	.64
13.	F	2.96	1.19	0.53	
	M	2.70	1.16	0.47	3.65***
14.	F	2.45	1.21	0.54	
	M	2.49	1.11	0.46	-.71
15.	F	2.51	1.22	0.54	
	M	2.54	1.13	0.46	-.48
16.	F	2.61	1.11	0.50	
	M	2.66	1.20	0.49	-.64
17.	F	3.06	1.07	0.48	
	M	2.70	.98	0.40	5.85***
18.	F	3.46	1.15	0.51	
	M	3.06	1.11	0.46	5.78***
19.	F	3.34	1.14	0.51	
	M	3.02	1.11	0.46	4.71***
20.	F	2.63	.99	0.44	
	M	2.49	.90	0.37	2.45*
21.	F	2.71	.90	0.40	
	M	2.63	.88	0.36	1.43
22.	F	2.39	1.04	0.46	
	M	2.05	.95	0.39	5.62***
23.	F	2.23	1.05	0.47	
	M	2.21	1.04	0.43	.30
24.	F	2.77	.92	0.41	
	M	2.60	0.88	0.36	3.24**
25.	F	3.27	1.14	0.51	
	M	3.17	1.10	0.45	1.41
26.	F	3.46	1.17	0.52	
	M	3.07	1.18	0.49	5.54***
27.	F	2.49	1.14	0.51	
	M	2.40	1.01	0.42	1.42
28.	F	1.98	.99	0.44	
	M	2.08	.98	0.40	-1.64

* p < 0.05
** p < 0.01
*** p < 0.001

As shown in Table 10, in 15 (53.6%) out of 28 items the differences in the means reached statistical significance, whereas in 13 (46.4%) items the difference remained smaller. The females exhibited significantly ($p < 0.001$) more apprehension toward unknown people (# 3 and 19), were more reticent in interpersonal encounters (# 5), suffered from greater cognitive confusion when

speaking (# 8), and more often regretted not having spoken (# 26) than did the men. Furthermore, the females scored significantly higher in items measuring stage fright (# 7) and its operationalized symptoms, such as rapid pulse (# 8) and a quivering voice (# 22). They were also more apt to explain their apprehensive feelings (# 11) than the males.

The males, in turn, considered themselves significantly ($p < 0.001$) more adept verbally: they preferred speaking instead of writing (# 4), found appropriate words to express their thoughts (# 13), and trusted their impromptu skills (# 17). The males reported more ($p < 0.01$) fluency than the females (# 24) and slightly greater ($p < 0.05$) relaxation when speaking (# 1). The male respondents coped with their tension when speaking (# 20) more efficiently than the female subjects, although the difference remained low ($p < 0.05$).

The mean data suggested substantial similarity in the following responses: the sexes did not differ significantly in their likelihood to initiate conversations (# 2), to experience detrimental social effects due to tension (# 12), to regard themselves as shy (# 14), to suffer from anxiety when remaining silent (# 15), to exhibit initiative behavior in interpersonal events, such as classes, discussions, and meetings (# 16), and to elect avoidant demeanor in communicative encounters (# 23). The females reported a greater but non-significant tendency to postpone oral contacts (# 6) and to feel nervous when speaking to persons in positions of authority (# 9). They also estimated that the effects of tension on their public performances were more harmful (# 27).

The males, in turn, exhibited less sensitivity in noticing audience responses (# 10), less concern about listeners' judgments (# 25), and more mistrust in the role of speech in problem solving (# 28). Conversely, the men regarded themselves as more adept in contributing to conversations (# 21). The resultant t -scores were, however, small and did not achieve statistical significance.

Table 10 illustrates that, in general, the standard deviations obtained were lower for the males, indicating greater homogeneity than for the females. In Items 5, 7, 9, 16, and 26 the standard deviations were larger in the male sample which indicates more between-subject variation for the males in the incidence of communication reticence in interpersonal and public settings.

3.3. Factor analysis of the Communication Reticence Scale

3.3.1. Principal axis factor analysis

The *Communication Reticence Scale* was subjected to a series of exploratory factor analyses. For selection of the numbers of factors to be extracted, the following conventional criteria were established: (1) an eigenvalue cutoff of 1.0, (2) an optimally clean factor structure with high primary loadings and low secondary loadings, and (3) a conceptually interpretable factor structure. In analyzing alternative solutions, the following additional criteria were applied: (a) an item should have a primary loading above .40, (b) an item should have no secondary loadings within .20 of the primary loading, and (c) a factor had to have a minimum of two items loading heavily on it to be retained.

Factor solutions from two through six were examined. Based on the eigenvalue-one orientation, the results suggested a six-factor solution which accounted for 52.1% of the total variance. However, the six-factor solution, as well as a five-factor solution were rejected because of their undifferentiated factor structure.

A four-factor solution was retained for discussion because of its relatively clean and conceptually interpretable factor structure. Compared with the six-factor solution, it decreased the variance accounted for from 52.1% to 44.5%, but brought greater theoretical clarity to the structure of the target construct. As seen in Table 11, it broke down to 29.7% for Factor I, 5.4% for Factor II, 4.9% for Factor III, and 4.4% for Factor IV. Thus, the results indicated the presence of a general large factor accompanied by various separate dimensions, each of them accounting for an increase of approximately five percent of the total variance. The unrotated solution is presented in Appendix 9.

Factor I contained the highest loadings of .60 and .57 on items measuring shyness (# 14) and oral initiative (# 2). In addition to these, Item 28 mapping communicative attitudes and items directed toward one's tendency to postpone oral events (# 6) or avoid them directly (# 23), were loaded above .40 on the first factor but their secondary loadings were within .20 of the primary loading. Furthermore, with a secondary loading of .39 on Factor IV, Item 12 measuring hampered social functions due to tension was observed loading heavily on Factor I, which on the basis of strong face validity, appeared to reflect the

Table 11. Principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation of the scores obtained in the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Communality
1	.41	.46	.12	.27	.48
2	.57	.26	.21	.01	.43
3	.20	.08	.53	.10	.34
4	.28	.22	.04	.05	.13
5	.40	.30	.49	.06	.49
6	.41	.18	.22	.25	.31
7	.08	.31	.53	.31	.48
8	.21	.56	.09	.16	.39
9	.23	.24	.30	.22	.25
10	.07	.26	.11	-.09	.09
11	.11	.27	.08	.08	.10
12	.53	.23	.18	.39	.52
13	.32	.31	.26	.25	.33
14	.60	.09	.26	.18	.47
15	.25	-.06	.08	.37	.21
16	.45	.11	.37	.15	.38
17	.36	.34	.34	.11	.37
18	-.02	.18	.31	.50	.37
19	.19	.18	.56	.34	.49
20	.04	.36	.22	.32	.29
21	.36	.39	.17	.13	.33
22	.14	.34	.07	.46	.35
23	.48	.27	.20	.33	.46
24	.20	.58	.11	.23	.45
25	.12	.01	.23	.34	.18
26	.29	.12	.42	.26	.34
27	.36	.33	.16	.56	.58
28	.42	.31	.05	.10	.29
Eigenvalue	7.73	.85	.76	.54	9.88
Percentage of the total variance	29.7	5.4	4.9	4.4	44.5
Percentage of the overall variance	78.2	8.6	7.6	5.5	100.0

degree to which people are likely to engage in oral communication. Most of the items with the highest loadings on the particular factor deal with behavioral communicative aspects, with one exception, that of Item 28 concerning attitudes. The situational context of the items is that of interpersonal communication. The factor is labeled as an *approach-avoidance* factor.

On the second factor, items referring to fluency (# 24) and ease in thinking when speaking (# 8) obtained the highest loadings of .58 and .56, respectively. General relaxation (# 1) was interrelated with the same dimension, the particular item loading, however, substantially also on the first factor. The second factor combined, additionally, items with primary loadings approaching .40 and with secondary loadings exceeding .30. These items depict general ease in speech processing and trust in oral skills. The factor is designated as a *confidence* dimension.

Factor III uncovered items measuring, first of all, the communicator's aversive feelings when speaking with unknown people (# 3 and 19). Also Item 5 which measures one's likelihood to boldly speak in interpersonal encounters loaded on the third factor (.49), although a secondary loading of .40 was discovered on the first factor. A noteworthy primary loading of .53 was found for a stage fright item (# 7) but it was spread on the second factor (.31) and the fourth factor (.31), too. Thus, a high interrelatedness with stage fright and speaking to unknown people was detected. Finally, one's tendency to regret not having spoken (# 26) loaded moderately (.42) on the third factor, with lower secondary loadings on the first (.29) and fourth factors (.26). In sum, the items loading most heavily on the third factor represent both interpersonal and public speaking contexts. The most obvious common denominator seems to be some inhibitive agent manifested in the affective domain that impedes effective communicative functions and not the communicative situation *per se*. The factor is labeled as a *socio-affective concerns* dimension.

As reported in Table 11, the highest loadings were found for Items 27 and 18 on the fourth factor: *I feel so tense about speaking that it makes my performance worse* and *I find it embarrassing to have a rapid pulse when performing in public*. Item 22 measuring a quivering voice was primarily loaded (.46) on this particular factor, with reasonable secondary loading of .34 on the *confidence* dimension. Finally, hampered social relations (# 12) and tension due to public performance (# 7) reached relatively high secondary loading on the fourth factor, which as a whole was interpreted as suggesting the presence of a *stage fright* dimension.

As was mentioned above, factor solutions from two through six were examined. The differentiation of the factor structure using various factor solutions is illustrated in Table 12. As can be seen in the table, the basic factors were *approach-avoidance* and *stage fright*, which emerged regardless of the number of the factors being extracted. In a three-factor solution, items tapping confidence related to oral skills formed an independent dimension which was spread on both the first and second factors in the two-factor solution. The four-factor solution differentiated one additional dimension which was labeled as the *socio-affective concerns* factor. When the structure was still spread, the fifth and sixth factors gathered items concerning, for example, the communicator's consciousness related to his internal states when interacting and anxiety due to remaining silent. The loadings were, however, low (<.50) and the communalities were among the lowest of the items. No interpretations are made of these factors.

Table 12. The differentiation of the factors in various factor solutions.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Two factors	Approach-avoidance	Stage fright				
Three factors	Approach-avoidance	Stage fright	Confidence			
Four factors	Approach-avoidance	Stage fright	Confidence	Socio-affective concerns		
Five factors	Approach-avoidance	Stage fright	Confidence	Socio-affective concerns	?	
Six factors	Approach-avoidance	Stage fright	Confidence	Socio-affective concerns	?	?

Of theoretical significance is the notion that, regardless of the number of the factors extracted, the items which are directed toward verbal skills (# 13 and 17) appeared to obtain loadings exceeding .30 on all factors. In other words, verbal skills were associated with each dimension emerging in the factor analysis.

3.3.2. Factorial consistency

In order to analyze the consistency of the structure of the *Communication Reticence Scale*, the scores were additionally factor analyzed in terms of sex. A principal axis factor analysis followed by varimax rotation was performed. Upon extracting the factors, the criteria introduced above were used. Applying the criterium of an eigenvalue cutoff of 1.0, six factors were identified, accounting for 53.5% of the total variance for females and for 51.8% for males. Based on the additional considerations, the optimal solution appeared to be a three-factor solution (see Table 13 and 14). For the females, this solution accounted for 40.5% of the total variance and for the males for 40.1%.

The factors that emerged in the three-factor solution were the *approach-avoidance*, *confidence* and *stage fright* dimensions. For the female respondents, the *approach-avoidance* dimension appeared as the first factor, accounting for 29.3% of the variance. *Confidence* dimension accounted for 5.9% and *stage fright* for 5.3% of the variability in CR scores. In the male sample, *confidence* dimension emerged as the first factor, accounting for 30.0% of the variance. *Stage fright* factor accounted for 5.4% and *approach-avoidance* factor for 4.7% of the total variance.

Compared with the factor structure observed in the whole sample, the results exhibited a high degree of similarity for the females and males, with the exception of the order of the factors and slight differences in the loadings of single items. The findings provided support for the factorial consistency of the *CR Scale*.

Table 13. Three-factor solution for principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation of *Communication Reticence Scale* items for females.

Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Communality
1	.29	<u>.58</u>	.29	.51
2	.45	<u>.48</u>	-.03	.43
3	<u>.51</u>	.03	.17	.29
4	.19	.36	-.03	.17
5	<u>.55</u>	.35	.17	.45
6	<u>.45</u>	.28	.19	.32
7	<u>.43</u>	.09	<u>.50</u>	.45
8	.03	<u>.56</u>	.24	.37
9	.32	<u>.23</u>	.30	.24
10	.09	.17	.05	.04
11	.03	.23	.21	.10
12	.47	.41	.33	.50
13	.24	<u>.44</u>	.20	.30
14	<u>.61</u>	<u>.34</u>	.07	.48
15	.25	.16	.24	.15
16	<u>.54</u>	.26	.18	.39
17	<u>.46</u>	.32	.19	.35
18	.21	-.01	<u>.59</u>	.40
19	<u>.47</u>	.08	<u>.44</u>	.42
20	.08	.21	.51	.31
21	.27	<u>.51</u>	.17	.37
22	.08	<u>.25</u>	<u>.49</u>	.30
23	<u>.44</u>	.40	.33	.46
24	.10	<u>.54</u>	.30	.39
25	.11	.08	.33	.13
26	<u>.47</u>	.15	.22	.29
27	<u>.33</u>	.39	<u>.51</u>	.52
28	.30	.45	<u>.07</u>	.30
Eigenvalue	7.59	1.01	.83	9.43
Percentage of the total variance	29.3	5.9	5.3	40.5
Percentage of the overall variance	80.5	10.7	8.8	100.0

Table 14. Three-factor solution for principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation of *Communication Reticence Scale* items for males.

Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Communality
1	<u>.54</u>	.27	.24	.42
2	<u>.35</u>	.12	<u>.53</u>	.42
3	.08	.35	<u>.37</u>	.27
4	.24	.07	.14	.08
5	.28	.26	<u>.56</u>	.45
6	.34	.31	<u>.27</u>	.28
7	.28	<u>.47</u>	.24	.35
8	<u>.61</u>	.12	.13	.40
9	<u>.30</u>	.29	.27	.25
10	.22	-.04	.12	.07
11	.28	.11	.13	.11
12	<u>.45</u>	.33	.34	.43
13	<u>.34</u>	<u>.42</u>	.30	.39
14	.28	<u>.28</u>	<u>.48</u>	.39
15	.06	.34	<u>.08</u>	.13
16	.19	.26	<u>.56</u>	.41
17	.41	.19	<u>.40</u>	.36
18	.21	<u>.52</u>	.02	.32
19	.22	<u>.54</u>	.37	.48
20	.38	.28	.13	.24
21	<u>.43</u>	.14	.32	.31
22	<u>.49</u>	.33	.04	.35
23	<u>.44</u>	.30	.38	.42
24	<u>.61</u>	.24	.09	.44
25	.01	<u>.47</u>	.17	.25
26	.19	<u>.48</u>	.33	.37
27	<u>.55</u>	<u>.49</u>	.15	.56
28	<u>.46</u>	.07	.26	.28
Eigenvalue	7.77	.83	.64	9.24
Percentage of the total variance	30.0	5.4	4.7	40.1
Percentage of the overall variance	84.1	9.0	6.9	100.0

3.3.3. *Principal components factor analysis*

The factor analyses discussed above indicated that there were a few items in the *Communication Reticence Scale* which failed to obtain satisfactory loadings on any of the factor solutions reported. In order to analyze the specific variance they are assumed to cause, a series of *post hoc* factor analyses was performed.

The scores were submitted to a principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation. In sum, seven solutions were examined, the number of the factors being extracted varying from four to ten. A nine-factor solution (see Table 15) optimally differentiated the dimensions and yielded a structure which was clearly factorially distinct with high primary loadings and low secondary loadings.

The principal components factor analysis retained the same four factors as the principal axis factor analysis. As can be seen in Table 15, there was a sharp difference between the first four factors and the remaining factors in terms of the items with high primary loadings on them. On each of them, only one item with a primary loading exceeding .70 emerged.

On Factor V, Item 15 concerning apprehension due to remaining silent was heavily (.82) loaded. In addition, Item 25 dealing with concern about listeners' judgments reached a loading of .46. Factor VI alluded to one's ability to cope with potential inhibitive internal state, concluded on the basis of Items 11 (.86) and, subsidiarily, 20 (.47). Preference for the mode of communication (# 4) emerged alone on Factor VII, whereas the single item reflecting dyadic communication (# 9) was loaded on Factor VIII. Ultimately, Item 10 representing the communicator's sensitivity to notice listeners' reactions obtained a high loading of .88 on Factor IX. This particular item was negatively (-.40) associated with Item 25 *When speaking, I often wonder what the listeners think of me*. The dimensions do not allow reliable interpretations.

Table 15.

Factor loadings for nine-factor solution in principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation for the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

Item	Factor	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Communality
1		.37	.38	.09	.31	.11	.11	.34	.14	.10	.56
2		.61	.21	.17	-.02	-.03	-.06	.24	.16	.12	.55
3		.22	.04	.71	-.03	-.03	.04	.02	.04	-.01	.57
4		.13	.17	.10	.04	.02	.05	.81	.01	-.08	.73
5		.39	.24	.48	.02	.02	.08	.15	.29	.10	.57
6		.58	.17	.21	.17	.11	.12	-.04	-.19	-.07	.50
7		.13	.12	.58	.47	-.05	.10	.09	.13	.08	.63
8		.09	.73	.06	.15	-.01	.11	.18	.17	.01	.64
9		.20	.16	.18	.18	.09	.07	.02	.76	-.02	.73
10		.04	.14	.09	.03	.04	.14	-.10	.01	.88	.84
11		.09	.02	.07	.04	.04	.86	.09	.03	.18	.79
12		.57	.19	.13	.31	.23	-.07	.17	.10	-.03	.57
13		.22	.58	.29	.07	.29	-.04	.05	.02	.02	.57
14		.66	.05	.24	.10	.11	-.07	.22	.07	.02	.58
15		.19	-.03	-.01	.16	.82	.00	.06	.09	.06	.75
16		.63	.00	.28	.06	.07	.09	-.14	.22	.05	.57
17		.41	.41	.37	.07	-.08	.05	.01	.05	.03	.49
18		-.02	.06	.29	.63	.22	-.00	.02	.23	-.03	.59
19		.23	.08	.55	.36	.10	.01	.01	.30	.03	.59
20		.13	.27	.17	.41	-.10	.47	-.20	.12	-.14	.59
21		.43	.49	.02	.07	.06	.04	-.17	.24	.20	.56
22		.26	.19	-.03	.73	.04	.02	.01	-.03	.07	.64
23		.67	.17	.11	.33	.04	.14	-.04	.02	-.04	.62
24		.20	.63	.11	.36	-.10	.04	.15	-.06	.06	.62
25		.03	.33	.30	.02	.46	.05	-.24	.05	-.40	.64
26		.22	.23	.58	.06	.36	.06	.11	-.12	.01	.59
27		.42	.26	.14	.49	.24	.21	.11	.02	-.07	.63
28		.46	.27	-.09	-.05	.09	.31	.17	.30	-.01	.52
Eigenvalue		8.33	1.51	1.37	1.25	1.13	1.00	.91	.87	.85	17.22
Percentage of the total variance		29.7	5.4	4.9	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.2	3.1	3.0	61.3

3.4. Analysis of classification variables

3.4.1. Communicator profile of the respondents

In this chapter, a descriptive analysis of the classification variables is carried out. The communicative profile of the respondents is assessed in terms of their social-communicative background.

The subjects were asked to indicate the frequency of their social activities that require verbal participation. Of the subjects, 60% very seldom or never took part in meetings or conferences of associations or organizations (see Table 16) and every fourth attended only a few times a year. Taken together, the number of respondents with either monthly or weekly participation was approximately 15% of the entire sample.

Table 16. The subjects' participation in meetings or conferences of organizations, clubs, political parties or associations.

Category label	N	%
Very seldom or never	654	59.8
A few times a year	278	25.4
Once or twice a month	107	9.8
Once a week or more often	52	4.8
Missing	<u>3</u>	<u>0.3</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Approximately 15% of the respondents held a supervising, teaching, or counseling post at the moment of responding to the questionnaire. Among the most frequently mentioned posts were that of a coach, board member, secretary, club leader, chairman, vice chairman, squad leader in the armed forces, and representative of a student body. The majority of the respondents (85.6%) did not hold such a post. However, half of them (50.0%) had held a post

in the past. Many subjects pointed out that their current participation was limited due to their studies.

Illustrative of the respondents' communicative experiences, the subjects were questioned about the frequency of their public speaking (see Table 17). Two-

Table 17. The frequency of public speaking of subjects.

Category label	N	%
Very seldom or never	640	58.5
A few times a year	361	33.0
Once or twice a month	66	6.0
Once a week or more often	24	2.2
Missing	<u>3</u>	<u>0.3</u>
Total	1094	100.0

thirds of the subjects very seldom or never gave speeches or engaged in public speaking. Every third had the opportunity to do so a few times a year. Taken together, less than 10% of the respondents were involved in public performance either weekly or monthly.

A third area of investigation regarded the amount of speech education received by the subjects. The overwhelming majority (78%) of the respondents had been exposed to speech education only in Finnish classes at school. Every fifth (21.1%) had taken additional classes. Table 18 illustrates that two-thirds of the subjects had received virtually no additional speech education, the amount being less than 10 hours. Every fifth had taken classes from 10 to 30 hours, while a substantial amount was indicated by less than 10%. In sum, 31.9% had taken speech classes for longer than 10 hours.

Subsequently, more than a half of the subjects regarded the amount of their speech education either as somewhat or totally inadequate. The relative frequency of subjects who were satisfied with the amount of their speech education was 27.7%. Table 19 gives the specific information regarding the appraisals.

Table 18. The amount of speech education after graduation.

Category label	N	%
Less than 10 hours	715	65.4
10 - 30 hours	215	19.7
30 - 50 hours	68	6.2
50 - 70 hours	32	2.9
More than 70 hours	34	3.1
Missing	<u>30</u>	<u>2.7</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Table 19. The subjects' evaluations of the amount of their speech education.

Category label	N	%
Totally inadequate	187	17.1
Somewhat inadequate	414	37.8
Cannot say	181	16.5
Somewhat adequate	248	22.7
Completely adequate	55	5.0
Missing	<u>9</u>	<u>0.8</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Since most of the subjects were students, they were asked to estimate how important speech education might be for their (future) career. In sum, 72.6% of the respondents thought that speech classes were necessary for their careers, while a small minority (11.9%) estimated them as being of no importance. Table 20 contains the specific data which show that more than a third selected the option *extremely necessary*. Speech education was regarded as *somewhat necessary* by virtually as many. Approximately 15% could not take a stand.

Table 20. The estimated importance of speech education for (future) career.

Category label	N	%
Totally unnecessary	36	3.3
Somewhat unnecessary	94	8.6
Cannot say	168	15.4
Somewhat necessary	397	36.3
Extremely necessary	392	35.8
Missing	<u>7</u>	<u>0.6</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Next, the subjects were asked to describe their communicator image by estimating their oral skills. Following Norton's (1983:72) view, communicator image was defined as the person's image of the self's communicative ability. The resulting findings indicated that every second subject regarded his oral skills as average (see Table 21). The second most frequently used category was that of *somewhat deficient*, selected by every fifth. Less than 20 % of the subjects viewed their oral skills as either good or excellent. Subjects with average or poor skills comprised the overwhelming majority (78.4%).

Table 21. Distribution of evaluations of communicator image.

Category label	N	%
Excellent	10	0.9
Good	194	17.7
Average	554	50.6
Somewhat deficient	237	21.7
Poor	67	6.1
Cannot say	30	2.7
Missing	<u>2</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Eventually, avoidance behavior caused by tension or fear were asked in terms of the frequency of skipping lessons because of oral performance tasks and postponing oral tasks at school. Table 22 provides a summary of the results.

Table 22. Avoiding classes or postponing oral tasks at school.

Category label	The frequency of avoidances		The frequency of postponements	
	N	%	N	%
Never	979	89.5	1016	92.9
2-3 times	97	8.9	63	5.8
5-10 times	7	0.6	4	0.4
More than 10 times	2	0.2	2	0.2
Missing	<u>9</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0.8</u>
Total	1094	100.0	1094	100.0

Table 22 shows that every tenth subject had occasionally skipped his lessons because of expected performance in the classroom. The number of respondents who had postponed their oral tasks due to tension was lower: 6.4%. As a whole, avoidance behavior in terms of postponing performance tasks was admitted by less than every tenth. The findings implied that students suffering from a high level of tension were inclined to directly avoid their oral tasks rather than to postpone them after negotiating this option with their teachers.

3.4.2. *Factor analysis of continuous classification variables*

To determine the structure underlying the classification variables and to shed light on the role of speech communication variables among them, a pool of continuous variables was submitted to a principal axis factor analysis followed by varimax rotation. In addition to the variables described in the previous chapter, educational background, family's socio-economic level, and academic achievement were included in the factor analysis. Upon extracting the number of factors, the same guidelines which were discussed in Chapter 3.3.1. were established.

Four factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.0, accounting for 55.6% of the variance of the responses. Alternative solutions suggested a three-factor solution as an optimal one because of its clean structure. Three factors accounted for 47.1% of the total variance. The rotated factor loadings are presented in Table 23.

Factor I contained the highest loadings on the following variables: speech education received apart from school (.62) and the amount of speech education after school (.56). Also high public speaking experience was loaded (.45) on the particular factor, as well as participation in meetings or conferences of organizations, clubs, political parties or associations (.38). The item measuring communicator image was (-.42) loaded on the first factor. Both the educational background and family's socio-economic level were weakly connected with the dimension. For socio-economic level, a negative loading was detected. Factor I was identified as an *exposure to communication* dimension.

Table 23. Factor loadings for a three-factor solution for continuous classification variables.

Variable	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Communality
Education	.19	<u>.54</u>	-.09	.33
Socio-economic level	-.06	-.26	.01	.07
Academic achievement	.11	<u>.50</u>	-.12	.28
Participation in organizations	<u>.38</u>	.24	-.06	.21
Public speaking	<u>.45</u>	.34	-.07	.32
Communicator image	<u>-.42</u>	-.01	.29	.26
Source of speech education	<u>.62</u>	.10	.01	.39
Amount of speech education	<u>.56</u>	.01	.02	.31
Judgments about its sufficiency	.20	<u>-.48</u>	-.12	.28
Judgments about its importance	.19	<u>.54</u>	-.12	.35
Skipping lessons	-.04	-.04	<u>.71</u>	.51
Postponing oral tasks at school	-.03	-.11	<u>.61</u>	.38
Eigenvalue	1.98	.87	.83	3.68
Percentage of the total variance	22.2	12.9	12.0	47.1
Percentage of the overall variance	53.7	23.7	22.6	100.0

On Factor II, loadings equal to or greater than .50 were found for three variables. First, most heavily loaded were positive attitudes toward speech education (.54) and general educational background (.54). Second, for the average grade of the last school report, a loading of .50 was discovered. Negatively loaded were respondents' appraisals of the amount of their speech education, indicating that the subjects evaluated the amount of speech education as inadequate but regarded it as highly important for their (future) careers. On the basis of the common denominator underlying these variables, the factor was named as an *academic achievement* dimension.

Factor III included those variables which tapped one's likelihood to exhibit withdrawal tendencies in communicative encounters at school due to tension. For both items measuring the frequency of postponing oral tasks and skipping lessons because of having oral tasks to perform, loadings of .61 or greater were detected. In addition, poor communicator image appeared to be associated with the dimension, with a loading of .29. Consequently, Factor III was defined as a *prior withdrawal* factor.

Table 23 shows that the communalities of the items ranged between .07 and .51. The lowest communality was found for family's socio-economic level. As was observed, this variable was either weakly or negatively associated with the factors. Note that avoidance of oral tasks at school reached the highest communality of .51.

3.5. A *post hoc* analysis of the Communication Reticence Scale and classification variables

To determine whether the items measuring communication reticence and continuous classification variables form separate dimensions, a *post hoc* analysis was performed in which the CR scores and continuous classification variables were submitted to a principal factor analysis with varimax rotation. As a result, nine factors with eigenvalue >1.0 emerged, accounting for 52.3% of the total variance.

Based on considerations on the viability of the different solutions discussed in Chapter 3.3.1., the results suggested either a four-factor or a six-factor solution. The four-factor solution (see Table 24) retained the *approach-avoidance* factor, which appeared as the first factor accounting for 22.9% of the variance. Note that of the classification variables, communicator image loaded heavily (.54) on the first factor, in conjunction with items tapping one's likelihood to engage in oral interaction.

The second factor retained the *stage fright* factor of the CR Scale as intact, with no remarkable primary loadings of the classification variables. A secondary loading of .29 was found for the communicator image item. The factor accounted for 6.6% of the total variance.

Table 24. Factor loadings for a four-factor solution for the *Communication Reticence Scale* (Variables 1-28) and continuous classification variables.

Variable	Factor	I	II	III	IV	Communality
1		<u>.63</u>	.26	.04	.08	.47
2		<u>.59</u>	.16	-.15	-.08	.40
3		<u>.20</u>	<u>.48</u>	-.10	-.12	.29
4		<u>.39</u>	<u>.08</u>	.18	-.06	.19
5		<u>.50</u>	<u>.42</u>	-.13	-.12	.45
6		<u>.42</u>	<u>.28</u>	-.17	.14	.30
7		<u>.28</u>	<u>.60</u>	-.04	.03	.44
8		<u>.53</u>	<u>.18</u>	.18	.09	.36
9		<u>.33</u>	<u>.34</u>	-.06	.12	.24
10		<u>.20</u>	<u>.03</u>	-.09	-.01	.05
11		<u>.25</u>	<u>.07</u>	-.10	.09	.08
12		<u>.55</u>	<u>.36</u>	-.06	.15	.45
13		<u>.44</u>	<u>.35</u>	-.03	.09	.33
14		<u>.52</u>	<u>.29</u>	-.16	-.07	.39
15		<u>.15</u>	<u>.25</u>	-.07	.18	.12
16		<u>.39</u>	<u>.33</u>	<u>-.38</u>	.03	.41
17		<u>.50</u>	<u>.34</u>	<u>-.07</u>	-.00	.37
18		<u>.13</u>	<u>.53</u>	.05	<u>.22</u>	.34
19		<u>.27</u>	<u>.64</u>	-.11	<u>.04</u>	.49
20		<u>.27</u>	<u>.33</u>	-.04	<u>.24</u>	.25
21		<u>.51</u>	<u>.18</u>	-.14	<u>.14</u>	.33
22		<u>.34</u>	<u>.32</u>	.14	<u>.32</u>	.34
23		<u>.53</u>	<u>.31</u>	-.21	<u>.21</u>	.47
24		<u>.54</u>	<u>.23</u>	.09	<u>.18</u>	.38
25		<u>.09</u>	<u>.36</u>	-.04	.14	.16
26		<u>.30</u>	<u>.49</u>	-.05	.02	.33
27		<u>.51</u>	<u>-.42</u>	-.04	<u>.32</u>	.53
28		<u>.52</u>	<u>.05</u>	-.12	<u>.13</u>	.30
Education		<u>.04</u>	-.01	<u>.56</u>	-.15	.34
Socio-economic level		<u>.05</u>	.05	-.23	.05	.06
Academic achievement		<u>.05</u>	.05	<u>.48</u>	<u>-.21</u>	.28
Participation in organizations		-.16	-.17	<u>.39</u>	<u>.09</u>	.21
Public speaking		-.08	-.19	<u>.51</u>	.03	.31
Communicator image		<u>.54</u>	.29	-.18	.14	.42
Source of speech education		-.20	-.17	<u>.38</u>	.20	.25
Amount of speech education		-.12	-.08	<u>.27</u>	.18	.12
Judgments about its sufficiency		-.20	-.17	-.29	.04	.15
Judgments about its importance		-.09	.12	<u>.58</u>	-.15	.38
Skipping lessons		.14	.15	-.11	<u>.42</u>	.22
Postponing oral tasks at school		.09	.10	-.14	<u>.44</u>	.23
Eigenvalue		8.53	1.94	.93	.86	12.26
Percentage of the total variance		22.9	6.6	4.2	3.8	37.5
Percentage of the overall variance		69.6	15.8	7.6	7.0	100.0

The third factor was the *academic achievement* dimension previously found in the factor analysis of continuous classification variables. Most of the items of the *CR Scale* obtained negative low loadings on the third factor. Item 16 measuring oral initiative in the classroom setting was moderately (-.38) loaded on the third factor, as well as Item 23 (-.21) reflecting one's tendency to avoid oral encounters. In other words, verbal participation was moderately associated with educational achievement. With respect to the classification variables forming the particular factor, the highest loadings were detected for favorable attitudes toward speech education (.58), educational background (.56), the frequency of public speaking experiences (.51), and the average grade of the last school report (.48). The frequency of subjects' participation in meetings or conferences loaded substantially (.39) on the factor, as well as exposure to speech classes apart from school (.38).

Finally, the fourth factor was identified as the *prior withdrawal* dimension, previously found in the factor analysis of continuous classification variables. Postponements and avoidance of oral tasks at school were most highly associated with this dimension, the loadings being .44 and .42, respectively. The average grade of the last school report was negatively (-.21) loaded on the fourth factor.

None of the items of the *CR Scale* obtained high primary loadings on the fourth factor, but moderate secondary loadings were detected for items measuring hampered oral performance due to tension (# 27; .32), quivering voice (# 22; .32), coping with nervousness when speaking (# 20; .24), the communicator's interpretation of rapid pulse (# 18; .22), and avoidance of encounters where one might have to speak (# 23; .21). The most obvious property shared by these items is fear or anxiety engendered in public speaking events. One would have expected that prior withdrawal would have been strongly associated with the *approach-avoidance* dimension reflecting the communicator's general apprehension elicited in interaction, but contradicting this prediction, stage fright accounted primarily for withdrawal from oral tasks at school.

The six-factor solution which is reported in Table 25 increased the variance accounted for from 37.5% to 44.43% and added one new dimension coming from the *CR Scale* (*confidence* factor) and another dimension combining classification variables related to oral experiences (*exposure to communication* factor). Thus, the six factors, which appear in Table 25, were identified as *stage fright*, *approach-avoidance*, *confidence*, *academic achievement*, *exposure to communication*, and *prior withdrawal*.

Table 25. Factor loadings for six-factor solution for the *Communication Reti-*
cence Scale (Variables 1-28) and continuous classification variables.

Variable	Factor	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Communality
1		.24	<u>.47</u>	<u>.40</u>	.11	-.06	.10	.47
2		.15	<u>.59</u>	<u>.19</u>	-.03	-.16	.01	.43
3		<u>.49</u>	<u>.19</u>	.10	-.04	-.11	-.12	.31
4		.06	.37	.11	.25	-.01	.03	.22
5		<u>.41</u>	<u>.41</u>	.27	-.01	-.19	-.06	.45
6		<u>.30</u>	<u>.38</u>	.21	-.13	-.05	.13	.32
7		<u>.57</u>	.10	.29	.09	<u>-.22</u>	.08	.48
8		.17	.28	<u>.53</u>	.17	<u>.07</u>	.01	.42
9		.35	.24	<u>.24</u>	-.05	-.01	.08	.25
10		.01	.05	.28	-.08	-.09	-.06	.10
11		.07	.10	.28	-.08	-.07	.05	.11
12		.37	<u>.53</u>	.22	.01	-.03	.19	.50
13		.36	<u>.34</u>	.31	-.01	-.00	.04	.34
14		.30	<u>.60</u>	.07	-.04	-.16	.02	.49
15		.29	.22	.01	-.10	.09	.14	.17
16		.35	.39	.17	<u>-.30</u>	-.18	.04	.43
17		.31	.37	.32	<u>.03</u>	-.16	.05	.36
18		<u>.50</u>	.02	.17	.10	-.04	<u>.23</u>	.35
19		<u>.62</u>	.20	.18	-.01	-.16	<u>.07</u>	.48
20		.32	.02	<u>.41</u>	-.02	-.06	<u>.20</u>	.31
21		.19	.34	<u>.43</u>	-.15	-.01	.05	.36
22		.30	.17	<u>.33</u>	.15	.05	<u>.29</u>	.34
23		.31	<u>.45</u>	.30	-.14	-.10	<u>.22</u>	.47
24		.20	<u>.25</u>	<u>.56</u>	.12	-.03	<u>.13</u>	.45
25		<u>.40</u>	.11	.02	-.06	.06	.09	.19
26		<u>.50</u>	.29	.11	-.00	-.05	.03	.35
27		<u>.40</u>	.36	.36	.03	-.07	<u>.33</u>	.53
28		.06	<u>.43</u>	.29	-.09	-.04	<u>.12</u>	.30
Education		-.05	<u>.05</u>	-.06	<u>.60</u>	.14	-.06	.38
Socio-economic level		.09	.04	.08	-.29	.02	-.05	.11
Academic achievement		.01	.01	-.01	<u>.51</u>	.08	-.14	.28
Oral participation		-.14	-.14	-.07	<u>.24</u>	<u>.34</u>	-.01	.21
Public speaking		-.16	-.03	-.10	<u>.37</u>	<u>.40</u>	-.04	.33
Communicator image		.24	<u>.29</u>	<u>.49</u>	-.05	-.26	.19	.49
Source of speech education		-.09	-.16	-.06	.10	<u>.59</u>	-.01	.40
Amount of speech education		.03	-.02	-.08	.01	<u>.58</u>	-.02	.35
Its sufficiency		-.10	-.06	-.18	-.39	.08	-.05	.21
Its importance		.10	-.14	-.01	<u>.53</u>	.20	-.16	.37
Skipping lessons		.12	.11	.06	<u>-.06</u>	-.03	<u>.54</u>	.33
Postponing oral tasks		.08	.04	.06	-.11	-.03	<u>.56</u>	.34
Eigenvalue		8.56	1.98	1.00	.88	.79	.57	13.78
Percentage of the total variance		22.9	6.6	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.2	44.3
Percentage of the overall variance		62.1	14.4	7.3	6.4	5.7	4.1	100.0

Factor I and Factor II were comprised of the *CR* items entirely. In the six-factor solution, a more elaborated picture of the underlying structure emerged with the result that communicator image was found to be loading on the *confidence* factor. Thus, high loadings were detected for items concerning ease of thinking when speaking (# 8; .53), fluency (# 24; .56), and the person's image of his strong communicative ability.

Items measuring educational level and attitudes toward speech education obtained the highest loadings on the fourth factor (*academic achievement*), the loadings being .60 and .53, respectively. Similar to the four-factor solution, interpersonal initiative was negatively associated (# 16; -.30) with the particular dimension. With regard to the fifth factor (*exposure to communication*), the six-factor solution broke up the structure with the result that Item 7 measuring the level of stage fright obtained a secondary loading of -.22 and appeared to be moderately interrelated with occurrence of additional speech classes and frequent public speaking experiences. The sixth factor did not provide new information compared with the four-factor solution.

3.6. Predictors of communication reticence

A step-wise multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the best predictors of communication reticence. Factor scores computed on the basis of the four-factor solution of the *Communication Reticence Scale* (Chapter 3.3.1.) served as the criterion variable, and factor scores obtained in the three-factor solution for continuous classification variables (Chapter 3.4.2.) formed the set of predictor variables. Specifically, the *approach-avoidance*, *confidence*, *socio-affective concerns* and *stage fright* factors were separately regressed upon those of *exposure to communication*, *academic achievement*, and *prior withdrawal*. Table 26 displays the correlations among the variables.

Table 26. Correlation coefficients between the criterion and predictor variables.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
I	1.00						
II	.19	1.00					
III	.15	.10	1.00				
IV	.12	.19	.16	1.00			
V	-.31	-.23	-.31	-.14	1.00		
VI	-.12	.17	-.05	.05	.13	1.00	
VII	.18	.23	.13	.13	-.06	-.06	1.00

I = Approach-avoidance, II = Confidence, III = Socio-affective concerns
 IV = Stage fright, V = Exposure, VI = Achievement, VII = Withdrawal

The regression of the three predictor variables on the *approach-avoidance* factor (see Table 27) was significant ($F = 52.57$, $df = 3$, 1078, $p < 0.001$). Every predictor made a significant contribution to the equation, the values of *exposure to communication*, *prior withdrawal*, and *academic achievement* being $F = 100.74$, $p < 0.001$; $F = 32.55$, $p < 0.001$; $F = 6.27$, $p < 0.001$,

Table 27. Summary of regression analysis for the *approach-avoidance* dimension of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

($F = 52.57$, $df = 3$, 1078, $p < 0.001$)

Variable	Multiple R	R ²	R ² change	Simple r	Beta
Exposure	.31	.09	.09	-.31	-.29
Withdrawal	.35	.12	.03	.18	.16
Achievement	.36	.13	.01	-.12	-.07

respectively. In this equation, the best predictor of approaching or avoiding of communication was exposure to communication, and the second best was prior tendency to avoid oral tasks at school. The predictors accounted for 13% of the variability in the *approach-avoidance* factor. The standard errors of estimates ranged from .77 to .79 indicating that, on the average, predicted communication reticence scores deviate from the actual scores by .78 units on the *CR Scale*.

Regarding the *confidence* dimension of the *CR Scale*, the step-wise multiple regression yielded a significant equation ($F = 58.62$, $df = 3$, 1078 , $p < 0.001$) which accounted for 14% of the variance (see Table 28). *Prior withdrawal* appeared as the best predictor of the *confidence* dimension ($F = 63.22$, $p < 0.001$), *exposure to communication* emerged as the second best ($F = 70.89$, $p < 0.001$) and *academic achievement* as the third ($F = 55.40$, $p < 0.001$). The standard errors ranged between .73 and .77.

Table 28. Summary of regression analysis for the *confidence* dimension of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

($F = 58.62$, $df = 3$, 1078 , $p < 0.001$)

Variable	Multiple R	R ²	R ² change	Simple r	Beta
Withdrawal	.23	.05	.05	.22	.22
Exposure	.31	.10	.04	-.23	-.24
Achievement	.37	.14	.04	.17	.21

When the three predictor variables were regressed on the *socio-affective concerns* facet of the *CR Scale* (see Table 29), *exposure to communication* and *prior withdrawal* had a significant effect on communication reticence ($F = 66.26$, $df = 2$, 1079 , $p < 0.001$). The multiple correlation of .33 was obtained and 11% of the variance was shared. Of the three predictors, two made significant contributions to the equation, with *exposure to communication* making the largest ($F = 110.87$, $p < 0.001$) and *prior withdrawal* the second largest ($F = 16.11$, $p < 0.001$). The standard error of the estimates

Table 29. Summary of regression analysis for the *socio-affective concerns* dimension of the *Communication Reticence Scale*.

($F = 66.26$, $df = 2, 1079$, $p < 0.001$)

Variable	Multiple R	R ²	R ² change	Simple r	Beta
Exposure	.31	.10	.10	-.31	-.30
Withdrawal	.33	.11	.01	.13	.12

was .76. *Academic Achievement* dimension did not have the required F value for inclusion. Note that all predictors failed to contribute significantly to the *stage fright* dimension and were, therefore, not eligible for inclusion.

3.7. *Situational communication reticence and attribution processes*

The fourth research question was formulated as follows: What communicative situations elicit the most communication reticence and why? To answer the question, the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* (see Chapter 2.2.2.) was administered to the second sample ($N = 145$). As a whole, 29 situations covering a wide spectrum of communicative encounters were graded on their potential for engendering situational communication reticence, and main agents attributable to inhibitive internal states were named. In this chapter, the frequencies of the responses are reported and the attributions, generated in a free-response form, are analyzed. In order to facilitate the discussion, all items purported to tap a certain situational variable are combined together and the following subgroups are formed:

- (1) Interpersonal encounters
- (2) Dyadic contexts
- (3) Public speaking contexts
- (4) Special communicative roles
- (5) Listening encounters
- (6) Public related professional encounters
- *) Speech classes.

3.7.1. Interpersonal encounters

The first group consists of 11 items tapping communicative activities in classes, meetings, and discussions, and, additionally, in communication with parents. Further, two items measuring one's likelihood to engage in an initiating role in interpersonal communication are included. The items are listed in Table 30, as well as their potential for promoting tension, fear, or nervousness.

Table 30. The incidence of tension, fear, or nervousness elicited in interpersonal contexts (N = 145).

Contexts	Incidence		Much		Some		Not at all		Cannot say	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Taking part in a discussion	5	3.4	69	47.6	60	41.4	11	7.6		
Opposing someone	3	2.1	55	38.5	74	51.7	11	7.7		
Addressing a meeting	10	7.0	73	51.0	46	32.2	14	9.8		
Taking part in group work	1	0.7	9	6.3	130	90.9	3	2.1		
Asking a question in the classroom, during a lecture, or a seminar meeting	8	5.5	52	35.9	71	49.0	14	9.7		
Taking part in a group decision	-	-	7	5.0	121	87.1	11	7.9		
Resolving a conflict	1	0.7	37	27.0	81	59.1	18	13.1		
Answering questions in the classroom, during lecture, or seminar meeting	2	1.4	45	31.9	90	63.8	4	2.8		
Having a conversation with parents	1	0.7	4	2.8	137	95.8	1	0.7		
Starting a conversation	3	2.2	34	24.8	86	62.8	14	10.2		
Joining in a discussion group	-	-	32	23.2	85	61.6	21	15.2		

Inspection of Table 30 indicates that the majority of the respondents reported an absence of nervousness, tension, or fear in most interpersonal settings. The least tension was aroused when conversing with parents (95.8%), when participating in group work (90.9%) and when taking part in a group decision (87.1%). Two-thirds of the subjects felt at ease when answering questions in class, and every second did not experience inhibitive emotions when expressing an opposing opinion. In addition to these, two-thirds of the respondents did not experience problems when initiating communication in interpersonal encounters. The result is in accordance with the findings reported in Chapter 3.2.3.

Addressing a meeting was the context most likely to induce tension or fear. Approximately 60% reported inhibitive feelings. The majority of the attributions made by the respondents were related to concern about others' reactions and fear of losing face. Indicative of this finding are the following responses: (*I am concerned about:*)

- (1) how other people react to my subject
- (2) what other people think and how they will react
- (3) potential negative reactions
- (4) others accepting my opinions
- (5) others noticing my stupidity
- (6) others thinking my speech is stupid
- (7) making a fool of myself
- (8) failing

Approximately every tenth subject from those reporting a certain amount of inhibition named performance attributable to nervous, tense, or fearful experiences. Some subjects reported that they felt addressing a meeting to be uncomfortable situation, as illustrated by the following: (*I don't enjoy addressing a meeting because:*)

- (9) everyone pays attention to the speaker
- (10) other people concentrate only on me
- (11) I don't like being the target of attention

Also lack of experience and lack of skills were mentioned. Some respondents reported concern about specific communicative skills, such as: (*I am concerned about:*)

- (12) arguments
- (13) expressing my opinions clearly

- (14) the difficulty in addressing a large group spontaneously
- (15) mixing up or not using the words I want to
- (16) expressing my thoughts briefly and essentially

In a few rare cases, responses were related to the unique nature of the situational variables. For instance: (*I am embarrassed in:*)

- (17) unusual, strange situations
- (18) situations where I don't know the other people

As presented in Table 30, every second subject admitted that they usually feel tension, fear or nervousness in *discussions*. Some subjects reported difficulties related to the content of discussion: (*I am uncomfortable:*)

- (19) if I don't know my subject well enough
- (20) if I don't know what to say

Also problems of delivery were named as agents of inhibitive feelings: (*I feel discomfort regarding:*)

- (21) getting started
- (22) taking turns
- (23) using correct grammar

Among the reasons for tension that respondents gave, problems related to fluency were named often. In response (24) below, problems in speech processing are reported. Some respondents suffered from discrepancy between their communicative intentions and their actual skills, as expressed in (25) below.

- (24) my thoughts are more rapid than my ability to produce speech
- (25) I can't explain what I intend to say

In addition to specific problems related to delivery, inefficient skills were named as attributions by many subjects. Closely parallel to them was the lack of experience.

Approximately 60% of the reasons given as causing tension in discussions were related to social issues. To many subjects performance in general posed problems. Illustrative of this are the following examples: (*I find it uncom-*

{*ortable because:*}

- (26) it is a situation where everyone is waiting for what I am going to say
- (27) the listeners concentrate only on me

Concern about listeners' reactions was reported by many subjects, whereas others were worried about the impression they leave. Some reported fear of losing face. Also fear of making mistakes was named, as well as fear of failure. A couple of respondents interpreted their feelings in terms of the common contextual phrase: "It depends on the situation."

Approximately 40% of the respondents felt tense when *opposing someone*. Of the attributions made, 40% pertained to concern about others' reactions. Many subjects expected the reactions of others to be negative:

- (28) it might happen that the coparticipants will criticize me strongly
- (29) I am worried about how others will argue against me
- (30) I am afraid that others will not accept my opinion

Among the most frequent attributions was concern about the strength of the evidence they would use when defending their statements. Further, general uncertainty about opinions was mentioned in many answers, such as:

- (31) I am not always sure whether my opinions are correct or not
- (32) I can't always be sure that there is nothing to be corrected in my argument

Some subjects exhibited concern about the impact of their opposite opinions on group identification. Underlying their responses, a strong desire to identify themselves with the group could be conjectured. An opposite opinion was, therefore, viewed as a threat to the unity of the group. For example, the following responses were given: (*I am afraid that:*)

- (33) I will be the only one with an opposite opinion
- (34) I may be swimming against the current

Interestingly, the attributions also reflected concern about potential social conflict. The responses, although infrequent in number, embraced desire to

avoid interpersonal conflicts and disharmony in a group. For instance: (*I am worried about:*)

- (35) causing a quarrel in a discussion
- (36) causing a conflict

Table 30 demonstrates that more than one third of the subjects considered *asking and answering questions in class* annoying. This was primarily accounted for by the fact that the majority of those reporting inhibitive feelings aroused in the classroom were worried about the outcome of their communicative activity: (*I am concerned that:*)

- (37) my question is foolish
- (38) everyone else knows the answer already
- (39) I will make a fool of myself
- (40) I will sound stupid
- (41) my question may be too simple and naive
- (42) my questions may not be worth asking

And similarly when answering questions: (*I am afraid that:*)

- (43) my answer may be wrong
- (44) I may sound stupid
- (45) I may make mistakes

The above examples illustrate the respondents' fear of losing face and, more generally, their concern about the impact of communication. Attributions like these comprised the majority of the responses associated with asking and answering questions. As a whole, their relative frequencies were approximately 60%.

The remaining attributions dealt with difficulties of being the target of attention, fearing other's reactions, and with performance in general. Also fear of evaluation was named by two subjects and lack of experience in performance by one subject. One man explained his feelings when asking questions in the classroom as follows:

- (46) asking a question is difficult for me because I am reticent

In other words, he attributed his communication problems to a dispositional character of his personality.

As can be seen in Table 30, every fourth subject appeared to experience tension, fear, or nervousness when *resolving a conflict*. As a result, a wide spectrum of attributions were expressed. Subjects' inhibitive feelings were primarily due to difficulties related to their roles when solving conflicts. Similar to the previous attributions illustrating subjects' desire for harmony in interpersonal communication, concern about one's ability to avoid negative outcomes was mentioned by a half of the subjects. For example: (*I am worried about:*)

- (47) my ability to remain neutral enough
- (48) injuring others' feelings
- (49) paying attention to everyone's opinions
- (50) confusing the entire situation
- (51) using the right intensity in my self expression
- (52) saying something that I have to regret later

Table 30 demonstrates that every third subject, on the average, experienced negative feelings when displaying initiative roles: when *starting a conversation* and when *joining in a discussion group*. The respondents suffered from difficulties in finding a common subject, especially when conversing with unknown people. Also problems in finding the sequence for opening turns were mentioned. For the first time, also shyness was considered attributable to the internal state. The most frequent reason for tension when joining in a group involved in discussion was concern about the other members' reactions. Respondents were worried about whether the group would accept them. Some subjects expressed concern about the impact of their intervention: (*I am afraid that:*)

- (53) I might disturb the discussion
- (54) the discussion will break down if I join in
- (55) I would intrude

The following responses illustrate the participants' desire for the group to function smoothly:

- (56) I feel nervous if I don't know the history of previous discussions and if I can't conclude what the members have already discussed before I entered the group
- (57) can I discuss the same subject

- (58) if the group is coherent and I don't know its members, I don't know what to do

The above descriptions imply sensitivity to group process. Being sensitive enables the member to judge when to join into group interaction and how to adjust his behavior to the group process.

3.7.2. Dyadic contexts

Five items depicted tension, fear, or nervousness aroused in dyadic contexts. Those items with their potential for promoting inhibitive feelings can be seen in Table 31.

Table 31. The incidence of tension, fear, or nervousness in dyadic contexts (N = 145).

Contexts	Incidence		Much		Some		Not at all		Cannot say	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Having a conversation with a superior	2	1.4	56	40.0	66	47.1	16	11.4		
Asking for instructions and study advice from a teacher or professor	1	0.7	16	11.3	120	84.5	5	3.5		
Conversing with a stranger	2	1.4	39	28.1	92	66.2	6	4.3		
Being interviewed	3	2.1	63	45.0	64	45.7	10	7.1		
Speaking about a personal problem	6	4.3	48	34.0	67	47.5	20	14.2		

In the literature on reticence and communication apprehension it has been proposed that high reticents and communication apprehensives are less likely to communicate with their teachers and counselors (Phillips 1968) and to seek the

assistance of available tutors than students with lower level of communication problems (Scott, Yates & Wheeless 1975). Following this line of reasoning, a considerable amount of tension or fear should be expected when asking for instructions and study advice from a teacher or professor. Contrary to the prediction, only one student out of ten reported a moderate level of tension. Two of them wrote that they have problems in evaluating the importance of their questions. One subject felt speaking to a person holding a position of authority as annoying, in general. Another reported concern about her ability to express her ideas so well that the teacher would understand her.

Conversing with a stranger posed no problems for the majority of the respondents. Table 31 illustrates that nearly 70% selected the option *not at all* when they were asked to assess the amount of tension engendered in this particular context. The remainder, 30%, reported anguish. The finding corresponds to the pretest, in which 31.5% were found to be apprehensive when discussing with an unknown person (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a).

The novelty of the coparticipant was the most frequently named reason for inhibitive feelings. Because of a lack of previous communicative history, some subjects said that they did not know what to speak about. Some subjects emphasized the importance of the counterpart's personal characteristics. For example:

- (59) if I find the other person attractive I don't feel tense
- (60) it depends on the person whether I feel tense or not

As shown in Table 31, more than 40% of the subjects reported nervousness when *having a conversation with a superior*. The relative frequency closely parallels the result obtained in the main sample, in which 38% of the subjects disagreed with the statement: *Conversing with a person who holds a position of authority does not make me nervous*. In the pretest, 38.9% of the subjects reported nervous feelings (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). All three samples provide equivalent empirical corroboration for the incidence of nervousness in the target context.

Most subjects reporting nervousness were concerned about the consequences of their discussion with a superior. In some cases, the concerns were very general and not associated with communicative activities *per se*, such as fear of keeping the job. Some respondents wrote about their attitudes toward superiors. For example: (I feel:)

- (61) normal fear of superiors
- (62) that people in higher positions always make me nervous

The above examples suggest that the status of the speaker relative to the addressee seemed to cause nervousness for some subjects. Accordingly, preference for remaining silent in the presence of a superior was seen as the enactment of a subordinate status. Also feelings of inferiority were reported.

The majority of the attributions illustrated concern about the impression one would leave on the superior. Communication skills were closely tied to those concerns, since many subjects were worried that inefficient skills would interfere with future contact. When the speaker knows that a poor performance may result in negative consequences, he tends to anticipate the worst and dreads an upcoming conversation. For instance: (*I am worried about my ability:*)

- (63) to carry on a discussion
- (64) to select my words properly
- (65) to make myself understandable
- (66) to convince people
- (67) to behave correctly: should I address the other formally or informally

As in (67) above, concern about general social skills was among the problems listed. Most subjects were keenly aware that they are evaluated on the basis of their social-communicative behavior. If the evaluation was regarded as crucial, more tension occurred.

Similar to the main sample, feelings precipitated when *being interviewed* divided the sample into two equal groups: one half of the subjects reported confidence and the other half at least moderate tension. Not infrequent was the number of those respondents who said that they feel interviews are oppressive. The reason most often mentioned was fear of not being able to answer questions. In sum, approximately 40% of the attributions tapped this dimension. Subjects reported fear of difficult and unpleasant questions. Some subjects were worried about their social behavior in general. This dimension was observed also in conjunction with speaking to a person holding a position of authority.

The attributions associated with interviews repeatedly suggested that a dyadic context tends to elicit concerns about impressions one leaves with the

interviewer. Either uncertainty about the quality of conclusions or fear of unfavorable impressions promoted tension. More infrequent were mentions of being observed and explanations suggesting low self-esteem. For the first time, reluctance to engage in self-expression was evinced in some responses.

Unwillingness to reveal personal information was the main attribution named as the causal agent of fear or tension evoked when *discussing a personal problem*. Nearly 60% of the attributions were classified as belonging to this category. The subjects gave, for instance, the following responses regarding self-expression:

- (68) not everything is everybody's business
- (69) I am apprehensive in self-disclosing
- (70) especially with unknown people I don't discuss my personal affairs

According to one subject, the reluctance to reveal personal information could be named as a characteristic Finnish stereotype. The remaining attributions represented undifferentiated statements about general apprehension elicited when discussing personal problems and preference for listening rather than speaking in such contexts.

3.7.3. *Public speaking contexts*

The following contexts measured the prevalence of tension, fear, or nervousness elicited in public performances: reading aloud, acting or reciting a poem, giving a prepared speech or reading a paper, and impromptu speaking. The results are presented in Table 32.

Compared with other situations, reading aloud engendered the least tension. Acting, reciting a poem, impromptu speaking, and giving a prepared speech were, in turn, regarded as problematic by the overwhelming majority of the subjects. Approximately 80% indicated that they feel tense when performing on the stage or reading poems aloud. Most of them suffered from problems in delivery, especially from inefficiency in voice training.

A frequently mentioned reason for experiencing tension was performance in general. Every fifth attribution made was concerned with fear of forgetting words or getting them confused. In 20% of the responses, being the target of observations was identified as the sensitizer. As one girl wrote:

- (71) it's difficult to forget that I'm standing in front of an audience and that I'm being observed

Similarly, approximately every fifth answer attributed tension to oral skills deficits. Closely related to the lack of skills, some subjects did not have experiences in acting or reciting poems, experiencing, consequently, hypothetical situations as strange and threatening. Some subjects reported irrational apprehension related to performing.

Table 32. The incidence of tension, fear, or nervousness in public speaking contexts (N = 145).

Contexts	Incidence		Much		Some		Not at all		Cannot say	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reading aloud	2	1.4	48	33.3	85	59.0	9	6.3		
Acting or reciting a poem	43	29.9	74	51.4	11	7.6	16	11.1		
Giving a prepared speech or reading a paper	38	26.4	88	61.1	16	11.1	2	1.4		
Speaking impromptu	22	15.9	68	49.3	35	25.4	13	9.4		

Further, explanations related to the expectations of the outcomes of public performance held by the respondents were found among the attributions. Usually, potential outcomes were dichotomized either as success or failure. The responses implied that failing in a task requiring special skills was seen as a threat to one's self-esteem, with potential for losing face.

Acting and reciting a poem were the first contexts in the present material that generated reports from past experiences and demonstrated how unpleasant memories influence one's communicator image. Unproductive experiences were caused by forgetting lines, with the reader's embarrassment as concomitant:

- (72) I had an awful experience in my youth: when I was performing, I forgot my poem
 (73) when I was young, I once forgot the words when I was reciting a poem

The remaining attributions were classified in terms of fear of evaluation and fear of audience. However, these specific reasons comprised only 3% of the attributions. In approximately the same amount of responses it was referred to auditive stage fright symptoms, such as shortness of breath, quivering voice, and fear of voice breaking down.

Two-thirds of the subjects reported a moderate level of tension when *giving speeches*. To every fourth, public speaking posed a more serious problem. Every tenth announced that performing does not cause fearful feelings. In general, the subjects tended to easily analyze their communicative experiences related to public performances and opt between the presence and absence of tense feelings, since only 1.4% were not able to categorize their feelings.

In total, 108 answers were produced by 122 subjects revealing feelings related to giving speeches. This was the most answered category in the attribution material. The most frequent attribution dealt with the social dimensions: being the target of observation, standing in front of an audience. In every fifth response, disruptive internal states were seen attributable to stage fright. Not essentially different was the number of attributions emphasizing fear of failure when engaging in public speaking activities. Similar to the preceding context, giving a speech produced concern about outcomes, comprising approximately 15% of the causes.

According to many respondents, preparation tends to produce high expectations on one's communicative activity and heighten the level of tension. Some subjects reasoned that because the speaker has had an opportunity to prepare his speech, he should manage well. The responses suggested that many subjects had internalized an ideal of a speaker who can fulfill his plans perfectly. Illustrative of this are the following examples:

- (74) do I manage to say everything I planned to
- (75) can I perform the way I intended to
- (76) when I have to memorize something, I am tense because I am afraid that I'll forget my text
- (77) I fear I will forget my plans
- (78) I wonder if I'll remember anything

The examples above reflect rigid attitudes toward communicative performance. Alternatively, they may be partially due to the communicators' inability to adjust to communication encounters. In addition to this, they may originate in communication skills deficits, whereby communicators' ability to generate

alternative behavioral strategies is limited. Of the attributions, 20% were concerned with inefficient skills or low experience of public speaking. For most of those suffering from ineptitude in skills, mastering of delivery seemed to pose problems, as illustrated in responses (79) and (80) below. Some responses focused on the effects of speech, as seen in (81) and (82) below:

- (79) do I master my voice
- (80) do I engage in a natural eye-contact with my audience
- (81) do I get my audience interested in my subject
- (82) do I convince my listeners

Evaluation was named as the causal agent of tense feelings by some respondents, as well as the audience, usually specified in terms of its novelty and size. Also confrontation with the audience was regarded as a difficult task. The following answers represent the feelings of many subjects:

- (83) in the beginning I feel anguish about whether everything will go all right, but after a while, the feeling disappears
- (84) in the beginning I feel tense when I have to take the platform, but soon I relax, usually after my first words that break the silence

In the causal reasoning of some subjects, tension promoted when performing publicly was attributed to traits, as illustrated in response (85) below. In some responses, it was referred to an irrational nonspecific internal state, as suggested in (86) below:

- (85) tension is one of my natural characteristic features
- (86) it is difficult to explain, I just feel tense

Two-thirds of the subjects (see Table 32) reported a certain level of tension, fear, or nervousness when *speaking impromptu*. Paradoxically, giving a prepared speech caused a problem to most subjects due to firm preplans with heightened expectations as concomitant, impromptu speaking was a fearful experience for many respondents because of lack of preparation. In general, lack of skills seemed to be the most prevalent reason for nervousness and tense feelings: concern about what to say and fear of finding nothing to say. Lack of verbal skills was often named among the attributions. For example:

- (87) I am not very quick-witted
 (88) will I be able to find right and situationally appropriate words

Many subjects pointed out that they are unaccustomed to impromptu situations and become, therefore, alert when engaging in them. The novelty of the situation results in uncertainty about what to say and how to behave. Indicative of the impact of tension on one's cognitive processes are the following examples: (*When speaking impromptu:*)

- (89) I get embarrassed because I haven't had an opportunity to make plans for my speech or to organize my thoughts
 (90) I'm afraid that my thoughts get confused

Many subjects were concerned about the outcome of disfluent speech or poor performance. Little experience and inadequate skills precipitated an increase of fear of losing face in a novel situation.

3.7.4. *Special communicative roles*

Theoretically, one factor accounting for the variance in communication reticence is the communicator's role in an interactive context. Predictably, the higher the status of the speaker relative to that of the audience, the lower the level of communication reticence. Among the encounters in the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*, three contexts with potential for special role expectations were included in order to measure the impact of the role on the level of nervousness or fear. The prevalence of self-reported feelings can be seen in Table 33.

The most crucial finding in Table 33 is the proportion of neutral answers. Approximately every fourth subject could not describe his feelings, presumably due to lack of experience. Nearly one third of the respondents reported an absence of nervous feelings when outlining a discussion, and not an essentially greater number when acting as a specialist.

Acting as a chairperson posed negative feelings for fewer subjects than the former encounters. However, the level of experienced tension appeared to be higher than in other events. Taken together, close to 60% experienced tension to a certain degree when acting as a chairperson. Consistent with this result

was Valkonen's (1984:34) finding that 66% do not like to occupy the role of chairperson. In the pretest of the present study, 72.2% of the subjects reported that they did not want to act as a chairperson (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). McKinney (1982) has observed that reticent group members are less likely to emerge as group leaders than non-reticent members.

Table 33. The incidence of tension, fear, or nervousness elicited when occupying a special role in communicative encounters (N = 145).

Contexts	Incidence		Much		Some		Not at all		Cannot say	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Introducing a subject for discussion	9	6.3	66	45.8	39	27.1	30	20.8		
Acting as a chairperson	21	15.4	59	43.4	25	18.4	31	22.8		
Acting as an expert	13	9.6	37	27.4	46	34.1	39	28.9		

One half of the attributions dealt with lack of experience or skills. The descriptions took following forms:

- (91) I don't master the technique
- (92) I wonder if I can follow procedures
- (93) I have no routine; if I did, I would feel confident
- (94) I wonder if I can act properly
- (95) I wonder if I have the skills expected

As these examples show, the respondents were keenly aware of the expectations other members have regarding the behavior of the chairperson. If one does not possess full knowledge of the procedures and has, however, to occupy the role, one's behavior is probably not consistent with the expectations, yielding a role conflict between the group's expectations and one's own perceived capability and self-concept. This discrepancy is likely to profoundly affect one's internal state.

Closely related to the previous attribution, fear of mistakes and failure was reported by many subjects, some of which seemed to be sensitive to the special characteristics of a particular role. For instance:

- (96) it is difficult for me to take responsibility for the entire situation
- (97) I worry when the situation is very important and I do something really wrong

Finally, being conspicuous when occupying the chairperson's position posed a problem for some subjects. In the rhetorical thinking of these subjects, acting as a chairperson seemed to resemble a public speaking situation.

Slightly more than a half of the respondents described their feelings as nervous, tense, or fearful when *introducing a subject for discussion* (see Table 33). The most frequent attribution was related to novelty of this role. A novel role generates tension by increasing the ambiguity of the context. Subjects unfamiliar with this role were also unaccustomed to being the focus of an audience's attention, thus experiencing a certain level of tense feelings. More infrequent were attributions tapping special characteristics of the particular role, such as:

- (98) I am afraid that I can't pay attention to all details emerging in the discussion
- (99) I worry about my ability to pick up on essential details only

An awareness of the special role explained the feelings of some subjects:

- (100) I believe it is an important task; I am the leader of the group
- (101) I am afraid my behavior doesn't fit the situation
- (102) I wonder if my input is of some use to the discussion

In addition to the previous attributions, also uncertainty about others' reactions, lack of verbal skills, fear of failure, fear of finding nothing to say, fear of forgetting, concern about arguments, stage fright, and problems in getting started were included in the corpus of the causal agents of uncomfortable feelings when outlining a discussion.

With regard to *acting as an expert* in a group, the assumption that a special role should reduce tension received only partial empirical corroboration. Although the number of the subjects reporting deleterious emotions was lower than in other encounters with special roles, every third respondent exhibited tension to some degree. The results of the pretest provide support for this finding. In the pretest, one half of the subjects agreed with the statement:

Displaying the role of a specialist in a group makes me feel confident, while 25.9% disagreed (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). In other words, both of these samples suggest one third exhibiting tension or fear when acting as an expert.

The agents attributed to tension when acting as an expert differed sharply from the previous ones, shedding light on the self-esteem of communication reticents. Virtually without exception, the subjects reporting tension referred to concern about their knowledge and uncertainty about the amount of their information. Along with lack of knowledge, frequent attributions illustrating low self-esteem of communication reticents were identified in the data. For instance:

- (103) I am not a specialist in any area
- (104) am I really an expert?
- (105) I should know what to talk about
- (106) there might be better specialists than me

Some subjects were worried about the unforeseen nature of reactions:

(I am worried about:)

- (107) if something comes up that I don't understand
- (108) the audience's intricate questions
- (109) negative reactions

Another respondent anticipated the situation and worried that his opinions are precarious. Poor oral skills and concern about the ability to act convincingly were mentioned by some subjects. These latter examples focused exclusively on behavioral patterns and communication-bound dimensions of one's social activity.

3.7.5. *Listening encounters*

Two items measuring tension, fear, or nervousness aroused when receiving messages were included in the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*. They were aimed at providing comparative material for the items measuring communication reticence evoked when speaking. Receiver apprehension concerns "the degree to which individuals are fearful about misinterpreting, inadequately processing, and/or being unable to adjust psychologically to messages" (Scott & Wheelless 1977:248).

Given the definition of receiver apprehension, it could be predicted that listening to exact instructions would result in concerns about misinterpretation and inadequate processing of messages. For most of the subjects, listening to exact instructions was, however, not an apprehensive experience (see Table 34). Those subjects who reported a mild level of tension mainly thought that concern about forgetting or misunderstanding instructions was the causal agent of their anguish. In addition to the anticipation of potential negative outcomes, lack of listening skills constituted a large group of attributions. Ineffective listening skills are represented by the following statements: (*When listening I:*)

- (110) may be distracted by other things which may inhibit my concentration
- (111) might not catch the essential information
- (112) am usually not accurate enough

Table 34. The prevalence of receiver apprehension in two listening encounters (N = 145).

Contexts	Incidence		Much		Some		Not at all		Cannot say	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Listening to exact instructions	-	-	27	18.6	113	77.9	5	3.4		
Hearing one's own performance rated	7	4.9	60	41.7	71	49.3	6	4.2		

Table 34 indicates that *hearing one's own performance rated* divided the sample into two opposite groups: one half found the situation easy and the other half uncomfortable. Not surprisingly, the evaluation was the main reason for tenseness. Generally, the subjects experiencing tension found it difficult to receive evaluative messages because:

- (113) it is always so difficult for me to receive criticism
- (114) one hopes to hear only positive things about oneself
- (115) I try to do my best and, therefore, others' evaluation sounds so definite

As a new category of the attributions, concern about potential for the discrepancy between one's own perception about his performance and judgments made by coparticipants emerged. Indicative of this are the following examples:

- (116) will the criticism be what I was waiting for?
- (117) I am concerned how I will feel if I receive a negative evaluation when I was waiting for a positive one
- (118) I am worried about confrontation with others' opinions: was I able to evaluate myself right?

A communicator who has internalized an unrealistic communicator image or who cannot make valid inferences about his own interactive functions, is likely to engage in a tension-arousing confrontation process, with anticipatory feelings as concomitants. In total, the anticipation of outcomes was the main category of the causal agents of tension, when hearing one's own performance judged.

3.7.6. Public related professional encounters

In the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*, three questions were directed toward communicative functions in public related professional encounters. In general, as Table 35 indicates, the majority of the respondents considered themselves confident during their professional duties with the public.

Table 35. The prevalence of tension, fear, or nervousness in three public related professional contexts (N = 145).

Contexts	Incidence		Much		Some		Not at all		Cannot say	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Telephone transactions	1	0.7	33	22.9	108	75.0	2	1.4		
Serving customers	-	-	29	20.1	98	68.1	17	11.8		
Transactions in an office, bank, etc.	-	-	6	4.3	129	92.8	4	2.9		

Table 35 shows that it was exceptional to feel tension or nervousness when carrying on a transaction in an office or in a bank. Those who reported a mild level of tension were uncertain about how to behave. Tension was also attributed to uncertainty about the officials' reactions.

Every fifth subject reported a mild level of tension evoked during *telephone transactions* and when *servicing customers*. In telephone transactions, the biggest problem area appeared to be the following one:

- (119) I don't know how to behave
- (120) I am unsure about whom to ask
- (121) I'm afraid that I can't express my thoughts clearly enough

Characteristic of these explanations, lack of social-communicative skills was considered the main agent of tense feelings. In general, the responses gave the impression that the subjects were keenly aware of the discrepancy between their skills and those special demands which originate in the lack of the visual channel in communication. The subjects knew that their verbal code and paralinguistic features should convey information adequately. Verbal skills deficits, a context with special requirements on linguistic behavior, tends itself to elevate the level of tension or fear.

The other half of the attributions represented concerns about communication. The subjects seemed to be primarily worried about the impact of interaction. Illustrative of this category are the following responses:

- (122) what will I do if the person doesn't understand me?
- (123) do I address the other appropriately and do I make myself understood?

Additionally, concern with self and one's own adequacy was expressed by some respondents.

Responses summarized in Table 35 indicate that *servicing customers* was viewed as tension-arousing by every fifth. Little experience was mentioned by some subjects as the main attribution of their tension. More frequently tension was seen as attributable to doubts about the adequacy of one's knowledge, the very same cause found earlier in conjunction with acting as an expert. Once again, also uncertainty about how to behave was reported by some subjects. In a few rare cases, tense feelings were explained from a trait perspective.

3.7.7. *Speech classes*

One context in the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* was participating in speech exercises. The underlying assumption was that although students in speech classes are purported to gain confidence, exercises - public speaking performances above all - may be stressful for many students.

As a whole, one third of the subjects reported confidence when speaking in speech classes. The relative frequencies of the subjects who reported either a high or mild level of tension reached 56%. As a characteristic feature of the responses, 16% could not determine their feelings with regard to this context.

Being observed was viewed as the causal agent of inhibitive internal states in 15% of the responses. Tense feelings were attributable to, for instance, staring and standing in front of the class. The attributions illustrated indisputably that the respondents had internalized speech exercises as public speaking performances. As a result, fear of losing face due to either poor performance or doing something against expectations elevated their tension.

As with many contexts previously reported, some subjects were fearful of making mistakes or of making fools of themselves. Their responses suggested that disfluent speech was regarded as a threat to the impression they would leave. The data suggested that a communicative event that is experienced as a situation in which one is exposed to social evaluation, increases expectations on the outcomes of communicative functions. Characteristic of many respondents' thinking, they felt that they have to succeed in their oral tasks. An anticipation of evaluation was regarded by two subjects as a variable that induces tension.

Apart from the attributions related to anticipatory reasoning discussed above, certain situational variables were viewed as causal agents of tense feelings by some respondents. It was pointed out that an unrelaxed atmosphere in the classroom is likely to elevate tension. Usually, the situations were regarded as unnatural. In the following response, the subject ties unnatural situations to evaluation and is worried about the consequences of perceptions made in those particular contexts:

- (124) I find speech exercises unnatural and I don't think it is possible to make an evaluation of one's skills based on them

For some respondents, the audience seemed to be the sensitizer, especially a large and unknown one. One subject attributed inhibitive feelings to shyness. The remaining single attributions were concerned with various aspects of the communication process, such as: (*I am concerned about the following facts:*)

- (125) does anyone get interested in my subject
- (126) will everything go smoothly
- (127) will I remember everything
- (128) how can I make my thoughts understood

The above examples mirror concern about conveying messages rather than a deleterious internal state that would restrict or totally inhibit one's communicative functions.

3.8. *The hierarchy of tension-arousing communicative situations*

The communicative situations are ordered in terms of their potential for promoting tension, fear, or nervousness. The derivation of a taxonomy is based on the absolute and relative frequencies of the options *much* and *some* in the *Situational Taxonomy Scale*. In Figure 4, the predominant patterns stand out in sharp relief: there are dramatic differences between the communicative events and their potential for precipitating an increase of deleterious internal states.

As Figure 4 and the following percentages elucidate, two contexts appeared to engender more tension than the others:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------|
| 1. | Giving a prepared speech | 87.5% |
| 2. | Acting or reciting a poem | 81.3% |

These two settings share certain common features. First, they are formal encounters, where the speaker is highly conspicuous and where the audience is forming impressions of him. The public nature of these formal situations renders individuals vulnerable. Second, these particular situations require specific communication skills, a perceived lack of which would seriously threaten one's credibility as communicator. Third, gaining practice in such situations is limited because their occurrence in social life is infrequent.

Communicative Situations

The absolute frequencies of the *much* and *some* tension, fear, or nervousness on the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* (range 0-145).



Figure 4. The hierarchy of tension-arousing communicative situations.

The following contexts were also frequently chosen and were viewed as tension-arousing by more than one half of the respondents:

3.	Speaking impromptu	65.2%
4.	Acting as a chairperson	59.3%
5.	Addressing a meeting	58.0%
6.	Participating in speech exercises	56.1%
7.	Introducing a subject for discussion	52.1%
8.	Taking part in a discussion	51.0%

These contexts possess several common denominators. First, they resemble a public speaking situation. With regard to the role of the speaker, he initiates the interaction and regulates it to a large extent. Second, most contexts are inherently highly normative: the social script is clearly expressed and one is expected to adhere to it closely. The communicator is able to exhibit effective interactive functions only when he succeeds in combining his situation-specific procedural knowledge and communication skills. Third, given the preceding, the speaker is highly exposed to his listeners' judgments. Poor oral skills and inadequate proficiency in social script may reduce the likelihood of leaving a favorable impression on the audience.

The following interactional situations were problematic for more than every third respondent:

9.	Being interviewed	47.1%
10.	Hearing one's own performance rated	46.5%
11-12.	Asking a question in the classroom, during a lecture or a seminar meeting	41.4%
	Having a conversation with a superior	41.4%
13.	Opposing someone	40.6%
14.	Speaking about a personal problem	38.3%
15.	Acting as an expert	37.0%
16.	Reading aloud	34.7%
17.	Answering questions in the classroom, during a lecture or a seminar meeting	33.3%

The most crucial characteristic of the above settings is the salience of interpersonal evaluation. In cases 9 and 10 evaluation is explicit: the communicators know that evaluation is occurring. In cases 11 through 17, evaluation is implicit. However, evaluation by others carries the potential for positive and negative outcomes for the individual and affects, therefore, later contacts between the speaker and his addressees. Subsequently, most people are concerned with the impressions others are forming and are more likely to feel apprehensive. Illustrative of these contexts, a listening situation with potential for a remarkable level of receiver apprehension is located in this category. Secondly, these particular encounters call for self-disclosive behavior. When being interviewed, asking or answering questions in the classroom, or acting as an expert, one has to reveal his knowledge and way of thinking to some degree. When opposing someone in a discussion, the communicator takes the risk that he might have to argue for his point of view and elaborate on his statements with an increased likelihood of revealing his attitudes and inner thoughts. When hearing his own performance rated, the listener has to engage in confrontative thinking, receive information about himself and control the way he reacts to judgments.

The contexts regarded as the lowest in terms of their potential for evoking tension that might interfere with communication are enumerated in the following list:

18.	Conversing with a stranger	29.5%
19.	Resolving a conflict	27.7%
20.	Starting a conversation	27.0%
21.	Telephone transactions	23.6%
22.	Joining in a discussion group	23.2%
23.	Serving customers	20.1%
24.	Listening to exact instructions	18.6%
25.	Asking for instructions or study advice	12.0%
26.	Taking part in group work	7.0%
27.	Taking part in a group decision	5.0%
28.	Transactions in an office, bank, etc.	4.3%
29.	Having a conversation with parents	3.5%

Characteristic of the above contexts, they are either dyadic or small group settings and represent more routine types of communication. The conspicuousness of the speaker is minimal. In small group interaction, responsibilities for participation and outcomes are usually shared by the group members. Furthermore, most of the above contexts entail casual communication with little likelihood for further contacts. Under these circumstances, speaker experienced stress is lower than in transactions which are known to be followed by further contacts.

3.9. *The nature of communication reticence*

The nature of communication reticence and its role in the rhetorical thinking of individuals is analyzed on the basis of the subjects' written responses to sentence completing tasks on the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* (see Chapter 2.2.3.). The questionnaire was administered to the third sample (N = 110). Given the free response format of the inventory, some of the responses were concerned with issues beyond the scope of the present study. Therefore, some variables which emerged are not thoroughly discussed here; the analysis is limited to those dimensions that are tied with the problem setting of the present study.

3.9.1. *Dispositional characteristics of communicative behavior*

The subjects were first asked to list characteristics typical of their behavior when engaging in oral discourse. As a result, a bulk of 235 responses emerged, which were categorized as follows: (1) talkativeness, (2) non-talkativeness, (3) delivery, and (4) listening.

Of the responses, approximately 20% contained perceptions of talkativeness. In these answers, general ease in communicative activities was reported. Some subjects regarded themselves as being characteristically open, enthusiastic, and as having a good sense of humor. It was also pointed out that communication is highly rewarding and enjoyable. Indicative of these experiences are the following answers: (*In situations where I speak with people, it is typical of my behavior that:*)

- (1) I like to defend my thoughts and to argue for them
- (2) I enjoy engaging in conversations
- (3) I enjoy conversing with my friends

In response (3) above, a situational variable was stipulated for rewarding experiences. The dimension of familiarity with the coparticipants was strongly associated with talkativeness, which is further illustrated by the following typical responses:

- (4) I get easily enthusiastic among my acquaintances
- (5) among my friends I sometimes speak even too much
- (6) I talk quite a lot among my friends
- (7) among people known to me I feel confident
- (8) among my friends I am inspired to explain my thoughts
- (9) usually I am a little bit reserved but among my acquaintances and friends I am open and lively

Approximately 30% of the responses encompassed descriptions about preference for remaining silent in social settings. Given the preceding notion that in every fifth response talkativeness was reported, the dichotomy of talkativeness and non-talkativeness appeared to be strong in the respondents' rhetorical thinking. Keeping in mind that the particular dimension was not imposed, it is notable that more than one half of the subjects alluded to this dichotomy.

Some subjects considered themselves characteristically quiet, whereas others confessed that they get easily embarrassed in social settings, often engaging, therefore, in reticent behavior. Preference for remaining silent was described, for example, as follows:

- (10) I avoid speaking whenever it's possible
- (11) I take the floor only seldom
- (12) I would rather stay on the side lines and not express my thoughts
- (13) I often stay in a group without saying anything
- (14) usually I tend to withdraw, at least among strangers

The above examples suggest relatively enduring characteristics of the respondents.

Reduced involvement in communication functions was reported by many subjects. Illustrative of this pattern are the following responses: (*It is typical of my behavior that:*)

- (15) I speak only when I really have something to say
- (16) usually I don't speak unnecessarily; in other words, I don't speak just for the fun of speaking
- (17) I try to speak briefly and precisely
- (18) I answer briefly by using only a few words

The common denominator in the above examples is an ideal of a speaker who carefully ponders what he is going to communicate. In addition to this, a strong desire to use explicit language and precise expressions is reported. Instead of emphasizing the quantity of speech, the respondents appear to place a high value on the quality of their verbal outcome.

Apart from the above responses suggesting dispositional characteristics of the subjects in terms of the quantity of their speech, a wide spectrum of situational responses were generated. The familiarity-unfamiliarity dimension found above, in conjunction with reports on talkativeness, emerged again as a crucial intervening variable. Typical responses were: (*Characteristic of my communicative behavior:*)

- (19) among unknown people I get reticent
- (20) I get nervous among unknown people
- (21) among unknown people I am shy, at least at the beginning of a conversation
- (22) among unknown people I become tense and my speech gets slower but among friends it is natural and clear
- (23) among unknown people I am cautious at the beginning of a discussion and stay silent, especially if I disagree with others' opinions

In the above responses, the common denominator is unfamiliarity with coparticipants. One's decision to remain silent or to experience inhibition reducing one's oral functions is attributed to reticence, nervousness, shyness, tension, and general suspiciousness in new social settings.

Another situational variable accounting for the variance in non-talkativeness of the respondents was the size of the audience. Subjects reported that dyadic communication was a setting in which they felt pleasant and confident. The larger the audience, the more likely respondents were to experience inhibitive feelings. Sometimes situational variables were combined (e.g. the size and novelty of the audience) as illustrated in the following response:

- (24) in a large and unknown group I remain mostly silent, but with my friends I speak freely

In the present data, not infrequent were reports of stage fright symptoms, accounting partially for one's likelihood to prefer non-talkative strategies. For example, many subjects regarded a quivering voice and blushing as characteristic features of their communication behavior. Disfluency and physiological arousal were mentioned as well. In a few rare cases, fear related to public speaking was associated with the lack of social skills.

Approximately 30% of the responses included perceptions of delivery. Problems in vocal control were reported by many subjects. One illustration of the respondents' thoughts about nonverbal communication was that 15% of them made excuses for the use of gestures when speaking. Their explanations gave the impression that reduced nonverbal expressivity in public speaking situations was an aspect of Finnish norms regulating communicative behavior.

The remaining descriptions, comprising about 20% of the responses, dealt with listening. Indicative of a high valuation of listening are the following examples:

- (25) I don't interrupt the speaker
 (26) I wait for my turn in discussion
 (27) at the beginning of a conversation I remain silent and listen to others' opinions first

The above examples suggest that subjects believe silence communicates politeness to the other when receiving messages and is held as an ideal.

3.9.2. *Expectations for speech classes*

One indirect way to approach the study of the role of communication reticence in the respondents' rhetorical thinking was to ask what expectations they have regarding speech classes. In total, 225 expectations were produced.

Approximately 50% of the responses were concerned with need for acquiring communication skills. Primarily the subjects reported need for training in public speaking, small group interaction, and job-interviewing. Some respondents

called for teaching parliamentary procedure and those special rules that regulate formal interpersonal communicative events. They emphasized that they do not possess the adequate proficiency in social scripts, which tends to precipitate an increase of uncomfortable feelings and yield inadequate social-communicative behavior.

One half of the expectations reported in the category of acquiring communication skills tapped specific patterns in delivery and voice training. The most frequently mentioned objective was to learn to speak fluently. Occasionally, various prosodic features in speech were also pointed out. In some responses, specific speech skills were closely tied to general social skills, giving the impression that many subjects were keenly aware that improving their communication skills and gaining knowledge of social norms would contribute the most to their social-communicative activities.

From the perspective of this study, attention was given also to responses implying lack of feedback. In sum, 10% of the respondents wanted to receive feedback about their communication skills. The present sample confirms the earlier notion made in the main sample that most of the individuals lack systematic communication training and, furthermore, only seldom engage in formal communicative activities, possessing, therefore, few opportunities to confront the audience setting, with uncertainty about their communication skills as concomitant.

The second most frequent category, comprising approximately 35% of the expectations, included need for gaining confidence and easing tension. Typical responses were: (*I want to learn:*)

- (28) to express my opinions more bravely
- (29) to speak without apprehension
- (30) to free myself from tension
- (31) to relax
- (32) to speak without my hands perspiring
- (33) to cope with tension

In some single responses, excessive self-consciousness was incorporated in communication reticence. The following example illustrates this notion:

- (34) I hope that I will learn not to concentrate so much on myself when communicating

In the same vein, the subjects thought that they should learn to expand their perceptual ability in the communication process and condition themselves to become more sensitive to audience feedback.

A minority of the respondents considered that their attitudes toward communication constitute the main problem. Indicative of this category are the following responses: (*I hope that I will learn:*)

- (35) to take communication situations more seriously
- (36) to take a positive attitude toward communication and learn to value it

In summary, inefficient skills, tension, and unfavorable attitudes toward communication accounted for the expectations respondents gave for speech classes.

3.9.3. *Communication satisfaction*

The subjects were asked to specify when they are satisfied with their communicative outcomes. A total of 255 responses were generated. The responses were categorized as (1) absence of tension, (2) efficient delivery, (3) interaction, and (4) favorable situational variables.

From the perspective of communication reticence, it is reasonable to predict that an absence of detrimental feelings related to interaction would account for communication satisfaction substantially. In keeping with the prediction, many subjects rationalized this way, but contradicting the assumption, their responses constituted the most infrequent category in the corpus of the target question. Every tenth response, on the average, referred to this dimension. For example: (*I am satisfied with my communicative functions when:*)

- (37) I manage to hide my tension
- (38) tension does not hamper my performance
- (39) I don't feel too much tension and do not stammer
- (40) I have spoken clearly, naturally, and without tension
- (41) I am able to reduce my tension during my performance and I don't have to read my speech

In the above examples, various behavioral aspects are associated with introspective feelings, thus illustrating the complex relationship between the affective and behavioral domains relative to communicative outcomes.

The content of approximately 40% of the responses encompassed perceptions of delivery. Satisfaction was most likely achieved when the expressive and communicative potential could be optimally used: when the communicator was able to speak fluently, to use correct and explicit language, and when he was capable of using his voice vividly. Underlying these responses there seemed to be a rationale, according to which a controlled performance influences the listeners to react positively.

One subgroup of the responses, related to delivery, was composed of remarks in which satisfaction was derived from the fulfillment of expectations for the self as communicator. Illustrative of the expectations on the fulfillment of the preplans are the following descriptions: (*I am satisfied with my communicative functions when:*)

- (42) I have said what I want to say in a peaceful and clear manner
- (43) I have covered the material I planned to
- (44) I have managed to speak as I intended to: clearly and logically
- (45) everything went according to my plans

The responses provide support for the earlier notion that some respondents have internalized an ideal of a speaker who can fulfill his preplans. Their responses imply rigid attitudes toward communication or problems in adjusting their behavior in dynamic communication acts.

The subjects' responses demonstrated the importance of interactive variables on their satisfaction outcomes. Approximately one half of the responses dealt with various aspects of interactive functions. Satisfaction was primarily derived from positive audience responses. As illustrated below, a perceived interest in the audience, observable signs of listening, successful transmitting of messages, and positive auditive and visual back-channel behavior or feedback signals accounted for satisfaction: (*In communicating, I am satisfied when:*)

- (46) the audience seems to be interested
- (47) the audience seems to be listening
- (48) I see that I have made myself understood
- (49) the audience does not laugh at me
- (50) the audience laughs when it is appropriate
- (51) my listeners' facial expressions are positive

Fairly frequent were also cases where satisfaction was derived from the communicator's ability to evoke discussion and motivate the audience to participate in discourse actively. These expectations were found to be generated by those who, in general, reported confidence when communicating and who told that they enjoy being exposed to interaction. For them, the exchange of turns appeared to be a rewarding experience.

The rest of the responses contained remarks regarding favorable situational variables when interacting, such as the size of the audience and the atmosphere of a particular encounter. Speaking in an informal situation to a small group of familiar people was perceived as a source of satisfaction by many subjects.

3.9.4. *Communication variables associated with confidence*

Regarding variables contributing to confidence when interacting, 270 answers were obtained. The material highlighted the salience of familiar factors accounting for internal states of the communicators. Situational determinants, delivery, and an absence of tension were emphasized and a new category emerged, motivation.

Three various types of familiarity were represented: (a) familiarity with the audience or coparticipants, (b) familiarity with the topic, and (c) familiarity with the environment. Largest was the first category. Under the heading of familiarity with the topic, for example the following responses were grouped: (*I feel confident:*)

- (52) if I master the subject I am speaking about
- (53) when I am sure about the issue I am discussing

Only a few responses pertained to environmental factors. More frequent were allusions to general situational variables, such as the size of the audience and the atmosphere. Not surprisingly, most individuals felt confident in a small, informal, interpersonal setting with a relaxed atmosphere. For example, respondents listed the following conditions for their internal states: (*I feel confident when:*)

- (54) I speak in a small group
- (55) I speak in a discussion-type situation
- (56) I don't have to speak in front of an audience
- (57) I discuss with one person
- (58) I don't have to discuss with people in higher positions
- (59) the situation is not very important
- (60) the atmosphere is not hostile
- (61) the situation is not formal

Because of the large number of familiar components, the above events are highly predictable. In other words, their ambiguity is very low. Subsequently, the encounters are not experienced as a threat to one's self-esteem or to leaving a favorable impression during social interaction.

In contrast with the descriptions introduced above, completely opposite opinions related to familiarity were expressed by some subjects, who felt uncomfortable when speaking to acquaintances. They reported confidence experienced when speaking in front of an audience totally unknown to them. The subjects representing this view were primarily concerned about the possibility that they would make mistakes, make fools of themselves, or appear as ridiculous to their friends. They were worried about the outcome of their oral behavior on their future interactions.

Two sharply distinguishable groups were identified in terms of delivery viewed as a confidence-arousing agent. Totally opposite opinions were expressed, such as: (*I feel confident when:*)

- (62) I can fulfill my speaking plans
- (63) I don't preplan what to say too much
- (64) I don't have to read my speech
- (65) I am allowed to read my text

As can be seen, careful preparation was a necessary condition of confidence for some respondents, whereas others felt more confident when acting spontaneously.

As a new category, motivation emerged. Motivational variables accounting for confidence were associated primarily with the topic and occasionally with the speaker's ability to arouse motivation. The following were typical responses: (*I gain confidence when:*)

- (66) the subject is important to me
- (67) I like my topic
- (68) I am interested in my topic
- (69) both I and my audience are interested in my subject

In examples (66), (67), and (68), motivation is viewed from the speaker's perspective. In (69), an interactive perspective is seen as crucial.

Gaining confidence depends on one's free choice to engage in interaction or to refrain from it in the following cases: (*I feel confident when:*)

- (70) I know that I am not forced to say anything
- (71) I don't have to speak in turn
- (72) I can take my turn when I want to

The preceding responses imply that remaining silent often depends on one's conscious consideration and does not result from an intervening agent which inhibits oral activity.

Ultimately, some single expressions were detected in which it was admitted that a modicum of conspicuousness accounts for the amount of confidence. The following descriptions serve as examples:

- (73) I gain confidence when the audience does not pay too much attention to my personality
- (74) I feel confident when I notice that people do not stare at me

According to the above responses, salient factors in social settings predominated some individuals' rhetorical thinking and accounted for their communicative experiences substantially.

3.9.5. *The dichotomy of confidence and apprehension*

The respondents were told to determine which one of the following statements would describe them best: *Usually I am not anxious or nervous when speaking, because...* and *Usually I feel frightened or nervous when speaking, because...* A total of 20 subjects out of 110 (18.2%) selected the former option, and 79 (71.9%) the latter one. The options did not preclude each other, since 11 subjects (10.0%) responded to both stimuli.

In addition to the reward and familiarity dimensions found earlier in the present study, rich new data was accumulated, producing information regarding positive self-concept, experiences, and attitudes of low communication reticents. Partially, strong communication skills accounted for a positive and

strong communicator image, as illustrated in response (75) below. General trust in oneself is reported in responses (76) through (78), and attitudes toward mistakes and failure in (79) and (80) below: (*I am not anxious when speaking because:*)

- (75) I know that I am quite skillful
- (76) I trust myself and my opinions
- (77) I know that I can manage as well as anyone else can
- (78) I know that I don't have to feel ashamed of myself
- (79) I don't get stressed if I fail
- (80) I can laugh at my mistakes

Some subjects referred to the notion that positive learning experiences are important if there is to be successful development of one's communicator image. They reported that they try to learn from all communicative situations. Further, some respondents revealed that they have learned to reduce their tension significantly and cope with it. For instance: (*I am not anxious when speaking because:*)

- (81) I have learned that tension does not help me
- (82) I have found out that tension only causes trouble
- (83) I have noticed that my tension occurs only at the beginning of my performance

Some subjects reacted to the wording of the questionnaire for the first time when providing their views about the semantic content of tension and fear, as in (84) below. For them, tension connoted, for example, the following meanings:

- (84) a low amount of stage fright is natural; without it nothing would succeed, but it is not fear
- (85) a certain amount of tension is natural and it is experienced by everyone

In some responses, examples of positive self-talk were reflected. The following descriptions illustrate flexible and adaptive attitudes toward interaction: (*I am not anxious when speaking because I think that:*)

- (86) speaking is a natural channel which carries information
- (87) everyone has the right to express his opinions
- (88) no-one can be perfect, therefore, I must be myself

The responses of those subjects reporting inhibitive internal states elicited in communicative settings were categorized in terms of (1) the audience, (2) situational constraints, (3) self-concept, (4) social concerns, (5) delivery, and (6) past experiences. In the first group, the most frequent variable was the novelty of the audience. Frequently, other variables were mentioned, such as concern about audience reactions as illustrated in responses (89) and (90), and misunderstanding as in (91) below. (*Usually I feel frightened and nervous when speaking because:*)

- (89) I am concerned about how the audience will react and behave
- (90) I am worried that the audience will not accept what I say
- (91) I am afraid that my audience will not understand what I try to say

In a few cases, the subjects were afraid that the audience would notice their tension.

The answers which tapped situational variables accounting for the level of communication reticence provided strong support for the earlier finding that communication reticence is heightened in situations that are formal and novel. The larger and more unknown the audience, the more formal the situation, and the more evaluation involved, the greater the likelihood that tension will exist. In addition to these, some respondents pointed out that being the target of attention tends to trigger inhibitive reactions, a finding which is consistent with the earlier findings regarding the conspicuousness of the speaker.

Earlier observations in the present data have suggested that some communication reticents may have internalized an unrealistic ideal of the communicator, against which their own oral behavior is compared. Supportive of this prediction are the following responses indicating that the subjects pursue perfection: (*I am tense when speaking because:*)

- (92) I know that I mustn't make mistakes because the audience will take what I say literally anyway
- (93) I feel that my listeners have enormous expectations of me
- (94) I demand perfection of myself

A substantial number of responses revealing perceptions of the subjects' self-concept were gathered. Some respondents thought that their self-esteem is very low, while others regarded themselves as dispositionally shy, apprehensive,

nervous, and - above all - uncertain in social settings. In general, the responses located in this category were characterized by general inadequacy in terms of acting in social-communicative settings. Yet, the responses were usually undifferentiated, as in (95) below:

- (95) I am not quite sure why I feel tense, but I think that I am shy or my self-esteem is low or I don't fully trust myself

Concerns aroused in the presence of others constituted one set of responses. Underlying the following examples, the motivation to convey favorable impressions of oneself is reflected:

- (96) I am apprehensive about what other people think about me and what kind of impression I will leave
 (97) I am worried that I might appear as ridiculous in the eyes of my listeners
 (98) I am afraid that I will appear funny
 (99) I experience anguish because I think that I will totally fail

On the basis of the above responses, one can conclude that the subjects are anxious if they believe that they will not be successful in conveying the impressions they wish to make. Given a discrepancy, an anxious response tends to be triggered.

According to many subjects, poor delivery exacerbated their internal states. Problems in fluency and in mastering voice control were primarily seen attributable to tension. From the cognitive domain, disturbances in thinking when performing were reported, as well as forgetting of important facts. Blushing posed problems for many females. In some cases, difficulties in using the standard language resulted in fearful feelings, as illustrated in the following response:

- (100) I feel tense in some situations, when I try to avoid using dialect and, therefore, I feel that I am not very fluent

In general, oral skills deficits were seen as a threat to those impressions that speakers would like to make. In other words, communication skills were seen as a pertinent mediator in social perception and impression forming.

Ultimately, embarrassing prior communicative experiences were disclosed by some subjects. It was asserted that experiences like (101) and (102) below influence the amount of tension experienced in adulthood: *(I feel frightened when speaking because:)*

- (101) at school mistakes in performances lowered our grades
- (102) there were yelling, nagging, and punitive teachers at school - more than just one

In summary, the attempt to divide the sample into two sharply different groups in terms of the presence or absence of tension failed partially. Confidence was associated with positive self-concept, a strong communicator image, rewarding experiences, and favorable attitudes toward oral interaction, whereas heightened tension was due to a set of situational variables, the presence of an audience, low self-esteem, social concerns, problems in delivery, and uncomfortable past experiences. The responses displayed a remarkable polarity - confidence versus tension, strong skills versus poor skills, high self-esteem versus low self-esteem, positive experiences versus negative experiences. Overall, comments generated by low communication reticents were primarily related to self as communicator, whereas communication reticents' responses were mostly tied to situational variables.

3.9.6. *Coping styles*

Those subjects who defined themselves as suffering from tension were asked to tell how they cope with their tension or fear. Coping behavior includes all activities which are used by a person in the management of emotionally meaningful actions (Saari 1983:74). Coping behavior, then, is seen as a problem solving activity.

A total of 157 comments about coping mechanisms were generated which were categorized as belonging to (1) preparation, (2) delivery, (3) situational adaptation, (4) concentration, and (5) cognitive processes. In addition to these, three subjects out of 79 admitted that they have found no way to cope with the high level of tension.

The largest category was preparation. It was already discovered among variables accounting for confidence in the preceding chapter. Of theoretical interest is the notion that both the entire sample and the group labelling themselves as communication reticents exhibited the same reasoning: tension can be reduced and, inversely, confidence can be gained by means of careful preparation, which decreases the ambiguity of a particular communicative event.

The second major type of coping mechanisms pertained to various aspects of delivery. First, coping mechanisms related to performance techniques were observed, such as engaging in motoric activities during performance, doing breathing exercises, and reading the text. Second, most subjects coped with fright by engaging in interaction with their listeners. For some respondents, an increase in the amount of eye contact enhanced their ability to control their feelings and, consequently, to improve performance. For instance: (*I have noticed that I can reduce my tension by:*)

- (103) looking at my audience before I begin to speak
- (104) engaging in eye-contact with some acquaintance

As can be seen in response (104) above, familiarity contributed to the speaker's strategy. In addition to the eye-contact, an attempt to engage in mutual exchange was mentioned by some subjects as a coping mechanism.

In many responses, subjects explained that they attempt to adjust to situational cues. Some respondents reported an attempt to increase the quantity of their turns, while others expressed flexibility and sensitivity to situational cues, as illustrated by the following responses:

- (105) I accept those people with whom I am speaking
- (106) I take responsibility for the whole situation

Concentration was one of the coping mechanisms. Concentration on the topic as in (107) below was mentioned, as well as concentration on the situation (108): (*I can cope with my tension by:*)

- (107) thinking about my subject and relaxing; in other words, by concentrating
- (108) excluding all possible external disturbances

It has been proposed earlier that communication reticents exhibit a high tendency toward excessive preoccupation with the self. There were some subjects in the present sample who discussed this question implicitly. They reported that they have developed a coping mechanism of not concentrating on themselves when speaking.

Approximately one half of the remarks related to coping mechanisms represented cognitive processes characteristically ideational (cf. Pritner & Lamb 1981). Some subjects tried to convince themselves that their feelings are not unique as illustrated in (109) and (110) below. Further, it was observed that when feelings of anguish were accepted the anxiety response was ameliorated to some degree, as suggested in (111), as well as a general acceptance of self, as thought in (112) below. (*I can cope with my tension by:*)

- (109) thinking that everyone else is as tense as I am
- (110) trying to convince myself that everyone else will get in the same situation and that nobody will expect a marvellous performance from me
- (111) giving myself permission to be apprehensive
- (112) trying to be myself and accepting myself as I am

Some subjects guarded themselves against fearful feelings by anticipating positive outcomes of their communicative activities:

- (113) I try to convince myself: this is going to go well because I know my subject
- (114) I hope that other people will not notice my tension the way I do

The remaining answers differed from the preceding ones sharply. One strategy was to neglect the importance of the particular situation, as in (115), (116), and (117) below. Some communication reticents excluded the prospective communicative event from their thoughts, as illustrated in (118) and (119).

- (115) I take the attitude 'I don't care'
- (116) I think that this situation is not serious
- (117) I think that my speech is not important
- (118) I think about other things before my performance
- (119) I don't anticipate the situation in my mind

In order to cope with tense feelings some respondents appeared to block out the actual situation they were faced with. As noted earlier, the size of the audience tends to account for one's internal state. The following examples illustrate how some respondents handle this situational variable with strong potential for heightened inhibitive feelings:

- (120) I pretend to be discussing a subject I know everything about to an audience that I know well
- (121) I think that I know my listeners or that they are totally unknown to me
- (122) I pretend I am speaking only to one person
- (123) when I speak I try to forget the entire situation I am in
- (124) I think that I have no audience

The above examples are interpreted as a tendency of communication reticents to achieve an escape from the anxiety stimulus and make escape statements. The responses expanded the scope of avoidant communication from the psychomotor domain to affective and cognitive domains. As a whole, the responses clearly suggested two extreme strategies: some subjects coped with their tension by engaging in interaction, while others exhibited ideational coping styles inherently escapist.

3.9.7. *Facilitative activation and disruptive apprehension*

In the present study, an effort was made to identify those subjects who think that their tension surmounts the degree to which heightened internal state facilitates their communicative behavior. The subjects were asked to express their views on the statement *Feeling tense makes my speech behavior better*. In total, 18 subjects out of 91 (19.8%) agreed with the statement, while 62 (68.1%) disagreed; 12.1% took a neutral stand.

As seen above, every fifth respondent of those who described themselves as tense when speaking reported a facilitative impact of their elevated internal states. The subjects were keenly aware that some level of activation is necessary for efficient performance. Generally, they were inclined to attribute their performance vitality to activation aroused when anticipating a communicative encounter or when acting in it. For instance, the following attitudinal effects were listed: (*Feeling tense makes my communicative behavior better because:*)

- (125) a certain amount of tension inhibits me from taking an arrogant attitude
- (126) if one doesn't have tension, the performance may totally fail because one doesn't take it seriously enough; in other words: a certain amount of tension has to be felt

Also cognitive effects were recognized, illustrated by the following responses:

- (127) a certain amount of tension makes me think more carefully about what I am going to say
- (128) if I feel tension to some degree, I control my speech and my performance more critically
- (129) because I feel a little bit alert, my speech becomes more organized, and important points are emphasized

Indicative of behavioral effects are the following perceptions:

- (130) some degree of tension is useful because otherwise the speaker would look careless resulting in negative consequences
- (131) if I feel tension to some extent, I don't look unresponsive: I try to do my best
- (132) tension makes me speak with greater influence

In the above examples, aroused activation was seen as a facilitative phenomenon, with potential for increasing the efficiency of one's communicative activity. In the present sample, there were some respondents who discussed the effects of the gradations of their activation and who described the borderline, beyond which a facilitative response shades into a negative reaction. The following response illustrates this critical phase:

- (133) sometimes I am more active and energetic when I feel a moderate level of tension but only to the extent that I can cope with it; after that point it is a negative experience

A totally different view was represented by those two-thirds of the subjects who felt that tension hampers their oral performance. Illustrative of a negative impact of tension are the following responses:

- (134) in my case, the level of tension is too high; if it would be lower, I would find it helpful
- (135) tension hampers my performance because instead of concentrating on my subject I try to cope with it

The common denominator represented in responses (134) and (135) above is the high level of tension. As described in (135), it interferes with one's performance because it maximizes the likelihood that, instead of concentrating on various aspects of transaction, the speaker's attention is drawn inward to the self.

A high level of communication reticence is likely to hinder the speaker's ability to accomplish his communicative intentions. Some subjects revealed problems related to cognitive processing during their communicative behavior with a disruptive impact on speech processing as concomitant. Indicative of this impact are the following responses:

- (136) due to tension, I can't express my thoughts as I would like to and, therefore, I may be misunderstood
- (137) due to tension, I often get what I want to say confused or I totally forget what I was supposed to say

As indicated in responses (136) and (137) above, a high level of tension may interfere with verbal activities to the extent that communication breakdowns occur. In such cases, tension causes problems.

In accordance with the previous findings, disfluency posed problems for many subjects and predominated their attribution processes. For example, the following responses were given:

- (138) if I am tense when speaking, my speech gets too fast and unclear; I may omit words, even entire clauses
- (139) when I feel too much tension when speaking, all kinds of slips happen
- (140) a high level of tension makes me feel that I am not fluent

The above responses suggest a close interplay between the cognitive and psychomotor domains: cognitive confusion may interfere with various entities in speech planning and processing.

In a few rare cases, problems in social behavior were attributed to a high level of tension. More often, the problems caused from tension were auditive and visual disturbances in speech production, suggesting classical stage fright symptoms. Note that no comments about direct avoidant behavior emerged in the corpus.

3.9.8. Communication reticence and social anxieties

Examining the conceptual boundaries of communication reticence, the following statement was proposed: *Speaking itself does not make me nervous, it is the entire social situation that does.* Out of 90 subjects, 59 (65.6%) either strongly or moderately agreed with the statement, while 17 subjects (18.9%) disagreed; 15.5% took a neutral stand.

As indicated above, two-thirds of the respondents felt that the entire situation is likely to account for their internal states. Some subjects reasoned that their shyness and unsociability affects their social behavior and results in discomfort in the presence of others. The number of the explanations based on traits of individuals was, however, low.

The major category of the responses related to social problems pertained to cognitive processes. There were subjects who indicated they experience social pressure when interacting, with uneasy thoughts and tense feelings as inevitable concomitants. These perceptions seemed to be primarily due to the respondents' concern about their ability to fulfill all expectations set for them in a particular social-communicative event. In general, communication reticents' reasoning revealed a high tendency to anticipate extensive negative outcomes. The following responses imply that poor performance and lack of oral skills are seen as potential mediators in outcomes: (*I feel apprehensive in social situations because:*)

- (141) I don't want to make a fool of myself because I think that I would be marked for ever
- (142) I think sometimes that I will be better accepted if I manage well in my performance

For some subjects, uncertainty about listeners' reactions posed problems.

Note that in conjunction with the target stimulus question, the following variable already found earlier emerged again: uncomfortable feelings aroused when being observed. The data suggested that speaking as a cognitive-motoric activity does not cause inhibitive internal states for a certain group of the subjects; their problems rather originate in the particular social setting and the degree to which they are exposed to social perceptions.

Contradicting the above results, every fifth respondent estimated that their problems are endogenous to verbal activity. The comments accompanying the

answers were divided into two groups. First, some subjects compared their speaking experiences with other social encounters, as the following responses indicate:

- (143) I am apprehensive only when I have to open my mouth and speak, not otherwise
- (144) usually I feel tense only when I am speaking
- (145) in my opinion, I feel tension only when I have to perform
- (146) when I remain silent I don't feel apprehension
- (147) I would live happily without saying a word; in general, I feel apprehension only when speaking

Second, others analyzed the inherent nature of their communicative problems and attributed their communication reticence to ineptitude in oral skills. Indicative of this category are the following examples:

- (148) I feel anguish about the very fact that I can't express my thoughts the way I would like to
- (149) I have problems in presenting my subject: I can't explain what I would like to

Next, the statement was reformulated as follows: *There are some features connected with speaking that cause nervousness, anxiety or tension.* Every second agreed with the statement. The responses reinforced the earlier finding that verbal skills deficits, disfluency, and vocal control constitute the main problems. Those respondents who disagreed with the statement relied heavily on situational determinants when analyzing their communication reticence and attributed their tension primarily to the conspicuousness of the speaker. In summary, no new response categories were discovered.

The subjects were also asked, whether they are tense or anxious in general or only when interacting. Two-thirds of the respondents felt their apprehension was due to interactive functions only, while every fourth admitted that they are anxious otherwise. With regard to those exhibiting anxiety also in other settings than strictly communication-bound ones, one respondent had noticed that she is anxious in all possible situations which are important to her, whereas another woman found all social contexts difficult and anxiety-arousing. Generalized apprehension is referred to in the following answers:

- (150) I am tense also in other situations dealing with performance, not only when speaking
- (151) I feel tension also in other situations where I don't speak but where I have to see others' action very closely; I also fear doctors
- (152) I might also have test anxiety

In (150) above, the subject has indicated a feeling of discomfort which is not confined to speakers only, but extends to other public performers as well. Responses (151) and (152) imply the presence of a generalized anxiety response.

Finally, the respondents were asked to express their views regarding the following statement: *I feel more anxious about addressing an audience than speaking in a group.* In total, 72 subjects out of 89 (80.9%) regarded themselves as more tense in public speaking situations than when orally interacting in a group; 11.2% expressed a totally opposite view, whereas 7.9% could not agree with either option.

The responses generated by those subjects who reported audience anxiety were divided into the following main groups: (a) the setting, (b) fear of evaluation, and (c) the scarcity of experiences. The majority of the answers were located in the first category, in which the following subcategories were represented: the size and novelty of the audience, the atmosphere of the situation, the conspicuousness of the speaker, and his responsibility for the situation. The most usual experiences are epitomized in the following responses: (*I feel more anxious about addressing an audience than speaking in a group because:*)

- (153) a group is, in general, more familiar, smaller, and safer
- (154) people in a group are usually close acquaintances; when speaking in a group one is not as much the focus of attention as when addressing an audience; the situation is more informal
- (155) in front of an audience one is so conspicuous and the situation gets so stiff because the speaker should be so perfect and speak good Finnish, which might not be his normal style, at least not mine

As indicated above, various variables were tied together in the responses, such as familiarity, size, and atmosphere as in (153) above. In (154), being the target of observation and formality were added; in (155) the discrepancy

between the speaker's verbal skills and expectations toward the performance tended to elicit apprehension. The above examples illustrate a complex set of social and strictly communication-bound problems accounting for communicators' cognitive behavior.

The speaker's responsibility for noncontingent encounters was named as one concern by some subjects, as illustrated in the following response:

- (156) when I stand alone in front of an audience, I have responsibility for the entire situation; if I begin to stammer or if I mix up what I want to say, no one else can save the situation but me

Some subjects indicated they prefer acting as a member of a group, because they can avoid being conspicuous and may withdraw from oral participation if they want to.

The audience was thought of as a highly critical body by some subjects reporting audience anxiety. Negative outcome expectations are associated with evaluation in the following comment:

- (157) the group is usually familiar, so I am not afraid of their evaluations and their negative criticism does not depress me as much as tough evaluation made by someone unknown to me

Totally contradictory to the experiences discussed above, some subjects characterized themselves as individuals who suffer from a high level of tension evoked by interpersonal encounters, particularly by familiar listeners. Illustrative of this type of experience, some respondents were sensitive toward their friends and worried about their reactions and judgments.

The second category of the responses produced by interaction apprehensives was the role of the communicator. In a noncontingent setting, the status of the speaker relative to that of the audience is higher, as illustrated in response (158) below. In noncontingent settings, the speaker's behavior is guided primarily by his preplans. His communicative behavior is, then, highly scripted, preplanned, and predictable. This notion is illustrated by response (159) below. (*I feel more anxious about speaking in a group than addressing an audience because:*)

- (158) when I address an audience I feel my role stronger than when speaking in a group
- (159) actually I do not feel tension when giving prepared speeches because then I know what to say, but in group discussions I often don't have anything to say and it makes me nervous

In accordance with the perception illustrated in (159) above, some other responses implied that verbal skills deficits tended to result in a higher level of communication reticence engendered in interpersonal settings. In contingent encounters, where one has to exhibit adaptive communicative behavior, versatile linguistic strategies should be easily attainable.

In summary, two-thirds of the respondents viewed general social patterns attributable to their disruptive internal states. The most frequently mentioned variable was the conspicuousness of the speaker. Every fifth felt that their problems arise from oral skills deficits, particularly from disfluency, voice control, and ineptitude in verbal skills. Of the respondents reporting social problems, every fourth considered himself as generally anxious. The overwhelming majority reported audience anxiety, while every tenth suffered from inhibitive feelings and disruptive behavior in familiar interpersonal encounters.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. *The incidence of communication reticence*

In the present study, communication reticence was conceptualized as a negative dispositional or situational affective response toward oral communication likely to restrict or inhibit one's interactive functions. It was primarily operationalized as a person's score on the *Communication Reticence Scale*. The results provided strong support for the first hypothesis, which predicted that the distribution of communication reticence follows theoretical expectations based on a normal curve. Concomitant with the prediction, 16.0% of the subjects were classified as *high* communication reticents, 66.9% as *moderate* and 17.1% as *low* communication reticents. This finding corresponds with the results detected in extensive research on communication apprehension (see McCroskey 1970:273; McCroskey 1978:193; McCroskey 1984b:38; Porter 1981:66).

Although different conceptualization and operationalization of communication reticence and communication apprehension do not permit direct comparisons, the results of the present study can be discussed in light of the empirical findings in intercultural studies on communication apprehension. Research involving American and Asian cultures has revealed differences in mean apprehension levels in various cultures. It is found, for example, that the Japanese are significantly more apprehensive (35.9%) than the Americans, Australians (22.4%), Micronesians (22.8%), Filipinos (13.8%), and Chinese (26.0%). Compared to all of the above mentioned, the Koreans are significantly less apprehensive (2.8%). (Klopf 1984:162.) A large percentage (48%) of Hawaiian students have a high degree of communication apprehension (Klopf 1984:167). A comparison of the incidence of communication apprehension among the Americans and the Chinese did not reveal significant differences (Klopf & Cambra 1980:1194). When compared to the Americans, Hawaiian and Japanese students were significantly ($p < 0.001$) more apprehensive, less apprehensive than the Koreans and as apprehensive as the Australians (Klopf & Cambra 1979:29). In relation to the Americans, the Puerto Ricans have a comparatively low level (10.5%) of communication apprehension when speaking in their own language (Fayer et al. 1982).

Deducing from the stereotypes of the silent and shy Finns discussed in the introductory chapter, a substantial proportion of shyness should have been discovered. However, the results constituted evidence to the contrary. Of the respondents, 22.3% regarded themselves as shy. In the literature on shyness, estimates on its prevalence consistently range as high as 40% (Pilkonis 1977a; Pilkonis 1977b; Zimbardo 1977; Zimbardo, Pilkonis & Norwood 1975). Research in other cultures suggests very similar proportions of shyness, some substantially below this level, such as Israelis and Jewish Americans; some varying substantially above this level, such as Germans, Indians, Japanese, and Mexicans (Zimbardo 1977:233, 245).

When compared to the findings reviewed above, the present study suggests that the incidence of shyness is moderate among young Finnish adults. Supportive of this inference is the notion that in the pretest of the present study, 30% of the respondents labeled themselves as shy (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). Further, 32% of the subjects considered themselves shy in Valkonen's study (1983:115). The prevalence of shyness observed in the present study closely parallels findings of McCroskey, Simpson, and Richmond (1982). In their study, the incidence of shyness varied from 21% to 30% among college students and teachers.

Given the above results, the prevalence of communication reticence and shyness appeared to be moderately low among Finns. Conversely, the present three samples suggested consistently that stage fright predominated the respondents' rhetorical thinking. The number of the subjects reporting either a moderate or a high level of stage fright was approximately 70%. This finding corresponds with that found earlier in Finland (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a; Sallinen-Kuparinen, Lehtonen & Dufva 1982). Unfortunately, no comparative intercultural data regarding the incidence of stage fright is available, since the literature contains only brief and descriptive indications about its prevalence. It has been said, for example, that almost everyone feels some apprehension in public speaking settings (Watson & Dodd 1984:257; Watson & Kraye 1980:61) and that "stage fright is experienced by the overwhelming majority of people" (McCroskey 1976:2).

There is discrepancy between common stereotypes of the silent and shy Finns and the present empirical findings. However, in light of the prevalence of stage fright widely held beliefs about a high level of fear related to public speaking among Finns appears to receive empirical support. Two major factors are suggested as potential explanations for these discrepancies.

First, as Klopf (1984:168) has concluded, communication apprehension is a Pacific Basin and a North American problem. Following Lehtonen's (1984c) reasoning, one could hypothesize that communication apprehension poses a special problem in cultures which place a high value on oral communication. In cultures which place a lower value on verbal activities, individuals are evaluated less on the basis of the quantity of their verbal outputs and more on other factors. Individuals reluctant to engage in oral discourses are more likely to be allowed to withdraw from verbal interaction.

The present findings provide indirect support for the above inferences. As was noted in Chapter 3.2.3., two-thirds of the respondents did not experience anxiety when remaining silent in social-communicative encounters. Further, the particular item failed to receive high loadings on the major factors of the *CR Scale*, thus suggesting a weak association with other items measuring communication reticence. In the free responses of the subjects, a high valuation of listening was evident. Consequently, the findings suggest that negative affective responses resulting in overall avoidance of communication may not be the most valid explanation for silent behavior in the Finnish culture.

Second, the content of the *Communication Reticence Scale* accounts for the incidence of communication reticence. The factor analysis of the *CR Scale* suggested the presence of a large, general factor loaded heavily by items tapping one's likelihood to approach or avoid communication in interpersonal encounters. It has been claimed that the *PRCA* has a public speaking bias (Porter 1979; Porter 1981). According to McCroskey (1984b:38), the problem has been overcome in the most recent form of the measure, the *PRCA-24* (McCroskey 1982b), that operationalizes communication contexts in terms of public speaking, group discussion, meetings, and dyadic interaction. The present instrument was, however, compared to the previous versions of the *PRCA*. Given the interpersonal emphasis of the *CR Scale*, generalized-context communication reticence such as fear of public speaking does not predominate the overall score. Therefore, the results primarily reflect Finns' relatively low level of communication reticence in interpersonal contexts.

On the basis of the empirical evidence obtained in the present study it is apparent that the mere proportion of high communication reticents does not allow reliable inferences to be made about the incidence of communication problems, since various facets of the target phenomenon account for the overall score differently. The data permit the conclusion that the prevalence of communication reticence, including shyness, engendered in interpersonal

encounters is moderately low among Finns, whereas public speaking poses problems for the majority. The data suggest that in addition to the examination of the overall incidence of communication reticence, the target phenomenon should be analyzed with regard to its inherent nature.

4.2. The relationship between communication reticence and classification variables

4.2.1. Family's socio-economic level

The second hypothesis predicted an inverse relationship between communication reticence and a family's socio-economic level. ANOVA provided strong support ($p < 0.001$) for the prediction and suggested that the higher the level of communication reticence, the lower was the family's socio-economic level. The present finding agrees with Phillips' (1968:47) observation on the relationship between reticence and social class.

In discussing the etiology of communication apprehension, McCroskey and Richmond (1980) posit the following theoretical explanation for individual differences in communication behavior: (1) heredity, (2) modeling, (3) reinforcement, and (4) expectancy learning. Children may inherit the tendency to be quiet, or they may learn it by modeling quiet teachers or parents and by receiving positive reinforcement for their proclivity to remain silent, or by expecting more positive outcomes from quiet behavior than from talkativeness. In an etiological classification posed by Daly and Friedrich (1981) and Daly and Stafford (1984), the first three groups are similar to those in McCroskey and Richmond's model. According to the fourth explanation, skills acquisition, the high-apprehensive child fails to acquire the necessary communication skills as rapidly as the nonapprehensive child.

Evidence on reinforcement as an agent in the development of communication apprehension suggests two potentially influential environments: home and school. With regard to the differences in the home environment, for example, amount of family talk and style of parent-child interaction have been suggested as predictive of children's communication behaviors. (See Allhoff 1983:146; McCroskey et al. 1981:123.)

Empirical evidence illustrating the importance of parental communication behavior on the development of a child's audience sensitivity has been reported

by Paivio (1964; 1965). In studies regarding childhood antecedents of audience sensitivity it has been found, for instance, that children who were rewarded frequently and punished infrequently were consistently low in audience sensitivity. The children with the least audience-sensitivity were those whose parents evaluated their children favorably, set high standards, and punished them infrequently when failures did occur. Conversely, children with the most audience-sensitivity were those whose parents' evaluated their children unfavorably, set low standards, and punished them frequently for failures. Further, parents' sociability, operationalized as the amount of social activity engaged in by the parents, was found to be negatively correlated with the children's level of audience sensitivity. On the basis of these findings Paivio (1964:415) concluded that a significant proportion of a child's audience sensitivity is attributable to his experience with parents as primary evaluators, reinforcers and social models.

In intercultural studies on communication apprehension it has been observed that in countries which place a high value on social relationships and oral communication, such as, for example, the Philippines, children are encouraged to interact orally, whereby the fear of speaking is not a probable outgrowth (Klopf 1984:166). According to Lehtonen (1983a:18), a Finnish child is reinforced for silence from early childhood. As Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1985:199-200) point out, in Finland children are traditionally not supposed to engage in conversation with adults without their permission. For example at meals, silence rather than talk is the rule. Similarly, it has been observed that in Japan, the children are trained from early childhood not to talk much (Klopf, Ishii & Cambra 1979), which may account for the high level of communication apprehension reported by the Japanese (cf. Klopf 1984:162-163).

In communication apprehension literature the empirical evidence concerning different values oral interaction elicits among persons with different social backgrounds is scanty. Apparently the only available evidence comes from Phillips; he has suggested that parents with a high socio-economic status place a high value on communication (Phillips 1968:48) and that reticents tend to undervalue oral communication (Phillips 1984:54). Given this, it is assumed that children raised in a family with a low socio-economic level are not encouraged to verbalize their thoughts and perceptions. Furthermore, they are probably less frequently rewarded for their communicative initiatives than children with high socio-economic background and tend, therefore, to develop reticence as a result.

A significant relationship between the level of communication reticence and a family's socio-economic status found in the present study lends substance to etiological explanations based on learning theory. Although the major generalizations about the relationship between social class and children's verbal ability to express their thoughts have the strongest validity in class-bound societies, the present study suggests that a family's socio-economic status constitutes a great explanatory force in the development of communication reticence also in Finnish society.

4.2.2. Education

Representing central socializing agencies, it was proposed that the school environment substantially contributes to the development of communication reticence. The third hypothesis predicted an inverse relationship between communication reticence and educational level. For the predicted relationship, ANOVA revealed only partial support and indicated that the differences between the level of communication reticence in different educational groups are statistically low ($p < 0.05$).

The data suggested clearly that subjects with the lowest level of education reported the highest level of communication reticence. This finding concurs consistently with Valkonen's (1984:40) observations on communication apprehension among workers in a Finnish hospital. In the present study, the inverse relationship between communication reticence and educational level was not, however, linear. Surprisingly, the second highest level of communication reticence was reported by subjects with a university degree, and the lowest level, in turn, by subjects graduated from college. Given the small number of these respondents and large standard deviation of *CR* scores, no consistent trend appeared to emerge.

A moderate association between communication reticence and negative educational outcome was observed in further analyses. In the united factor analysis of the *CR* Scale and classification variables it was noted that the items measuring verbal initiative in classes and general tendency to avoid oral interaction loaded moderately on the *academic achievement* factor, in conjunction with, for example, the average grade of the last school report. Furthermore, avoidance of classes due to oral performance and postponing oral tasks, as well as the average grade of the last school report were loaded on

the *prior withdrawal* factor, suggesting a moderate impact of oral withdrawal on one's academic achievement. The present finding is in line with the theory advanced by Scott, Wheelless, Yates, and Randolph (1977). They propose that one significant potential explanation of the negative effects of communication apprehension on learning outcomes is communication avoidance in the classroom.

Of additional theoretical importance is the notion that when continuous classification variables were submitted to factor analysis, the following variables loaded heavily on the same factor: educational level, the average grade of the last school report, positive attitudes toward speech classes and appraisals of the inadequacy of speech education. This kind of evidence suggests that an increased level of education tends to produce a positive attitude toward oral communication which, in turn, contributes to academic success. Oral activities constitute an essential part in this cumulative process, and communication reticence seems to be at least moderately associated with learning difficulties.

4.2.3. *Rural and urban environment*

The existing empirical data concerning the relationship between the level of communication apprehension, reticence, and shyness and the growth milieu of an individual suggest consistently that individuals who are raised in rural areas tend to exhibit more avoidant communicative behavior and deleterious internal states promoted in social-communicative encounters than individuals with urban backgrounds (Buss 1984; McCroskey 1977; McCroskey & Richmond 1978; Phillips 1968; Phillips & Metzger 1973b). The results of this study concur with this notion, thus providing unequivocal support for the fourth hypothesis: respondents from rural areas reported significantly ($p < 0.001$) more communication reticence than subjects from urban environments.

McCroskey (1977), McCroskey and Richmond (1978) review the research of Richmond and Robertson, who have advanced the following theoretical explanations for the above trend. First, children reared in the rural environment are exposed to fewer adults and are less likely to encounter situations where effective communication is necessary to avoid aversive consequences. Second,

the rural environment characterized by a small population may present more demands on the child for personal communication with potential for success or failure, and thus increase the likelihood that the child will discover his skills deficits, with increased communication apprehension as concomitant. Third, children from rural areas might have difficulties in adapting to the communication environment of the school. Subsequently, they are reinforced less for their oral initiative and tend to develop communication apprehension as a result. (McCroskey 1977:81; McCroskey & Richmond 1978:213-214.) The latter explanation has been proffered also by Phillips and Metzger (1973b:225).

In Finland, the rural population constituted the majority of the population until the 1960s. Given the sparsely populated Finnish countryside and the homogeneity of rural communities with respect to their social stratification, rural children are supposed to be less exposed to new and formal communicative encounters than urban children. They possess, therefore, less habituation to develop social-communicative skills in novel situations and to converse with strangers in particular. Supportive of this interpretation, Buss (1984:46) emphasizes that children brought up in isolated communities are more likely to become shy than children who live in more densely populated areas where they are exposed to novel social contexts and where they meet strangers. Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1985:200) also offer the scarcity of social contacts as one theoretical explanation for Finnish silence. Given this, for children with a rural background, school may constitute a new environment in terms of the use of language and communicative strategies, thus precipitating an increase of communication reticence. Klopff (1984:167-168) proposes this explanation when interpreting the observation that a large percentage of Hawaiian students report a high degree of oral communication apprehension.

The present data shed light on the crucial impact that a familiar environment has on one's communicative outcomes. The free responses clearly indicated that the more novel and, consequently, unpredictable the communication situation, the more likely inhibitive intervening variables tended to interfere with oral functions. Furthermore, the items on the *CR Scale* measuring apprehension when conversing with strangers loaded heavily on the *socio-affective concerns* factor, thus suggesting that speaking to unknown people accounted substantially for apprehension elicited in social settings.

Additional potential variables accounting for the observed significant relationship between communication reticence and rural environment appear as follows. First, isolated and homogeneous communities tend to maintain high social control, which might heighten concerns about social-communicative behavior. Second, it is proposed here that rural and urban environments place different values on oral contacts. The rural environment typically emphasizes manual work, providing, therefore, less need for verbal activities and less habituation to social-communicative skills.

4.2.4. Sex

The first research question investigated the possible differences between females and males with regard to the prevalence of communication reticence. Preliminary analysis suggested an unequivocal answer to the question: the females scored significantly ($p < 0.001$) higher on the *Communication Reticence Scale* than the males. This finding is in accordance with the notion frequently encountered in the literature on communication apprehension and related constructs (e.g. Andersen, Andersen & Garrison 1978; Garrison & Garrison 1979; McCroskey et al. 1982; Wheelless 1971). A closer examination of the item distributions revealed remarkable similarities and dissimilarities for females and males, thus suggesting that an overall score may not reveal essential variables beyond a surface-level analysis and that the relationship may be more complex than usually discussed in the communication literature.

When females have been found to report more communication problems, the magnitude of differences is said to be small (Gilkinson 1942; Mulac & Sherman 1975). The small difference has lead Daly and Stafford (1984:131-132) to suggest that the phenomenon is probably inconsequential. The present study constitutes evidence to the contrary.

The present finding that the females reported significantly ($p < 0.001$) higher stage fright than the males is compatible with the pattern often found in earlier research on stage fright (Andriate & Allen 1984; Clevenger 1959; Gilkinson 1942; McDowell & McDowell 1978; McCroskey et al. 1982; Porter 1974). In general, females have been found to be more emotionally reactive than males (Kirkcaldy 1984:141). In psychophysiological studies related to public speaking performances it has been noticed that for females, autonomic arousal measured in terms of heart rate is higher than for males (Clevenger & Sallinen-

Kuparinen 1983; Porter 1974). In addition to this, Porter (1974:275) has observed a faster increase in autonomic arousal for females than for males. Following Porter's (ib.) explanation and on the basis of findings in the research project of Clevenger and Sallinen-Kuparinen, it is suggested here that females' higher level of stage fright originates, at least in part, in their higher emotional excitability.

Comparison of the item distributions and factor-analyzed results of the *CR Scale* points to a striking observation. Apart from the items measuring stage fright, the female respondents scored higher on items tapping one's likelihood not to engage in interpersonal communication. The female respondents reported significantly ($p < 0.001$) more apprehension toward unknown people than the males, were more reticent in meetings, negotiations, and discussions, and more often regretted not having spoken. These items loaded heavily on the *socio-affective* concerns factor of the *CR Scale*. This finding contradicts previous results suggesting that males may be slightly more apprehensive than females in the conversational context (McDowell & McDowell 1978:17; McCroskey et al. 1982:133). This finding corresponds to an observation of Andriate and Allen (1984:70), who have found that the levels of communication apprehension in meetings were significantly higher for females.

One potential explanation for the above finding is tied to another empirical observation in which females appeared to be more rapid in analyzing their feelings when interacting than the males. Given this and the above finding on females' higher apprehension toward unknown people, it is suggested here that the higher level of socio-affective concerns among women may be indicative of their higher social sensitivity. This interpretation has been advanced by Daly (1978:206) in passing. In his analysis of social-communicative anxiety, female subjects scored higher on social sensitivity instruments. The present data clearly suggests that since social factors appear to affect females more profoundly than males, sex differences in the prevalence of communication reticence cannot be understood apart from them.

The corpus of the free responses lended substance to another potential explanation for females' higher level of socio-affective concerns. The hierarchy of tension-arousing communicative situations suggested that in the rhetorical thinking of individuals, communicative settings such as addressing a meeting or taking part in a discussion resemble a public speaking situation. Consequently, the present data permits the following generalization: females tend to exhibit more communication reticence in settings where the speaker is conspicuous

and where the speaker is highly exposed to listeners' judgments.

The males perceived themselves as significantly more adept verbally than the females. Further, they reported a higher level of relaxation when interacting. The crucial question is, whether the males really are more competent and confident or whether they merely perceive themselves as more adept at verbal communication. Because the above findings have not been verified by means of observation, one has to search for potential mediating variables that might have affected the results.

Given the expectations regarding how people are supposed to act in social encounters, individuals tend to behave in a manner consistent with the way others think they should. As Leary (1983c:176) has posed, males and females are socialized to possess somewhat different types of social competencies, and to be motivated to convey different images of themselves to other people. It seems apparent that it is more permissible for females to disclose disruptive feelings and to report skills deficits than it is for males. Stemming from the same reasoning, it is possible that the female subjects have depreciated their perceptions of themselves. Fisher (1980:161) has proposed that sex differences in communication are related more to self-concepts than to physiological differences of gender.

The above reported sex differences related to perceptions of verbal ability imply patterns consistently discovered in investigations conducted in the area of interpersonal communication. For example, men tend to be dominant in interpersonal contacts, take the initiative in verbal encounters and exhibit more task-oriented behavior than women in group interaction. Further, men consider themselves as more knowledgeable than women. (See e.g. Montgomery & Burgoon 1977; Montgomery & Norton 1981.) Given this, it is suggested that the above sex differences originate in socialization, which shapes men's and women's self-concepts differently and thus maintains sex-role stereotypes.

With respect to shyness, an inconsistent picture of its prevalence among females and males exists in the literature. Males have been observed to report slightly more shyness than females (McCroskey et al. 1982; Pilkonis 1977a; Zimbardo 1977), and females, in turn, more than males (Morris 1982; referred by Leary 1983b:176). The present study suggests a slightly higher level of shyness for females, the relative proportion of shy females and males being 22.7% and 22.0% respectively. The difference did not, however, reach statistical significance. When attention is given to those who denied being shy, the picture is even more obscure: 60.4% of the females and 58.6% of the males

did not consider themselves shy. In this respect, the male subjects exhibited a slight tendency to experience more uncertainty in their appraisals than the females. Overall, the present data permit only the following inference: there were no significant differences in the incidence of shyness with regard to sex.

In the above discussion it was revealed that females demonstrated a higher incidence of communication reticence in some contexts, but not in others. It is of theoretical importance that there were no significant differences between the males and females in their likelihood to avoid oral interaction. The differences were found in items measuring subjects' feelings and perceptions of their communicative behavior when engaging in interaction, thus indicating that the differences appear primarily in the affective domain. In sum, the present findings emphasize the utility of moving from a global analysis of overall CR scores to one of underlying variables, which suggest remarkable similarities and dissimilarities for females and males in various facets of communication reticence.

4.3. *Predictors of communication reticence*

Having discussed the relationship between communication reticence and classification variables, of further interest in the present study was an examination of what variables might result in the most accurate prediction of CR scores. Multiple regression analysis was employed; the factor scores, computed on the basis of the four-factor solution of the *CR Scale*, served as the criterion variables, and the factor scores obtained in the three-factor solution for continuous classification variables formed the predictor variables. Thus, the *approach-avoidance*, *confidence*, *socio-affective concerns*, and *stage fright* factors were separately regressed upon those of *exposure to communication*, *academic achievement*, and *prior withdrawal*.

Every predictor made a significant ($p < 0.001$) contribution to the equation, when regressed upon the *approach-avoidance* and *confidence* factors. When predicting the *socio-affective concern* dimension, *academic achievement* did not make a significant contribution. The *stage fright* factor could not be accurately predicted on the basis of the entered predictors, evidently because of the high incidence of fear related to public speaking.

Some of the above findings call for discussion. Daly and Friedrich (1981) have examined the role of parent/home and school variables in predicting the

level of communication apprehension. In their findings, school effects predominated over home effects. In the present study, school and home variables operationalized as educational level and parents' socio-economic level were loaded on the *academic achievement* factor. Family's socio-economic level was negatively associated with educational variables.

The most remarkable finding was that exposure to oral communication predominated over school and home variables. Thus, communication reticence could be best predicted when the amount of speech education after graduation, speech classes taken apart from school, communicator image, the frequency of public speaking experiences and social activities requiring verbal participation were known. Consequently, both the level of exposure to communication and attitudes toward oral functions accounted for the variance in communication reticence.

The importance of exposure to oral contacts can be compared with the communicator profile drawn on the basis of the respondents' demographic and attitudinal information. A general scarcity of formal interpersonal and public speaking experiences characterized the main sample. Two-thirds of the subjects very seldom or never took part in meetings or conferences of associations or organizations and virtually as many were engaged in public speaking very seldom or never. Furthermore, subjects who held a supervising, teaching or counseling post - or had previously held such a post - scored significantly ($p < 0.001$) lower on the *CR Scale* than respondents not involved in those tasks.

The present findings implicitly support the theoretical expectation that a high level of communication reticence yields avoidant demeanors. However, as was noticed in conjunction with an examination of the free responses of the present study, mutual exchanges in discourse accounted substantially for rewarding experiences and communication satisfaction. There seems to be a vicious circle here: since communication reticents tend to avoid oral interaction, the likelihood of being exposed to rewarding experiences remains, therefore, small.

The above results and interpretations can be easily matched with the reinforcement model of the development of communication reticence discussed in Chapter 4.2.1. The data appears to be supportive of the body of learning theory research (Daly & Friedrich 1981; McCroskey 1977; McCroskey 1984b; McCroskey & Richmond 1978). As was noticed in the descriptive material, frustrating past communication experiences affected current internal states when engaging in interaction, thus suggesting negatively conditioned learning

experiences. This was additionally evidenced by the fact that the *prior withdrawal* dimension made a significant ($p < 0.001$) contribution to the prediction of the *approach-avoidance* and *socio-affective concerns* dimensions and appeared as the best predictor of the *confidence* factor. This implies that knowing an individual's likelihood to postpone oral tasks at school provided a significant prediction of his later level of communication reticence. Given this, high communication reticents seemed to exhibit a relatively enduring characteristic of their behavior.

The variability in various facets of communication reticence accounted for by the entered variables was, on the average, 13%. Although this result is not exceptionally low in self-report data (cf. Daly & Friedrich 1981:249-250; Sänkiaho 1974:52-61), it suggests that many other variables not included in the analysis play a vital role in the development of communication reticence.

4.4. The structure of communication reticence

4.4.1. Dimensionality

The third research question focused on the structure of communication reticence. Underlying the construct was the prediction of its potential multidimensionality. The factor analysis of the *CR Scale* yielded a four-factor solution accounting for 44.5% of the variance. The first factor, *approach-avoidance*, appeared as a general dimension accounting for 29.7% of the variability in CR scores. The other three factors were designated as the *confidence*, *socio-affective concerns*, and *stage fright* factors.

The first factor was composed of items measuring opposite ends of the same continuum: one's likelihood to engage in oral interaction or to avoid it. The avoidance dimension has also been found by Lehtonen (1984a) and Valkonen (1984) in Finnish surveys on social anxiety and communication apprehension. Further, in Burgoon's (1976) *Unwillingness to Communicate Scale (UCS)*, the first factor is labeled as an approach-avoidance dimension. When subjecting the *PRCA-24* to factor analysis and comparing the *PRCA* and the *UCS*, Burgoon and Hale (1983a:242) found that the approach-avoidance factor of the *UCS* was highly related to the interpersonal/small group and nonverbal expressiveness dimensions of the *PRCA*. The above evidence suggests that although operationalized differently, apprehension elicited in interpersonal encounters

form a separate dimension in different scales measuring one's likelihood to engage in oral communication or to withdraw from it.

The *stage fright* factor found in the present investigation also emerged in the Lehtonen (1984a) study. Further, when Kelly, Phillips and McKinney (1982) submitted the *PRCA-20*, *UCS*, and a short version of the *Stanford Shyness Survey* to a factor analysis, eight factors appeared, the first one representing stage fright items. These findings concur with Burgoon and Hale's (1983a:244) observation, according to which anxiety about oral public performance is separate from anxiety about, and unwillingness to, being involved in face-to-face interaction.

The *confidence* factor comprised items tapping general ease in speaking and trust in oral skills. Compatible with this finding, Clevenger and Sallinen-Kuparinen have observed that tentative factor-analytic findings of Lamb's (1972) and McCroskey's (1978) instruments display a remarkable tendency for positive-affect items and for negative-affect items to load on different factors (Clevenger 1984:230). In addition to these findings, the same polarity is mirrored also in the literature regarding unwillingness to communicate, shyness, and communication apprehension.

Illustrative of the polarity are the following examples. The *Unwillingness to Communicate Scale* (Burgoon 1976) contains two factors (the approach-avoidance and reward factors); items measuring shyness and sociability appear to form independent dimensions (Buss 1984; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a; Valkonen 1984). In the *PRCA*, items measuring one's likelihood to engage in oral interaction or to avoid it form separate dimensions, though it has been regarded as a measurement artifact originating in wording (McCroskey 1970:274; McCroskey 1978:201; McCroskey & Richmond 1982:464). A confident-dimension has been found in Kelly, Phillips, and McKinney's (1982) study, although they do not discuss this result separately.

Given the preceding dichotomy between items depicting apprehension and confidence, the present study provides strong empirical support for Clevenger's (1984) notion. He states that the dichotomy "does not square with the notion that response is unidimensionally ordered along a continuum from positive to negative. The data suggest that positive and negative responses may exist side by side within the same response domain." (Clevenger 1984:230.) Providing additional support for this prediction is the present observation that when the subjects of the third sample responded to stimuli questions they exhibited a high tendency to define themselves by using the concepts of confidence or tension.

An attempt to divide the sample in two dichotomous groups on the basis of the presence or absence of tension failed partially, since 10% of the respondents responded to both stimuli, thus suggesting that the options did not preclude each other. Mere absence of tension appeared as a prerequisite of confidence in a few cases only. In the reports of communication satisfaction, remarks on an absence of deleterious internal states constituted the most infrequent category of the corpus. Also the core of the answers related to coping mechanisms implied that an anxiety response and a confidence response may exist within the same response domain.

Items embracing socio-affective concerns formed a separate dimension. This finding was not foreseeable from the communication apprehension literature, evidently due to the different conceptualization of communication reticence. The highest loadings were detected on items measuring apprehension promoted when speaking to strangers. The rich descriptive data advanced understanding of this dimension. In the free responses, discomfort aroused by the presence of others was frequently reported and comprised an independent category. Characteristic of the *socio-affective concerns* dimension, it pertained to discomfort experienced in the presence of others, thus paralleling Buss' (1980:204) definition of social anxiety.

The factor analysis of the *CR Scale* suggested the presence of a multifaceted construct, thus supporting the conceptualization of communication reticence. The results do not provide support for Daly's (1978) proposal that the measures tapping social-communicative anxiety would best be conceptualized as unidimensional. The existing data regarding the *CR Scale* is not sufficient to conduct an analysis of the relationship between various facets of the *CR Scale*, thus future examination is warranted.

4.4.2. Response domains

According to Clevenger (1984:229), one area of conceptual development in social anxieties is the internal structure of the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor response domains of an anxiety response and interactions among the three domains. Although the present study focused on communication reticence as cognitions, the data revealed important information about the affective and behavioral response domains, suggesting a rich internal structure of the response domains and a complex interplay between them.

The present study lends substance to Clevenger's (1984:225) hypothesis which states that there are separate subsystems in social anxieties, within which a complex interplay between various response domains can be detected and which interface with each other within a large reaction system called anxiety response. Illustrative of the evidence on interaction among various response domains are the following findings. First, the *approach-avoidance* factor of the *CR Scale* was comprised of items tapping behavioral aspects related to avoidant and initiative demeanors. An item concerning attitudes toward oral interaction loaded heavily on the very same factor. Similarly, also on other factors, items focusing on both overt observable patterns in communication behavior and on internal states were detected. This observation appears to totally contradict Leary's (1983a; 1983b) statement that social anxiety must be defined independent from specific overt behaviors and anxiety responses.

The observation that attitudes toward oral interaction were associated with one's likelihood to approach or avoid speech communication encounters warrants further attention. It suggests that one's decision to engage in communication is partially accounted for by attitudinal variables, apart from inhibitive internal states or personality characteristics with potential for avoiding communication. In the literature regarding reticence and unwillingness to communicate this theoretical presupposition exists (Burgoon 1976; Phillips 1984), thus indicating the impact of various affective and cognitive agents on one's likelihood to engage in oral discourse.

The *stage fright* factor indicated that physiological arousal operationalized as heart rate, as well as behavioral manifestations of tension measured in terms of a quivering voice emerged as indicative of fear of public speaking. The finding suggests that various somatic reactions characterizing reactivity of the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system may not be valid symptoms of one's general unwillingness to engage in oral interaction. They appear to be primarily incorporated in a stage fright response. This finding highlights the importance of an examination of the relationship between a disruptive anxiety response and facilitative activation aroused in the presence of an audience.

Further, items tapping detrimental effects of a high level of tension on one's oral behavior were most strongly associated with the stage fright facet of the *CR Scale*. The factor analysis of continuous classification variables revealed that avoidance of oral interaction at school originated primarily in stage fright

and shaped one's academic outcome negatively. Given this empirical evidence, a stage fright response appears as a negative intervening variable, which seems to inhibit the speaker from using his communicative potential optimally. Supportive of this inference is the notion that a *CR Scale* item measuring negative impact of tension on oral performance was associated with stage fright. Conversely, an item mapping the incidence of hampered social effects due to tension loaded heavily on the *approach-avoidance* factor. Consequently, a high level of communication reticence engendered in interpersonal encounters was prone to result in detrimental social effects, whereas stage fright interfered with oral performance.

The free responses indicated that respondents reporting cognitive confusion due to tension are inclined to suffer from disfluency. Compatible with this observation, an item pointing to fluency was heavily loaded on the *confidence* factor of the *CR Scale*, in conjunction with items tapping general ease when speaking, relaxation, absence of cognitive confusion, and trust in oral skills. Thus, a high level of tension possesses potential for interfering with speech planning and processing.

As introduced in Chapter 2.2.1., one objective established in the operationalization of the communication reticence construct was the linking of the inner state with overt behavior. The present findings suggest that this particular objective was sufficiently met and merits future examination of the response domains. The data emphasizes the importance of focusing on behavioral manifestations of affective responses in communication research. Such a finding supports Burgoon and Hale's (1983b:302) statement that, to the extent that actual communication behavior fails to be influenced by negative predispositions, "one might question whether a *communication* syndrome is involved at all."

4.5. *Situational variation in communication reticence*

The fourth research question was formulated as follows: What communicative situations elicit the most communication reticence and why? In order to answer this question, the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* was administered to the second sample. The subjects were asked to grade 29 communicative situations for their potential for engendering tension, fear, or nervousness and name the major cause of them.

From the literature on communication apprehension, reticence, and shyness, it was foreseeable that communication reticents are the least apprehensive in familiar, informal, interpersonal, nonperformance, and nonevaluative contexts (Burgoon 1976; Burgoon & Koper 1984; Daly & Buss 1984; Lederman 1983; Parks 1980; Phillips & Metzger 1973a; Phillips & Metzger 1973b; Porter 1981; Richmond 1978; Zimbardo 1977). Public speaking settings, in turn, produced the most communication reticence. Given these predictable results, the wide spectrum of attributions introduced in the present study pointed to underlying mediating variables which appear to hold promise for advancing understanding of situational variation in communication reticence.

With regard to the underlying explanatory variables resulting in different levels of communication reticence in different contexts, Buss' (1980:205-206) model of social contexts causing social anxiety matches the data relatively well. In discussing social contexts promoting social anxiety, Buss (1980) proposes the following dimensions: (1) the sheer number of people, (2) the amount of attention, (3) the familiarity of the social context, (4) formality, and (5) extent of evaluation.

The sheer number of people indicates a linear relationship between the size of the audience and the level of tension experienced by the speaker. This explanation of an audience anxiety response is included also in Latané and Nida's (1980:6-8) social impact theory. In this theory, the speaker is seen as a target of social forces. The greater the number of sources of social force, the greater the amount of impact that occurs. The theory suggests that the amount of impact experienced by the target should be a multiplicative function of the strength, the immediacy, and the number of sources present. Concomitant with the latter principle, the present data indicate that among other variables, the size of the audience has significant impact on the level of communication reticence.

The present data suggest that there is a linear relationship between the conspicuousness of the speaker and the level of communication reticence: the more conspicuous the speaker, the greater the likelihood of heightened internal states, with potential for disruptive social-communicative behaviors as concomitants. Most subjects reported preference for a modicum of social attention. As was noticed, being the target of observation and standing in front of an audience was a sufficient condition for many subjects to experience anguish and to exhibit averseness to speaking up.

The reports of conspicuousness lend themselves to be best discussed within the theoretical framework of the theory of self-awareness (Buss 1980; Leary 1983b). One basic assumption of this theory is that objects upon which people tend to focus their attention may be dichotomized into those that are external and those that are internal. Some people tend to focus their attention on aspects of themselves, such as their feelings, thoughts, behavior, and appearance. People may be privately or publicly self-aware. Private self-awareness occurs when an individual attends to aspects that only he can observe. *Public awareness*, which is of more relevance here, occurs whenever people focus their attention upon aspects of themselves that are easily observed by others, whereby they become conscious of how they might appear to others. (Buss 1980:13-19; Leary 1983b:71-77.)

Deducing from the theoretical position discussed above, speaking in front of an audience elevates conspicuousness and induces the speaker's public self-awareness. Subsequently, the context increases the speaker's desire to make favorable impressions on others and to convey a self-image that others will regard as socially desirable. As evidenced in the present study, several factors threaten one's likelihood of making a favorable impression. The most frequently mentioned variables were the lack of experience in public speaking, the lack of social-communicative skills, and inadequate proficiency of social scripts. The conspicuous person is likely to show inadequacy in his skills, with potential for increasing the risk of losing face.

The notion that oral skills deficits were viewed as a threat to conveying a favorable self-image to the audience or coparticipants merits closer attention here, since it is not discussed within the theoretical framework of social anxiety. In the corpus of the free responses, concerns dealt frequently with fluency and voice control, the lack of which was regularly seen as resulting in unfavorable judgments by the audience. Accordingly, communication skills were viewed as crucial mediators of one's public image.

One factor influencing one's level of communication reticence is the degree of familiarity of the social context. The familiarity dimension emerged in the present study in connection with both confidence and apprehension. For the majority of the respondents, familiar components in the communication process were prerequisites of confidence. Conversely, novel components promoted tension. The following major categories of familiarity emerged: (a) familiarity with the audience or coparticipants, (b) familiarity with the role, (c) familiarity with the topic, and (d) familiarity with the environment. The first category constituted the largest area of response; the fourth was mentioned infrequently.

Supportive of the present finding regarding the impact of unknown listeners on the level of communication reticence are observations made by Parks (1980) and Lederman (1983). In Park's study on the cross-situational consistency of communication apprehension, one factor comprised situations in which the respondents were likely to know the other people, whereas another was composed of situations in which participants were less likely to know one another (Parks 1980:228). Also Lederman (1983:236) points to the importance of familiarity with others when analyzing high communication apprehensives' reports of their feelings aroused in interaction.

The second crucial subcategory of familiarity was novelty of role. In the communication apprehension literature the role of the speaker as a potential agent of detrimental internal states has received little attention. It has been discussed within the framework of audience anxiety (Daly & Buss 1984:73), shyness (Buss 1984:41), and social anxiety (Leary 1983b:102-104). In the present study, novelty was considered attributable to inhibitive emotional behavior when occupying a special role, such as acting as a chairperson and introducing a subject for discussion. Also in conjunction with reports on public speaking experiences the same dimension emerged, particularly when reciting a poem or acting. The data suggested that lack of experience was regarded as oppressive in situations in which the communicator should possess a large repertoire of specific communication skills and in which he should adhere to the social script closely. Given lack of experience, relevant role behavior is unlikely to habituate over time.

In Buss' model, the fourth situational variable causing social anxiety is formality. In formal situations appropriate social-communicative behavior is strictly defined and adherence to rules is required, thus precipitating concerns about adequate behavior. Buss (1984:41) points out that the greater the number of social rules and the more emphasis placed on following them, the more likely one is to make mistakes. Additionally, the public nature of formal situations renders individuals exposed and vulnerable which, in turn, may precipitate an increase of deleterious internal states.

Formal situations often involve interaction with persons holding a position of authority. As evidenced in the present study, the status of the speaker relative to that of the audience or interactants accounted partly for the variability in communication reticence. When conversing with a superior, in particular, the enactment of a subordinate status increased one's likelihood of remaining silent which concurs with Stedje's (1983:16-17) notion that social relations play a vital role in silent behavior.

The prevalence of communication reticence aroused when speaking with authority figures was, however, inconsistent with previous research indicating that transaction with those of higher status is one of the most feared interactive situations (Manninen 1985; Schlenker & Leary 1982:647; Zimbardo 1977:37). It was experienced as tension-arousing by approximately 40% of the respondents; the others reported the absence of anguish. With regard to formality, the present attributions depicted more often other variables than the status related to formality, moreover the size of the audience.

Representing the fifth category in Buss' model, evaluative contexts are prone to elevate the level of social anxiety. In the corpus of the present attributions, concern about evaluation was a salient explanatory factor especially in dyadic and interpersonal contexts which possessed potential for important future contacts. The data implied that evaluative situations were frightening for those individuals who tended to worry about how other people view them. Quantitatively, the number of responses pertaining explicitly to evaluation was comparatively low. The variable was more often implicit and associated with a larger category of general outcome expectations.

The present data revealed attributions that go beyond the model advanced by Buss and represent areas that have received little attention in the communication apprehension literature thus far. The discussion of the attributions made indicated that one of the major agents resulting in a heightened level of communication reticence was outcome expectations. The attributions made consistently suggested that one characteristic feature of communication reticents is their tendency to anticipate negative outcomes of oral communication. This tendency was manifested as follows. Above all, the respondents were concerned about others' reactions. This concern emerged frequently among attributions made in interpersonal contexts, such as addressing a meeting, asking and answering questions in the classroom, and resolving a conflict.

Further, subjects reported deep concern about the impressions they leave. Outcome expectations were prone to predominate events, in which perceptions made by others are pertinent to future contacts, such as when expressing an opposite opinion, conversing with a person holding a position of authority, being interviewed, hearing one's own performance rated, and performing in speech classes. The most common negative expectations were the following ones: fear of failure, fear of sounding stupid, fear of making a fool of oneself, and fear of making mistakes. Among these responses, also fear of negative evaluation was

expressed. In the anticipatory reasoning of communication reticents, engaging in oral interaction presented the possibility of losing face. Given this, avoidance of communication is a logical strategy to cope with an anxiety-arousing response and to save face in social interaction.

The data provides strong support for Greene and Sparks' (1983) model of the cognitive processes assumed to underlie a state of communication apprehension. In their model, anxious responses are linked to outcome expectations. The present findings concur consistently with observations made by Teglasi and Hoffman (1982:382). According to them, shy persons feel that negative outcomes are likely to happen to them. Daly and Buss (1984:68) also refer to expectations of negative reaction from the audience as an agent of an audience anxiety response. Present evidence allows the following conclusion: communication reticents make attributions that tend to confirm their anxiety, thus preventing them from incorporating positive experiences into their cognitive behavior.

In general, the corpus of the attributions parallel general postulations derived from attribution theory, according to which people are more likely to explain their own behavior in situational terms than in traits (cf. Hampson 1983:399; Leary 1983c:178). Only in a few cases was tension attributed to dispositional characteristics, such as shyness, reticence, and general anxiety. It is of theoretical importance to note that the attributions related to confidence were primarily made in terms of traits. In those responses, general trust in one's skills was reported, as well as high self-esteem and a strong communicator image.

Further, the attributions produced were characterized by a high level of redundancy. The individuals exhibited substantial consistency in their attributions across various contexts. Communication reticence experienced in public speaking encounters and in formal interpersonal contexts suggested the presence of a situation-specific trait (cf. Clevenger 1984:228) or a generalized-context communication reticence (cf. McCroskey 1984b:16).

The data provided evidence that though agents of heightened internal states pointed to a high consistency, the strength and combination of them did not influence people in the same way. The attributions made suggested that at least the following components affect the level of situational communication reticence: (a) dispositional characteristics of an individual, (b) the strength of the situational stimuli with potential for engendering a negative affective response, and (c) the composition of stimuli which have impact on internal

states. Thus, the present findings lend support to an assimilation-theoretical explanation of apprehension related to communication (cf. Beatty & Andriate 1985; Beatty & Behnke 1980; McCroskey & Beatty 1984), according to which situational communication reticence is viewed as the product of an interaction of dispositional traits and situation-specific aspects of a given interactive event.

4.6. *The nature of communication reticence*

4.6.1. *Conceptual boundaries of communication reticence*

It is suggested in the present study that, in addition to an examination of its prevalence indicated by means of an overall score, communication reticence should be investigated from the perspective of its inherent nature. This suggestion yielded the formulation of the fifth research question: What is the nature of communication reticence and how does it appear in the rhetorical thinking of the respondents? In this chapter, communication reticence is primarily discussed in light of the free responses derived by the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences*.

The free responses indicated that Finnish communication reticence is characterized by a high level of stage fright and social anxiety. An analysis of the free responses suggested that reports referred to either public or performance situations. Illustrative of this predominant feature, with little exception, the communication context indicated in the answers was that of public speaking.

Further, when the subjects were asked to describe themselves in terms of either confidence or tension related to oral discourse, approximately 70% labeled themselves as tense. Descriptions of the symptoms of their tension and their coping styles revealed the existence of a stage fright response. Among others, the following stage fright symptoms were listed: lack of eye-contact, vocalized pauses, quivering voice, trembling hands, nervous gestures, swaying, deadpan facial expression, perspiring, and blushing (cf. Clevenger & King 1961; Clevenger & Sallinen-Kuparinen 1983; Dickens, Gibson & Prall 1950; Mulac & Sherman 1974; Mulac & Wiemann 1984; Pucel & Stocker 1982).

The present data is also taken as evidence of a high amount of social anxiety experienced by Finns. Supportive of this conclusion, approximately 66% of the

subjects agreed, while 19% disagreed with the statement: *Speaking itself does not make me nervous, it is the entire social situation that does.* The free responses revealed that inhibitive internal states of those respondents reporting social anxiety were primarily accounted for by the high amount of attention and negative outcome expectations regarding the impact of interaction.

Preceding the generation of the fifth research question the following question was asked: Does oral communication as a cognitive-motor function elicit tension or fear or do other factors in a social-communicative setting account for inhibitive feelings and potential disruptive behavior as concomitant? The answers produced by the third sample shed light on this question. The responses revealing problems endogenous to oral behavior pointed to the following observation: tension related to speaking as a cognitive-motoric function originated in skills deficits. The respondents reported the discrepancy between their interaction goals and their ability to express themselves verbally. This finding suggests that some individuals suffer from strictly communication-bound difficulties, while for the overwhelming majority, the entire social situation poses problems.

The present data illustrated the nature of communication reticence experienced in interpersonal and public speaking contexts. Approximately 80% reported inhibitive feelings when speaking in front of an audience, while 10% experienced inhibition in interpersonal encounters. These findings can be analyzed within the model of social anxiety advanced by Leary (1983a; 1983c).

Based on the proposition that interpersonal social encounters differ in the degree to which an individual's responses follow from or are contingent upon the responses of other interactants, social anxieties have been classified into *interaction anxiety* and *audience anxiety*. Interaction anxiety results from communicative acts in which an individual's responses are contingent upon the responses of other interactants and in which one must continually reformulate his or her interaction plans and strategies on the basis of others' communicative behavior. In noncontingent encounters, such as public speaking, the individual's behavior is guided primarily by his plans and only minimally by listeners' reactions, one's communicative behavior being entirely scripted and usually preplanned. Audience anxiety tends to arise in noncontingent encounters. (Leary 1983a:68-69; Leary 1983c:25-26.)

The present findings revealed important information concerning the underlying mechanisms which account for audience anxiety and interaction

anxiety. When the respondents were asked to describe themselves in terms of interaction anxiety or audience anxiety, the latter one was primarily attributed to the following variables: (a) conspicuous setting, (b) fear of evaluation, and (c) the scarcity of experiences. Porter (1981:68) has proposed that public speaking apprehension may be a subset of the fear of evaluation. The present evidence supported Porter's prediction partially but suggested that there are also other explanatory factors accounting for stage fright, thus being in accordance with Goodman and Kantor's (1983:445) conclusion, which states that "while fears of negative evaluations may motivate some individuals to avoid social situations, it may not be relevant to others."

Interaction apprehensives named the following agents for their deleterious internal states: (a) tension evoked by familiar listeners, (b) the status of the speaker, and (c) oral skills deficits. Illustrative of interaction apprehension, the respondents were worried about their friends' reactions and judgments. Further, the data implied that interaction apprehensives gain confidence when speaking in front of an audience given the role of the speaker with a higher status relative to that of the audience. Thus, concern about the impact of interaction on future contacts and the status of the speaker appeared to be incorporated in interaction apprehension. These two categories provide new information regarding Leary's model. The third category, oral skills deficits, resembles Leary's description about interaction anxiety reviewed above.

For a further examination of the nature of communication reticence, the discussion dealing with stage fright was fractionated into two categories, facilitative and inhibitive effects of internal states. As was noted in Chapter 1.1., the distinction between facilitative activation and disruptive apprehension is usually not made in the literature regarding communication apprehension and allied constructs. Illustrative of this common conceptual obscurity are the following examples. It is said that some degree of tension is important to performance (Kelly 1982b; Page 1980:99; Phillips 1977:36; Phillips 1980:17). Some anxiety or communication apprehension experienced in challenging events is said to be normal (Friedman 1982; Mayer 1981). Also in Teuchert's (1984) examples of German speech texts the same obscurity regarding the impact of heightened internal states on one's public performance is represented.

Most Finnish public speaking texts distinguish between deleterious tension and positive arousal. In this view, a mild amount of arousal activates the speaker's imagination and thinking, makes him more sensitive when addressing an audience, thus contributing to the performance (Aho 1973:104; Laurila

1912:104; Marjanen 1947:176; Moisiu 1973:29; Salola 1949:13; Saraja 1937:42). These observations parallel Zajonc's (1965; 1980) theory of social facilitation with the main premise that the physical presence of other people creates a state of increased arousal which facilitates performance. Derived from the social impact theory, the ideal outcome is a communication situation in which the effects of the audience's impact are positive, indicating that social facilitation occurs (Latané & Nida 1980:20-21).

The present data highlighted the critical borderline between facilitative activation and disruptive apprehension. The free responses indicated that more than two-thirds of the subjects labeled themselves as tense when speaking and that every fifth reported facilitative impact of their heightened internal states on their communicative outcome. This finding implies that a certain group of people seems to have learned to label their arousal elicited in the presence of an audience as stage fright.

Present evidence is seen as supportive of Behnke and Beatty's (1981) model of speech anxiety derived from Schachter's cognitive-physiological formulation of emotion. It is proposed in the model that the communicator's interpretation of his state is an intervening variable in an anxiety response, communication apprehension being, consequently, defined as "a predisposition to label arousal during public speaking as speech anxiety" (Behnke & Beatty 1981:159). Given this, the present findings emphasize the salience of the interplay between physiological reactions aroused when interacting and cognitive processes related to the interpretation of arousal.

Representing the interrelatedness between communication reticence and shyness, on the *approach-avoidance* factor of the *CR Scale* the highest loading was detected on a shyness item. This observation implies that shyness is engendered in contingent communicative encounters and accounts significantly for one's likelihood to engage in interpersonal communicative events. However, the first factor was not interpreted as indicative of shyness. The position taken in the present study parallels McCroskey and Richmond's (1982) reasoning regarding the relationship between communication apprehension and shyness. According to their findings, these constructs were moderately correlated, sharing approximately 30 percent of the variance (McCroskey & Richmond 1982:464). Although their results exhibited factorial distinctiveness between these two constructs, the shared variance - also found in other empirical analyses related to social anxieties (Daly 1978; Burgoon & Hale 1983b) - suggests partial similarity.

The findings in the present study provided support for the notion that shyness denotes a discrete problem, one which is, however, associated with communication reticence. Specifically, shyness correlated with items constituting one facet of the *CR Scale*, which taps one's likelihood to interact in interpersonal encounters and to exhibit oral initiative in them. Thus, avoidance of face-to-face interaction appeared to be partially due to shyness.

Previous evidence on the nature of communication apprehension and reticence suggests that high communication apprehensives and reticents are inclined to generate negative self-statements and to hold irrational beliefs about their apprehension (Foss 1982; Fremouw 1984; Neer 1982; Phillips 1984). Emerging in the present study is one type of cognitive processes which has received little attention thus far. Some communication reticents displayed a high tendency to engage in escapist cognitive processes when confronting an interactive setting. The present finding concurs with Wright and Cara's (1982) observations. They have reported evidence on high apprehensives' tendency to achieve an escape from the anxiety stimuli and make escapist statements. According to them, this tendency is particularly common among female apprehensives.

Given the well documented evidence on communication apprehensives' tendency to exhibit avoidant behavior (see Daly & Stafford 1984; McCroskey 1977), the results of the present study expanded the scope of avoidant reactions from the psychomotor domain to cognitions. Additionally, they highlighted the importance of focusing on communication reticents' cognitive processes when analyzing their predispositions toward oral interaction.

A number of the responses illustrated phenomena which were beyond the scope of the preceding discussion. In the literature regarding communication apprehension and its conceptual relatives these factors have received little attention and will be discussed briefly in what follows.

4.6.2. Enlargement of the nature of communication reticence

In the free responses, the subjects attributed their deleterious emotions to the following traits: reticence, shyness, and general anxiety. In addition to these, they commonly referred to uncertainty, nervousness, tension, and fear. Some respondents suffered from oral skills deficits with heightened internal states as concomitant, thus paralleling the current conceptualization of the

reticence construct (Phillips 1984). The problems experienced by a certain group of the respondents were recognized as originating in fear or anxiety related to oral interaction, thus resembling the theoretical basis of the communication apprehension construct (McCroskey 1977; 1984a). Further, for some respondents, attitudinal variables related to communication posed problems. The core of the free responses provided support for Lehtonen's (1983a:16) prediction, which states that beyond apprehension operationalized by means of prevalent scales, there might be various groups of people with a wide divergency of problems impeding oral activities.

In addition to the cognitive, affective, and behavioral problems, the data suggested that some respondents' attributions do not lend themselves to analysis using traditional approaches to communication problems. In particular, cautiousness must be employed when interpreting one's likelihood to approach or avoid oral interaction. The crucial question is, what behavior should be taken as evidence of communication reticence and what behavior might indicate other factors, such as lack of motivation or personality.

Illustrative of the difficulties related to the interpretation of one's overt behavior, the current conceptualization of the reticence construct is problematic. According to Phillips (1984:60), for example the following ineptitudes characterize reticents' communication behavior:

- inability to ask and answer questions at work or in school
- inability to present connected discourse in public
- inability to make social conversation and small talk
- inability to participate in group activities
- inability to talk with authority figures, parents, teachers, bosses, people with prestige.

Clevenger (1984:231) points out that reticence is currently defined in terms entirely compatible with introversion. With regard to communication apprehension, McCroskey (1978:198) assumes that a moderate degree of association between communication apprehension and introversion should be expected. Clevenger (1984:232) concludes that conceptual clarity would be enhanced by explicating the relationship between introversion and social anxieties.

Apart from introversion, the present study revealed another untouched area in the literature regarding social anxieties. As was noted in the discussion concerning the free responses, some subjects reported that they are worried about their listeners' reactions and that they are sensitive to them, while others

told that they do not focus attention on their coparticipants' reactions. The question is, how does one's cognitive style account for his likelihood to engage in oral interaction or to withdraw from it?

A cognitive-style approach suggests that people vary in the degree to which the surrounding organized field influences the person's perception of an item within it. Field-dependent individuals are, for example, more sensitive to situational cues than field-independent people and possess greater social orientation. Further, it has been indicated that women, on the average, tend to be more field-dependent than men, and that field-dependent people are more affected by criticism than field-independent people. (Witkin, Moore, Goodenough & Cox 1977.) Given the fear of evaluation reported by some subjects in the present data and females' higher level of communication reticence, one might venture a hypothesis that there is a significant relationship between one's cognitive style and the level of communication reticence, indicating that field-dependent individuals report higher communication reticence than field-independent people. Future examination of the cognitive style would advance understanding of one's likelihood to engage in oral interaction and to exhibit communication reticence.

A set of the free responses represented various concerns related to the communication process. For example, concerns emanated from the subjects' ability to convey their thoughts the way they would like to. Further, many respondents worried whether listeners would be interested in their topics and whether the listeners would understand what they had to say. Characteristic of the responses, they did not imply the presence of fear or anxiety.

The nature of the responses dealing with concerns related to oral interaction parallels the conceptualization of the *communication concern* construct (Staton-Spicer 1983; Staton-Spicer & Bassett 1979; Staton-Spicer & Marthy-White 1981). Although examined within the instructional communication research field and operationalized in terms of concerns experienced by teachers, the core of the construct warrants attention in the present study. A teacher communication concern is defined as "a constructive frustration or anticipation of a future problem situation that involved participation in face-to-face interaction with students, other teachers, parents and principal" (Staton-Spicer & Bassett 1979:140). Thus, a positive conceptualization is advanced, in contrast to the negative connotation that anxiety has.

The communication concern construct is conceptualized and categorized as pertaining to (a) the self as a communicator, (b) the task of communicating, and

(c) the impact of one's communication on others. In the present study, both self, task, and impact concerns about communication were expressed. Viewed from the perspective of the present study, it is problematic that although the answers did not allude to negative emotions, they were produced as responses to questions tapping agents and effects of tension. The data suggest that some respondents reported concerns related to oral interaction instead of deleterious internal states. Given this, the relationship between communication concerns and communication reticence warrants future research.

In summary, it is of theoretical significance to note that the stimulus questions used in the present study triggered highly different cognitive processes related to the nature of communication reticence. Representing the extreme ends of the perceptions, some subjects labeling themselves as tense when speaking reported facilitative impact of arousal on their communicative behavior, whereas others exhibited avoidance of oral interaction or engaged in cognitive processes inherently escapist. A remarkable number of the responses could not be interpreted by using traditional approaches to avoidant communicative demeanors. The data suggested that, above all, the relationship between introversion and communication reticence, as well as the impact of one's cognitive style on avoidant behavior warrants future research. Further, the conceptual clarification between the constructs of communication concern and communication reticence would enlarge our understanding of the divergency of communicative perceptions made by various people.

4.7. Evaluation of the results

4.7.1. Construct and scale reliability and validity

Communication reticence was primarily operationalized as a person's score on the *Communication Reticence Scale*. The obtained reliability of .905 and the test-retest reliability over a four week period yielding an alpha value of .927 suggested high internal consistency for the scale. Further, the high test-retest reliability coefficient implied that the scale is a reliable instrument for measuring dispositional characteristics of an individual's communicative behavior.

The obtained increase of the alpha coefficient in the test-retest alludes to a homogenous sample (cf. Konttinen 1981:17). The main sample was characterized

by heterogenous groups with different demographic backgrounds. The subsample used for the retest comprised, in turn, two educationally homogenous subgroups, in which females constituted the majority. The results suggest that the homogeneity of the sample increased the reliability coefficient observed in the retest.

Given the exploratory nature of the present study, the free responses derived by means of the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* and the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* were coded by the present researcher only, which might introduce bias and reduce the reliability of the category system employed. The procedure was, however, considered sufficient for the phenomenological orientation taken in the analysis of the attributions. The present data provide information regarding communication reticents' attribution processes and suggest categories, the reliability of which might be assessed by using many coders and by computing interrater reliability estimates in future research. Evidence of the reliability of the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* and the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* comes from the comparison of the results derived by means of the three different scales (cf. Grönfors 1982:176; Ventry & Schiavetti 1980:86).

Comparison of the results obtained by the various questionnaires suggests high consistency for the findings. For example, both the *CR Scale* and the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* provided equivalent corroboration for the following generalizations: approximately 30% of young Finnish adults experience apprehension when conversing with an unknown person and 40% when speaking to a person holding a position of authority. Further, the attributions generated by the second and third samples revealed consistent information regarding the communication reticents' cognitive processes. Given this, the additional questionnaires served as partial replications of the study and suggested high consistency for the measures.

The validity of the scales was primarily established in terms of the construct validity. The *CR Scale* produced empirical results which, with little exception, were consistent with theoretical predictions underlying the formulation of the items (Chapter 2.2.1.). Contradicting the theoretical propositions, items tapping preference for speaking instead of writing, reduced perceptual ability in terms of sensitivity to audience responses, and attributions related to tension failed to provide essential contribution to what the scale was measuring. Consequently, these particular items decreased both the reliability and validity of the scale.

The item-total correlations, the intercorrelations, and the factor-analytic results of the *CR Scale* revealed that a prediction of communication reticents' preference for writing instead of speaking was not verified. As was pointed out in the introductory chapter, recent evidence suggests a weak correlation between talking and writing apprehension. In the present study, the relationship was operationalized in terms of skills, but the finding did not provide new information, thus supporting the previous suggestions of a weak association between these two communication modes.

Further, in contrast to the theoretical expectations, communication reticents did not report reduced ability to notice audience responses. In this respect, Kelly's (1982b) suggestion that reticents suffer from perceptual problems was not supported. The free responses rather suggested that communication reticents might be sensitive toward others' reactions. Given the notion that anxiety tends to reduce the amount of stimuli which a person perceives from his environment (Izard & Tomkins 1972) and that shy and anxious persons are characterized by excessive preoccupation with the self (Jones & Russell 1982), the relationship between communication reticence, one's sensitivity toward situational constraints and perceptual ability remains controversial.

Finally, contradicting what would be theoretically expected, an item tapping one's ability to name the cause of tension failed to contribute to the scale. Given the theoretical assumption that fear is a specific emotion related to some concrete object, whereas anxiety is a non-specific emotion that knows no single cause (cf. Chapter 2.2.1.), an attempt to clarify a distinction between them did not receive empirical support. The result implies that high communication reticents presumably experience generalized communication reticence, with no specific cause. Indirect support for this conclusion was provided by the free responses, which suggested that subjects reporting a moderate level of stage fright were able to engage in attribution processes and analyze their experiences also in terms of the agents of their internal states.

In summary, with few exceptions, the items included in the *CR Scale* were capable of measuring behavior that was theoretically expected. One of the most central propositions in the theory related to communication reticence is one's tendency to avoid oral communication. The *CR Scale* clearly identified avoiders of oral interaction.

Further, in accordance with the theoretical presupposition, communication reticence appeared as a multifaceted construct, thus providing evidence of the

validity of its conceptualization. Given the observation that the distribution of CR scores followed the theoretical expectations based on a normal curve, the presence of a normal distribution increased the confidence with which statements regarding communication reticence are made in the present study (cf. Bowers & Courtright 1984:176). The empirical analysis of the *CR Scale* revealed important information about how the scale can be refined. In future research, elimination of the items which failed to contribute to the scale and examination of the effects of elimination of such items on the reliability and validity of the scale is warranted.

Since no suitable outside validating criterion was available, the assessment of the criterion validity of the questionnaires lies in logical evaluation and comparison of the various scales. When various questionnaires are administered, the critical question is: do they measure the same phenomenon? Comparison of the results derived by means of the present scales yielded the following remarks on the relationship between the scales. The *CR Scale* was purported to tap a general communication reticence response, while both the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* and the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* were focused on one hypothesized facet of communication reticence: on tension, fear, or nervousness precipitated in social-communicative settings. However, the results indicated that the unstructured instruments consistently elicited a wider spectrum of perceptions related to communication reticence.

The three scales differed primarily in their emphasis on the various facets of communication reticence. Whereas the main scale focused on one's likelihood to engage in oral interaction in interpersonal encounters, the other scales tapped negative affective responses triggered in public speaking situations and in the presence of others, thus measuring primarily stage fright and social anxiety. It is of significance to note that the very same dimensions observed in the factor analysis of the *CR Scale* were discovered also in the free responses: avoidance of oral interaction, confidence, socio-affective concerns, and stage fright. Given this, the various scales contributed significantly to the establishment of the validity of the measurements, thus suggesting high criterion validity for the questionnaires employed. In addition to this, each scale accounted for a large amount of nonoverlapping variance in communication reticence, thus providing new insights into the phenomenon under examination.

As Grönfors (1982:178-179) has suggested, one method for assessing the validity of the qualitative measurements is to provide a precise description of

the research design and to reveal information regarding the researcher's scientific framework. In the present study, the theoretical framework of the operationalization was discussed in Chapter 2.1. Chapters 2.2. and 2.3. offered a detailed description about the various phases related to the construction and pretesting of the scales. Taken together, the procedures provided strong support for the content and construct validity of the scales.

In the present study, communication reticence was examined by means of introspective methods exclusively; observational data was not obtained. It is, therefore, important to frame the discussion within this methodological limitation. In determining the validity of self-reports, for example the following aspects should be taken into consideration. Answering a self-report questionnaire is always a confrontation process. An individual has to discern his feelings, to define himself within the framework of stimuli and to engage in processes of self-evaluation.

One of the most common problems of self-report is the degree to which people want to be honest in their responses and whether it is reasonable to suppose that, even if they want to be honest, they are able to do so (cf. Cronbach 1970:40; Lederman 1983:233). As McCroskey (1978:192) points out, self-reports may yield invalid data, when the person is not aware of his feelings or when the individual is not motivated to report on his feelings accurately. Further, self-reports are the least useful when directed toward matters of fact that may be undiscovered or unknown to the subject (McCroskey 1984a:86). To some extent, one's inner cognitive world is unconscious. Although the members of any culture often adopt similar ways of interpreting the world, every human being occupies a world that is in some respects unique (Barnlund 1975:115). By means of a self-report, this inner world is, however, thought to be captured and revealed.

One further criticism concerning the validity of self-reports is the notion that many subjects may display high social approval tendencies, selecting the "socially desirable" response to any item and thus avoiding the report of an unfavorable self-portrait. It is then more reasonable to interpret the report as an illustration of a "public" self-concept than as a statement of a private self-concept. (Cronbach 1970:496, 503.) Given a research design in which no measure of social approval seeking (cf. Daly 1978:216-217) is employed, the working assumption of empirical test construction is that a response has the same significance whether given with the intent to deceive or given honestly.

The potential influence of the respondents' self-esteem on face validity of self-report measures has also been discussed in the literature regarding communication apprehension and related constructs. McCroskey (1984a:86) takes a suspicious position to the usage of self-reports for measuring reticence, due to the potential lack of reliable linkage between the individual's feelings about being competent and his actual competence. In his view, respondents with low self-esteem would report being incompetent, while, correspondingly, those with high self-esteem would describe being competent.

In discussing the construct validity of self-report scales Porter (1974:276) points out that when completing a self-report measure, the respondents may find the admission of fear threatening to their self-concepts, and this may result in dishonest answers. Wheelless (1975:262) represents an opposite opinion. He claims that if communication apprehension is so common among people as extensive research findings suggest, the admission of fear cannot have any remarkable influence on the subject's self-esteem.

Viewed from a phenomenological perspective, when employing a self-report scale, it is assumed that the respondents can and are willing to reveal personal information about their experiences and feelings (cf. Grönfors 1982:173). It is reasonable to conclude that in a study dealing with individuals' communication problems, the most valid method of tapping them is introspection. Conversely, when focusing, for example, on effects of communication problems, observational assessment would contribute to the understanding of the phenomena under analysis.

In summary, the following approaches were taken to assess the reliability of the *CR Scale*: the internal reliability of the scale and the test-retest reliability were estimated by using Cronbach's alpha. Further, the administration of the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* and the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences* served as partial replications of the study. The validity of the scales was established in terms of the content validity, predictive validity and construct validity. On the basis of the discussion it can be concluded that the results suggested high reliability and strong validity for the scales. However, for future research purposes, the *CR Scale* needs refinement, with increased contribution of every item.

4.7.2. *Generalizability of the results*

Having discussed factors affecting the internal validity of the present measurements, of further interest is the evaluation of the external validity of the results. The discussion focuses on the representativeness of the empirical findings and on factors jeopardizing the generalizability of the results.

The issue of representativeness is problematic in exploratory studies (Babbie 1979:86; Ventry & Schiavetti 1980:66). Viewed from this perspective, in qualitative research, generalized conclusions about regularities are not permitted, since the number of respondents reduces the generalizability of the findings. In addition to this, since no directional hypotheses are advanced, the predictions cannot be verified or falsified. One important caveat should be entered, however. In a quantitative analysis, crucial dimensions may not be tapped, which, in turn, jeopardizes the generalizability of the findings, although a large number of cases would allow generalizations. In the present study, both quantitative and qualitative orientations toward an examination of communication reticence were applied. Although exploratory parts of the present study may lack representativeness, the multimethodological orientation partially compensates for this disadvantage, contributing to the validity of the findings. In addition to this, partial replications included in the present study enhance the confidence of generalizations.

In evaluating the representativeness of the present findings, the crucial question is, what populations can these results be generalized to? It can be argued that the present data are of limited generalizability due to the sampling procedures and homogeneity of age categories. In discussing this issue some observations regarding generalizability need to be made.

First, as was noticed in Chapter 2.4.1., probability samples were regarded as invalid for the purpose of this exploratory study. The subjects were partially obtained on an availability basis, and thus may not be fully representative of the population from which they were drawn. However, it is reasonable to conclude that the decision to apply characteristics of stratified samples and to use randomly assigned intact classes as sampling units yielded a comparatively representative sample of the respondents with different backgrounds. For example, all geographical districts in Finland were represented in the sample. The representativeness of the results is increased also by the fact that the respondents did not volunteer for the study and that they represented various

educational groups and not only college students who usually serve as subjects in communication research.

Second, a potential limitation of the present data is that it is based on young adults. Consequently, the data is seen as providing reliable estimates about the prevalence and nature of communication reticence among young Finnish adults. However, it is important to note that ANOVA failed to reveal significant effects of age on the incidence of communication reticence. The results suggested that the level of communication reticence exhibits a slight tendency to increase with age. However, the differences in the means of CR scores did not reach statistical significance. This finding implies that by adulthood, communication reticence has become a relatively stable characteristic of a person. On the basis of this notion, the findings might be also generalized to the adult Finnish population.

4.8. Communication reticence and Finnish silence

In the previous chapters, empirical findings related to the hypotheses and research questions were analyzed and the reliability, validity, and generalizability of the results were discussed. In this chapter, the major results concerning the incidence and nature of communication reticence are summarized and discussed within a cultural framework. Models and theories proposed in intercultural communication research are examined. The following question is of specific interest to the present discussion: What are the internalized social and cultural expectations and standards against which Finns measure their communicative perceptions and performance and how do they account for the level of communication reticence?

4.8.1. Finns' communicator image

On the basis of widely held beliefs and stereotypes concerning Finns as oral communicators discussed in the introductory chapter, Finns were expected to have a low communicator image of themselves. This prediction received empirical corroboration in the present study.

The results indicate that less than 20% of the respondents regarded their skills as good or excellent. Every second reported *average* skills, and every

fifth *somewhat deficient*. Taken together, subjects with average or worse skills comprised the overwhelming majority (78.4%) of the data. Thus, the results suggested that the Finns hold a low communicator image.

Klopf's (1984) observations on the relationship between the level of communication apprehension and the communicator image held by members in different cultures offer a relevant theoretical framework for comparison with the present findings. Intercultural studies suggest that, for example, the Australians, the Micronesians, and the Filipinos, who report significantly less communication apprehension than the Americans and the Japanese, project a positive communicator image. Illustrative of a strong communicator image, communicators of such nationalities perceive themselves to be friendly, dramatic, animated, relaxed, open, and impression-leaving. (Klopf 1984: 162, 164, 167.) As Norton (1983:72) points out, it is assumed that a person who has a good communicator image is expected to find it easy to interact with others whether they are friends, acquaintances, intimates, or strangers. The data reported by Klopf lend support for this underlying assumption of a positive communicator image.

In the present study, two major potential explanations for a negative communicator image projected by Finns are suggested. First, given the notion that perceptions of one's communicative ability are assumed to partially result from past experiences (Greene & Sparks 1983:213), a general scarcity of formal interpersonal and public speaking experiences, as well as a low amount of formal speech education reported in the present data, may account for the results. Further, 10% of the respondents in the third sample reported that they would like to receive feedback about their communication skills. This expectation for speech classes implies that many respondents lacked the ability to evaluate the adequacy of their oral skills. Consequently, a low communicator image may originate in scarcity of public speaking experiences, ineptitude in oral skills, or lack of feedback.

Indirect support for the preceding conclusion was provided by the factor analysis of the *CR Scale*. When *CR* scores and classification variables were submitted to a united factor analysis, of the classification variables only communicator image loaded on the first factor in conjunction with the items measuring one's likelihood to approach or avoid oral interaction. This finding indicates that communicator image emerged as a dependent variable, as well as communication reticence, being highly influenced by antecedent environmental factors.

In further factor analysis communicator image loaded on the *confidence* factor, thus suggesting a strong relationship between efficient oral skills and a positive communicator image. This finding matches Greene and Sparks' (1983:214) notion, according to which communicator image is related, yet not isomorphic with the more general notion of self-esteem. As a whole, the present factor-analytic data are taken as support for the impact of past experiences on the development of one's communicator image.

Second, it is suggested here that the impact of cultural norms regulating one's self-presentation cannot be overlooked when interpreting individuals' appraisals of their skills. Self-presentation is one of the ways in which people try to influence others' treatment of them (Leary 1983b:60). They monitor and control how they are perceived by others and attempt to project images of themselves that will achieve the reactions they desire and expect. One way of conveying impressions of oneself is what one says about himself. (Leary 1983b:61.)

Applying the self-presentation theory to the interpretation of the present findings, devaluation of one's skills appear to belong to Finnish self-presentation norms. In intercultural communication research, devaluation of self has been observed as being characteristic of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean societies (Toupin 1980) and in Japan, modesty, humility, and suppression of self are moral ideals (Okabe 1983). Thus, a low communicator image held by Finns is seen as originating partially in cultural norms regulating self-presentation, encouraging modesty and devaluation of self. It is reasonable to conclude that lack of experience, oral skills deficits, and cultural norms emphasizing modest self-presentation increase one's likelihood to withdraw from oral interaction, thus accounting for communication reticence, silent behavior and a low communicator image.

4.8.2. *Receiver centrality*

Various cultures place different values on producing and receiving oral messages. The present data suggested that in Finns' rhetorical thinking, there is a clear differentiation of roles between the speaker and the audience. Further, the responses implied that Finns prefer the role of receiver in interaction episodes. In what follows, these inferences are discussed within the framework of theories dealing with cultural-bound factors related to various reaction modes in social-communicative encounters.

Representing predominant values held by the respondents in terms of oral behavior, the core of the free responses suggested a high valuation for listening as one characteristic feature of Finnish speech norms. Supporting Finns' preference for listening, in the pretest of the present study it was found that 41.7% of the subjects would rather listen than take verbal turns (Sallinen-Kuparinen 1985a). Further, respect for the speaker holding the floor was expressed. Illustrative of this attitude, many respondents indicated that characteristic of their communicative behavior, they listen accurately and do not interrupt the speaker (see also Sallinen-Kuparinen et al. 1982:13).

In her analysis of French, Lappish and Finnish conversational styles, Fernandez (1984) observed that in comparison to Middle and Southern European cultures, the turns in discussion are long monologues in North European cultures. In intercultural communication literature, the same conclusion is reported by Okabe (1983:36-38) regarding typical Japanese communication patterns. According to him, Japanese communication tends to be monologic, whereas the dialogical and dialectical mode of communication is a dominant characteristic of American rhetoric. Subsequently, focus on the expressive is a hallmark of American rhetoric. By contrast, the rhetoric of Japan is remarkable for its emphasis on the importance of the perceiver.

Providing further support for the present findings, Lehtonen (1984a) points out that Finnish communicative behavior is characterized by demand for noninterference. This conclusion and the present findings suggest a remarkable degree of individualism as one typical feature of Finns' social-communicative behavior. Concomitant with this inference, Hofstede (1984), when comparing the values of people over 50 different countries noticed that Finland is fairly individualist; very individualist countries are USA, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, whereas among the most collectivist countries are Colombia, Taiwan and Pakistan. The present findings and the preceding theoretical support permit the following hypothesis: instead of emphasizing expressive function in interaction, Finnish speech culture is characterized by receiver centrality.

Closely related to the role of listening, perceptions of silence imply cultural-bound standards against which communicative behavior is interpreted and evaluated. The present study indicated that remaining silent in interactive events was experienced as anxiety-arousing by a minority (26.7%) of the respondents. Contradicting this finding, Newman (1982:148) observed that over 86% of American subjects reported feeling uncomfortable when silences occurred in their day-to-day interactions. Newman (ib.) concludes that "in

particular interactions, silences can be a sign of personal inadequacy, as well as a potential sign of interpersonal incompatibility and awkwardness."

In accordance with the preceding conclusion, extensive studies on communication apprehension clearly suggest that in American society, implications for remaining silent are negative (see Richmond 1984). Conversely, Wolfson and Pearce (1983) refer to a forthcoming study conducted by Kang and Pearce, according to which Korean and American students differently perceive persons described as having a high and low level of communication apprehension. Americans uniformly regarded the high communication apprehensive as less socially attractive. Koreans, in turn, perceived the high-apprehensive person as more socially attractive. About half of the Koreans perceived the apprehensive person as quietly strong, not easy to get to know but a trustworthy friend, sincere and thoughtful. (Wolfson & Pearce 1983:250.) With regard to the incidence of communication apprehension in Japan, Wolfson and Pearce (ib.) conclude that communication apprehension is not necessarily disadvantageous in Japanese society.

From the perspective of the present study, the above findings have two important implications. First, they question the semantic content of the communication apprehension construct when transferred to different cultures. Second, the findings suggest that interpretations of quiet overt behavior as an indicator of communication apprehension are not valid in all cultures.

In Finnish culture, silent behavior is highly tolerated. The present data suggest that instead of the quantity, the quality of speech is appreciated. Consequently, the amount of talk is not the most crucial factor in social judgments. Many respondents in the present study described a high level of cognitive functions when remaining silent in interaction. Functions such as analyzing what others have said, preplanning what to say, and adjusting to the particular communicative situation were cited. As Tannen (1985:94) states, "silence is seen as positive when it is taken as evidence of the existence of something positive underlying." In Finland, silence is predominantly associated with politeness, prudence, and confidence in interpersonal contexts.

In the present study, reluctance to speak particularly in novel communicative situations was frequently expressed. Further, every fourth reported unwillingness to initiate conversations and every third spoke in classes only when they were asked a question. Given Finns' averseness to take initiative in interactions, Berger and Calabrese's (1975) uncertainty reduction theory will be used as one means of discussing this phenomenon.

Central to the theory of initial interactions is the assumption that when strangers meet, their primary concern is one of uncertainty reduction or increasing predictability about the behavior of both themselves and others in the interaction (Berger & Calabrese 1975:100). Berger (1979) elaborated upon the theory and outlined the following categories of uncertainty reduction strategies: (1) passive strategies, (2) active strategies, and (3) interactive strategies. Of these categories, the description of passive strategies is most germane to the present study.

Viewing the data from the perspective of the above category, the following strategies have been selected for the discussion: (a) reactivity search and (b) social comparison. Reactivity refers to the extent to which the social situation in which the actor is present demands that he communicates with and reacts to others. An unobtrusive group member prefers observation of the reactivity of others. The second subgroup is derived from Festinger's social comparison theory which postulates that persons have a 'drive' for self-evaluation. When persons are unsure and uncertain of their abilities, opinions, or emotional responses, they tend to seek out others in order to determine their level of behavior. The theory further predicts that persons will not just seek out persons for social comparison purposes, but they will also seek out others whom they perceive to be similar to themselves. (Berger 1979:134-137.)

Applying the postulations of the uncertainty reduction theory, the present data are viewed as reflecting Finns' preference for passive strategies in interaction. More specifically, characteristic of Finns' communicative behavior, they tend to display the role of an unobtrusive observer instead of exhibiting active or interactive strategies in communicative events and furthermore, experience a high drive for social comparison.

Indirect support for the preceding interpretation is provided by Hofstede's (1984) theory regarding uncertainty avoidance in different countries. The fundamental issue in his theory is how society deals with uncertainty related to the unforeseeable future. In societies which emphasize unpredictability of the future there will be a high level of anxiety in people. Such societies - which are called "strong uncertainty avoidance" societies - also create institutions, laws, and rules to promote security and avoid risk. In this classification, Finland scores average to fairly high. Applying Hofstede's theory, concern about adhering to social rules frequently reported in the present data is seen as a potential agent of social anxiety.

The preceding discussion based on the uncertainty reduction theory and uncertainty avoidance theory set the groundwork for the analysis of the high level of stage fright and social anxiety observed in the present study. Deducing from Berger's theory reviewed above, a shift from the role of an unobtrusive observer to the speaker means that the person becomes the target of observation. The conspicuousness of the speaker precipitates an increase of social anxiety. Further, based on the above speculation of Finns' high tendency to engage in social comparison, there seems to be a linear relationship between the amount of social comparison and the level of anxiety: the more that social comparison occurs, the more likely people are to be concerned about others' judgments when speaking with heightened internal states as concomitant. Underlying this reasoning is the role of talk in society, which is of interest in the next chapter.

4.8.3. The role of talk

One plausible explanatory factor for communication reticence is the role of talk in a culture. As suggested in the present study, Finns enjoy communicating in familiar encounters and are willing to express their thoughts to their friends and in communicative events characterized by a safe and relaxed atmosphere. Further, they prefer speaking in harmonious groups. Conversely, when occupying a conspicuous role in social-communicative contexts a high incidence of deleterious internal states was expressed. This dichotomic finding leads to the following question: what is the role of oral interaction in Finnish society and how does it account for the high level of stage fright and social anxiety observed in the present study? In what follows, this question is discussed in light of interpersonal communication research and characteristic factors of Finnish culture.

According to Okabe (1983:37-28), Western rhetoric is concerned with persuasion pursued at public forums. American rhetoric is basically argumentative and logical in nature and confrontation carries a positive connotation. Conversely, the Japanese value harmony and view harmony-establishing and harmony-maintaining as a dominant function of communication. They seek to achieve harmony for example by avoiding any sharp analysis of conflicting views. Okabe (ib.) concludes that Japanese rhetoric functions as a means of disseminating information or of seeking consensus. The notion that in Japan

talk serves to identify areas of consensus rather than areas of conflict is also expressed by Barnlund (1975:136), Yoshikawa (1977:104) and Smith (1983:28).

In conjunction with the theory described above, the present study holds the view that characteristic of Finnish values related to oral interaction, talk contributes to the maintenance of consensus and harmony in a group and, more generally, also in society. Illustrative of this orientation are, for example, the following findings.

As evidenced by the responses produced by the third sample, many respondents felt confident when agreeing with their coparticipants. Conversely, they were concerned about others' reactions when expressing opposite opinions in a group and were worried about potential disharmony aroused due to controversial opinions. These concerns were regarded as reflecting desire for harmony in interpersonal contacts and conformity to or identity with the group, thus suggesting an attempt to establish homogeneity and interdependence in interpersonal contacts. Consequently, what others think and say has an impact on the amount of social anxiety elicited in interaction.

Given a person occupying the role of the public speaker, there is considerable social distance between him and his listeners. The core of the attributions made indicated that a remarkable number of the respondents reported reluctance to serve in a role which is perceived as having higher status. For example, approximately 60% of the subjects experienced tension when acting as a chairperson in a group. Reluctance to display the role of the public speaker with a high status and the scarcity of public speaking experiences consistently reported in the present data permits the advancing of the following hypothesis: in Finnish culture, a public speaker is seen as possessing a social position with high status (cf. Sallinen-Kuparinen & Lehtonen 1985). If a person perceives himself as lacking such a social position, yet has to assume the role of a public speaker, social anxiety is likely to result.

A further potential variable elevating the level of stage fright is high expectations related to a public speech. For example, fulfillment of preplans and addressing the audience in formal and faultless language were reported as ideals of performance. Given lack of experience, high expectations for performance, and the high status of a public speaker, speaking in front of an audience is prone to trigger stage fright responses.

Expectations for the language used in public performances warrant further discussion here. There were responses in the present data, in which tension elicited when speaking was attributed to language use, particularly to the use of

correct grammar. These attributions suggested that many subjects had internalized an ideal of a speaker whose verbal style resembles norms belonging to written language, characterized by precise lexical choices and complex syntactical structures.

Since schools are major socializing institutions in society, they transmit the values regarding the language use. In formal education, written language and writing are emphasized in most countries (cf. Saville-Troike 1982:240-244). Finnish schools mandate a written style for communication. For example, in the Finnish language teaching, writing predominates over speaking and grading is primarily based on written work. Further, the prevalent exercise in speech classes has been - until the last few years - a public speech which is usually written and read (cf. Ojajärvi 1955:85; Sallinen-Kuparinen 1983:63). As Ruusuvuori (1974:63) points out, due to these exercises, students may have internalized biased rules regarding the language use; inability to speak is, therefore, conditioned through reinforcement of the written mode of communication. The present data supports this assumption and suggests that emphasis on written language and writing in formal education possesses potential for heightened and unrealistic expectations for oral communication, with an increased level of communication reticence as potential concomitant.

Finally, one explanator for the high level of stage fright among Finns might be the extent to which the self is exposed in interaction. Thus far evidence has been found which supports the notion that the respondents preferred a modicum of social attention and were reluctant to reveal personal information. In analyzing this dimension of the data, Barnlund's (1975) theory regarding the *public* and *private* self will be discussed.

While comparing Americans and Japanese as communicators Barnlund (1975) postulates that Japanese prefer an interpersonal style in which aspects of the self are made accessible to others. For the Japanese, the public self is relatively small, and the private self is, in turn, relatively large. Conversely, Americans prefer a communicative style in which the self made accessible to others is relatively larger and the proportion that remains concealed is smaller. (Barnlund 1975:32-36.)

Applying Barnlund's theory it is asserted here that characteristic of Finns as communicators, the public self is comparatively small and the private self large. A public speaking situation increases the likelihood of revealing information regarding the private self and elevates, therefore, the level of social anxiety. In concealing personal thoughts and feelings, an individual's

tolerance of vulnerability is at stake. Given the dichotomy between the expressive and protective function of communication (cf. Rawlins 1983:13), the present data suggest that Finns tend to prefer protectiveness in their public communicative behavior.

It has been suggested in this chapter that communication reticence and the widely held belief regarding Finnish silence is primarily accounted for by the role of oral communication. It was suggested that talk contributes, above all, to the maintenance of harmony and consensus in Finnish society. The high level of stage fright was hypothesized as being associated with the status of a public speaker. Unrealistic expectations related to performance, and protectiveness exhibited when withdrawing from situations where the self might be exposed were discussed.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The present study was designed to examine the prevalence of Finnish communication reticence and its inherent nature. Communication reticence was conceptualized as a negative dispositional or situational affective response toward oral communication likely to restrict or inhibit one's interactive functions, and operationalized as a person's score on the *Communication Reticence Scale*. Additionally, communication reticence was operationalized as a person's free responses obtained by the *Situational Taxonomy Scale* and the *Inventory of Communicative Experiences*. An analysis of the *CR Scale* and comparison of the results derived by means of the subsidiary scales suggested high reliability and validity for the conceptualization of the communication reticence construct and its operationalization.

Since empirical research on Finns' oral behavior is thus far scanty, the nature of the present study was primarily exploratory. In accordance with the predictions based on common stereotypes, it was found that Finns hold a low communicator image and exhibit preference for listening and non-active strategies in social-communicative events. The first hypothesis predicting that the incidence of communication reticence in Finland follows expectations based on a normal curve was strongly supported. Subsequently, 16% of the respondents were classified as *high* communication reticents. A comparatively low prevalence of general communication reticence was interpreted as an index of communication reticence promoted in interpersonal settings.

Further examination of the results indicated that various facets of communication reticence accounted for the Finns' communication problems. Approximately 70% of the respondents reported stage fright; for approximately 20% of the subjects, tension exceeded the level beyond which oral performance was hampered. Additionally, the majority of the free responses revealed a high amount of socio-affective concerns. The taxonomy of communicative situations indicated that the following factors precipitated an increase of communication reticence: (a) the sheer number of people, (b) the amount of attention, (c) the familiarity of the social context, (d) formality, and (e) outcome expectations. As a whole, the results suggested a high level of apprehension emanating from the presence of others and concerns related to the impressions one leaves.

Furthermore, the results indicated that communication reticence is significantly influenced by antecedent environmental factors, thus lending support to etiological explanations based on learning theory. The following correlations between environmental factors and communication reticence were detected. First, a significant inverse relationship between the level of communication reticence and family's socio-economic level was observed, suggesting that the lower the level of communication reticence, the higher the parents' socio-economic level. The amount and type of reinforcement for oral interaction was proposed as a plausible explanatory factor for communication reticence.

Second, the third hypothesis predicting a significant inverse relationship between the level of communication reticence and education received partial empirical corroboration. In accordance with the prediction, the subjects with the lowest level of education reported the highest level of communication reticence, but the trend was not consistent with respect to other educational groups. However, the results suggested a moderate negative impact of communication reticence on learning outcome. Further, a linear relationship between a high level of education and positive attitudes toward speech classes was observed. Concomitant with this finding, further analysis indicated that when compared to environmental factors, exposure to oral communication emerged as the best predictor for the level of communication reticence, thus highlighting the pertinent impact of rewarding communicative experiences on one's likelihood to approach or avoid oral interaction.

Third, consistent with the fourth hypothesis, individuals from rural areas reported significantly more communication reticence than persons from urban environments. It was suggested that children brought up in the countryside are less exposed to new and formal communicative encounters and possess, therefore, less habituation to develop their social-communicative skills. As additional agents of higher communication reticence observed among individuals brought up in a rural environment, high social control and a lower valuation of oral interaction were proposed.

With regard to the relationship between the level of communication reticence and sex, the females reported significantly higher communication reticence than the males. The difference was suggested as originating in females' higher emotional excitability and social sensitivity. The men regarded themselves as significantly more adept verbally than the women. It was suggested that this finding results from socialization, which shapes sex roles

differently. In summary, females demonstrated a higher incidence of communication reticence in some contexts, but not in others, thus suggesting remarkable similarities and dissimilarities for females and males in various facets of communication reticence.

The implications of this research can be explored from the following perspectives: (1) theoretical, (2) cultural, and (3) pedagogical. With regard to theoretical implications, the results clearly supported an effort made in this study to approach avoidant communicative behavior from a broad perspective. The findings suggested the existence of a diverse yet complexly interrelated set of phenomena underlying individuals' decision to engage in oral interaction or to withdraw from it. The present data are seen as supportive of the assumption that reticence, shyness, unwillingness to communicate, and communication apprehension denote discrete problems. However, there appears to be a certain amount of shared variance, which suggests that they fall within a large reaction model triggered in social-communicative situations.

The present data did not suggest the existence of one underlying mechanism accounting for communication reticence. Conversely, it was repeatedly found that for various persons, different patterns in communicative functions posed problems. Of special theoretical importance was the notion that while the overwhelming majority of the problems related to interaction originated in social anxiety, the present study identified a group of people suffering from strictly communication-bound problems. Though to some extent it is artificial to distinguish between communicative function and social encounters, the results suggested that an overwhelming majority of Finns experienced problems resulting from the presence of others, whereas for a minority, ineptitude in oral skills posed a problem. Given this dichotomy, communication skills appeared to serve a moderator function, influencing coparticipants' judgments and thus contributing to the impression one leaves in social-communicative events.

Indicative of further significant theoretical implications, a communication reticence response exhibited a high tendency to manifest itself both vertically and horizontally. Specifically, the responses suggested that given the affective, cognitive, and behavioral response domains, there appeared to be a rich structure of functions within each of the domains. Additionally, the three response domains interfaced with each other, resulting in a complex and multidimensional response system. Illustrating the complex nature of the domains, each facet of communication reticence seemed to be characterized by a unique structure composed of attitudinal, cognitive and potential behavioral

manifestations of communication problems. From the perspective of communication research, advancing knowledge about the complex structure of each response domain and the interplay between them would contribute to enhanced understanding of the mechanisms involved in hampered or avoidant communicative behavior.

From a cultural perspective, this research contributed to an understanding of cultural factors which influence one's decision to approach or avoid oral interaction. The data suggested that when interpreting and evaluating one's avoidant communicative behavior, in addition to personal and situational factors, attention should be given to cultural values and norms which regulate one's behavioral strategies and offer a normative scale against which behavior is interpreted. Illustrative of this scale, the present data suggested that, apart from ineptitude in oral skills, Finns' low communicator image is partially accounted for by modest self-presentation encouraged in Finnish culture.

Further, given a cultural framework, Finns' reluctance to engage in public discussion should be evaluated in light of the role which oral interaction plays in society. It was asserted that Finnish speech culture is characterized by receiver centricity and that particularly in interpersonal encounters, talk performs a vital role in the maintenance of consensus and harmony. Public speech serves primarily an informative and ritualistic function in Finnish society; public confrontation is not valued. Given the extensive literature on personality-type and situational factors accounting for avoidant communicative behavior, the present cultural approach to an analysis of reticent behavior holds merit for future investigations regarding the vital link between culture and communication reticence.

Apart from the theoretical and cultural implications, the present results offer applications for instructional use. Given the diversity of social and communication-bound problems discovered in the data, effective treatment of obstacles preventing an individual from using his communicative potential optimally requires a specification of the precise nature of his problem and an identification of its probable agent. For example, it is of particular significance to identify whether the problems are endogeneous to speaking as cognitive-motoric function or social constraints and further, whether they originate in skills deficits, attitudinal factors or cognitions. This notion is not new in the literature on communication apprehension and allied constructs; the present study highlighted the importance of precise identification of an individual's problems related to oral interaction.

Further pedagogical implications are based on evidence revealed in the present study regarding an etiological basis of communication reticence which parallels theoretical implications found in learning theory. The findings emphasized the significance of frequent and positive communicative experiences on the development of an individual's communicator image. The present situational taxonomy suggested that speech communication exercises should be organized hierarchically so that the most formal situations would be approached gradually through the more familiar ones. However, the sharp difference between the amount of communication reticence in contingent and noncontingent encounters suggests that individuals should be exposed to public speaking events very early on, given the importance of habituation of skills over time. Closely related to the salience of positive experiences, individuals should be taught to distinguish between facilitative activation and disruptive apprehension aroused in the presence of an audience and to utilize their arousal in their performance. Given this, they should develop incorporating positive experiences into their cognitive behavior and learning behavioral interactive strategies.

The high level of social anxiety reported in the present study led to some suggestions regarding speech education. First, since individuals suffering from social anxiety tend to be preoccupied with the self, instructional settings and oral tasks which shift the focus from the self to external patterns are theorized as serving as potential alleviators of the anxiety response. Second, the attributions made revealed that in the rhetorical thinking of many individuals, communication reticence was attributed to an inadequate proficiency in oral skills and, more generally, in social skills. Thus, in addition to oral skills, teaching social norms which regulate communication behavior should increase one's likelihood to perform useful social-communicative functions in transactions.

In the present exploratory study a number of areas meritorious of future research emerged. First, learning more about cognitive processes underlying the choice of communicative strategies would enhance understanding of communication reticence. Second, the divergency of communicative experiences reported in the present study indicated that the inherent nature of responses labeled as attributable to tension, merits future research. For example, the relationship between constructive anticipatory concerns and disruptive apprehension warrants future analysis. Third, in conjunction with the regression analysis of the CR scores it was observed that many other variables not

included in the equation play a vital role in the development of communication reticence. Closer discussion suggested that examination of the relationship between personal factors such as introversion and cognitive style would enhance our understanding of avoidant communicative behavior.

With regard to future research and diagnostic purposes in speech education, the *CR Scale* needs empirical refinement, although the results suggested high reliability and validity for it, for the purpose of its present exploratory use. Finally, an interesting possibility would be to combine cognitive, physiological, and observational methods in future research projects and to administer various prevalent scales measuring communication apprehension and allied constructs. Thus, Finns' communicative behavior could be directly compared with intercultural findings concerning individuals' proclivity to approach or avoid oral interaction. In that way, the portrait of the Finn as oral communicator described in the present study would be sharpened.

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APPENDIX 1

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APPENDIX 2

The Communication Reticence Scale

In the following, you are offered some statements. You are asked how you act in different communicative situations and how you feel in them. Circle the figure which best applies to your opinion, estimate or feeling. Answer quickly according to your reaction to each statement. Your answer is anonymous, so you can give an honest answer.

1. In general, I feel at ease when speaking.
2. I like to initiate conversations.
3. When conversing with friends I am talkative, but among unknown people or in formal situations I remain silent.
4. I express myself better in speech than in writing.
5. I express my opinions boldly in meetings, negotiations and discussions.
6. I tend to postpone oral contacts as long as I can.
7. Speaking in front of an audience makes me feel tense.
8. In general, my thoughts seem clear when I speak.
9. Conversing with a person who holds a position of authority does not make me nervous.
10. I am quick to notice how people respond to my opinions.
11. If I feel tense about speaking, I am usually able to tell what causes the tension.
12. My relations with people are hampered because of a fear of speaking.
13. I often feel that I cannot find appropriate words to express my thoughts.
14. I regard myself as shy and silent.
15. When other people speak and I remain silent, my silence makes me feel anxious.
16. I speak up in class, discussions, or meetings only when I am asked a question.
17. I can trust myself to find something to say even in unanticipated situations.
18. I find it embarrassing to have a rapid pulse when performing in public.
19. I feel apprehensive when speaking to unknown people.
20. Even if I am nervous while speaking, I can control my nervousness.
21. In a conversation, I can continue the conversation from what others have said.
22. My voice trembles when I speak.
23. If possible, I avoid situations where I could be called upon to speak.
24. My speech is fluent.
25. When speaking, I often wonder what the listeners think of me.
26. I often regret not having spoken.
27. I feel so tense about speaking that it makes my performance worse.
28. I believe I am able to solve most of my problems by speaking.

(Note that the statements given above are fairly literal English translations.)

APPENDIX 3

Location and number of subjects surveyed for the main sample

1. 442 basic-trainees doing their mandatory military service in the Signal battalion of Central Finland
2. 312 undergraduates enrolled in fundamental speech classes, majoring in humanities, sciences, and social sciences at Joensuu, Jyväskylä, and Oulu Universities
3. 213 students attending the Central Finland Hotel and Restaurant School
4. 73 attending the Home Economics School in Jyväskylä
5. 18 attending the Business School in Jyväskylä
6. 36 respondents enrolled in organizational communication classes at Jyväskylä Workers College

APPENDIX 4

Demographic information of subjects surveyed for the main sample

Table 1. Grouped frequency distribution according to age.

Age category	N	%
16 - 19	265	24.2
20 - 23	704	64.4
24 - 27	76	6.9
28 - 37	47	4.3
Missing	<u>2</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Table 2. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjects with different educational levels.

Education	N	%
Primary school	133	12.2
Vocational or commercial school	312	28.5
High school graduate	561	51.3
College graduate	66	6.0
University graduate	18	1.6
Missing	<u>4</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Table 3. Distribution of subjects according to county where registered.

County	N	%
Häme	163	14.9
Keski-Suomi	365	33.4
Kuopio	84	7.7
Kyme	37	3.4
Lappi	23	2.1
Mikkeli	55	5.0
Oulu	74	6.7
Pohjois-Karjala	56	5.1
Turku & Pori	39	3.6
Uusimaa	34	3.1
Vaasa	159	14.5
Missing	<u>5</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Table 4. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjects according to socio-economic status of family.

Socio-economic classification	N	%
Management executives and others	205	18.7
Entrepreneurs, work supervisors, senior office-staff	456	41.7
Skilled labourers, junior office staff	324	29.6
Unskilled labourers	81	7.4
Missing	<u>28</u>	<u>2.6</u>
Total	1094	100.0

Table 5. Average grades of subjects' last school reports.

Grade	N	%
Below 5.5	2	0.2
5.6 - 6.0	9	0.8
6.1 - 6.5	36	3.3
6.6 - 7.0	98	9.0
7.1 - 7.5	235	21.5
7.6 - 8.0	261	23.9
8.1 - 8.5	255	23.3
8.6 - 9.0	118	10.8
9.1 - 9.5	66	6.0
9.6 - 10.0	10	0.9
Missing	<u>4</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Total	1094	100.0

APPENDIX 5

Intercorrelations of items on the Communication Reticence Scale

Item	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1.	1.00													
2.	.45	1.00												
3.	.21	.27	1.00											
4.	.28	.24	.11	1.00										
5.	.39	.38	.33	.25	1.00									
6.	.33	.32	.25	.15	.32	1.00								
7.	.38	.24	.35	.13	.42	.31	1.00							
8.	.42	.26	.15	.24	.31	.24	.25	1.00						
9.	.31	.27	.23	.11	.35	.22	.31	.26	1.00					
10.	.14	.14	.07	-.01	.15	.08	.13	.10	.09	1.00				
11.	.22	.12	.10	.05	.15	.12	.16	.15	.16	.19	1.00			
12.	.47	.38	.26	.23	.39	.40	.35	.30	.32	.07	.17	1.00		
13.	.36	.31	.24	.17	.34	.29	.31	.40	.27	.08	.13	.39	1.00	
14.	.39	.46	.30	.22	.37	.34	.29	.20	.29	.07	.12	.52	.34	1.00
15.	.20	.11	.10	.09	.15	.19	.13	.10	.17	.01	.05	.29	.22	.20
16.	.28	.33	.28	.10	.48	.33	.29	.19	.29	.10	.15	.36	.27	.40
17.	.33	.36	.29	.21	.40	.33	.36	.31	.27	.13	.14	.36	.39	.38
18.	.28	.15	.19	.09	.23	.21	.40	.18	.25	.03	.08	.25	.24	.16
19.	.31	.28	.42	.13	.39	.30	.49	.26	.37	.11	.15	.42	.36	.36
20.	.24	.14	.20	.06	.25	.22	.33	.26	.24	.10	.22	.29	.19	.15
21.	.36	.34	.21	.13	.37	.28	.20	.34	.28	.20	.16	.37	.33	.28
22.	.34	.20	.13	.12	.20	.23	.31	.28	.24	.09	.16	.37	.25	.24
23.	.41	.42	.25	.19	.38	.44	.33	.28	.29	.10	.21	.45	.33	.42
24.	.44	.28	.19	.23	.32	.27	.33	.46	.23	.12	.14	.35	.38	.28
25.	.18	.12	.19	.02	.18	.19	.18	.17	.20	-.08	.02	.21	.28	.16
26.	.29	.27	.34	.18	.43	.30	.34	.23	.22	.08	.10	.34	.38	.32
27.	.49	.30	.25	.23	.36	.39	.40	.32	.32	.08	.20	.50	.37	.39
28.	.33	.35	.11	.19	.30	.29	.16	.30	.24	.12	.18	.36	.26	.28

Intercorrelations of items on the Communication Reticence Scale

Item	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.
1.														
2.														
3.														
4.														
5.														
6.														
7.														
8.														
9.														
10.														
11.														
12.														
13.														
14.														
15.	1.00													
16.	.22	1.00												
17.	.10	.35	1.00											
18.	.22	.19	.21	1.00										
19.	.19	.36	.32	.40	1.00									
20.	.10	.23	.28	.30	.28	1.00								
21.	.17	.33	.37	.18	.28	.27	1.00							
22.	.16	.22	.24	.35	.29	.29	.25	1.00						
23.	.20	.47	.35	.25	.39	.29	.39	.40	1.00					
24.	.09	.20	.34	.22	.28	.31	.35	.35	.36	1.00				
25.	.21	.13	.19	.23	.25	.17	.15	.13	.21	.13	1.00			
26.	.24	.32	.32	.28	.35	.21	.23	.21	.30	.26	.28	1.00		
27.	.30	.36	.37	.36	.39	.39	.35	.45	.49	.41	.26	.38	1.00	
28.	.14	.27	.29	.14	.20	.22	.30	.15	.32	.24	.09	.20	.33	1.00

APPENDIX 6

The distribution of Communication Reticence scores

Code	Absolute freq	Relative freq (PCT)	Adjusted freq (PCT)	Cum freq (PCT)
32.	1	.1	.1	.1
34.	1	.1	.1	.2
37.	1	.1	.1	.3
38.	2	.2	.2	.5
39.	2	.2	.2	.6
40.	1	.1	.1	.7
41.	1	.1	.1	.8
42.	1	.1	.1	.9
43.	1	.1	.1	1.0
44.	9	.8	.8	1.8
45.	4	.4	.4	2.2
46.	2	.2	.2	2.4
47.	3	.3	.3	2.7
48.	11	1.0	1.0	3.7
49.	8	.7	.7	4.4
50.	7	.6	.6	5.0
51.	9	.8	.8	5.9
52.	7	.6	.6	6.0
53.	9	.8	.8	7.3
54.	11	1.0	1.0	8.3
55.	11	1.0	1.0	9.3
56.	12	1.1	1.1	10.4
57.	18	1.6	1.6	12.1
58.	15	1.4	1.4	13.4
59.	14	1.3	1.3	14.7
60.	26	2.4	2.4	17.1
61.	15	1.4	1.4	18.5
62.	24	2.2	2.2	20.7
63.	26	2.4	2.4	23.0
64.	19	1.7	1.7	24.8
65.	27	2.5	2.5	27.2
66.	28	2.6	2.6	29.8
67.	18	1.6	1.6	31.4
68.	25	2.3	2.3	33.7
69.	20	1.8	1.8	35.6
70.	20	1.8	1.8	37.4
71.	24	2.2	2.2	39.6
72.	25	2.3	2.3	41.9
73.	24	2.2	2.2	44.1
74.	27	2.5	2.5	46.5
75.	29	2.7	2.7	49.2
76.	27	2.5	2.5	51.6
77.	23	2.1	2.1	53.7
78.	26	2.4	2.4	56.1
79.	30	2.7	2.7	58.9

80.	29	2.7	2.7	61.5
81.	35	3.2	3.2	64.7
82.	20	1.8	1.8	66.5
83.	27	2.5	2.5	69.0
84.	25	2.3	2.3	71.3
85.	19	1.7	1.7	73.0
86.	22	2.0	2.0	75.0
87.	17	1.6	1.6	76.6
88.	18	1.6	1.6	78.2
89.	19	1.7	1.7	80.0
90.	29	2.7	2.7	82.6
91.	15	1.4	1.4	84.0
92.	16	1.5	1.5	85.5
93.	8	.7	.7	86.2
94.	13	1.2	1.2	87.4
95.	5	.5	.5	87.8
96.	17	1.6	1.6	89.4
97.	10	.9	.9	90.3
98.	11	1.0	1.0	91.3
99.	16	1.5	1.5	92.8
100.	10	.9	.9	93.7
101.	9	.8	.8	94.5
102.	8	.7	.7	95.2
103.	5	.5	.5	95.7
104.	3	.3	.3	96.0
105.	2	.2	.2	96.2
106.	7	.6	.6	96.8
107.	1	.1	.1	96.9
108.	5	.5	.5	97.3
109.	5	.5	.5	97.8
110.	3	.3	.3	98.1
111.	4	.4	.4	98.4
112.	3	.3	.3	98.7
113.	1	.1	.1	98.8
114.	3	.3	.3	99.1
115.	3	.3	.3	99.4
116.	2	.2	.2	99.5
117.	1	.1	.1	99.6
118.	1	.1	.1	99.7
119.	1	.1	.1	99.8
120.	1	.1	.1	99.9
128.	<u>1</u>	<u>.1</u>	<u>.1</u>	100.0
Total	1094	100.0	100.0	

Mean	75.996	STD Error	.477	Median	75.833
Mode	81.000	STD Dev	15.788	Variance	249.255
Kurtosis	-.219	Skewness	.146	Range	96.000
Minimum	32.000	Maximum	128.000		

APPENDIX 7

Sum-of squares in analysis of variance

1. Socio-economic background

Source	D.F.	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio	F prob.
Between groups	3	4250.9	1416.9	5.741	.0007
Within groups	1062	262111.7	246.8		
Total	1065	266362.7			

2. Education

Source	D.F.	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio	F prob.
Between groups	4	3251.1	812.8	3.303	.0106
Within groups	1085	267026.6	246.1		
Total	1089	270277.7			

3. Age

Source	D.F.	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio	F prob.
Between groups	3	1189.7	396.6	1.593	.1893
Within groups	1088	270761.3	248.9		
Total	1091	271951.0			

APPENDIX 8

Absolute and relative frequencies of item distribution

Item	Scale and frequencies	1		2		3		4		5	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1.	In general, I feel at ease when speaking.	102	9.3	586	53.6	176	16.1	208	19.0	22	2.0
2.	I like to initiate conversations.	126	11.5	514	47.0	196	17.9	237	21.7	21	1.9
3.	When conversing with friends I am talkative, but among unknown people or in formal situations I remain silent.	30	2.7	219	20.0	122	11.2	282	44.1	241	22.0
4.	I express myself better in speech than in writing.	223	20.4	296	27.1	223	20.4	266	24.3	86	7.9
5.	I express my opinions boldly in meetings, negotiations and discussions.	51	4.7	322	29.4	211	19.3	410	37.5	100	9.1
6.	I tend to postpone oral contacts as long as I can.	293	26.8	497	45.4	150	13.7	128	11.7	26	2.4
7.	Speaking in front of an audience makes me feel tense.	38	3.5	185	16.9	142	13.0	497	45.4	232	21.2
8.	In general, my thoughts seem clear when I speak.	70	6.4	498	45.5	252	23.0	243	22.2	31	2.8
9.	Conversing with a person who holds a position of authority does not make me nervous.	104	9.5	398	36.4	176	16.1	352	32.2	64	5.9
10.	I am quick to notice how people respond to my opinions.	140	12.8	481	44.0	339	31.0	125	11.4	9	0.8
11.	If I feel tense about speaking, I am usually able to tell what causes the tension.	117	10.7	545	49.8	202	18.5	207	18.9	23	2.1
12.	My relations with people are hampered because of a fear of speaking.	329	30.1	519	47.4	111	10.1	110	10.1	25	2.3
13.	I often feel that I cannot find appropriate words to express my thoughts.	116	10.6	446	40.8	124	11.3	333	30.4	75	6.9
14.	I regard myself as shy and silent.	231	21.1	420	38.4	199	18.2	184	16.8	60	5.5

Item	Scale and frequencies	1		2		3		4		5	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
15.	When other people speak and I remain silent, my silence makes me feel anxious.	216	19.7	432	39.5	154	14.1	242	22.1	50	4.6
16.	I speak up in class, discussions, or meetings only when I am asked a question.	150	13.7	496	45.3	103	9.4	288	26.3	57	5.2
17.	I can trust myself to find something to say even in unanticipated situations.	75	6.9	390	35.6	295	27.0	276	25.2	58	5.3
18.	I find it embarrassing to have a rapid pulse when performing in public.	67	6.1	277	25.3	203	18.6	413	37.8	134	12.2
19.	I feel apprehensive when speaking to unknown people.	65	5.9	331	30.3	158	14.4	438	40.0	102	9.3
20.	Even if I am nervous while speaking, I can control my nervousness.	91	8.3	543	49.6	249	22.8	185	16.9	26	2.4
21.	In a conversation, I can continue the conversation from what others have said.	67	6.1	457	41.8	367	33.5	183	16.7	20	1.8
22.	My voice trembles when I speak.	268	24.5	500	45.7	180	16.5	124	11.3	22	2.0
23.	If possible, I avoid situations where I could be called upon to speak.	277	25.3	494	45.2	148	13.5	153	14.0	22	2.0
24.	My speech is fluent.	72	6.6	435	39.8	388	35.5	172	15.7	27	2.5
25.	When speaking, I often wonder what the listeners think of me.	59	5.4	303	27.7	180	16.5	443	40.5	109	10.0
26.	I often regret not having spoken.	64	5.9	322	29.4	148	13.5	400	36.6	160	14.6
27.	I feel so tense about speaking that it makes my performance worse.	192	17.6	485	44.3	205	18.7	167	15.3	45	4.1
28.	I believe I am able to solve most of my problems by speaking.	361	33.0	472	43.1	143	13.1	101	9.2	17	1.6

APPENDIX 9

Unrotated factor solution for Communication Reticence Scale

Factor matrix using principal factor with iterations

Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Factor V	Factor VI
1.	.65	-.18	.15	-.05	-.05	-.16
2.	.56	-.29	-.20	.02	-.02	-.12
3.	.45	.20	-.24	-.19	-.07	-.04
4.	.31	-.19	.01	-.03	-.18	-.19
5.	.63	-.03	-.19	.22	-.04	.04
6.	.54	-.03	-.09	-.09	.05	.02
7.	.59	.33	.04	.25	.03	-.22
8.	.52	-.19	.32	.11	-.25	.10
9.	.49	.06	-.01	.05	.03	.05
10.	.18	-.12	.06	.24	.18	.06
11.	.27	-.07	.12	.11	.20	.05
12.	.68	-.06	-.05	-.22	.04	-.08
13.	.58	-.01	.03	-.02	-.28	.12
14.	.60	-.14	-.29	-.13	.01	-.17
15.	.32	.12	-.06	-.31	-.02	.11
16.	.56	-.02	-.29	.03	.21	.15
17.	.58	-.07	-.06	.14	.06	.05
18.	.45	.37	.16	-.05	.02	-.06
19.	.61	.30	-.10	.11	.01	-.05
20.	.45	.15	.24	.09	.17	.12
21.	.54	-.19	.05	.06	.06	.23
22.	.49	.10	.29	-.14	.16	-.11
23.	.66	-.08	-.04	-.13	.20	.02
24.	.56	-.13	.32	.09	-.12	-.05
25.	.33	.28	-.03	-.18	-.23	.20
26.	.54	.16	-.16	.00	-.18	.07
27.	.70	.07	.16	-.22	.10	-.02
28.	.46	-.26	.00	-.04	.06	.08

SUOMALAISTEN VIESTINTÄÄRKUUDEN MÄÄRÄ JA LUONNE

Tutkimuksen päätavoitteena on selvittää suomalaisten viestintäarkuuden määrää ja luonnetta. Lähtökohtana on toisaalta kulttuurienvälinen puheviestintätutkimus, toisaalta sanoma- ja aikakauslehdistön sekä vanhimman puhetaidon kirjallisuuden suomalaisista välittämä kommunikoijakuva. Koska suomalaisten viestintäkäyttäytymisestä ei ole olemassa aikaisempia laajoja selvityksiä, tutkimus on perusluonteeltaan kartoittava ja tähtää pikemminkin teorianmuodostukseen kuin hypoteesien testaamiseen.

Ihmisten erilainen halukkuus puhua on ollut tieteellisen mielenkiinnon kohteena ulkomaisessa puheviestintätutkimuksessa yli 50 vuoden ajan. Vanhin tutkimus ja pedagoginen kiinnostus on kohdistunut yksilöesiintymisen aikana koettuun *esintymisjännitykseen* (*stage fright*; ks. Clevenger 1955, 1959). Näkökulma laajeni 1960-luvulla myös dyadi- ja pienryhmätilanteisiin. Phillips (1968) on tutkinut *vähäpuheisuutta* (*reticence*) ja McCroskey (1970) *viestintäarkuutta* (*communication apprehension*). Burgoonin (1976) käyttämä termi on *viestintähaluttomuus* (*unwillingness to communicate*). *Ujoutta* (*shyness*) on tutkittu sekä puheviestinnän että psykologian alalla. Tuorein käsite on *sosiaalinen ahdistuneisuus* (*social anxiety*; ks. Daly 1978; Clevenger 1984; Leary 1983).

Viestintäongelmia kuvaava käsitteistö on kirjava. Kirjavuus johtuu osittain puheviestinnän tieteenalan laajenemisesta, osittain niistä erilaisista näkökulmista, joista vähäpuheisuutta ja hiljaisuutta on eri tieteenaloilla lähestytty. Käsitteellisten määritelmien eroja havainnollistaa mm. se, että McCroskey pitää viestintäarkuutta kognitiivisena ilmiönä; Phillips on vähäpuheisuutta luonnehtiessaan luopunut alkuperäisestä ahdistuneisuusselityksestä ja siirtynyt painottamaan vähäpuheisuuden behavioraalisia seurauksia. Ujous on usein ymmärretty moniulotteiseksi ilmiöksi, joka ilmenee sekä affektiivisella, kognitiivisella että psykomotorisella alueella. Käsitteistä laajin on sosiaalinen ahdistuneisuus, jonka piiriin lasketaan kuuluvaksi muutakin kuin viestinnästä johtuvaa ahdistuneisuutta.

Viestintäarkuutta on tutkittu eniten McCroskeyn tekemän käsitteellisen ja operationaalisen (*the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension*; McCroskey 1970, 1978, 1982b) määrittelyn pohjalta. PRCA-mittaria on yleensä pidetty reliaabelina ja validina, mutta se on kohdannut myös kritiikkiä. Vaikka PRCA on kehitetty ja standardoitu Yhdysvalloissa, sen on väitetty sopivan myös muissa kulttuureissa tehtäviin viestintäarkuustutkimuksiin. Parin viime vuoden

aikana on kuitenkin esitetty myös varauksia sen soveltumisesta toisiin kulttuureihin.

Kulttuurienvälisissä viestintäarkuustutkimuksissa ei ole toistaiseksi selvitelty sitä, miten erilaiset kulttuurinormit selittävät itseilmaisun luonnetta ja viestinnän määrää. Valtaosa CA-tutkimuksista on tehty maissa, joissa puhumista pidetään suuressa arvossa ja joissa runsas puheen määrä vaikuttaa lineaarisesti henkilöhavaintojen suopeuteen. Teoreettisesti voidaankin olettaa viestintäarkuuden ilmenevän eri kulttuureissa eri tavoin: hiljaisuutta sietävissä kulttuureissa puhumattomuus saa myönteisempiä tulkintoja kuin verbaalisissa kulttuureissa.

Koska sekä viestintäarkuustutkimuksen käsitteistö että osittain myös tulokset ovat paitsi kirjavia myös ristiriitaisia ja koska erilainen kulttuuritausta voi laskea käsitteen ja standardoidun testin validiteettia, tutkimuksessa ei ole noudatettu minkään viestintäarkuuskoulukunnan linjoja yksinomaan. Viestintäarkuudella (*communication reticence*) tarkoitetaan sitä *kielteistä, pysyvää tai tilannekohtaista puhumistapahtumaan liittyvää affektiivista reaktiota, joka voi rajoittaa tai estää vuorovaikutuskäyttäytymistä*. Käsitteellisessä määritelmässä ei nimetä reaktion syytä; viestintäarkuus voi johtua paitsi taitojen puutteesta myös pelosta tai ahdistuneisuudesta. Teoreettiseen oletukseen kuuluu myös se, että viestintäarkuus voi ilmetä moniulotteisesti: affektiivisin, kognitiivisin, fysiologisin ja behavioraalisin oireyhtymin.

Operationaalisesti määritellen viestintäarkuus tarkoittaa yksilön *Viestintäarkuus*-mittarissa (*the Communication Reticence Scale*) samaa pistemäärää. Kyselylomake esitettiin (N = 127), ja lopullinen versio esitettiin 1094 koehenkilölle. Tilannekohtaisen viestintäarkuuden mittaamista varten laadittiin mittari (*the Situational Taxonomy Scale*), jossa koehenkilöitä (esitettineen N = 162) pyydettiin ilmoittamaan sekä eri tilanteissa koetun jännityksen tai pelon määrä että sen syyt. Syiden analyysi perustui attribuutioteoreettiseen sovellukseen. Lisäksi viestintäarkuuskäsitteen analysointia varten laadittiin kyselylomake (*the Inventory of Communicative Experiences*), jonka lauseentäydennystehtäviin koehenkilöt (N = 110) saivat itse tuottaa vastaukset. Tutkimuksessa on siis käytetty sekä kvantitatiivista että kvalitatiivista tarkastelutapaa. Kaikki menetelmät ovat kuitenkin introspektiivisiä.

Päätettiin osallistui varusmiespalvelustaan suorittavia alokkaita, yliopistopiskelijoita, hotelli- ja ravintola-alan, talous- ja kauppaoppilaitoksen oppilaita sekä työvoimaministeriön kurssituksessa olleita aikuisopiskelijoita. Koehenkilöt olivat keskimäärin 21-vuotiaita (s = 2.84). Naisia oli 46.0 % ja miehiä 53.9 %.

Erilaiset koulu- ja perhetaustat edustuivat otoksessa, samoin Ahvenanmaata lukuunottamatta kaikki läänit.

Kartoitettaessa koehenkilöiden puheviestintätottumuksia ja -asenteita kävi ilmi, että liki 60 % vastanneista ei osallistu juuri koskaan minkään yhdistyksen, kerhon, järjestön tai puolueen palaveriin tai kokouksiin. Valtaosalla (85.6 %) ei ollut ohjaus-, opetus- tai luottamustehtävää. Kaksi kolmasosaa (58.5 %) joutui pitämään esitelmiä, alustuksia tai puheita erittäin harvoin tai ei lainkaan; joka kolmas (33.0 %) esiintyi muutaman kerran vuodessa. Valtaosa (78 %) oli saanut puheviestintäkoulutusta pelkästään kouluaikana äidinkielen tunneilla. Joka toinen (54.9 %) piti saamansa puheviestintäkoulutuksen määrää riittämättömänä. Valtaosa (72.6 %) arvioi puheviestintäkoulutuksen tarpeelliseksi (tulevan) ammatinsa kannalta. Omia puheviestintätaitojaan piti erinomaisina tai hyvinä vajaa 20 %; keskinkertainen tai sitä heikompi kommunikoijakuva oli liki 80 %:lla.

Suomalaisten puheviestintätaidoista annetaan puhetaidon oppaissa sekä sanoma- ja aikakauslehtikirjoituksissa yleensä pessimistinen kuva. Esimerkiksi vaikenevasta suomalaisesta on tullut kansallinen myytti. Aivan viime vuosina on lehtikirjoittelussa yleistynyt näkemys, jonka mukaan suomalaisten vaikeneminen selittyy muihin kansallisuuksiin verrattuna poikkeuksellisen suuresta puhumisen pelosta. Aikaisemmat empiiriset havainnot suomalaisten puhumistottumuksista eivät kuitenkaan tue käsitystä. Sekä esitestien tuloksiin että ulkomaisiin viestintäarkuustutkimuksiin nojautuen oletettiin (hypoteesi 1), että suomalaisten viestintäarkuuden määrä noudattelee normaalijakaumaa: sekä vahvasti viestintäarvoja että rohkeita on 16 % ja kohtalaisesti viestintäarvoja 68 %. Tulokset tukivat hypoteesia. Koehenkilöistä 17.1 % luokiteltiin rohkeiksi ja 16.0 % vahvasti viestintäaroiksi. Keskiarvosta yhden keskihajonnan verran molempiin suuntiin sijoittui 66.9 % vastanneista. Jakaumaoletus tarkistettiin Kolmogorov-Smirnovin testillä.

Viestintäarkuuden ja taustamuuttujien välistä yhteyttä tutkittiin selvittämällä t -testien ja yksisuuntaisen varianssianalyysin avulla, miten perhetausta, koulutus ja kasvuympäristö vaikuttavat viestintäarkuuden määrään. Myös sukupuolen, iän ja viestintätottuneisuuden yhteyttä viestintäarkuuteen selvitettiin.

Oletuksen mukaisesti (2. hypoteesi) viestintäarkuuden määrän ja perheen sosioekonomisen taustan välillä vallitsi käänteinen suhde: mitä korkeampi on perheen sosio-ekonominen asema, sitä alhaisempi on viestintäarkuuden määrä ($p < 0.001$). Käänteistä suhdetta oletettiin myös koulutuksen ja viestintäarkuuden välille (3. hypoteesi). Tulokset eivät tukeneet oletusta yksiselitteisesti:

yhteys oli odotettua heikompi ($p < 0.05$). Kuten oletettiin (4. hypoteesi), maalla suurimman osan elämästään viettäneet olivat viestintäarempia kuin kaupunkilaiset ($p < 0.001$). Myös puheviestintää vaativilla harrastuksilla ja viestintäarkuudella oli merkitsevä yhteys: ohjaus-, opetus- ja luottamustehtävissä toimineiden viestintäarkuuden määrä oli alhaisempi kuin vastaavissa tehtävissä toimimattomien ($p < 0.001$). Viestintäarkuus kasvoi lievästi iän mukana, mutta erot eri ikäryhmien välillä eivät yltäneet tilastolliseen merkitsevyyteen.

Ulkomaisessa viestintäarkuuskirjallisuudessa on varsin ristiriitaisia tuloksia sukupuolen ja viestintäarkuuden välisestä yhteydestä. Tässä tutkimuksessa (1. tutkimuskysymys) naiset osoittautuivat viestintäaremmiksi kuin miehet ($p < 0.001$). Osioittainen tarkastelu viittasi kuitenkin siihen, että ilmiö on teoreettisesti monimutkainen. Naiset raportoivat enemmän esiintymisjännitystä ja sosio-affektiivista huolestuneisuutta kuin miehet ($p < 0.001$). Miehet pitivät verbalisia taitojaan parempina kuin naiset ($p < 0.001$). Sen sijaan miesten ja naisten välillä ei ollut eroja esim. ujoudessa, viestintäaloitteiden määrässä ja viestintäkontaktien karttamisessa. Havaittujen erojen arveltiin selittyvän mm. naisten suuremman sosiaalisen herkkyyden ja voimakkaampien fysiologisten vireysreaktioiden sekä erilaisten itsestä kertomista säätelevien sukupuolinormien perusteella.

Käsitteellisen ja operationaalisen viestintäarkuuden rakenteen analysoimiseksi VA-mittarin osioista laskettiin faktorianalyysit. Mittari oletettiin moniulotteiseksi. Analyysissa käytettiin sekä pääakseli- että pääkomponenttimenetelmiä.

Pääakseliratkaisussa tutkittiin kahdesta kuuteen faktorin ratkaisuja. Analyysin pohjaksi valittiin neljän faktorin ratkaisu, joka selitti 44.5 % yhteisvaihtelusta. Ensimmäisellä faktorilla saivat korkeita latauksia viestintähalukkuutta mittaavat osiot, minkä perusteella faktori nimettiin *lähestymis - välttämisen* ulottuvuudeksi. Toinen faktori osoittautui *itseluottamuksen* ulottuvuudeksi, koska sillä voimakkaimmin painottuvat osiot mittasivat puhumisen helppoutta ja yleistä luottamusta omiin puheviestintätaitoihin. Kolmas faktori muodostui osioista, jotka mittasivat mm. haluttomuutta puhua tuntemattomien kanssa. Faktorin tulkittiin edustavan *sosio-affektiivista huolestuneisuutta*. Neljäs faktori nimettiin *esiintymisjännitys*-ulottuvuudeksi. Mittarin rakenteen pysyvyyttä testattiin laskemalla sekä naisten että miesten pistemääristä erilliset faktorianalyysit. Rakennetta tutkittiin myös pääkomponenttimenetelmän avulla, jolloin viestintäarkuutta heikoimmin mittaavat osiot erottuivat.

Taustamuuttujien välisten suhteiden selvittämiseksi laskettiin jatkuvista selittävästä muuttujista faktorianalyysi. Kolmen faktorin ratkaisu valittiin tarkasteluun. Ensimmäisellä faktorilla painottuivat mm. puhekasvatuksen ja esiintymistilaisuuksien määrä. Faktori nimettiin *viestintätottuneisuuden* ulottuvuudeksi. Toinen faktori tulkittiin *koulumenestys*-ulottuvuudeksi. Faktorilla latautuivat voimakkaimmin myönteinen asennoituminen puhekasvatusta kohtaan, runsas puhekasvatuksen määrä ja koulutodistuksen keskiarvo. Kolmas faktori koostui osioista, jotka mittasivat kouluaikaisten puhekasvatustehtävien välttelyä, ja tuli nimetyksi *aikaisempi viestinnän karttelu* -ulottuvuudeksi. Faktorianalyttiset tulokset viittasivat siihen, että myönteiset viestintäasenteet, vahvat viestintätaidot ja hyvä koulumenestys ovat yhteydessä toisiinsa.

Selittävien muuttujien ja selitettävän muuttujan yhteinen faktorianalyysi paljasti, että tutkimuksessa käytetyistä taustamuuttujista kommunikoijakuva on riippuvainen taustatekijöistä samoin kuin viestintäarkuus. Kun muuttujien rakennetta hajotettiin lisäämällä ulottuvuuksia, kommunikoijakuva latautui voimakkaimmin *itseluottamus*-faktorilla. Kouluaikaisten puhekasvatustehtävien karttelu ja esiintymisjännitystä mittaavat VA-mittarin osiot latautuivat samalla faktorilla.

Faktorianalyysia seurasi jatkoanalyysi: laskettiin faktoripistemäärät ja käytettiin valikoivaa regressioanalyysia selvittämään, minkä taustamuuttujien avulla voidaan parhaiten ennustaa viestintäarkuutta (2. tutkimuskysymys). Selitettävänä muuttujina käytettiin VA-mittarin neljää perusulottuvuutta ja prediktoreina taustamuuttujien muodostamaa kolmea faktoria. Ennustettaessa *lähestymis - välttämisen* -dimensiota *viestintätottuneisuuden*, *aikaisemman viestinnän karttelun* ja *koulumenestyksen* vaikutus osoittautui merkitseväksi ($p < 0.001$). Mallin avulla selittyi 13 % vaihtelusta. *Itseluottamus*-faktoria ennustettaessa selitysaste oli $R = .37$ ja selitysosuus 14 %. *Sosio-afektivista huolestuneisuutta* merkitsevästi selittäviksi muuttujiksi valikoituivat *viestintätottuneisuus* ja *aikaisempi viestinnän karttelu*. Malli selitti 11 % vaihtelusta. *Esiintymisjännitys*-faktoria ei onnistuttu ennustamaan minäkään regressiomalliin sisältyneen prediktorin avulla. Selitykseksi esitettiin esiintymisjännityksen tavallisuus.

Tilannekohtaisen viestintäarkuuden kartoittamiseksi haluttiin tietää, mitkä puheviestintätilanteet aiheuttavat eniten viestintäarkuutta ja miksi (4. tutkimuskysymys). Tavoitteena oli laatia tilannetaksonomia. Eniten viestintäarkuutta aiheuttivat sellaiset harvinaiset esiintymistilanteet, jotka ovat luonteeltaan virallisia, joissa vaaditaan erityistaitoja ja joissa puhuja on alttiina yleisön

arvioinneille. Seuraavaksi eniten viestintäarkuutta aiheuttivat tilanteet, jotka muistuttavat kontekstiltaan yleisöpuhetilannetta ja joissa edellytetään noudatettavaksi vakiintuneita menettelytapoja. Kolmas ryhmä koostui ryhmätilanteista, joissa evaluoinnin todennäköisyys on suuri. Vähiten viestintäarkuutta saivat aikaan dyadi- ja pienryhmätilanteet, joissa viestintä on rutiininomaista, joissa yksilöön kohdistuvan huomion määrä on minimaalinen ja jotka johtavat harvoin jatkokontakteihin. Attribuutioiden analysointi osoitti, että mm. seuraavat muuttajat selittävät tilannekohtaisen viestintäarkuuden määrää: viestijöiden lukumäärä, puhujan saaman huomion määrä, evaluoinnin määrä ja viestintäroolin tuttuusaste. Havaintoja tulkittiin tulosodotusmallin avulla. Viestintäarat olivat huolissaan siitä, millaisen vaikutelman kuulijat muodostavat heistä ja olivat taipuvaisia ennakoimaan kielteisiä seurauksia.

Vapaamuotoiset vastaukset luokiteltiin käyttämällä pehmeää sisällönanalyysia. Pyydettyä koehenkilöitä kuvailemaan tyypillistä kanssakäymiskäyttäytymistään havaittiin vastaajien arvioivan itseään useimmin puheliaisuuden kannalta. Joka viides luonnehti itseään puheliaaksi, 35 % piti itseään hiljaisena. Liki 35 % toivoi puheviestintäkoulutuksen vähentävän heidän esiintymisjännitystään. Jännittämättömyys oli viestintätyytyväisyyden aihe joka kymmenennelle; viestintätyytyväisyys johtui useimmiten myönteisestä vuorovaikutussuhteesta.

Yleisön tai keskustelukumppaneiden, aiheen ja viestintäympäristön tuttuus lisäsivät esiintymisvarmuutta. Esiintymisjännityksen lieventämiskeinot ryhmiteltiin seuraavasti: valmistautuminen, esitystekniikka, tilanteeseen mukautuminen, keskittyminen ja kognitiiviset prosessit. Osa viestintäaroista ilmoitti lievittävänsä ahdistuneisuuttaan eskapistisilla ajatuksilla. Tulokset osoittivat viestinnän karttelun voivan ilmetä myös kognitiivisesti.

Puheviestintäkirjallisuudessa on yleensä jäänyt tekemättä ero puhumisen aiheuttaman vireystilan ja kommunikointia haittaavan jännittyneisyyden välille. Tutkimuksessa pyrittiin selvittämään, ovatko ilmiöt erotettavissa. Esiintymistä jännittävistä liki 20 % oli sitä mieltä, että jännittäminen parantaa heidän suoritustaan; 68 %:n mielestä suoritus kärsi jännityksestä. Tuloksia tulkittiin Behnken ja Beatty'n (1981) emootioista esittämän kognitiivis-fysiologisen mallin avulla.

Tutkimuksessa kartoitettiin myös viestintäarkuuden ja sosiaalisen ahdistuneisuuden välistä yhteyttä. Esiintymistä jännittävistä 65.6 % piti jännittämisenä syynä sosiaalista tilannetta yleensä; 18.9 % selitti jännityksensä johtuvan puhumisesta: taitojen puutteesta, epäsujuvasta puheesta ja äänenkäytön vaikeuksista. Sosiaalisesta tilanteesta kärsivät olivat kiusaantuneita huomion koh-

teena olemisesta. Analyysissa pystyttiin siis tekemään ero spesifien viestintäongelmien ja yleisempien, sosiaalisista tekijöistä johtuvien haittojen välillä.

Tutkimustulokset olivat osittain ristiriidassa suomalaisia puhujina kuvaavien myyttien kanssa. Tulokset eivät vahvistaneet sitä yleistä käsitystä, että suomalaiset ovat ujompia ja viestintäarempia kuin muut. Ujouden ja keskinäisviestintätilanteissa koetun arkuuden määrä osoittautui kansainvälisesti vertaillen alhaiseksi. Sen sijaan kävi ilmi, että suomalaisille on tyypillistä yksilöesiintymisen jännittäminen ja sosiaalinen ahdistuneisuus, mikä ilmenee ennen kaikkea huolena siitä, millaisen vaikutelman kuulijat saavat puhujasta. Esiintymisjännityksen hallitsevuus heijastui myös siten, että koehenkilöiden retorisessa ajattelussa viestintäkonteksti miellettiin lähes poikkeuksetta esiintymistilanteeksi. Tutkimustuloksia tulkittiin mm. suomalaisten kuunteluihanteiden, kommunikointisiirtojen ajoituksen ja puhujan roolin avulla. Suomalaista puhekuulttuuria luonnehdittiin kuulijakeskeiseksi. Pohdittaessa puhumisen asemaa suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa esitettiin, että puhuminen on yksi ryhmäharmonian ja konsensuksen ylläpitämiskeino ja että suomalaiset ovat haluttomia toimimaan kommunikointitilanteissa korkean statuksen roolissa. Useilla on lisäksi kohtuuttomia odotuksia esiintymistä kohtaan. Myös vähäisen puhekasvatuksen määrän ja esiintymiseen harjaantumattomuuden vaikutusta esiintymisjännitykseen selvitettiin.

VA-mittarin reliabiliteetti oli .905. Alfa arvo nousi neljän viikon päästä suoritettussa uusintatestauksessa (.927). Kolmen eri mittarin avulla saadut tulokset viestintäarkuuden määrästä olivat yhdenmukaiset. Tulokset osoittivat, että VA-mittari mittaa reliabelisti suhteellisen pysyviä viestintäkäyttäytymisen piirteitä. Tulokset antoivat viitteitä siitä, miten mittaria voisi kehittää diagnostisiin tarkoituksiin.

Validiteetin arvioinnissa keskityttiin käsitevaliditeettiin ja ennustevaliditeettiin. Viestintäarkuuden käsitteelliseen määritelmään sisältyneet teoreettiset oletukset saivat empiiristä tukea: tutkimusaineisto valotti sekä pysyvää että tilannekohtaista viestintäarkuutta; kognitiivisesti määritellyn ilmiön behavioraalisia seurauksia onnistuttiin tunnistamaan; etiologisille oletuksille saatiin vahvistusta. Tutkimustulokset puolsivat myös laaja-alaisen käsitteen valintaa. Monimuuttujamenetelmäanalyysit osoittivat, että esiintymisjännityksellä, ujoudella, viestintähaluttomuudella, viestintäarkuudella ja sosiaalisella ahdistuneisuudella on yhteistä varianssia; ilmiöillä on kuitenkin uniikkia varianssia, mikä puoltaa käsitteiden pitämistä erillään. Faktorianalyysitulokset viittasivat siihen, että esiintymisjännitys voi saada kognitiivisia, behavioraalisia ja fysiologi-

sia muotoja. Yleinen viestintäarkuus ilmenee leimallisimmin kommunikointiin hakeutumattomuutena. Jatkotutkimuksen tehtäväksi jää selvittää mm. se, mikä yhteys persoonallisuuspiirteillä - ennen kaikkea introverttiudella ja kognitiivisella tyylillä - on viestinnän kartteluun. Lisäanalyysia kaipaa myös se, mihin muihin käsitteisiin viestintäarkuus rajautuu. Vapaamuotoisista vastauksista oli tunnistettavissa mm. viestintähuolestuneisuutta (*communication concern*), mitä - toisin kuin viestintäarkuutta - pidetään myönteisenä ennakoivana suhtautumisena viestintään.

Tutkimustuloksista johdettiin myös pedagogisia sovelluksia. Tulokset korostivat viestintäongelmien diagnosoinnin tärkeyttä: jotta viestinnän esteitä voidaan poistaa, on tiedettävä mm. se, liittyvätkö ongelmat puhumistapahtumaan vai kytkeytyvätkö ne yleisempiin kanssakäymisongelmiin. Attribuutioteoreettisesta analyysista oli johdettavissa sovellus, jonka mukaan osa koulutettavista olisi harjaannutettavissa nimeämään kommunikoinnin aiheuttama vireys myönteiseksi ja ilmaisua tehostavaksi voimaksi. Tilannetaksonomia antoi viitteitä siitä, mihin järjestykseen puheviestintäharjoitukset olisi perusteltua sijoittaa koulutettavien viestintävarmuuden lisäämiseksi. Toisaalta tulokset osoittivat, että koulutettavien olisi karaistuaakseen saatava esiintymistottumusta mahdollisimman varhain. Erityisesti monimuuttuja-analyysit paljastivat kiistättömästi, miten tärkeitä myönteiset viestintäkokemukset ja runsas puhekasvatus ovat vahvan kommunikoijakuvan ja viestintätaitojen kehittymisen sekä viestintäarkuuden vähentämisen kannalta.