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Forgiveness, Individualism, and Collectivism

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at Virginia Commonwealth University

by

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Abstract

FORGIVENESS, INDIVIDUALISM, AND COLLECTIVISM

By Joshua N. Hook, B. S.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at Virginia Commonwealth University

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2007

Major Director: Shawn O. Utsey, Ph. D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychology

Although the scientific study of forgiveness has flourished in recent years, the study of the effects of culture on forgiveness has been minimal. The present thesis reviews the literature examining the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. In Study 1, four scales are created that are hypothesized to relate to the study of culture and forgiveness. Evidence for the reliability and validity of these scales are presented. In Study 2, the effects of individualism and collectivism are empirically tested. Collectivistic forgivers understand forgiveness within the context of reconciliation, social harmony, and relational repair. Collectivistic forgiveness primarily involves a decision to forgive, but this decision often does not result in the reduction of negative emotions associated with unforgiveness.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The scientific study of forgiveness has intensified in recent years (for edited collections and reviews, see Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Enright & North, 1998; McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000; Worthington, 1998a; Worthington, 2005a). Many advances have been made to understand the definition of forgiveness, the measurement of forgiveness, the relationship between forgiveness and religion, the costs and benefits of forgiveness, and the best ways to promote forgiveness (Worthington, 2005b).

Although there have been significant developments in many areas of forgiveness research, one area of forgiveness research that has not been examined in detail is the relationship between culture and forgiveness. In a recent review of the literature, Sandage and Williamson (2005) admit that there is not a “well-developed coherent body of research on forgiveness and culture” (p. 46). Indeed this lack of interest of culture does not seem to be limited to the study of forgiveness; it has affected most areas of positive psychology (Lopez et al., 2005). This avoidance of the study of culture in research on forgiveness is unfortunate, especially given the recent encouragement from the American Psychological Association (APA) for psychologists to become more competent in understanding the specific cultural contexts that affect individual’s behavior (APA, 2003).

A further problem in the research of culture and forgiveness is that the existing research on the relationship between culture and forgiveness has generally been non-

systematic and has not build upon a broad theoretical base. I work toward correcting this problem by conceptualizing cultural differences in forgiveness within the broad theoretical framework of individualism and collectivism (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Triandis, 1995). Individualism and collectivism has been the most widely used model of organizing cultural differences. In this thesis, I review the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness in Chapter 2. In Chapters 3 and 4, I report two studies that together examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Specifically, in Chapter 3, I create and validate four new measures of forgiveness that are expected to relate to individualism and collectivism. In Chapter 4, I examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on dispositional and state forgiveness, specific mechanisms by which individualism and collectivism affect forgiveness, and the contextual understanding of forgiveness. In Chapter 5, I provide a general discussion of the two studies in the context of the extant literature.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

The Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Forgiveness: A Qualitative Review of the Literature

Forgiveness as a scientific study has intensified in recent years. Once conceptualized in purely religious terms, over the last 20 years psychologists have developed a more intensive interest in the scientific study of forgiveness (for edited collections and reviews, see Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Enright & North, 1998; McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000; Worthington, 1998a; Worthington, 2005a). The definitions and measurement of forgiveness have grown more precise; the predictors, benefits, and limitations of forgiveness have been examined; the role of forgiveness in therapy has been discussed; and interventions to promote forgiveness have been developed, implemented, and studied empirically. This is indeed an exciting time for forgiveness research.

Although many areas of forgiveness have been explored in depth, the study of the effects of culture on forgiveness has been minimal (Sandage, Hill, & Vang, 2003). This is not a problem unique to the study of forgiveness, but seems to be one that plagues many of the areas of study in positive psychology (Lopez et al., 2005). Because all individuals exist in a cultural context, psychologists are encouraged to explore the meaning of these contexts on one's behavior (American Psychological Association [APA], 2003).

Psychologists understand that people with different cultural worldviews may understand

and practice forgiveness differently. I posit that one's cultural background is very influential in determining how one will understand and practice forgiveness.

The extant research on the effects of culture and forgiveness has generally not been theoretically guided. In their brief review of the existing empirical and theoretical literature on culture and forgiveness, Sandage and Williamson (2005) admit that the current body of research on forgiveness and culture is not well-developed. Thus, in the present review, I theorize that the cultural dimensions of individualism and collectivism are a way to organize and discuss the literature of the effects of culture on forgiveness. After discussing the method of my review, I define forgiveness, culture, individualism, and collectivism. Then I provide some theoretical bases for the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. After providing a theoretical base, I review the existing literature examining the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. I conclude by discussing the meaning of the findings and providing a research agenda for the study of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

Method of the Review

I reviewed all journal articles addressing the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. On November 15, 2005, I searched *PsychINFO* (Psychological Abstracts) pairing the key words culture, cultural, individualism, individualistic, collectivism, collectivistic, and self-construal with forgiveness, forgive, forgiven, and forgivingness. I found 12 articles, 2 book chapters, and 3 dissertations that addressed the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. I then reviewed the discussion and reference sections of the 17 articles, chapters, and dissertations. I

found 9 additional articles that addressed the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. On November 15, 2005, I searched for articles in *Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI)*. By searching for articles that had cited my main articles, I found 2 additional articles that addressed the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. On November 16, 2005, I searched the *Dissertation Abstracts International* database pairing the same keywords as the *PsychINFO* search. I found no additional dissertations addressing the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Finally, I looked at the tables of contents from the last three years (January 2002-November 2005) of the four journals that contained the most articles addressing the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness (*Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *International Journal of Psychology*, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *Counseling Psychologist*). I found no additional articles addressing the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

I found a total of 28 articles and dissertations that addressed the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. These studies can be divided into three groups. Two studies presented a theoretical framework of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness and suggested hypothesized differences. Thirteen studies described forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. These studies approached the discussion of forgiveness from two perspectives. Some studies discussed the unique aspects of forgiveness in a particular collectivistic culture, whereas other studies tried to see whether a theory of forgiveness proposed in the United States generalized to a collectivistic culture outside the United States. Thirteen studies compared individualistic

and collectivistic forgiveness, generally in two ways. Some studies compared participants from an individualistic culture with participants from a collectivistic culture and studied differences in forgiveness, whereas other studies directly measured individualism and collectivism and their effects on forgiveness. The articles considered in the present review are listed in Tables 1, 2, and 3.

Defining the Main Constructs

Forgiveness

Consistent definitions are important because they allow scientists to ensure that they are discussing the same construct (e.g., forgiveness) when they use the same language (e.g., “forgiveness”) (McCullough et al., 2000). Reaching a consensus on one definition of forgiveness, however, has historically been difficult.

Although psychologists have disagreed about what it means to forgive, the field appears to be reaching a near consensus (Worthington, 2005b). For example, most psychologists agree on what forgiveness is not. Forgiveness is usually thought to be distinct from pardoning, condoning, excusing, justifying, and forgetting (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000). Forgiveness is also usually thought to be distinct from reconciliation (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Worthington & Drinkard, 2000).

Also, definitions of forgiveness that appear to contradict one another may be resolved by accepting that there are several different types of forgiveness (Worthington, 2005b). For example, forgiveness can be viewed as an intrapsychic phenomenon, a change that occurs within a person, or an interpersonal phenomenon, a change that occurs within an interpersonal dyad. Forgiveness can be viewed as something that occurs only

Table 1

Theoretical Framework of the Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Forgiveness

Study	Factor	Theoretical Difference
Sandage & Wiens (2001)	View of self View of relationships Primary face concern Self-forgiveness Forms of forgiveness	I-Independent, Self-reflexive; C-Interdependent, Social, Relational I-Exchange/Contractual; C-Communal/Covenantal I-Self-face; C-Other-face and Self-face I-Vital; C-Implausible I-Personal insights & skills, Professional techniques; C-Communal narratives, Rituals, Symbols
Sandage & Williamson (2005)	View of self View of relationships Primary face concern Forgiveness and reconciliation Value of self-forgiveness Central goal of forgiveness Primary tools for forgiveness	I-Independent, Self-reflexive; C-Interdependent, Socially embedded I-Exchange/Contractual; C-Communal/Covenantal I-Self-face; C-Other-face and Self-face I-Sharply distinct; C-Closely related I-High; C-Low I-Personal well-being; C-Social well-being I-Professional psychotherapy, Self-help resources, and Individual coping skills; C-Communal mediators/healers, Narratives, Rituals, and Symbols

Note. I = Individualistic worldview; C = collectivistic worldview.

Table 2

Description of Forgiveness in a Collectivistic Culture

Study	Type	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Callister & Wall (1997)	D	47 Japanese CS; 85 Japanese mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology, Empathy used in Japanese mediation.
Fu, Watkins, & Hui (2004)	D	27 Chinese scholars; 144 Chinese CS; 761 Chinese CS & teachers	Semistructured interviews; Mullet et al.'s. (1998) forgiveness questionnaire; Chinese-Mullet forgiveness questionnaire; Rosenberg self-esteem scale; CPAI-2 (Face, Relationship, Harmony, Anxiety)	Chinese forgive because of social circumstances (save face, preserve harmony). Religious beliefs have little influence on forgiveness. Forgiveness positively correlated with relationship orientation, harmony, and face. Forgiveness not correlated with self-esteem.
Huang & Enright (2000)	A	60 Taiwanese adults	Objective scale of forgiveness (Enright et al., 1980); Anger expression scale (Johnson et al., 1980); Felt and masking smiles; Casting down the eyes; Blood pressure	Cross-cultural support for Enright et al.'s (1989) developmental theory of forgiveness. No difference between Level 4 and Level 6 forgivers on anger expression scale. Level 4 forgivers had more residual anger than Level 6 forgivers as measured by increased masking smiles, casting down of eyes, and blood pressure.
Hui & Ho (2004)	A	121 Chinese HSS	Psychoeducational forgiveness intervention; Self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965); Children's hope scale (Snyder et al., 1997); Conceptual forgiveness questions (Kanz, 2000); Enright forgiveness inventory (Enright, 1994); Program evaluation questionnaire	Forgiveness can be taught in a collectivistic culture. Participants showed a moderately high level of forgiving (comparison of experimental and control group not compared) Program did not affect self-esteem or hope. Program did increase the understanding of forgiveness.
Kim, et al. (1993)	D	190 South Korean mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology, Empathy used in South Korean mediation.
Park (1999)	A	394 U.S.; 326 Korean; 339 Taiwanese CS and parents	Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	EFI reliable and valid in Korea, Taiwan. Some differences found.
Park & Enright	A	30 Korean junior	Understanding forgiveness	Cross-cultural support for Enright et al.'s (1989)

(1997)		high students and 30 Korean CS	interview; Restoring friendship scale; Degree of forgiveness scale	developmental theory of forgiveness. Age was positively correlated with one's understanding of forgiveness. Understanding of forgiveness was positively correlated with degree of forgiveness and reconciliation.
Rique (2000)	A	200 Brazilian CS and their same-sex parents	Brazilian-Portuguese version of Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	Evidence for the reliability and validity of the Brazilian-Portuguese version of the EFI.
Sandage, Hill, & Vang (2003)	D	Hmong culture; Case study-couple	Describe culture; Describe case study	Forgiveness is described in Hmong culture. Differences in benefits of forgiveness, understanding of forgiveness, face, social harmony, family systems, and third-party mediation.
Sigmund (1999)	D	Hawaiian culture	Describe Ho'o Ponopono: traditional reconciliation practice	Ho'o Ponopono involves a 5-step process including meditation/prayer, visualization, forgiveness, discussion, and restitution.
Temoshok & Chandra (2000)	D	52 Indians living with HIV/AIDS	Interviews included a special focus on forgiveness	Family members find it difficult to forgive PLWHA. PLWHA are often unable to forgive family members. More blamed God or family than sexual partner. Women were unforgiving of situations; Men were unforgiving of the self.
Wall & Blum (1991)	D	100 mediators in PRC	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology, Empathy used in Chinese mediation.
Wall & Callister (1999)	D	179 Malaysian mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology used in Malaysian mediation.
Watkins & Regmi (2004)	A	218 Nepalese CS	NEO-Five factor inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1998); Modified forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998)	Correlations between the forgiveness scale and the five NEO-FFI scales were all statistically nonsignificant. Did not support McCullough et al.'s (2001) findings that linked forgiveness with agreeableness and emotional stability. Forgiveness in Nepal may not be related to individualistic personality variables.

Note. D = Describes unique aspects of forgiveness in collectivistic culture; A = Applies individualistic theory of forgiveness to collectivistic culture; CS = College students; HSS = High school students; PLWHA = people living with HIV/AIDS

Table 3

Comparing Individualistic and Collectivistic Forgiveness

Study	Type	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Azar & Mullet (2002)	C	240 Lebanese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	Overall propensity to forgive-Lebanese = French Two forgiveness items-Lebanese > French
Callister & Wall (2004)	C	111 Thai mediators; 111 U.S. mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Request forgiveness-Thai > U.S. Call for apologies-Thai > U.S.
Fukuno & Ohbuchi (1998)	C	193 American CS; 186 Japanese CS	Scenarios-different accounts; Emotional alleviation; Impression improvement; Forgiveness	Forgiveness-No difference based on account Justification-Americans > Japanese Apology-Americans = Japanese
Kadiangandu, Mullet, & Vinsonneau (2001)	C	322 Congolese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	Propensity to forgive-Congolese > French Gender differences in forgiveness greater in France than Congo Religious differences in forgiveness greater in France than Congo
Leung, et al. (1992)	C	116 Japanese CS; 59 Spanish CS; Comparison to previous study (Leung et al., 1990) examining participants from Canada & the Netherlands	Dispute; Participants ranked how likely they were to use 8 conflict resolution strategies	Harmony-enhancing-Collectivistic cultures > Individualistic cultures Confrontational-Collectivistic cultures < Individualistic cultures
Neto & Mullet (2004)	M	192 Portuguese CS	Forgivingness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 2003); Self-construal scale (Singelis, 1994)	Propensity to forgive with Independence- $r = -.15$ Propensity to forgive with Interdependence- $r = .23$ Enduring resentment with Independence- $r = .24$ Enduring resentment with Interdependence- $r = -.05$
Ohbuchi & Takahashi (1994)	C	98 U.S. CS; 94 Japanese CS	Recall conflict; Record strategies used to resolve conflict and outcomes	Direct bilateral-U.S. > Japanese Indirect bilateral, Avoidance-Japanese > U.S. Covert conflicts-Japanese > U.S. Large difference between Japanese desired and executed strategies
Park, Lee, & Song (2005)	C	237 U.S. CS; 287 Korean CS	Credibility of apology; Intention to use apology; Normality of apology	Credibility of apology-Koreans > U.S. Intention to use apology-Koreans > U.S. Normality of apology-Koreans > U.S.
Park (1999)	C	394 U.S.; 326 Korean; 339 Taiwanese CS and their	Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	Forgiveness-U.S. > Korea, Taiwan

		same sex parents		
Rique (2000)	C	200 Brazilian CS and their same-sex parents	Brazilian-Portuguese version of Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	Forgiveness- Differences between Brazilians and Americans not found.
So (2004)	M	229 U.S. CS	Forgiveness scale (Rye, 2001); Individualism/Collectivism scale (Triandis et al., 1986)	Forgiveness with Individualism-r = -.10 Forgiveness with Collectivism-r = .16
Sugimoto (1997)	C	200 U.S. CS; 181 Japanese CS	Scenario requiring apology; Participants wrote what the offender's response would be	Request for forgiveness-Japanese > U.S. Apology-Japanese > U.S.
Takaku (2000)	C	52 U.S. CS; 52 Japanese CS	Conflict scenario; Appropriateness of account	Apology-Japanese > U.S. Justification-U.S. > Japanese
Takaku, Weiner, & Ohbuchi (2001)	C	102 U.S. CS; 77 Japanese CS	Conflict scenario; Cognitions (locus, controllability, stability); Emotions (positive, negative); Behavior (forgiveness)	Justice motive-U.S. > Japanese Relationship motive-Japanese > U.S. Path models of forgiveness different. Controllability is more important for U.S. whereas stability is more important for Japanese.
Wall & Blum (1991)	C	100 mediators in PRC	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Mediation is more common in PRC than in U.S.

Note. C = Compares individuals from an individualistic culture with individuals from a collectivistic culture; M = Measures individualism and collectivism and its effects on forgiveness; CS = College students; PRC = People's Republic of China.

between two people (Enright, Freedman, & Rique, 1998), or it may include the forgiveness of self (Tagney, Boone, & Dearing, 2005) and even the forgiveness of uncontrollable situations (Thompson et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the differences in definitions of forgiveness are not usually due to outright disagreements among psychologists on the nature of forgiveness. Rather, psychologists usually choose to focus on a particular aspect of forgiveness. Worthington (2005b) explains that the majority of psychologists agree that forgiveness involves a prosocial transformation of cognition, emotion, motivation, and behavior. Psychologists simply focus on one or two aspects. For example, McCullough, Fincham, and Tsang (2003) focus on motivation, and define forgiveness as the set of motivational changes where a person becomes decreasingly motivated toward revenge and avoidance, and increasingly motivated by conciliation toward the offender. Worthington and Scherer (2004), on the other hand, define forgiveness as an emotion-focused coping strategy and view forgiveness within an individual and involving emotional experiences. Enright et al.'s (1998) definition incorporates affect, cognition, and behavior. They define forgiveness as a willingness to abandon resentment, negative judgment, and indifferent behavior toward the offender, while at the same time acting with compassion, generosity, and even love toward the offender.

My view of forgiveness most closely aligns with Worthington's (2005b) model of forgiveness as involving both a decisional and emotional process. In decisional forgiveness, a person makes a behavioral intention statement to reduce or eliminate negative behavior toward the offender, and to restore positive behavior toward the

offender if the relationship will continue. Emotional forgiveness is more of an ongoing process and involves the reduction of negative emotions such as anger toward the offender and the restoration of positive emotions such as compassion and love toward the offender. This definition of forgiveness parallels the forgiveness models of Enright (Enright & Coyle, 1998) and Worthington (1998b), both of which involve a decision (Enright & Coyle, 1998) or commitment (Worthington, 1998b) to forgive followed by a work phase (Enright & Coyle, 1998) or maintenance phase (Worthington, 1998b).

Forgiveness occurs, according to most researchers, at the intrapersonal level. However, forgiveness is clearly contextualized within interpersonal and societal environments. Namely, usually a transgression occurs within a two-member dyad. Whether one will forgive, depends on the way the transgression is construed in dyadic and cultural/societal context.

For example, consider the dyadic context. Forgiveness or lack of forgiveness depends on how the parties in the dyad act subsequently. Whether the "victim" (and typically, both parties consider themselves victims to some extent) will experience decisional or emotional forgiveness (that leads to merely reduction in negative experiences or reduction of negative experiences and replacement to the level of net positive gain) can depend on the sequence of interactions. A victim's requests for explanations (called reproaches) for the reason for the offender's actions-which can be harsh demands or pleading-can be met with various accounts (i.e., denials, justifications, excuses, and concessions; Schonbach, 1990). The various accounts can be in turn met with continued blame, continued reproaches, responses like retaliation or revenge,

responses like avoidance, or more benevolent responses that foster reconciliation or conciliation. The victim might or might not privately grant forgiveness and might or might not communicate that he or she has forgiven, producing a 2 x 2 set of possibilities. Baumeister, Exline, and Sommer (1998) called no granting and no communicating, *no forgiveness*. They called granting but not communicating forgiveness, *silent forgiveness*. They called communicating but not privately granting forgiveness, *hollow forgiveness*. If both granting and communicating forgiveness occurred, this was considered *total forgiveness*. Even after the victim offers forgiveness, though, the offender might or might not accept it, or might accept it without gratitude or with sarcasm or grudgingly. Each of these moves within the dyadic interaction (a) affects the experience of forgiveness and (b) (importantly for the present review) is conditioned by society and cultural expectations.

The societal interactions around forgiving are similarly complex. Dyads are contextualized within families, work groups, leisure and civic groups, churches, communities, states, and nations. Observers usually watch the interactions around forgiving and the person's (victim's and offender's) behavior. Observers' expectations are culturally determined as well as determined by the group dynamics at the level of smaller groups and the personal experiences with offenses by each observer. The complex interactions among personal beliefs of people involved, relationship networks, and cultural web of worldviews creates an environment in which participants who might experience a transgression are imbedded and which shape their actions.

Culture

Although culture has been defined in many ways, there is agreement that culture consists of shared elements that provide the standard for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting (Triandis, 1996). This definition is important because it moves beyond defining culture simply in terms of race or ethnicity. Race and ethnicity may influence culture, but this definition of culture focuses on the shared elements that influence people's beliefs, thoughts, and behavior. A pattern of shared attitudes, beliefs, categorizations, self-definitions, norms, role definitions, and values that is organized around a particular theme is called a cultural syndrome (Triandis, 1996). Two such cultural syndromes that are important to the present review are individualism and collectivism.

Individualism and Collectivism

Cultural research that contrasts societies and individuals based on differences in individualism and collectivism can be traced back to the work of Geert Hofstede (1980). Hofstede ranked 39 nations on their level of individualism (which he conceptualized to be the opposite of collectivism). Hofstede's work was important because he organized cultural differences in overarching patterns that could be easily understood, studied, and replicated by other psychologists. Since 1980, research on individualism and collectivism and its effects on various psychological processes have been extensive (for reviews, see Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002; Triandis, 1995).

The terminology used to describe individualism and collectivism takes several different forms. Individualism and collectivism may be used to describe an individualistic or collectivistic worldview at either the individual or societal level. Markus and Kitayama

(1991) introduced the terms independent and interdependent self-construal to describe individualism and collectivism at the individual level. Likewise, Triandis (1995) used the terms idiocentrism and allocentrism to describe individualism and collectivism at the individual level. Individualism and collectivism at the individual level, independent and interdependent self-construal, and idiocentrism and allocentrism are essentially equivalent in meaning, and in the present review the terms will be used in the form they appeared in the original study.

The basic tenet of individualism is that individuals are independent from one another, whereas the basic tenet of collectivism is that groups bind and mutually obligate individuals (Oyserman et al., 2002). Triandis (1995) defines individualism and collectivism using four major characteristics. First, individualists are loosely linked to one another and see themselves as independent from the groups or collectives in which they are members, whereas collectivists are closely linked to one another and see themselves as connected with the groups or collectives in which they are members. This characteristic of individualism and collectivism is often defined as the independent versus interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Second, individualists are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, or contracts they have made with others. Collectivists, on the other hand, are primarily motivated by the social norms of collectives and the duties those collectives require of them. Third, individualists place more importance on personal goals than the goals of one's group or collective, whereas collectivists place more importance on the goals of one's group or collective than personal goals. Fourth, individualists view relationships as contractual, and often analyze

the costs and benefits of associating with others. Collectivists, on the other hand, place more importance on the relationships themselves and will often stick with a relationship even when the costs outweigh the benefits. The main characteristics of individualism and collectivism are summarized in Table 4.

As scientists have moved toward a more precise definition of individualism and collectivism, one issue that has yet to be resolved is the relationship between the constructs of individualism and collectivism. Psychologists have historically conceptualized individualism and collectivism as opposite ends of a continuum (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Hui, 1988). Following this line of thinking an individual who is high in individualism would also be low in collectivism, and vice versa. In recent years, however, psychologists have begun to conceptualize individualism and collectivism as orthogonal constructs that are related but distinct (Oyserman et al., 2002). Following this line of thinking an individual who is high in individualism may or may not be low in collectivism.

The measurement of individualism and collectivism has generally taken three main approaches (Oyserman et al., 2002). One approach uses Hofstede's country-level ratings of individualism as proxies for individualism and collectivism rather than measuring individualism and collectivism directly. For example, a researcher may compare Japanese and U.S. students on some dependent measure and assume that the Japanese students are high in collectivism and low in individualism whereas the U.S. students are high in individualism and low in collectivism. A second approach directly measures individualism and collectivism at the individual level and correlates these

Table 4

Main Characteristics of Individualism and Collectivism (Triandis, 1995)

Characteristic	Individualistic, Independent, Idocentric	Collectivistic, Interdependent, Allocentric
View of self	Independent from groups in which they are members	Connected with the groups in which they are members
Primary motivation	Own preferences, needs, rights, and contracts they have made with others	Social norms of collectives and duties of collectives
Goals	Personal goals more important than group goals	Group goals more important than personal goals
View of relationships	Contractual, analyze costs and benefits	Communal, greater importance on relationship

measures with a dependent variable. For example, a researcher may assess individualism and collectivism using the Self-Construal Scale (Singelis, 1994), and correlate these measures with levels of depression or some other construct. A third approach is to use an experiment that primes individualism and collectivism and measures its effect on a dependent variable. For example, a researcher may ask participants to describe the ways they are similar to or different from their family and friends (e.g. Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). The first question primed collectivism. The second question primed individualism.

There are advantages and disadvantages to each approach. The country-level rating of individualism and collectivism is the simplest approach. No measures of individualism or collectivism need to be taken. This approach makes several assumptions, however, that may not be valid. Researchers using this approach assume that the mean country-levels of individualism and collectivism as measured by Hofstede (1980) are accurate across different life domains, are stable over time, and are relevant to individual-level assessment (Oyserman et al., 2002). Researchers also often assume that European Americans are higher in individualism than their comparison group. The direct test of individualism and collectivism avoids the assumptions required to use the country-level ratings of individualism and collectivism, but it has its own limitations as well. First, this approach assumes that one's cultural worldview is a form of declarative knowledge, such as attitudes and beliefs, that respondents can report, rather than subtle and implicit practices and social structures that respondents cannot report because these practices are so deeply a part of everyday life (Oyserman et al., 2002). Also, this

approach assumes cross-cultural equivalence in the meaning assigned to response choices (such as “very much agree”) and to questions that are asked to assess underlying dimensions of individualism and collectivism (Oyserman et al., 2002). The priming approach avoids measurement problems by experimentally creating differences in individualism and collectivism. There is not much data comparing results across measurement techniques, however, which has caused ambiguity in the validity of findings across different measurements of individualism and collectivism (Oyserman et al., 2002).

The research on the effects of individualism and collectivism has been extensive. Individualism and collectivism have been found to have far-reaching effects on individual’s cognition, emotion, motivation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), self-concept, well-being, attribution, and relationality (Oyserman et al., 2002). The present review analyzes the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. I now explain some of the theoretical bases for the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

Theoretical Bases for the Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Forgiveness

Self-Construal

Individualists generally have an independent construal or view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People with an independent view of self view themselves as separate from others and act according to their own thoughts, feelings, and actions rather than referencing the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, collectivists generally have an interdependent construal or view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People with an interdependent view of self see themselves as

fundamentally connected with others and act in ways that are determined by one's relationship with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Goals

The personal goals of individualists are sometimes inconsistent with the goals of the groups in which they belong. When conflict exists between the individualist's personal goals and the goals of his or her group, the individualist pursues his or her own goals and ignores or minimizes the goals of the group (Triandis, 1995). The personal goals of collectivists, on the other hand, generally are consistent with the goals of the groups to which they belong. When conflict exists between the collectivist's personal goals and the goals of his or her group, the collectivist will ignore or minimize his or her own goals and follow the goals of the group (Triandis, 1995).

Social Harmony

Collectivistic societies generally have group norms that promote social harmony (Callister & Wall, 1997; Fu, Watkins, & Hui, 2004; Wall & Blum, 1991). Collectivists often avoid conflict (Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994), and when conflict does arise they are expected to resolve the conflict quickly. Individualistic societies, on the other hand, do not have strong group norms that promote social harmony. Individualists are also generally more comfortable with competition and conflict (Callister & Wall, 2004).

Face

Face is defined as the claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of him or her (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Facework, then, according to Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998), refers to a set of communicative behaviors

that people use to regulate their social dignity and to support or challenge the other's social dignity. Facework is often applied to conflict situations because conflict situations often lead to one's face being attacked or threatened and the need to defend one's own face or save another's face (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Cross-cultural research has generally shown that individualists tend to use more self-oriented face-saving strategies whereas collectivists tend to use more other-oriented face-saving strategies and face-honoring strategies (Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

Attribution

Attribution theory describes how people explain and predict the behavior of others. Individualists and collectivists explain and predict social behavior in different ways. Individualists generally focus on the dispositions and internal attributes of people (Oyserman et al., 2002). If a person transgresses, the individualist may reason that this is because the person is a bad person. Collectivists, on the other hand, generally focus on the context and the situation (Oyserman et al., 2002) and internal attributes are understood as specific to the situation, and therefore they may be unreliable (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). If a person transgresses, the collectivist may reason that this is because the person perhaps had a bad day.

Perspective-Taking and Empathy

Individualists and collectivists differ in how other-focused they are in their emotions. Other focused emotions are emotions that have another person as the target of the emotion. Markus and Kitayama (1991) report that collectivists will more often experience other-focused emotions such as empathy than individualists will. These other-

focused emotions result from being sensitive to others, taking the perspective of others, and trying to promote interdependence.

Review of the Empirical Literature

The review of the literature of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness will be organized into two sections. First, I will discuss the approaches used to study the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Second, I will discuss the actual findings of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

Approaches to Studying the Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Forgiveness

Researchers have primarily used three approaches in studying the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. First, researchers built a theoretical framework to discuss the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Second, researchers described the nature of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. Of these studies, some described the unique aspects of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. Others attempted to take an individualistic theory of forgiveness and apply it to a collectivistic culture in the hopes of gaining cross-cultural support of the theory. Third, researchers compared individualistic and collectivistic forgiveness. Of these studies, some compared forgiveness of people in an individualistic culture with forgiveness of people in a collectivistic culture. Others directly measured individualism and collectivism and their effects on forgiveness. The three approaches will be discussed, and examples from the literature will be given.

Theoretical framework. Only two papers, both by the same author, presented a theoretical framework from which the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness could be discussed. This is probably because the empirical investigation of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness is in its infancy. Sandage and Williamson (2005) organize the differences between individualism and collectivism and their respective effects on forgiveness into seven categories.

First, people who hold an individualistic worldview view the self as independent and self-reflexive. People who hold a collectivistic worldview view the self as interdependent and socially embedded. Individualistic forgivers emphasize personal boundaries and self-definition. Collectivistic forgivers emphasize social connections and group norms.

Second, people who hold an individualistic worldview view relationships as contractual. People who hold a collectivistic worldview view relationships as covenantal. Individualistic forgivers view forgiveness as a personal choice. Collectivistic forgivers view forgiveness as a social duty rather than a personal choice.

Third, the primary face concern of people who hold an individualistic worldview is self-face. The primary face concern of people who hold a collectivistic worldview is both other-face and self-face. Individualistic forgivers might forgive to heal a loss of self-esteem. Collectivistic forgivers that seek forgiveness demonstrate a valuing of other-face concern (Sandage & Wiens, 2001). Collectivistic forgivers might also extend forgiveness in order to save the face of the one who seeks forgiveness.

Fourth, the constructs of forgiveness and reconciliation are sharply distinct for people who hold an individualistic worldview, but are closely related for people who hold a collectivistic worldview. Indeed, Western psychological models of forgiveness tend to be individualistic and often make a sharp distinction between forgiveness and reconciliation (Sandage & Wiens, 2001). Individualistic forgivers may view forgiveness as a way to self-heal from relational injuries without a recommitment to the relationship. Collectivistic forgivers may view forgiveness as a pathway toward reconciliation because of the strong emphasis of group harmony and family cohesion in collectivistic cultures.

Fifth, people who hold an individualistic worldview place a high value on self-forgiveness. People who hold a collectivistic worldview place a low value on self-forgiveness. Individualistic forgivers view the forgiveness of self as vital in promoting self-healing and self-esteem (Sandage & Wiens, 2001). Collectivistic forgivers view the forgiveness of self as relatively implausible because the self is socially defined and sustained.

Sixth, the central goal for people who hold an individualistic worldview is personal well-being. The central goal for people who hold a collectivistic worldview is social well-being. Individualistic forgivers may forgive others because they receive personal benefits, such as increased happiness or decreased guilt. Collectivistic forgivers may forgive others to restore social harmony.

Finally, the primary tools for forgiveness differ for people who hold an individualistic and collectivistic worldview. Individualistic forgivers mainly use tools such as professional psychotherapy, self-help resources, and individual coping skills in

order to forgive. Collectivistic forgivers mainly use tools such as third party mediators such as family or clan leaders, healers such as priests or clergy, narratives, rituals, and symbols which provide shared meaning in order to forgive.

Even though these factors may over-simplify the relationships between individualism and collectivism and forgiveness, Sandage and Williamson's (2005) organization of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness is an important first step in understanding the relationship between these constructs. Although the authors admit that the proposed cultural differences related to forgiveness are hypothetical and based on theory rather than empirical data (Sandage & Wiens, 2001), this model is an important starting place for the study of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

Description of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. A total of 13 studies described forgiveness in a collectivistic culture, usually in two ways. First, some researchers focused on the unique aspects of forgiveness in a particular collectivistic culture. They discussed constructs such as social harmony and face-saving techniques. An underlying assumption in these studies was that people in collectivistic cultures understand and practice forgiveness and forgiveness-related constructs in ways that are different from people in individualistic cultures. For example, Fu et al. (2004) analyzed forgiveness in the People's Republic of China. They first interviewed 27 scholars, teachers, and postgraduate students from universities or research institutes in the PRC. They asked questions focusing on the participants' view of forgiveness, the factors influencing their decision to forgive, and the impact of Chinese culture on their

perception of forgiveness. Fu et al. (2004) then had 336 college students and 432 teachers complete questionnaires that assessed self-esteem, face, relationship orientation, harmony, and the propensity to forgive. Fu et al. (2004) found that cultural variables such as face, relationship orientation, and harmony were better predictors of the propensity to forgive than was the individual variable of self-esteem. An advantage of this method is that it provides rich quantitative and qualitative data about the understanding and practice of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. A disadvantage of this method is the lack of a comparison or control group. This lack of comparison group makes it difficult to conclude that the collectivism of the culture studied leads to the distinct understanding or practice of forgiveness in that culture.

A second method used to describe forgiveness in a collectivistic culture takes a theory about forgiveness developed in an individualistic culture such as the United States and applies it to a collectivistic culture. The goal in these studies is different from the studies described above. These studies do not try to demonstrate different or unique aspects of forgiveness in the collectivistic culture, but instead try to see whether an existing theory of forgiveness will generalize to a collectivistic culture to show the cross-cultural validity of that theory. For example, Park and Enright (1997) attempted to validate Enright's developmental model of forgiveness, which posits that the reasoning about forgiveness develops with age, in a population in Korea. If participants in Korea develop their reasoning about forgiveness according to Enright's theory, some generality of the construct of forgiveness can be assumed. Park and Enright (1997) assessed the reasoning about forgiveness in 30 junior high students and 30 college students in Korea.

Participants were given a moral dilemma and were asked questions about forgiveness in this situation. The questions were designed to assess whether participants understood forgiveness to be revengeful (pattern 1), external (pattern 2), or internal (pattern 3). Enright, Santos, and Al-Mabuk (1989) have shown that as children develop their understanding of forgiveness progresses from pattern one to pattern three. Consistent with Enright et al.'s (1989) theorizing, Park and Enright (1997) found that participants' understanding of forgiveness was positively correlated with age, and college students had a significantly higher understanding of forgiveness than did junior high students. An advantage of this method is that it can show how certain parts or theories of forgiveness are similar across cultures. A disadvantage of this method is that the models or measures used in one cultural context may not have similar meanings when used in another cultural context (Sandage & Williamson, 2005).

Comparing forgiveness between individualists and collectivists. A total of 13 studies attempted to compare forgiveness between individualists and collectivists. Researchers compared forgiveness between individualists and collectivists in two ways. First, the vast majority of studies compared forgiveness and forgiveness-related constructs from an individualistic culture and a collectivistic culture. For example, Kadiangandu, Mullet, and Vinsonneau (2001) compared forgiveness in an individualistic culture (France) with a collectivistic culture (Congo). Participants ($N = 322$) from the Congo and participants ($N = 474$) from France completed a questionnaire that measured propensity to forgive. The questionnaire consisted of 27 sentences that measured one's hypothetical willingness to forgive across various situations. Participants from the Congo

had significantly higher scores on propensity to forgive than did participants from France. The main advantage of this method is that it allows for a direct comparison of forgiveness between people from an individualistic and collectivistic culture. A disadvantage of this method is that the measures used in one culture may not have similar meanings when used in another culture (Sandage & Williamson, 2005). Also, cultures may differ on other variables besides individualism and collectivism, making it difficult to draw a direct link between individualism and collectivism and forgiveness.

A second method used to compare forgiveness between individualists and collectivists directly measured levels of individualism and collectivism of participants in a single culture and examined the relationships between levels of individualism and collectivism and forgiveness. For example, Neto and Mullet (2004) examined the relationship between independent self-construal, interdependent self-construal, and forgiveness in a monocultural sample of Portuguese college students. Portuguese college students ($N = 192$) completed the Forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 2003), which measures propensity to forgive, as well as the Self-Construal Scale (Singelis, 1994), which measures independent and interdependent self-construal. Neto and Mullet (2004) found a positive relationship between interdependence and propensity to forgive, and a negative relationship between independence and propensity to forgive. The main advantage of this method is that it specifically measures individualism and collectivism and the relationships between these constructs and forgiveness. Using a monocultural sample controls for cultural variables other than individualism and collectivism that may affect forgiveness.

Empirical Findings of the Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Forgiveness

I now organize and discuss the results of the empirical findings of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. The empirical findings of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness are discussed in the following areas: the unique aspects of forgiveness in a particular collectivistic culture, the relationship between personality and forgiveness, reasoning about forgiveness, level of forgiveness, the measurement of forgiveness, interventions to promote forgiveness, the relationship between forgiveness and religion, and findings from forgiveness related constructs such as apologies, conflict, and mediation. The empirical findings of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness are summarized in Tables 5a-h.

The unique aspects of forgiveness in a particular collectivistic culture. Three studies (Sandage et al., 2003; Sigmund, 1999; Temoshok & Chandra, 2000) described the unique aspects of forgiveness in a particular collectivistic culture. For example, Sigmund (1999) describes the process of Ho'o Ponopono, which is a traditional Hawaiian practice for setting relationships right. Ho'o Ponopono is a five-step process that involves meditation or prayer, visualization, forgiveness, a statement of the problem with discussion by each participant, and mutual restitution. Ho'o Ponopono emphasizes the interpersonal nature of forgiveness and the close ties between forgiveness and reconciliation in collectivistic cultures. It is difficult to make conclusive statements about the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness from descriptions of unique aspects of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture, because there is no comparison group.

Table 5a

The Unique Aspects of Forgiveness in a Particular Collectivistic Culture

Study	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Sandage, Hill, & Vang (2003)	Hmong culture; Case study-couple	Describe culture; Describe case study	Forgiveness is described in Hmong culture. Differences in benefits of forgiveness, understanding of forgiveness, face, social harmony, family systems, and third-party mediation.
Sigmund (1999)	Hawaiian culture	Describe Ho'o Ponopono: traditional reconciliation practice	Ho'o Ponopono involves a 5-step process including meditation/prayer, visualization, forgiveness, discussion, and restitution.
Temoshok & Chandra (2000)	52 Indians living with HIV/AIDS	Interviews included a special focus on forgiveness	Family members find it difficult to forgive PLWHA. PLWHA are often unable to forgive family members. More blamed God or family than sexual partner. Women were unforgiving of situations; Men were unforgiving of the self.

Note. PLWHA = people living with HIV/AIDS

Table 5b

The Relationship Between Personality and Forgiveness

Study	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Fu, Watkins, & Hui (2004, Study 3)	761 Chinese CS & teachers	Chinese-Mullet forgiveness questionnaire; Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965); CPAI-2 (Face, Relationship, Harmony, Anxiety subscales; Cheung & Leung, 1998)	Forgiveness more correlated with other-oriented personality variables (face, relationship orientation, harmony) Forgiveness less correlated with self-oriented personality variables (self-esteem, anxiety)
Watkins & Regmi (2004)	218 Nepalese CS	NEO-Five factor inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1998); Modified forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998)	Correlations between the forgiveness scale and the five NEO-FFI scales were all statistically nonsignificant. Did not support McCullough et al.'s (2001) findings that linked forgiveness with agreeableness and emotional stability. Forgiveness in Nepal may not be related to individualistic personality variables.

Note. CS = College students.

Table 5c

Reasoning about Forgiveness

Study	Type	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Huang & Enright (2000)	A	60 Taiwanese adults	Objective scale of forgiveness (Enright et al., 1980); Anger expression scale (Johnson et al., 1980); Felt and masking smiles; Casting down the eyes; Blood pressure	Cross-cultural support for Enright et al.'s (1989) developmental theory of forgiveness. No difference between Level 4 and Level 6 forgivers on anger expression scale. Level 4 forgivers had more residual anger than Level 6 forgivers as measured by increased masking smiles, casting down of eyes, and blood pressure.
Park & Enright (1997)	A	30 Korean junior high students and 30 Korean CS	Understanding forgiveness interview; Restoring friendship scale; Degree of forgiveness scale	Cross-cultural support for Enright et al.'s (1989) developmental theory of forgiveness. Age was positively correlated with one's understanding of forgiveness. Understanding of forgiveness was positively correlated with degree of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Note. CS = College students.

Table 5d
Level of Forgiveness

Study	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Azar & Mullet (2002)	240 Lebanese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	Overall propensity to forgive-Lebanese = French Two forgiveness items-Lebanese > French
Kadiangandu, Mullet, & Vinsonneau (2001)	322 Congolese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	Propensity to forgive-Congolese > French Gender differences in forgiveness greater in France than Congo Religious differences in forgiveness greater in France than Congo
Neto & Mullet (2004)	192 Portuguese CS	Forgivingness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 2003); Self- construal scale (Singelis, 1994)	Propensity to forgive with Independence- $r = -.15$ Propensity to forgive with Interdependence- $r = .23$ Enduring resentment with Independence- $r = .24$ Enduring resentment with Interdependence- $r = -.05$
Park (1999)	394 U.S.; 326 Korean; 339 Taiwanese CS and their same sex parents	Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	Forgiveness-U.S. > Korea, Taiwan
So (2004)	229 U.S. CS	Forgiveness scale (Rye, 2001); Individualism/Collectivism scale (Triandis et al., 1986)	Forgiveness with Individualism- $r = -.10$ Forgiveness with Collectivism- $r = .16$

Note. CS = College students

Table 5e

The Measurement of Forgiveness

Study	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Azar & Mullet (2002)	240 Lebanese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	CFA on raw data-Mullet et al.'s (1998) 4 factors were a poor fit for data. EFA on raw data-2 factors (obstacles to forgiveness, revenge v. forgiveness).
Fu, Watkins, & Hui (2004, Study 2)	144 Chinese CS	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	EFA on raw data-2 factors (revenge v. forgiveness, personal and social circumstances). Personal and social circumstances factor confounded with negative wording and was dropped.
Kadiangandu, Mullet, & Vinsonneau (2001)	322 Congolese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire	EFA on raw data-2 factors (revenge v. forgiveness, personal and social circumstances).
Neto & Mullet (2004)	192 Portuguese CS	Forgivingness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 2003)	CFA on raw data-3 factors (blockage to forgiveness, personal and social circumstances, revenge v. forgiveness).
Park (1999)	394 U.S.; 326 Korean; 339 Taiwanese CS and their same sex parents	Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	EFI reliable and valid in Korea, Taiwan. Some differences found.
Rique (2000)	200 Brazilian CS and their same-sex parents	Brazilian-Portuguese version of Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994)	Evidence for the reliability and validity of the Brazilian-Portuguese version of the EFI.
Watkins & Regmi (2004)	218 Nepalese CS	Modified forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998)	2 factors (revenge v. forgiveness, personal and social circumstances). Dropped personal and social circumstances factor because of problems during pilot testing.

Note. CS = College students; EFA = Exploratory factor analysis; CFA = Confirmatory factor analysis; EFI = Enright forgiveness inventory.

Table 5f
Interventions to Promote Forgiveness

Study	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Hui & Ho (2004)	121 Chinese HSS	Psychoeducational forgiveness intervention; Self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965); Children's hope scale (Snyder et al., 1997); Conceptual forgiveness questions (Kanz, 2000); Enright forgiveness inventory (Enright, 1994); Program evaluation questionnaire	Forgiveness can be taught in a collectivistic culture. Participants showed a moderately high level of forgiving (comparison of experimental and control group not compared) Program did not affect self-esteem or hope. Program did increase the understanding of forgiveness.

Note. HSS = High school students.

Table 5g
Forgiveness and Religion

Study	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Fu, Watkins, & Hui (2004, Study 1)	27 Chinese scholars	Semistructured interviews	Religious beliefs have little influence on forgiveness.
Kadiangandu, Mullet, & Vinsonneau (2001)	322 Congolese adults; 474 French adults	Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire; Belief in God; Church attendance	Belief in God had a positive effect on propensity to forgive. Church attendance had a positive effect on propensity to forgive. Difference in forgiveness scores based on church attendance larger in France than in the Congo.

Table 5h

Forgiveness-Related Constructs

Study	Construct	Participants	Measurement	General Findings
Fukuno & Ohbuchi (1998)	Apology	193 American CS; 186 Japanese CS	Scenarios-different accounts; Emotional alleviation; Impression improvement; Forgiveness	Justification-Americans > Japanese Apology-Americans = Japanese
Park, Lee, & Song (2005)	Apology	237 U.S. CS; 287 Korean CS	Credibility of apology; Intention to use apology; Normality of apology	Credibility of apology-Koreans > U.S. Intention to use apology-Koreans > U.S. Normality of apology-Koreans > U.S.
Sugimoto (1997)	Apology	200 U.S. CS; 181 Japanese CS	Scenario requiring apology; Participants wrote what the offender's response would be	Request for forgiveness-Japanese > U.S. Apology-Japanese > U.S.
Takaku (2000)	Apology	52 U.S. CS; 52 Japanese CS	Conflict scenario; Appropriateness of account	Apology-Japanese > U.S. Justification-U.S. > Japanese
Leung, et al. (1992)	Conflict	116 Japanese CS; 59 Spanish CS; Comparison to previous study (Leung et al., 1990) examining participants from Canada & the Netherlands	Dispute; Participants ranked how likely they were to use 8 conflict resolution strategies	Harmony-enhancing-Collectivistic cultures > Individualistic cultures Confrontational-Collectivistic cultures < Individualistic cultures
Ohbuchi & Takahashi (1994)	Conflict	98 U.S. CS; 94 Japanese CS	Recall conflict; Record strategies used to resolve conflict and outcomes	Direct bilateral-U.S. > Japanese Indirect bilateral, Avoidance-Japanese > U.S. Covert conflicts-Japanese > U.S. Large difference between Japanese desired and executed strategies
Takaku, Weiner, & Ohbuchi (2001)	Conflict	102 U.S. CS; 77 Japanese CS	Conflict scenario; Cognitions (locus, controllability, stability); Emotions (positive, negative); Behavior (forgiveness)	Justice motive-U.S. > Japanese Relationship motive-Japanese > U.S.
Callister & Wall (2004)	Mediation	111 Thai mediators; 111 U.S. mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Request forgiveness-Thai > U.S. Call for apologies-Thai > U.S.
Callister & Wall (1997)	Mediation	47 Japanese CS; 85 Japanese mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology, Empathy used in Japanese mediation.
Kim, et al. (1993)	Mediation	190 South Korean mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology, Empathy used in South Korean mediation.

Wall & Blum (1991)	Mediation	100 mediators in PRC	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology, Empathy used in Chinese mediation.
Wall & Callister (1999)	Mediation	179 Malaysian mediators	Recall last dispute; Record steps	Forgiveness, Apology used in Malaysian mediation.

Note. CS = College students; PRC = People's Republic of China.

Rich qualitative data, however, is important for developing questions and making predictions about the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

The relationship between personality and forgiveness. Two studies (Fu et al., 2004; Watkins & Regmi, 2004) examined the relationship between personality and forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. Fu et al. (2004) studied the relationship between personality and forgiveness in the People's Republic of China. Chinese college students ($N = 336$) and Chinese teachers ($N = 432$) completed questionnaires that assessed self-esteem (Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; Rosenberg, 1965), anxiety, face, relationship orientation, harmony (Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory-2; Cheung & Leung, 1998), and the propensity to forgive (Chinese version of Mullet's forgiveness questionnaire; Mullet, Houdbine, & Laumonier, 1998). Fu et al. (2004) found that other-oriented personality variables such as face, relationship orientation, and harmony were more significantly correlated with the propensity to forgive than were individually oriented personality variables such as self-esteem and anxiety. Watkins and Regmi (2004) studied the relationship between personality and forgiveness in Nepal. Nepalese college students ($N = 218$) completed the NEO-Five Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI; Costa & McCrae, 1992) and a modified version of Mullet's forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998). The correlations between the forgiveness scale and all five personality subscales were not significant. This did not support the findings of McCullough (2001), who found significant correlations between forgiveness and the personality variables of neuroticism and agreeableness in a college sample from the United States. The studies seem to show that the relationship between individual personality variables and

forgiveness may not be as strong in collectivistic cultures as in individualistic cultures. Individualists may forgive because they want to, and they may forgive for personal benefits. Collectivists, on the other hand, may forgive more because of cultural social norms for group harmony and the resolution of conflict. They may decide to forgive even when they do not have a forgiving personality or feel forgiving.

Reasoning about forgiveness. Two studies (Huang & Enright, 2000; Park & Enright, 1997) attempted to validate Enright et al.'s (1989) theory that people reason about forgiveness in different ways, and that this reasoning about forgiveness (a) develops with age and (b) affects emotions associated with forgiveness and unforgiveness. Park and Enright (1997) assessed the reasoning about forgiveness in 30 junior high students and 30 college students in Korea. Participants were given a moral dilemma and were asked questions about forgiveness in this situation. The questions were designed to assess whether participants understood forgiveness to be revengeful (pattern 1), external (pattern 2), or internal (pattern 3). Enright et al. (1989) has shown that as children develop their understanding of forgiveness progresses from pattern one to pattern three. Consistent with Enright et al.'s (1989) theorizing, Park and Enright (1997) found that participants' understanding of forgiveness was positively correlated with age, and college students had a significantly higher understanding of forgiveness than did junior high students. Huang and Enright (2000) compared the affective states of 60 adults in Taiwan while they told about an interpersonal conflict in which they had forgiven the offender. To assess participants' reasoning about forgiveness, they were given a moral dilemma and were asked questions about forgiveness in this situation. Thirty participants

forgave because forgiveness follows the expectations of the law and religion (Lawful Expectational Forgiveness). Thirty participants forgave because it promotes a true sense of love (Forgiveness as Love). The groups did not differ in self-reported anger. However, nonverbal behavior suggested that residual negative affect regarding the interpersonal conflict was higher in the Lawful Expectational Forgiveness group than in the Forgiveness as Love group. Participants in the Lawful Expectational Forgiveness group showed more masking smiles, looked down more, and had higher blood pressure when talking about the interpersonal conflict. These two studies provide evidence that collectivists may reason about forgiveness similarly to individualists. One's reasoning about forgiveness develops with age, and those who reason about forgiveness at a higher level show less residual anger than those who reason about forgiveness at a lower level. These studies do not, however, compare individualists and collectivists on reasoning about forgiveness. Collectivists and individualists may still reason about forgiveness differently. Collectivists may think more about group norms of social harmony, whereas individualists may think more about the personal benefits of forgiving. This may lead collectivists to forgive decisionally but not emotionally, which may have consequences such as the residual anger shown by Huang and Enright (2000). On the other hand, individualists may decide to forgive only when they plan on following that decision with the process of emotional forgiveness.

Level of forgiveness. Five studies (Azar & Mullet, 2002; Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto & Mullet, 2004; Park, 1999; So, 2004) examined participants' level of forgiveness. Three studies (Azar & Mullet, 2002; Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto &

Mullet, 2004) measured forgiveness with modified versions of a similar questionnaire that measures what Mullet and colleagues have termed *propensity to forgive*. Although not well defined, the construct of propensity to forgive seems to measure one's general tendency to forgive others across time and situations. Azar and Mullet (2002) compared a sample of 240 participants from Lebanon with a sample of 474 participants from France that was gathered in a previous study (Mullet et al., 1998). Participants completed the forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998). The questionnaire was translated into Arabic for the Lebanese participants. They found similar levels of the propensity to forgive between the collectivistic Lebanese participants, and the individualistic French participants.

A very similar study was conducted by Kadiangandu et al. (2001). The authors measured the propensity to forgive in a sample of Congolese adults, and compared these results with the same data previously gathered by Mullet et al. (1998) in France. Participants from the Congo ($N = 322$) and participants from France ($N = 474$) completed the forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998), although the version for the Congolese participants was shortened. In this study, the means for the propensity to forgive were different. The people from the collectivist country of the Congo reported much higher propensity to forgive scores than did people from the individualist country of France.

This difference in results is interesting, because both studies compare propensity to forgive between an individualist culture and a collectivist culture. Both have similar methodological problems; the data from the individualistic culture and the collectivistic

culture were collected two years apart, so history effects such as war or economic hardship could be problematic. The study by Azar and Mullet (2002) also suffers from problems with the translation of material, because the Lebanese sample completed the questionnaire in Arabic, while the French sample completed the questionnaire in French. The study by Kadiangandu et al. (2001) probably does not suffer from as many problems with the translation of material, because both the Congolese and French sample completed the questionnaire in French, although just because people from two cultures speak the same language does not mean they necessarily will understand a questionnaire in the same way. One difference between the two studies that I believe may account for the differences in the findings is the historical context of Lebanon at the time of the study. Azar and Mullet (2002) measure the propensity to forgive among Lebanese following the end of a series of bloody conflicts between Moslem and Christian Lebanese. Although it is interesting to study forgiveness in individuals following a civil war, the comparison with the French sample is problematic because the authors essentially compare forgiveness in a peaceful society with forgiveness in a society stuck in a violent cycle of civil war. I hypothesize that the presence of social unrest and civil war may account for forgiveness scores among collectivistic Lebanese that are not higher than forgiveness scores among the individualistic French. A second difference between the two studies that is problematic is that different materials were used. The French participants and Lebanese participants completed 46-item questionnaires. The questionnaire for the Congolese participants was reduced to 27 items, and thus comparisons are only made for the 27 items. No explanation was given for which items

were removed from the questionnaire. To the extent that the items given to the Congolese participants were different from the items omitted, this difference in questionnaires could account for some of the difference in the two studies.

Neto and Mullet (2004) also examined the propensity to forgive, but they did so in a monocultural sample. Portuguese college students ($N = 192$) completed the Forgivingness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 2003), as well as the Self-Construal scale (Singelis, 1994), which measures independent and interdependent self-construal. Neto and Mullet (2004) found that independence was negatively correlated with propensity to forgive, and interdependence was positively correlated with propensity to forgive. The results from this study seem to support the findings from Kadiangandu et al. (2001) that collectivists report higher propensity to forgive than do individualists.

Two studies (Park, 1999; So, 2004) measured the forgiveness of a specific offender. Park (1999) had 326 participants from Korea and 339 participants from Taiwan complete the Enright Forgiveness Inventory [EFI]. Park (1999) then compared these results with a sample of 394 participants from the United States. The EFI measures one's forgiveness of a particular offender. It includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral items. U.S. participants reported higher levels of forgiveness than both Korean and Taiwanese participants. Park (1999) suggested that either Asians are less forgiving or they are more reserved or modest in their responses. So (2004) also measured the forgiveness of a specific offender. U.S. college students ($N = 229$) completed the Forgiveness Scale (Rye et al., 2001) and the Individualism/Collectivism scale (Triandis et al., 1986). The Forgiveness Scale measures one's forgiveness of a particular offender. It includes

cognitive, affective, behavioral, and motivational items. The Individualism/Collectivism scale measures one's levels of individualism and collectivism. Similar to the findings of Neto and Mullet (2004), So (2004) found that independence was negatively correlated with forgiveness and interdependence was positively correlated with forgiveness, although the relationship between independence and forgiveness was modest.

The effect of individualism and collectivism on one's level of forgiveness is far from conclusive. When participants were asked to report their propensity to forgive, collectivists rated themselves as more forgiving than individualists. Does this mean that collectivists are always more forgiving than individualists? Not necessarily. In fact, when asked to rate their forgiveness of a particular offender, one study (So, 2004) found that collectivists were slightly more forgiving than individualists, but another study (Park, 1999) found that individualists were more forgiving than collectivists. Collectivists may score higher on propensity to forgive because propensity to forgive is a general measure of one's willingness to forgive across time and situations. Each question specifically mentions forgiveness in a particular situation. People in collectivistic cultures may implicitly define forgiveness differently than do people in individualistic cultures. In collectivistic cultures, there may be pressure to say one has forgiven and to act as if one has forgiven, hence, higher propensity to forgive. In individualistic cultures, there is not necessarily a requirement to say one has forgiven or act that way. The focus in individualistic cultures is on having forgiving feelings or forgiving thoughts. So even though collectivists may report being more forgiving across times and situations, they may not experience forgiveness in a specific situation at a higher level as reported by a

measure such as the EFI that taps into their thoughts and feelings. Collectivists may decide to forgive at a higher level than do individualists, but may not experience emotional forgiveness at a higher level than do individualists.

The measurement of forgiveness. Two studies (Park, 1999; Rique, 2000) examined the reliability and validity of the Enright Forgiveness Inventory in a collectivist culture. Rique (2000) developed the Brazilian-Portuguese version of the EFI, and Park (1999) used the EFI in Korea and Taiwan. Rique (2000) found that the EFI in Brazil exhibited strong evidence of internal consistency and construct validity by being associated with a separate measure of forgiveness. Park (1999) found that the EFI in both Korea and Taiwan exhibited strong evidence of internal consistency and construct validity by being associated with a separate measure of forgiveness.

Five studies (Azar & Mullet, 2002; Fu et al., 2004; Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto & Mullet, 2004; Watkins & Regmi, 2004) used modified versions of Mullet's forgiveness questionnaire (Mullet et al., 1998; Mullet et al., 2003) in collectivistic cultures. All five studies had major problems adapting Mullet et al.'s (1998, 2003) questionnaire and factor structure to their collectivist sample. Mullet et al. (1998) originally proposed four factors for their forgiveness scale that measured propensity to forgive: revenge versus forgiveness, personal and social circumstances, obstacles to forgiveness, and forgiveness block. None of the five studies in a collectivist culture replicated this factor structure. Azar and Mullet (2002) performed a confirmatory factor analysis on the data from their Lebanese sample and found that the data fit Mullet et al.'s (1998) four-factor model poorly. They subsequently performed an exploratory factor

analysis and found that the data fit a two-factor model. They named their factors obstacles to forgiveness, and revenge versus forgiveness. Kadiangandu et al. (2001) started with an exploratory factor analysis on the data from their Congolese sample and found that the data fit into two different factors, revenge versus forgiveness, and personal and social circumstances. Neto and Mullet (2004) performed a confirmatory factor analysis and found that the data fit a three-factor model, revenge versus forgiveness, personal and social circumstances, and forgiveness block. Fu et al. (2004) found two distinct factors in their Chinese sample that were similar to those found by Kadiangandu et al. (2001). However, Fu et al. (2004) found that the second factor (personal and social circumstances) confounded negatively worded forgiveness items and those about personal and social circumstances. They dropped all items in this second factor. Watkins and Regmi (2004) also had problems with the second factor during pilot testing with their Nepalese participants, and dropped all items in the second factor.

Thus, researchers have had difficulty replicating the factor structure found by Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness scale. This may be because collectivists and individualists understand forgiveness in different ways. I propose that when collectivists read an item asking their propensity to forgive, they understand this as making a decision to forgive. Individualists, on the other hand, may understand propensity to forgive as the emotional process of forgiving. This difference in understanding may result in different factor structures on forgiveness scales based on cultural worldview. I temper this somewhat, however, because Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness scale has not been rigorously tested psychometrically. Indeed, little more than exploratory factor analysis

has been done to lend evidence for the reliability and validity of this measure. Since the Enright Forgiveness Inventory, whose reliability and validity has been tested extensively had high reliability and validity in two collectivistic cultures, the poor reliability findings of Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire in collectivistic cultures may be caused by the psychometric problems of the scale itself.

Interventions to promote forgiveness. One study examined a psychoeducational intervention to promote forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. Hui and Ho (2004) implemented a classroom program to promote forgiveness in Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong. Four classes of students were randomly divided into two experimental groups ($n = 63$) who were given the forgiveness program, and two control groups ($n = 58$) who were given an environmental protection program. The program was short (8 sessions over 4 weeks) and taught Enright's process model of forgiveness. Participants completed the Conceptual Forgiveness Questionnaire (Kanz, 2000), the Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), and the Children's Hope Scale (Snyder et al., 1997) before and after the intervention. Participants completed the EFI (Enright, 1994) after the intervention only. The program helped students gain knowledge about forgiveness and helped to challenge misconceptions about forgiveness. Students generally responded positively to the program. Although the study reported some changes in participants' concepts of forgiveness after the program, participants' self-esteem and hope were not affected. This intervention meets some of the standards for psychoeducational interventions as outlined in Worthington, Sandage, and Berry (2000). The intervention used a treatment manual, had a true control group, and had two groups per condition.

However, the choice of dependent measures was suspect. Participant's level of forgiveness was measured at post-test only, so changes in forgiveness caused by the intervention could not be measured. Also, to measure the understanding of forgiveness, Hui and Ho (2005) use a yes-no scale that has not been extensively tested psychometrically. Thus, although it seems plausible to use a psychoeducational intervention to promote forgiveness in a collectivistic culture, the research in this area is minimal.

Forgiveness and religion. Two studies (Fu et al., 2004; Kadiangandu et al., 2001) briefly addressed the relationship between individualism, collectivism, and religion, and their effects on forgiveness. Fu et al. (2004) interviewed 27 scholars, teachers, and postgraduate students from universities and research institutions in the People's Republic of China. The semistructured interviews focused on exploring the participant's view of forgiveness, the factors influencing their decision to forgive, and the influence of Chinese culture on their perception of forgiveness. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed for data analysis. All but one participant felt that religious belief had little influence on their decision to forgive. Kadiangandu et al. (2001) compared propensity to forgive between members from an individualistic culture (France) and a collectivistic culture (Congo). Congolese participants ($N = 322$) and French participants ($N = 474$) completed a version of Mullet et al.'s (1998) forgiveness questionnaire which measures propensity to forgive. Participants were also asked if they believe in God and if they attended church on a regular basis. Kadiangandu et al. (2001) found a main effect for religious belief and religious practice. That is, people who believed God and attended church regularly had

higher scores on propensity to forgive than people who did not. The authors also found a significant interaction between religious practice and culture. The difference in forgiveness scores between people attending church and people not attending church was greater for members of an individualistic culture (France) than members of a collectivistic culture (Congo).

This finding may indicate that religious commitment may have a more profound effect on forgiveness for individualists than collectivists. Perhaps individualists who attend church regularly have more social support and are more interdependent, so they are more forgiving. Collectivists, on the other hand, may have social support and be interdependent whether they attend church or not. The effects of religion, individualism, and collectivism on forgiveness are probably different in different countries depending on the religious culture of that country. The finding by Fu et al. (2004) shows that at least the collectivist culture of the PRC, religion plays little if any role in forgiveness. In collectivist cultures in which religion is more important, religion will probably have a greater effect on forgiveness. For example, Thai Buddhism encourages individuals to forgive others in order to express tolerance and compassion (Callister & Wall, 2004). Also, religion is not a unitary construct. Different types of religion may have different effects on forgiveness. For example, Callister and Wall (2004) speculate that in contrast with Thai Buddhism which is very collectivistic, the three main religions in the United States (Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism) all have an adversarial overtone rather than one of harmony. For example, evil is viewed as the enemy of good, and members of these religions are expected to oppose evil and gain victory over evil. Religion that promotes a

sense of harmony would be expected to promote forgiveness, whereas religion that does not promote harmony would not be expected to promote forgiveness as much.

Forgiveness-related constructs. Apology has been linked to forgiveness because it is related to the development of more positive affect toward the offender (Worthington & Wade, 1999). Four studies (Fukuno & Ohbuchi, 1998; Park, Lee, & Song, 2005; Sugimoto, 1997; Takaku, 2000) examined differences in the use of apologies in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. The findings were generally consistent. People from collectivistic cultures preferred apologies and thought that apologies were more appropriate than people from individualistic cultures did. For example, Takaku (2000) had 52 U.S. college students and 52 Japanese college students read a scenario where a transgression has occurred, followed by four types of accounts: an apology, an excuse, a justification, and avoidance. Participants were asked to rate how appropriate it would be to give each account. Japanese participants indicated that apology was significantly more appropriate than did U.S. participants. U.S. participants, on the other hand, indicated that justification was significantly more appropriate than did Japanese participants. If members of collectivistic cultures believe that apologies are more appropriate than do members of individualistic cultures, they may be more apt to use apologies when resolving conflicts. The increased use of apologies may contribute to forgiveness among members of collectivistic cultures.

Conflict resolution is related to forgiveness because conflict is often a precursor to forgiveness. Three studies (Leung, Au, Fernandez-Dols, & Iwawaki, 1992; Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994; Takaku, Weiner, & Ohbuchi, 2001) examined differences in the way

conflicts are handled in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. For example, Leung et al. (1992) compared the conflict resolution preferences of two collectivistic cultures (Japan and Spain) with two individualistic cultures (Canada and the Netherlands) from a previous study (Leung, Bond, Carment, Krishnan, & Liebrand, 1990). Compared with the two individualistic cultures, the two collectivistic cultures endorsed harmony-enhancing procedures such as negotiating and complying more, and endorsed confrontational procedures such as threatening and accusing less. This conclusion should be viewed as tentative because Leung et al. (1992) did not perform the necessary statistical tests to evaluate this conclusion. Although this study did not explicitly study forgiveness, forgiveness may be viewed as a harmony-enhancing conflict resolution procedure that may be more likely to be endorsed in collectivistic rather than individualistic societies.

Mediation is a technique used to resolve conflict that involves the use of a third party to facilitate the conflict resolution process (Callister & Wall, 1997). Mediators have been used to set up negotiations, separate parties, advise parties, offer proposals, serve as sounding boards, and protect the disputants (Wall & Blum, 1991). One study compared mediation and mediation techniques related to forgiveness in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Callister and Wall (2004) compared the mediation approaches of Thai and U.S. community mediators. Thai mediators ($N = 111$) and U.S. mediators ($N = 111$) completed a structured interview. The interviewer asked the mediator to recall the last dispute that he or she had mediated. Participants were asked to describe the nature and context of the dispute, and the people involved. Next, the mediators were asked to recall the specific steps they took to assist or resolve the dispute, as well as the final

outcome of the mediation. Thai mediators more frequently requested forgiveness and called for apologies than did U.S. mediators. Since the formal mediation of disputes reflects the way members of that culture resolve conflict, this study may indicate that forgiveness as a conflict resolution technique is more highly valued and practiced in the collectivist Thai culture than in the individualistic U.S. culture.

Four studies (Callister & Wall, 1997; Kim, Wall, Sohn, & Kim, 1993; Wall & Blum, 1991; Wall & Callister, 1999) examined mediation and mediation techniques related to forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. For example, Kim et al. (1993) studied mediation in South Korea and found that mediators used techniques such as calling for forgiveness, apologies, and empathy. The mediation literature is helpful because it describes the use of forgiveness-related techniques in the conflict resolution process in collectivistic cultures. Most studies on mediation, however, do not give much information about the differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultures because most studies lack a control or comparison group. The one exception (Callister & Wall, 2004) was very interesting because it showed differences between the approaches of Thai and U.S. community mediators.

Discussion

Since the research of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness is in its infancy, any conclusions and generalizations made in the present review are tentative at best. Therefore, I proceed cautiously.

Relatively little theory about the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness has been presented by psychologists. Theory drives systematic research, and

the lack of a theoretical base has caused the research on the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness to be disorganized at best. I applaud the attempts to provide a theoretical framework for studying the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness (Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005) and view them as a step in the right direction. Further research can systematically study the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness to support or refute this theory.

The review of the empirical literature shows that the study of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness is in its beginning stage. Empirical studies are not always driven by theory. Empirical findings are sometimes inconsistent and have not been well replicated. These problems with the empirical literature may also be due to different cultural understandings of the concept of forgiveness.

Individualistic and collectivistic cultures shape the perceptions and understandings of concepts like forgiveness. In research to date, psychometrically and unsophisticated measures of forgiveness have been used, or forgiveness has been treated as a unitary concept.

Propensity to forgive, which has been the general measure employed by Mullet and his colleagues has been operationalized using items that do not clearly define forgiveness. Worthington and his colleagues (Exline, Worthington, Hill, & McCullough, 2003; Worthington & Scherer, 2004) have differentiated decisional forgiveness (a decision about behavioral intentions toward an offender) and emotional forgiveness (an experience of reduced negative emotional valence associated with reduced avoidance and revenge motivations and increased conciliatory and benevolent motivations).

The theoretical differences between decisional and emotional forgiveness do a good job of explaining the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Because of the social norms in collectivistic cultures to preserve group harmony and avoid conflict, it may be that collectivistic cultures have cultural norms that promote decisional forgiveness. Even though collectivists have made the decision to forgive, and may report this decision, their internal experience of emotional forgiveness may typically lag behind that decision.

Individualistic cultures may not have the same social norms to preserve group harmony and avoid conflict. In fact, norms might be more heavily weighted toward internal consistency with outward behavior (which could instantiate reduction of cognitive dissonance by emotionally forgiving if one is induced to decisionally forgive) or could motivate emotional forgiveness because one is seeking to do what is beneficial for one's own psyche. The temporal sequence of decisional and emotional forgiving may be different.

For those who forgive in collectivistic cultures, I predict quick decisional forgiveness followed by slow or even no emotional forgiveness. Emotional forgiveness may not be valued, but decisional forgiveness may be highly valued. For those who forgive in individualistic cultures, I predict emotional forgiveness to be more valued and for emotional and decisional forgiveness to be more related to each other temporally and in correlation.

It is difficult to interpret the empirical findings of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness when the measurement and understanding of forgiveness in

collectivistic cultures is not precise. It is imperative that when researchers ask individualists and collectivists about their experiences of forgiveness, individualists and collectivists are referring to the same, well-defined construct.

Although the study of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness has begun to progress, it is interesting to survey the topics in this area of research that have yet to be broached. First, no empirical research has been conducted on the effects of individualism and collectivism on the forgiveness of self, although it has been theorized about (Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005). Second, no research has been conducted on the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness in different types of relationships, such as marriage or families. For example, individualism and collectivism may have different effects on forgiveness in different types of marriages (e.g., Ripley, Worthington, & Bromley, 2005). Third, no research has been conducted on the genetic or biological aspects of forgiving in individualists and collectivists. Fourth, a burgeoning area of forgiveness research lately has been the relationship between forgiveness and health. No empirical research has directly studied the effects of individualism and collectivism on the relationship between forgiveness and physical and mental health. Finally, no empirical research has studied the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness in a therapeutic setting.

Research Agenda

With these questions in mind, I offer the following directions for future research. My hope is that psychologists will treat these questions as a roadmap when conducting research on the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

1. The research on the effects of individualism and collectivism should be driven by theory and carried out systematically. The research done thus far on the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness has been too disorganized. I offer Sandage and Williamson's (2005) organization of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness as a good starting point.

2. Systematic research must be conducted examining the similarities and differences of the understanding of forgiveness in individualists and collectivists. In what specific ways do people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures think about and understand forgiveness in similar ways? Conversely, in what specific ways do people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures think about and understand forgiveness differently?

3. How do individualists and collectivists forgive? Are the processes of forgiveness similar or different? Are the mediators and moderators of forgiveness similar or different for individualists and collectivists? Do individualists and collectivists differ in decisional forgiveness? In emotional forgiveness?

4. Do individualists and collectivists have different reasons for forgiving others?

5. What are the effects of individualism and collectivism on the relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation?

6. More research must be conducted examining the differences in the *propensity to forgive* in individualists and collectivists. Do collectivists really forgive more? Do they forgive more in all situations or only in specific contexts? Furthermore, how is

“propensity to forgive” related to different types of forgiving, such as emotional versus decisional forgiveness?

7. Methodological issues should be studied more extensively. Culture has often been used as a proxy for individualism and collectivism. Does such an assumption accurately assess differences in individualism and collectivism? Or do other cultural variables such as religion, socioeconomic status, or other subcultural differences confound this relationship? Experiments that assess the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness by priming individualist and collectivist cognition could be used to study the relationship. Are individualistic measures of forgiveness reliable and valid when used for collectivists? Are forgiveness measures measuring the same construct when used across cultures?

8. What is the relationship between religion and forgiveness for individualists and collectivists? Do religious beliefs, values, and commitment affect forgiveness in similar or different ways across cultures? Do different types of religion affect forgiveness differently?

9. What tools (e.g., psychotherapy, self-help resources, communal mediators, rituals) do individualists and collectivists use to help themselves forgive? Are they similar or different?

10. What are the effects of individualism and collectivism on the forgiveness of self?

11. What are the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness in different types of relationships, such as marital and family relationships? What is the

effect of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness in different types of marriages and different types of families?

12. What are the effects of individualism and collectivism on the genetic and biological aspects of forgiveness?

13. What are the effects of individualism and collectivism on the relationship between forgiveness and physical and mental health? Perhaps the physical and mental health benefits of forgiveness are greater for individualists than for collectivists, because individualists may experience greater emotional forgiveness than collectivists.

14. What are the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness in therapy? Can forgiveness be used in therapy in the same way for collectivists as it has been used for individualists? Or must forgiveness in therapy for collectivists be altered to reflect differences in the understanding and practice of forgiveness?

15. Can interventions developed in the United States be used effectively for collectivists? Or should they be altered to reflect differences in the understanding and practice of forgiveness by collectivists? How should they be adapted to different collectivist cultures? Are adaptations to local difference (e.g., incorporating local Filipino constructs in a forgiveness intervention in the Philippines) more important than emphasizing generic collectivist constructs?

Altogether the study of the intersection of cultural constructs such as individualism and collectivism and the experience and expression of forgiveness is rudimentary. In the cross-cultural and multicultural context of the twenty-first century, an aggressive research agenda is called for.

Chapter 3

Study 1: Psychometric Research On Non-Validated Forgiveness Measures

In Chapters 3 and 4, I report two systematic studies that explore the relationships among measurement issues, individualism versus collectivism, and processes that occur after people experience transgressions. In Chapter 5, I provide a general discussion of the studies in the context of the extant literature.

Statement of the Problem

The process of improving the available measures for studying forgiveness is an important task for the field of forgiveness. Although some aspects of forgiveness seem to be adequately assessed by existing measures, there are many aspects of forgiveness that cannot be studied properly because instruments to assess them have not yet been developed (Hoyt & McCullough, 2005; McCullough, Hoyt, & Rachal, 2000). In the present study, I create and evaluate the psychometric properties of four new measures of forgiveness.

Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness

The first two measures distinguish between decisional and emotional forgiveness for a specific transgression. Worthington and colleagues (Exline et al., 2002; Worthington & Scherer, 2004) have differentiated decisional forgiveness from emotional forgiveness.

Decisional forgiveness occurs when people make a sincere behavioral intention statement (either silently to themselves or aloud to someone else) to eliminate their

negative behavior in non-continuing relationships and also to restore positive behavior in continuing close relationships (Worthington, 2005b). Decisional forgiveness is a behavioral intention statement that one will seek to behave toward the transgressor like one did prior to a transgression (Worthington & Scherer, 2004) to the extent that it is safe to do so. One decides to release the transgressor from the debt (Baumeister et al., 1998; DiBlasio, 1998). A decision to forgive is sincere (as much as a person can be at a particular time). One might grant decisional forgiveness and still be emotionally upset, cognitively oriented toward angry, anxious, or depressive rumination, and motivationally oriented toward revenge or avoidance (Worthington & Scherer, 2004).

Emotional forgiveness is rooted in emotions, which are necessarily tied to motivations (Worthington & Scherer, 2004). It is both (1) a process and (2) an emotional or affective state. Unforgiveness is a complex combination of delayed negative emotions toward a person who has transgressed personal boundaries (Worthington & Scherer, 2004; Worthington & Wade, 1999). As a process, emotional forgiveness occurs by the process of emotionally juxtaposing positive other-oriented emotions (empathy, sympathy, compassion, or love; Worthington, Berry, & Parrot, 2001; Wade & Worthington, 2002) against negative unforgiveness, which eventually results in neutralization or replacement of all or part of those negative emotions with positive emotions (Worthington & Wade, 1999). As an emotional or affective state, emotional forgiveness is a net reduction in negativity (relative to a previous point). The end-point of “complete” emotional forgiveness is either a net neutral emotion (usually when the offender is a stranger; see Worthington, 2005b) or a net positive emotion toward the transgressor (usually when the

offender is a valued friend or loved one). Whereas the experience of some positive emotions is necessary to neutralize unforgiveness, the person may or may not have a net final positive emotion toward the transgressor. The forgiveness might be partial (reduced unforgiveness) or complete (resulting in a net neutral or even net positive emotion toward the transgressor; Worthington & Scherer, 2004).

To date, decisional and emotional forgiveness have only been evaluated by single-item measures (Worthington, 2004). Therefore, the present study extends the ability to measure decisional and emotional forgiveness by developing a scale to measure these constructs. Participants think and write about a specific transgression, and then complete a series of items that indicate whether they have experienced decisional and emotional forgiveness toward the offender. I will then refine the scale and test its validity.

Forgiveness within an Intrapersonal or Interpersonal Context

The third measure that I develop and report in the present chapter evaluates whether participants believe that forgiveness occurs primarily within an intrapersonal context or an interpersonal context (for articulation of these as they pertain to forgiveness, see Freedman, Enright, & Knutson, 2005; Worthington & Scherer, 2004; cf. Rusbult, Hannon, Stocker, & Finkel, 2005). People's understanding of the context of forgiveness is important in order to study different cultural understandings of forgiveness. People who understand forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context see forgiveness as internal or achieved individually through discussion with a third party (e.g., counselor, friend). It is not thought to be necessary for a forgiver to express decisional or emotional forgiveness to the transgressor—even if the transgressor is

readily available—but one's forgiveness might possibly be expressed to the third party (Worthington, 2005b).

Others may understand forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context (Rusbult et al., 2005). This understanding of forgiveness necessarily includes the interpersonal expression of either a decision to forgive or an experience of emotional forgiveness if the transgressor is available. Without the expression of forgiveness to an available transgressor, forgiveness is not deemed to be complete. If a transgressor is not available or has died, forgiveness within an interpersonal context is considered to require the willingness to express forgiveness if the transgressor had been available. Forgiveness within an interpersonal context can therefore involve a series of interactions surrounding a transgression, which include (a) the transgression, (b) accommodation processes by either party, (c) private or stated attributions (e.g., of blame by the victims or of justification by the offender), (d) reproaches (i.e., requests that a perpetrator explain the reasons for his or her actions), (e) accounts by the offender, (f) seeking forgiveness by the offender, (g) rejecting the need for forgiveness by the offender, (h) a victim's decisions about forgiveness, (i) a victim's expressions of emotional forgiveness, (j) acceptance of forgiveness by the offender, and perhaps (k) self-forgiveness by the offender. In society, such dyadic interactions surrounding transgressions occur within historical, in-group/out-group, and social normative (or legal) contexts that affect interpretation of events (see Cairns, Tam, Hewstone, & Niens, 2005; Staub, 2005). Individuals witness and are affected by social transgressions, so individuals not directly involved in a transgression might still be considered able to forgive.

To date, there are no measures that assess one's understanding of forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal or interpersonal context. Therefore, the present study is an important step in accurately assessing people's understanding of forgiveness. Participants indicate their agreement or disagreement of statements that conceptualize forgiveness as either occurring within an intrapersonal or interpersonal context. I will then refine the scale and test its validity.

Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression

The fourth measure that I develop and report in the present chapter distinguishes whether people think that the cause of a specific transgression is due to the personal characteristics of the offender or due to the context of the situation. People make causal attributions about why the transgressor hurt or offended. They might rely on internal or external explanations. People who make an internal attribution about the cause of a transgression think that the cause of the transgression is due to the personal characteristics of the offender. Their causal reasoning is decontextualized. They think that the cause of the transgression was due to factors such as the personality or dispositional characteristics of the offender. Attribution effects within the assessment of forgiveness have been emphasized by Fincham, Paleari, and Regalia (2002).

People who make an external attribution about the cause of a transgression, on the other hand, think that the cause of the transgression is due to the context of the situation. Their causal reasoning is contextualized and situated. They think that the cause of the transgression was due to factors such as social circumstances, society, or perhaps the victim.

To date, there are no measures that assess one's attribution of the cause of a specific transgression. There have been some measures that assess one's general attribution style focusing on criminals (Gudjonsson & Singh, 1989; Loza & Clements, 1991) and couples (Fincham & Bradbury, 1992). Coded free response methods are also widely used to study attribution (e.g., Morris & Peng, 1993; Shweder & Bourne, 1982). Forgiveness researchers have measured attributions with self-report items (e.g., McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003). Therefore, the present study extends the ability to measure the attribution of a cause of a specific transgression by introducing a scale to measure this construct. Participants think about a specific transgression, and then complete a series of items that indicate whether they think the cause of that transgression was due to the personal characteristics of the offender or to the context of the situation. I will then refine the scale and test its validity.

Present Studies

The purpose of the following studies reported in the present chapter is to create and refine four new measures of forgiveness and to evaluate their psychometric properties. In the first study (Study 1A), I create four scales to measure four distinct constructs: (a) decisional forgiveness, (b) emotional forgiveness, (c) the understanding of forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal or interpersonal context, and (d) the attribution of the cause of a specific transgression. I will refine the four forgiveness scales through expert ratings, and through exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis on a large sample. Initial validity testing will also be conducted. In the second study (Study 1B), I use the refined versions of the four forgiveness scales to test

the construct validity of the scales. I also measure the three-week temporal stability of the refined scales. In the third study (Study 1C), I use a between-subjects experimental design to further test the construct validity of the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS). I use ego depletion as a behavioral measure of decisional and emotional forgiveness. Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Muraven, Tice, & Baumeister, 1998) have shown that the self expends some limited resource, similar to energy or strength, when it engages in deliberate actions, and one deliberate action can have a detrimental effect on a subsequent deliberate action. Thinking positive thoughts about an offender whom a participant has not forgiven should induce ego depletion, and cause reduced performance on a subsequent task. The three studies will test the two following general hypotheses. First, the four forgiveness scales should have strong psychometric properties, with good estimated internal consistency, and strong estimated temporal stability. Second, the four scales should also show evidence of construct validity, as measured against other criteria that include other questionnaires and behavioral measures.

Study 1A-Scale Refinement and Initial Validity Testing

Study 1A-Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 400 undergraduate students from a large Mid-Atlantic urban university. Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Demographic data are summarized in Table 6.

Design

This study used a cross-sectional, correlational design.

Measures

Demographic Data Sheet

A data sheet was used to collect demographic information from participants. Participants indicated their age, sex, ethnicity, religious orientation, and marital status (see Appendix B).

Forgiveness Measures Under Investigation

Decisional and emotional forgiveness. Items to measure decisional and emotional forgiveness were created for the present study (see Appendix A). The items measure a person's level of decisional and emotional forgiveness in one specific situation. I predict two scales will emerge, one that measures decisional forgiveness and one that measures emotional forgiveness. I also predict that for each scale, two subscales will emerge, one that measures positive items and one that measures negative items. Participants report

Table 6

Descriptive Data for Demographics of Participants in Each Study

Demographic	Study 1A	Study 1B	Study 1C	Study 2
<i>N</i>	400	179	100	298
Age (years)				
<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	19.7 (3.0)	23.6 (6.0)	19.6 (3.3)	19.2 (2.9)
Median	19.0	22.0	18.0	18.0
Range	18.0-43.0	18.0-55.0	18.0-43.0	17.0-46.0
Ethnicity				
Black/African-American	24.5	27.4	22.0	22.8
Asian/Asian-American	16.3	12.3	13.0	13.9
White/Caucasian	50.5	52.0	53.0	54.1
Latino	3.5	5.6	1.0	4.1
Other (or did not report)	5.3	2.8	11.0	5.1
Gender				
Female	63.8	85.5	72.0	71.4
Male	36.3	14.5	28.0	28.6
Religious orientation				
Christian	67.0	73.7	69.0	68.5
Muslim	4.0	2.8	3.0	2.4
Buddhist	2.8	.6	3.0	1.0
Hindu	2.8	1.7	1.0	1.4
Jewish	2.3	1.1	0.0	0.7
None	17.3	15.6	18.0	15.0
Other (or did not report)	4.0	4.5	6.0	10.8
Marital Status				
Single	97.0	84.9	98.0	95.9
Married	2.8	13.4	2.0	3.4
Divorced	.3	1.7	0.0	.7

Note. Ethnicity, gender, religious orientation, and marital status are reported as a percentage of the total sample size for that study.

their current behavioral intentions and emotions by indicating their agreement with items on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*.

Understanding of forgiveness. Items to measure the understanding of forgiveness were created for the present study (see Appendix A). The items measure whether a person believes that forgiveness occurs primarily within an intrapersonal context or an interpersonal context. I predict two subscales will emerge, one that measures a person's understanding of forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context, and one that measures a person's understanding of forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context. Participants report their current beliefs about forgiveness by indicating their agreement with items on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*.

Attribution of the cause of a transgression. Items to measure the attribution of a transgression were created for the present study (see Appendix A). The items measure whether a person makes an internal attribution or an external attribution for the cause of a specific transgression. I predict two subscales will emerge, one that measures a person's level of internal attribution for the cause of a specific transgression, and one that measures a person's level of external attribution for the cause of a specific transgression. Participants report their current beliefs about the cause of the specific transgression by indicating their agreement with items on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*.

Measures Used to Assess Construct Validity of Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness

Single item measure of forgiveness. Participants indicated the extent to which they had forgiven their offender on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *No forgiveness* to 5 = *Complete forgiveness* (see Appendix B). Similar items have been used in psychometric research on forgiving by McCullough, Worthington, and Rachal (1997) and Subkoviak et al. (1995).

Single item measure of decisional forgiveness. Participants indicated the extent to which they had granted forgiveness or decided to forgive their offender on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *No forgiveness* to 5 = *Complete forgiveness* (see Appendix B). This measure has been used in research on forgiving by Cooke (2006).

Single item measure of emotional forgiveness. Participants indicated the extent to which they feel that their emotions have become less negative and more positive toward their offender on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *No forgiveness* to 5 = *Complete forgiveness* (see Appendix B). This measure has been used in research on forgiving by Cooke (2006).

Rye Forgiveness Scale (Rye et al., 2001). The Rye Forgiveness Scale (see Appendix B) consists of 15 items that measure forgiveness toward a particular offender. Participants are instructed to think about how they have responded to the person who wronged or mistreated them, and indicate their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate more forgiveness. Factor analytic investigation by Rye et al. (2001) found that the items loaded on two factors, the absence of negative thoughts, feelings, and behavior toward the offender, and the presence of positive thoughts, feelings, and behavior toward the

wrongdoer. The Forgiveness Scale had Cronbach's alphas of .87 for the entire scale, .86 for the absence of negative subscale, and .85 for the presence of positive subscale (Rye et al., 2001). There is evidence for two-week estimated temporal stability, with scores of .80 for the entire scale, and .76 for both the absence of negative and presence of positive subscales (Rye et al., 2001). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with other measures of forgiveness, religiousness, hope, spiritual well-being, and negatively correlated with anger (Rye et al., 2001). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .88.

Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory (TRIM; McCullough et al., 1998). The TRIM (see Appendix B) consists of 19 items that measure motivations toward a particular offender. Participants are instructed to write a short summary about the most hurtful transgression they can remember. They rated its hurtfulness and estimated the time since its occurrence. Participants then reported their motivations toward the person who wounded them by indicating their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. Higher scores indicated higher motivations. The TRIM consists of three subscales; one measures avoidance motivations, one measures revenge motivations, and one measures benevolence motivations. The TRIM had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .84 to .93 for the avoidance and revenge subscales (McCullough et al., 1998) and .86 to .96 for the benevolence subscale (McCullough & Hoyt, 2002). Estimated three-week temporal stability in a sample of people who had difficulty forgiving ranged from .79-.86 for the avoidance and revenge subscales (McCullough et al., 1998). Estimated eight-week

temporal stability in a sample of recent victims ranged from .44-.53 for the avoidance and revenge subscales (McCullough et al., 1998). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with other measures of forgiveness, relationship satisfaction, and commitment (McCullough et al., 1998). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .88 for the revenge subscale, .93 for the avoidance subscale, and .94 for the benevolence subscale.

Trait Forgivingness Scale (TFS; Berry, Worthington, O'Connor, Parrott, & Wade, 2005). The TFS (see Appendix B) consists of 10 items that measure dispositional forgiveness, the tendency to forgive across times and situations. Participants are instructed to indicate their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. The TFS had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .74 to .80 (Berry et al., 2005). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with agreeableness, empathic concern, and perspective taking, and negatively correlated with anger, rumination, and hostility (Berry et al., 2005). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .66.

State Anger Scale (SAS; Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell, & Crane, 1983). The SAS (see Appendix B) consists of 10 items that measure the current level of anger the participant is experiencing. Participants indicate their current feelings on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 = *Not at all* to 4 = *Very much so*. Higher scores indicate higher levels of anger. The SAS had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .88 to .95 (Spielberger et al., 1983). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated

with state anxiety, neuroticism, and psychoticism (Spielberger et al., 1983). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .90.

Intrusiveness subscale of the Impact of Event Scale (IES; Horowitz, Wilner, & Alvarez, 1979). The intrusiveness subscale of the IES (see Appendix B) consists of seven items that measure rumination about intrusive thoughts, affects, and imagery related to a particular offense. Participants reported how frequently they experienced each of the intrusive experiences by indicating their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Not at all* to 5 = *Often*. The intrusiveness subscale had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .79 to .92 across multiple studies (Sundin & Horowitz, 2002). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with anxiety, depression, and general psychological symptoms (Sundin & Horowitz, 2002). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .90.

Affective empathy (Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978; Toi & Batson, 1982). The affective empathy measure used by Batson and colleagues (see Appendix B) consists of eight affect adjectives. Participants reported the degree to which they felt each affect toward their offender on a 6-point Likert scale from 0 = *Not at all* to 5 = *Extremely*. The empathy measure had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .79-.95 (Batson, O'Quin, Fultz, Vanderplas, & Isen, 1983; Coke et al., 1978; Toi & Batson, 1982). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with measures of dispositional empathy, perspective taking, and helping behavior (Batson, Bolen, Cross, & Neuringer-Benefiel, 1986; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .94.

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

The PANAS (see Appendix B) consists of 20 adjectives that measure positive and negative affect. Participants indicate how much they are experiencing each feeling on a 5-point Likert Scale from 1 = *Very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *Extremely*. The PANAS had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .86 to .90 for the positive affect subscale and .84 to .87 for the negative affect subscale (Watson et al., 1988). The PANAS had a wide range of estimated eight-week temporal stability with scores ranging from .47 to .68 for the positive affect subscale and .39 to .71 for the negative affect subscale; Watson et al., 1988). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be related to measures of general distress and dysfunction, depression, and anxiety (Watson et al., 1988). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .89 for positive affect and .85 for negative affect.

Religious Commitment Inventory-10 (RCI-10; Worthington et al., 2003). The RCI-10 (see Appendix B) consists of 10 items that assess one's dedication to a specific religion. Participants rate their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Not at all true of me* to 5 = *Totally true of me*. The RCI-10 consists of 6 items that measure one's intrapersonal religious commitment. For example, participants indicate the degree to which their religious beliefs lie behind their whole approach to life. The RCI-10 also consists of 4 items that measure one's interpersonal religious commitment. For example, participants indicated the degree to which they enjoy working in the activities of their religious organization. There is some evidence that the two subscales of the RCI-10 measure somewhat different constructs, but since the two subscales are highly

correlated, Worthington et al. (2003) suggest that using a one-factor model is preferable until additional evidence shows the usefulness of two sub-scales. Worthington et al. (2003) found acceptable estimated inter-item reliability for the RCI-10, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .88 to .98 for the entire scale, .92-.94 for the intrapersonal subscale, and .87-.92 for the interpersonal subscale. These estimates of reliabilities were tested in a variety of populations. Estimates of temporal stability (3 week and 5 month) were reported as .84-.87 for the entire scale, .86 for the intrapersonal subscale, and .83 for the interpersonal subscale. Worthington et al. (2003) also reported evidence for construct validity. Participants who endorsed salvation as one of the top 5 values on Rokeach's Value Survey scored significantly higher on the RCI-10 than participants who did not endorse salvation as one of the top 5 values (Worthington et al., 2003). The RCI-10 was significantly and positively correlated with a single-item measure of religiosity, the frequency of attendance of religious activities, and self-rated spiritual intensity. Furthermore, when comparing Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and nonreligious participants on the RCI-10, the nonreligious group scored significantly lower on the RCI-10 than all religious groups (Worthington et al., 2003). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .95.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

The MCSDS (see Appendix B) consists of 33 items that measure the need for social approval. Participants read statements concerning personal attributes and traits, and indicate whether each statement is true or false for them personally. The MCSDS had a Kuder-Richardson coefficient estimate of .88 (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Estimated

one-month temporal stability was .89. The scale also shows evidence of construct validity, and was positively related to another scale measuring social desirability (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The MCSDS is also more highly correlated with the validity subscales of the MMPI than with the clinical subscales of the MMPI (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Beretvas, Meyers, and Leite (2002) conducted a recent reliability generalization study in which they assessed the internal consistency and test-retest reliability of the MCSDS in all studies since 1960 that reported sample-specific reliability estimates. Using a mixed-effects model for the meta-analysis of internal consistency reliability coefficients, Beretvas et al. (2002) found a predicted score reliability of .797 for women and .704 for men. The number of studies reporting estimated temporal stability was very small, and the values of test-retest coefficients ranged from a very low .38 (associated with a test-retest interval of 2 to 4 weeks) to .86 (test-retest interval of more than 1 month). Although the MCSDS has been the most widely used measure of social desirability (Beretvas et al., 2002, found a total of 1069 articles and dissertations that have used the MCSDS since 1960), recent evidence has questioned the validity of the MCSDS. For example, recent efforts to replicate the factorial structure of the MCSDS have not been successful (e.g., Leite & Beretvas, 2005). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .77.

Measures Used to Assess Construct Validity of the Understanding of Forgiveness

Single item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. Participants indicated the extent to which they believe forgiveness to be a process that happens inside one person or a process that happens between two or more people. Participants indicated their

belief on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Completely intrapersonal* to 5 = *Completely interpersonal* (see Appendix C).

Narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness. Participants read four scenarios, which were based on scenarios created by Berry, Worthington, Parrott, O'Connor, & Wade (2001). All four scenarios described a transgression and some level of forgiveness of that transgression. In two scenarios, forgiveness was expressed to the offender. In two scenarios, forgiveness was not expressed to the offender. For each scenario, participants indicated how much forgiveness they believe took place in the scenario on a 5-point Likert scale, from 1 = *No forgiveness* to 5 = *Complete forgiveness* (see Appendix C).

Measures Used to Assess Construct Validity of the Attribution of the Cause of a Transgression

Single item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression.

Participants thought about a specific transgression, and indicated whether they thought the cause of the transgression was due to the personal characteristics of the offender or to the context of the situation. Participants indicated their attribution on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Completely due to personal characteristics of the offender* to 5 = *Completely due to the context of the situation* (see Appendix D).

Narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. Participants read four scenarios, which were based on scenarios created by Berry et al. (2001). All four scenarios described a transgression and some level of forgiveness of that transgression. For each scenario, participants indicated whether they thought the cause of the transgression was

due to the personal characteristics of the offender or to the context of the situation.

Participants indicated their attributions on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Completely due to personal characteristics of the offender* to 5 = *Completely due to the context of the situation* (see Appendix C).

The Attribution of Blame Scale (ABS; Loza & Clements, 1991). The ABS (see Appendix D) consists of 24 items that describe causal attributions of blame. Participants indicate their agreement with items on a 6-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly agree* to 6 = *Strongly disagree*. The original scale consisted of four subscales, victim blame, offender blame, alcohol blame, and societal blame, although later investigations on the ABS found that two subscales, external attribution and internal attribution, were a better fit for the data (Di Fazio, Kroner, & Forth, 1997). The ABS had a Cronbach's alpha of .75 for the entire scale (Loza & Clements, 1991). Estimated one-week temporal stability was .77 (Loza & Clements, 1991). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and the external attribution subscale was found to be positively correlated with alcohol abuse, the perception of external control, and psychopathy (Di Fazio et al., 1997). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .82.

Locus of Control Scale (LOCS; Rotter, 1966). The LOCS (see Appendix D) consists of 29 items that measure the extent to which individuals believe they can control events that affect them. Individuals with a high internal locus of control believe that events result primarily from their own beliefs and actions. Individuals with a high external locus of control believe that events result primarily from others, fate, or chance. For each item, participants read two sentences and pick the sentence that best describes

their beliefs. The Locus of Control Scale had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .69 to .73 (Rotter, 1966). The scale had eight-month estimated temporal stability of .55 (Zerega, Tseng, & Greever, 1976). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with other measures of internal and external locus of control (Goodman & Waters, 1987). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .62.

Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992). The Relationship Attribution Measure was adapted for the present study. The Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (see Appendix D) consists of six items that measure causal and responsibility attributions for a specific offense. Participants are instructed to think about the offense and the person who hurt them, and indicate their agreement with each item on a 6-point Likert scale from 1 = *Disagree strongly* to 6 = *Agree strongly*. The original Relationship Attribution Measure had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .63 to .90 (Fincham & Bradbury, 1992). The original scale also shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with anger and negatively correlated with marital satisfaction (Fincham & Bradbury, 1992). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .74.

Procedure

Items for the four forgiveness measures under investigation were created by the present author with participation and concurrence of a post-Ph.D expert in forgiveness. Each of the forgiveness scales were sent to three or four expert raters. Expert raters all had published articles in peer-reviewed journals on the topic of forgiveness. Expert raters

rated each item on the degree of fit that they thought it shows to its construct on a 5-point Likert scale from 0 = *No fit* to 4 = *Excellent fit*. The degree of fit of each scale item to its construct was also examined using Latent Semantic Analysis. Latent Semantic Analysis is a statistical method that can be used to assess the similarity of meaning of words and passages by the analysis of large text corpora (Landauer, Foltz, & Laham, 1998). In the current study, Latent Semantic Analysis was used to assess the degree of fit of each scale item with the overall meaning of each construct as described in a paragraph. Scale items that did not show good or excellent fit from expert raters (i.e., mean ratings between 3 and 4) or from LSA analyses were removed from the scales. In particular, to winnow items, I summed the expert ratings. Items that totaled less than eight (mean = 2) were eliminated. Items that totaled less than twelve (mean = 3) and were rejected by the LSA analyses were also eliminated. The LSA analyses usually agreed with the expert raters. The revised measures were then given to the current sample (see Appendix A).

Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Participants were briefed, and the study's procedures were explained. After being briefed, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and seek clarification regarding the study's procedures. Participants then signed a consent form agreeing to participate in the study.

Participants were instructed to think about someone who has hurt or offended them, and write a short summary of the transgression. They rated its hurtfulness and estimated the time since its occurrence. After thinking about and writing about the particular transgression, participants completed a series of questionnaires. These

questionnaires included the four measures that were the focus of the psychometric investigation and a series of other measures that were used to test the construct validity of the four main scales. After completing the questionnaires, participants were debriefed and allowed to ask any additional questions regarding the study. Participants received course credit for their participation.

Study 1A-Hypotheses and Planned Analyses

Factor Analyses

Hypothesis #1

Statement. There will be a 2-factor structure for initial items of decisional forgiveness, emotional forgiveness, the understanding of forgiveness and the attribution of the cause of a transgression, using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) for the first 60% of the sample.

Justification. Preliminary judgments by experts and analysis of text using Latent Semantic Analysis (Landauer et al., 1998) suggest two factors for each measure. However, EFA of the responses of participants do not always agree with expert ratings.

Analysis. On each of the four measures, the number of factors will be determined by the eigenvalue rule (Kaiser, 1960) and the scree test (Cattell, 1966). After the number of factors has been determined, I will conduct an EFA with principal components analysis (PCA). PCA was used because it yields one or more composite variables that capture much of the information contained in a larger set of items (DeVellis, 2003). PCA is often used for data reduction (Floyd & Widaman, 1995). The factors will then be rotated. Rotation helps achieve clarity by seeking factors that result in items loading

substantially on only one factor (DeVellis, 2003). For each scale, I will first examine the factor loadings with orthogonal varimax rotation, and second with oblique promax rotation. If factors are correlated above .32, I will retain the oblique rotation (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). If factors are correlated less than .32, I will retain the orthogonal rotation. Items will be dropped from the scales using statistical, theoretical, and practical criteria. First, items will be dropped using statistical criteria. I will try to retain items that load high on one factor but low on all other factors. Thus, items that do not load at .45 and above on their highest factor will be dropped from the scale. Items with factor loadings of .45 (20% overlapping variance) are considered fair (Comrey & Lee, 1992), and thus this cutoff was chosen as the minimum. Items that do not load at least .15 less on their next highest factor will also be dropped from the scale. However, factor analytic results provide information, not answers or solutions (Clark & Watson, 1995). Theory is important when using factor analytic techniques (Clark & Watson, 1995). Thus, items will also be dropped based on theoretical and practical criteria. Items that do not align theoretically with their primary factor will be dropped from the scales. If two items appear to be redundant with each other, one will be dropped from the scale to avoid creating a scale that is overly narrow. An adequate number of items will be retained in each subscale to ensure adequate reliability coefficients. In order to ensure that the scales are useful in research and clinical practice, items will be dropped so that the scales will be brief, concise, and balanced (e.g., even number of items in each subscale, adequate number of reverse coded items in each scale, etc.).

Hypothesis #2

Statement. On the remaining 40% of the sample, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) will result in a good fit of the data to the two-factor model on each measure.

Justification. Refinement from the analyses on the first 60% of the sample suggests that replication should be warranted.

Analysis. A CFA will be performed. I seek a CFI of .9 or higher, an NFI of .9 or higher, a GFI of .9 or higher, and an RMSEA of .08 or lower.

Construct Validity Analyses

The two subsamples will be combined. For each of the four measures, I will compute scores for the final items making up the scales and subscales.

Hypothesis #3

Statement. The Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS) will correlate positively and strongly with other measures of interpersonal forgiveness.

Justification. The DFS and EFS measure interpersonal forgiveness. To the extent that this scale actually measures this construct, the DFS and EFS should correlate positively and strongly with other measures of interpersonal forgiveness.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and each of the other measures of interpersonal forgiveness.

Hypothesis #4

Statement. The DFS and EFS will correlate more strongly with other measures of state forgiveness of others than with measures of dispositional forgiveness of others.

Justification. The DFS and EFS are measures of state forgiveness of others, the forgiveness of one specific offender. To the extent that this scale accurately measures this construct, the DFS and EFS should correlate more strongly with other measures of state forgiveness of others (TRIM; McCullough et al., 1998; RFS; Rye et al., 2001) than with other measures of dispositional forgiveness of others (TFS; Berry et al., 2005) which measure one's tendency to forgive others across time and situations.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and each of the other measures of state forgiveness of others. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and a measure of dispositional forgiveness of others.

Hypothesis #5

Statement. The DFS and EFS will correlate positively with empathy, religious commitment, and positive emotion, and will correlate negatively with state anger, rumination, and negative emotion.

Justification. Forgiveness has been shown to correlate positively with empathy (McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough et al., 1997), religious involvement (McCullough & Worthington, 1999), and positive affect (McCullough et al., 1998; Thompson et al., 2005). Forgiveness has been shown to correlate negatively with state anger (Rye et al., 2001), rumination (Berry et al., 2005), and negative affect (McCullough et al., 1998; Thompson et al., 2005). To the extent that the DFS and EFS measure the construct of forgiveness, the DFS and EFS should correlate with these measures.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and each of the above measures.

Hypothesis #6

Statement. The DFS and EFS will be uncorrelated with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Justification. Participants may report that they forgive the person who hurt them because forgiveness is a socially desirable behavior. To the extent that the DFS and EFS measure forgiveness and not simply the tendency to self-report socially desirable behavior, the DFS and EFS should be uncorrelated with the MCSDS.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and the MCSDS.

Hypothesis #7

Statement. The Interpersonal Context subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS-Inter) will correlate positively with the single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. The Intrapersonal Context subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS-Intra) will correlate negatively with the single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. The FUS-Inter will correlate positively with the two items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness that display forgiveness expressed to the offender, and will correlate negatively with the two items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness that do not display forgiveness expressed to the offender. The FUS-Intra will correlate positively will all four items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness.

Justification. To the extent that the FUS measures the understanding of forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal or intrapersonal context, the subscales should be related to a single item that measures the same construct. Furthermore, when participants who view forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context read a scenario that describes the expression of forgiveness to the offender, they should report that forgiving has occurred. However, when those participants read a scenario that does not describe the expression of forgiveness to the offender, they should report that forgiving has not occurred. Participants who view forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context should report that forgiving has occurred both when the forgiveness is expressed and when the forgiveness is not expressed.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between each subscale of the FUS and the single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. The two items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness that display forgiveness expressed to the offender will be summed, and the two items that do not display forgiveness expressed to the offender will be summed. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between each subscale of the FUS and each summed score of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness.

Hypothesis #8

Statement. The Internal Attribution subscale of the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ-I) will correlate negatively with the single-item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression. The External Attribution subscale of the

Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ-E) will correlate positively with the single-item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression. The TAQ-I will correlate negatively with the total score of the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions, and the TAQ-E will correlate positively with the total score of the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. The TAQ-I will correlate positively with the internal subscale of the Attribution of Blame Scale (ABS; Loza & Clements, 1991) and negatively with the external subscale of the ABS. The TAQ-E will correlate positively with the external subscale of the ABS and negatively with the internal subscale of the ABS. The TAQ-I will correlate negatively with the Locus of Control Scale (LOC; Rotter, 1966). The TAQ-E will correlate positively with the LOC. The TAQ-I will correlate positively with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992). The TAQ-E will correlate negatively with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure. The TAQ will correlate more strongly with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure than with the responsibility attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure.

Justification. To the extent that the TAQ measures the external or internal attribution of the cause of a transgression, the subscales should be related to a single-item that measures the same construct. Furthermore, participants who make more external attributions for a specific transgression as measured by the TAQ-E are likely to make more external attributions across time and situations, as measured by the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. Participants who make more internal attributions for a

specific transgression as measured by the TAQ-I are likely to make more internal attributions across time and situations, as measured by the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. The Attribution of Blame Scale (ABS; Loza & Clements, 1991) describes the causal attributions of blame. Although this scale focuses on the internal and external attributions for criminals, it still should tap into the same construct. The Locus of Control Scale (LOC; Rotter, 1966) measures the extent to which individuals believe that they can control events that affect them. If participants do believe they can control events that affect them, they should make more internal attributions about a transgression because the offender could control his behavior. If, however, participants do not believe that they can control events that affect them, they should make more external attributions about a transgression because the offender may not have been able to control his behavior. The Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992) measures causal and responsibility attributions. The TAQ also measures causal attributions. To the extent that the TAQ measures the construct of causal attribution, it should correlate more strongly with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure than with the responsibility attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between each subscale of the TAQ and the single-item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression, the total score of the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions, each subscale of the ABS (Loza & Clements, 1991), the LOC (Rotter, 1966), and each

subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992).

Study 1A-Results

Factor Analyses

Decisional Forgiveness

Scores on all 15 decisional forgiveness items were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. One case with missing data was removed from the analysis. Eight variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, exploratory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Use of the Eigenvalue rule (Kaiser, 1960) and the scree test (Cattell, 1966) revealed that two factors best described the data. Thus, all items were analyzed using an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal components analysis (PCA) constrained to two factors on 60% of the overall sample ($n = 239$). I first examined the factor loadings with orthogonal varimax rotation, and second with oblique promax rotation. The factors correlated with each other .46, thus, the solution with oblique rotation was retained. Items were dropped from the scale if (a) they did not load at .45 or above on their highest factor or (b) they did not load at least .15 less on their next highest factor. Further items were dropped (a) if they did not align theoretically with their primary factor and (b) to create a scale that was brief, concise, and balanced (e.g., adequate number of items in each subscale, adequate number of reverse coded items). The factor loadings of each item are reported in Table 7. Eight of the initial 15 items were retained, and comprise the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS). The DFS has two four-item subscales. One subscale

Table 7

Items, Factor Loadings, Item Means, and Standard Deviations for the decisional forgiveness items (Study 1A)

Item	Factor Loading 1	Factor Loading 2	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. I will not talk with him or her.*	.88	-.21	3.30	1.40
2. I will not try to avoid him or her.	.35	-.13	3.40	1.28
3. I will not try to help him or her if he or she needs something.*	.67	.15	3.54	1.35
4. If there is an opportunity to get back at him or her, I will take it.*	.09	.72	3.99	1.09
5. If I see him or her, I will act friendly.	.72	.12	3.50	1.25
6. I will commit to spend time with him or her.	.86	-.15	2.66	1.38
7. I will try to act toward him or her in the same way I did before he or she hurt me.	.75	-.13	2.98	1.32
8. I will try to put this behind us.	.56	.15	3.88	1.05
9. I will not seek revenge upon him or her.	-.03	.73	4.11	1.10
10. I have decided to forgive him or her.	.67	.20	3.52	1.21
11. I will not try to cause him or her harm.	-.02	.70	4.25	1.01
12. I will not try to get even with him or her.	-.12	.77	4.07	1.13
13. I have decided never to forgive him or her.*	.66	.23	4.11	1.11
14. I will try to get back at him or her.*	-.07	.85	4.37	.87

15. I intend to try to hurt him or her in the same way he or she hurt me.*	-.05	.76	4.46	.87
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Note. * Item reverse scored. Values in boldface type are factor loadings at or above the minimum statistical criteria for selection. Items in boldface type comprise the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS). Factor loadings: 1 = Prosocial Intention; 2 = Inhibition of Harmful Intention. Each item is rated as 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*.

measures Prosocial Intentions, and one subscale measures the Inhibition of Harmful Intentions.

The coefficient alphas for the new DFS and subscales were .81 for the full scale, .80 for Prosocial Intentions, and .80 for Inhibition of Harmful Intentions. A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to determine the subscale intercorrelation. Prosocial Intentions was moderately correlated with Inhibition of Harmful Intentions, $r(238) = .40$, $p < .01$.

Scores on the final eight items of the DFS were then analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the other 40% of the overall sample ($n = 160$). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $X^2(19) = 56.74$, $p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Three additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .97; normed fit index [NFI] = .95; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .93), however, one additional fit index suggested a poor fit (root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .10).

Emotional Forgiveness

Scores on all 37 emotional forgiveness items were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was no missing data. Eighteen variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, exploratory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of

normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Use of the Eigenvalue rule (Kaiser, 1960) and the scree test (Cattell, 1966) revealed that two factors best described the data. Thus, all items were analyzed using an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal components analysis (PCA) constrained to two factors on 60% of the overall sample ($n = 240$). I first examined the factor loadings with orthogonal varimax rotation, and second with oblique promax rotation. The factors correlated with each other .50, thus, the solution with oblique rotation was retained. Items were dropped from the scale if (a) they did not load at .45 or above on their highest factor or (b) they did not load at least .15 less on their next highest factor. Further items were dropped (a) if they did not align theoretically with their primary factor and (b) to create a scale that was brief, concise, and balanced (e.g., adequate number of items in each subscale, adequate number of reverse coded items).

The factor loadings of each item are reported in Table 8. Eight of the initial 37 items were retained, and comprise the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS). The EFS has two four-item subscales. One subscale measures the Presence of Positive Emotion, and one subscale measures the Reduction of Negative Emotion.

The coefficient alphas for the new EFS and subscales were .81 for the full scale, .85 for the Presence of Positive Emotions, and .79 for the Reduction of Negative Emotions. A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to determine the subscale intercorrelation. Presence of Positive Emotions was moderately correlated with Reduction of Negative Emotions, $r(239) = .30, p < .01$.

Table 8

Items, Factor Loadings, Item Means, and Standard Deviations for the emotional forgiveness items (Study 1A)

Item	Factor Loading 1	Factor Loading 2	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. I feel compassion toward him or her.	-.17	.86	2.78	1.30
2. I feel angry toward him or her.*	.58	.16	2.45	1.15
3. I don't want to get even.	.26	.13	3.95	1.09
4. When I think about him or her, I feel afraid.*	.44	-.10	4.42	.92
5. When he or she is mentioned in conversation, I feel tense.*	.53	.11	3.29	1.37
6. I want to get even.*	.31	.19	4.10	1.08
7. I've given up any need to get revenge.	.30	.14	3.94	1.18
8. Compared to the moment I was hurt, my anger has gone to almost zero.	.81	-.02	3.42	1.29
9. Compared to the moment I was hurt, my hostility has gone to zero.	.77	-.03	3.55	1.23
10. Compared to the moment I was hurt, my bitterness has gone to zero.	.80	-.04	3.17	1.31
11. I feel stressed when I think about what happened.*	.81	-.44	2.85	1.34
12. Compared to the moment I was hurt, my resentment has gone to almost zero.	.70	.11	3.15	1.28
13. I feel love toward him or her.	-.29	.90	2.85	1.45
14. I feel sympathy toward	-.03	.70	2.87	1.25

him or her.				
15. I understand why he or she did what he or she did.	.08	.36	2.11	1.24
16. Compared to the moment I was hurt, my fear or anxiety has gone to almost zero.	.72	-.06	3.62	1.26
17. When I think about him or her, I feel at peace.	.42	.46	2.46	1.18
18. I replay what he or she did in my mind.*	.65	-.26	2.82	1.22
19. I don't usually get angry when I think about him or her.	.52	.26	3.14	1.23
20. I feel negatively toward him or her.*	.33	.56	3.02	1.20
21. I like him or her.	-.14	.89	2.98	1.34
22. I'm mad about what happened.*	.60	-.08	2.35	1.17
23. I am not at all sympathetic toward him or her.*	.00	.72	3.10	1.31
24. When I think about him or her, I feel calm.	.38	.43	2.49	1.07
25. I'm afraid of him or her.*	.43	-.08	4.37	.95
26. He or she owes me for what he or she did.*	.43	.00	3.51	1.26
27. I care about him or her.	-.22	.97	3.20	1.40
28. I've given up any desire to pay back him or her.	.24	.13	3.68	1.22
29. I hate him or her.*	.33	.42	4.04	1.18
30. I no longer feel upset when I think of him or her.	.70	.14	3.03	1.25

31. I feel empathy toward him or her.	.00	.61	2.80	1.12
32. I resent what he or she did to me.*	.53	.06	2.39	1.12
33. I feel hostile because of what he or she did to me.*	.70	.07	3.43	1.15
34. I'm bitter about what he or she did to me.*	.77	.00	3.07	1.20
35. I feel positively toward him or her.	.19	.73	2.85	1.27
36. He or she puts a bad taste in my mouth*	.34	.49	3.35	1.31
37. Compared to the moment I was hurt, my hate has gone to almost zero.	.60	.23	3.50	1.28

Note. * Item reverse scored. Values in boldface type are factor loadings at or above the minimum statistical criteria for selection. Items in boldface type comprise the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS). Factor loadings: 1 = Reduction of Negative Emotion; 2 = Presence of Positive Emotion. Each item is rated as 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*.

Scores on the final eight items of the EFS were then analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the other 40% of the overall sample ($n = 160$). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2(19) = 45.74, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Three additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .97; normed fit index [NFI] = .95; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .93), however, one additional fit index suggested a poor fit (root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .09).

Understanding of Forgiveness

Scores on all 39 understanding of forgiveness items were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. Five cases with missing data were removed from the analysis. Three variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, exploratory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Use of the Eigenvalue rule (Kaiser, 1960) and the scree test (Cattell, 1966) revealed that two factors best described the data. Thus, all items were analyzed using an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal components analysis (PCA) constrained to two factors on 60% of the overall sample ($n = 235$). I first examined the factor loadings with orthogonal varimax rotation, and second with oblique promax rotation. The factors correlated with each other $-.50$, thus, the solution with oblique rotation was retained.

Items were dropped from the scale if (a) they did not load at .45 or above on their highest factor or (b) they did not load at least .15 less on their next highest factor. Further items were dropped (a) if they did not align theoretically with their primary factor and (b) to create a scale that was brief, concise, and balanced (e.g., adequate number of items in each subscale). The factor loadings of each item are reported in Table 9. Twelve of the initial 39 items were retained, and comprise the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS). The FUS has two six-item subscales. One subscale measures Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness, and one subscale measures Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness.

The coefficient alphas for the new FUS and subscales were .45 for the full scale, .78 for the Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness, and .70 for the Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness. A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to determine the subscale intercorrelation. Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness was negatively correlated with Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness, $r(238) = -.35, p < .01$.

Scores on the final twelve items of the FUS were then analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the other 40% of the overall sample ($n = 160$). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was not significant, $\chi^2(53) = 67.30, p > .05$. Additional fit indices also suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .98; normed fit index [NFI] = .91; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .94; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .03).

Attribution of the Cause of a Transgression

Table 9

Items, Factor Loadings, Item Means, and Standard Deviations for the understanding of forgiveness items (Study 1A)

Item	Factor Loading 1	Factor Loading 2	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Forgiveness is a decision one must wrestle with alone.	.18	.52	3.48	1.18
2. Forgiveness must involve acting more positively toward the offender.	.65	.44	3.50	.97
3. Forgiveness is a choice made by the victim alone.	.15	.61	3.48	1.22
4. Forgiveness is a process that the person who has been hurt goes through.	.17	.50	3.99	.99
5. An offender's sincere offer of restitution is an important part of forgiveness.	.64	.34	3.92	1.00
6. Offender's apology is an important step in forgiveness.	.66	.36	4.11	.92
7. Forgiveness happens within the skin of a person.	.14	.21	3.34	1.06
8. Forgiveness is an interpersonal process (as long as the offender is alive and able to be talked to).	.32	-.09	3.17	1.11
9. Forgiveness is not an intrapersonal process.	-.12	-.04	2.67	1.09
10. Forgiveness is something a person does himself or herself.	.07	.53	3.58	.99
11. Forgiveness must involve both a choice by the victim and the response of the offender.	.55	-.11	3.23	1.14

12. Forgiveness is a dyadic (two-person) process.	.48	-.30	3.11	1.11
13. Forgiveness must involve acting less negatively toward the offender.	.58	.36	3.72	.93
14. Forgiveness does not have to involve acting less negatively toward the offender.	-.17	.58	3.22	1.18
15. A person can forgive someone without ever talking to that person again.	-.22	.58	3.71	1.06
16. The offender's acceptance of the victim's forgiveness is an important part of complete forgiveness.	.53	-.07	3.36	1.20
17. Forgiveness without reconciling is incomplete forgiveness.	.44	-.18	3.06	1.11
18. I think forgiveness is something that happens solely within one person.	.00	.61	3.13	1.13
19. Forgiveness without reconciliation is false forgiveness.	.51	-.15	2.65	1.03
20. The purpose of forgiveness is to heal the relationship between two or more people.	.71	.17	3.43	1.15
21. An important part of forgiveness is the communication of the forgiveness.	.67	-.07	3.41	1.04

22. Forgiveness does not have to involve both the person hurt and the offender.	-.26	.53	3.43	1.03
23. A person can forgive someone without ever telling that person.	-.01	.69	3.83	.95
24. A person can forgive someone who has died.	.26	.68	4.21	.75
25. An important part of complete forgiveness is restoring the damaged relationship.	.72	.09	3.34	1.10
26. If a relationship is not healed, forgiveness is not complete.	.55	-.12	2.76	1.10
27. Forgiveness must involve interactions between victim and offender.	.54	-.29	2.78	1.09
28. Forgiving someone is different from reconciliation.	.01	.33	3.66	.88
29. Forgiveness is something that the person who was hurt and the offender must work through together.	.56	-.27	2.97	1.15
30. Seeking forgiveness by the offender is an important aspect of forgiveness.	.57	-.03	3.11	1.14
31. Forgiveness is completely an internal process.	-.04	.45	3.17	1.12
32. Complete forgiveness does not require that one tells the wrongdoer one	-.08	.57	3.34	1.02

has forgiven (if the wrongdoer is available).				
33. Forgiveness is something that must happen between two or more people.	.54	-.15	2.68	1.07
34. One can forgive without communicating it directly to the offender.	-.01	.60	3.70	.99
35. Forgiveness involves both the person hurt and the offender.	.65	-.13	3.07	1.13
36. A person cannot forgive someone if he or she is not present to receive the forgiveness.	.32	-.30	2.30	1.07
37. A person can completely forgive another without telling him or her.	.02	.63	3.58	1.12
38. The act of forgiving does not involve the offender.	-.11	.55	2.94	1.00
39. A person can forgive someone and not desire to resume a friendship with that person.	.06	.44	4.06	.88

Note. Values in boldface type are factor loadings at or above the minimum statistical criteria for selection. Items in boldface type comprise the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS). Factor loadings: 1 = Interpersonal Understanding; 2 = Intrapersonal Understanding. Each item is rated as 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*.

Scores on all 44 causal attribution items were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was no missing data. Twenty-eight variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, exploratory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Use of the Eigenvalue rule (Kaiser, 1960) and the scree test (Cattell, 1966) revealed that two factors best described the data. Thus, all items were analyzed using an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal components analysis (PCA) constrained to two factors on 60% of the overall sample ($n = 240$). I first examined the factor loadings with orthogonal varimax rotation, and second with oblique promax rotation. The factors correlated with each other .00, thus, the solution with orthogonal rotation was retained. Items were dropped from the scale if (a) they did not load at .45 or above on their highest factor or (b) they did not load at least .15 less on their next highest factor. Further items were dropped (a) if they did not align theoretically with their primary factor and (b) to create a scale that was brief, concise, and balanced (e.g., adequate number of items in each subscale). The factor loadings of each item are reported in Table 10. Ten of the initial 44 items were retained, and comprise the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ). The TAQ has two five-item subscales. One subscale measures Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression, and one subscale measures External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression.

Table 10

Items, Factor Loadings, Item Means, and Standard Deviations for the attribution of the cause of the transgression items (Study 1A)

Item	Factor Loading 1	Factor Loading 2	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. He or she likes to hurt others.	.73	-.12	2.40	1.35
2. He or she hasn't had a fair shot in life.	.28	.56	2.20	1.17
3. I wasn't treating him or her well.	-.20	.39	1.68	1.03
4. He or she has been through a lot.	-.03	.70	2.72	1.38
5. He or she has had a difficult life.	.11	.66	2.48	1.34
6. He or she is an angry person.	.68	.29	2.49	1.33
7. He or she had a difficult family upbringing.	.24	.54	2.50	1.41
8. He or she was having a tough week at work/school.	-.16	.74	2.33	1.28
9. I made him or her do it.	-.19	.39	1.46	.84
10. He or she is not a loving person.	.72	-.01	2.11	1.17
11. He or she is not loyal.	.65	-.20	2.72	1.42
12. He or she is not responsible.	.64	-.06	2.64	1.38
13. He or she was tired.	-.05	.57	2.13	1.16
14. He or she is not a good person.	.79	-.11	2.13	1.21
15. I caught him or her at a bad time.	-.15	.49	1.99	1.16
16. I was too hard on him or her.	-.18	.53	1.65	.97
17. He or she was having a	-.12	.68	2.09	1.24

bad day.				
18. He or she has had a rough time lately.	-.15	.76	2.42	1.30
19. He or she doesn't think about how his/her actions affect other people.	.47	-.09	3.73	1.28
20. He or she gets angry all the time.	.66	.28	2.47	1.36
21. He or she lacks self-control.	.74	.02	2.96	1.41
22. He or she is not dependable.	.72	-.05	2.70	1.37
23. He or she is a bad person.	.78	-.09	2.02	1.23
24. He or she is evil.	.70	.01	1.78	1.17
25. He or she is unkind.	.79	-.08	2.11	1.29
26. He or she is not an understanding person.	.77	.04	2.58	1.29
27. He or she was having financial problems.	.15	.53	2.10	1.29
28. He or she wasn't treated well by his/her parents.	.24	.47	2.15	1.32
29. He or she was having a bad week.	-.10	.75	2.16	1.19
30. He or she doesn't think before he or she acts.	.49	.01	3.47	1.33
31. I asked too much of him or her.	-.07	.44	1.79	1.11
32. He or she doesn't care about anyone but himself/herself.	.73	-.18	2.77	1.35
33. He or she is selfish.	.73	-.08	2.92	1.32
34. He or she can't control himself/herself.	.74	-.02	2.87	1.39
35. Today's society made him or her do it.	.08	.21	1.86	1.21

36. He or she is impatient.	.49	.08	2.70	1.25
37. He or she can't control his/her anger.	.68	.19	2.40	1.38
38. He or she gets mad easily.	.68	.21	2.55	1.45
39. Life has been really difficult lately for him or her.	.01	.73	2.40	1.30
40. He or she had a rough childhood.	.27	.57	2.18	1.30
41. He or she was stressed out.	.16	.79	2.65	1.31
42. He or she was angry with someone else.	.17	.58	2.28	1.28
43. He or she had way too much on his/her plate.	.04	.70	2.36	1.27
44. He or she didn't get much sleep the night before.	.02	.63	1.95	1.12

Note. Values in boldface type are factor loadings at or above the minimum statistical criteria for selection. Items in boldface type comprise the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ). Factor loadings: 1 = Internal Attribution; 2 = External Attribution. Each item is rated as 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*.

The coefficient alphas for the new TAQ and subscales were .73 for the full scale, .90 for the Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression, and .86 for the External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression. A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to determine the subscale intercorrelation. Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression was mildly negatively correlated with External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression, $r(239) = -.14, p < .05$.

Scores on the final ten items of the TAQ were then analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the other 40% of the overall sample ($n = 160$). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2(35) = 65.75, p < .01$. However, the chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .98; normed fit index [NFI] = .96; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .93; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .07).

Preliminary Construct Validity Analyses

Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness

The two subsamples were combined. Scores were computed for the final items of the DFS and EFS. The coefficient alphas for the new DFS and subscales on the full sample were .83 for the full scale, .78 for Prosocial Intentions, and .83 for Inhibition of Harmful Intentions. The coefficient alphas for the new EFS and subscales on the full sample were .81 for the full scale, .85 for the Presence of Positive Emotions, and .78 for the Reduction of Negative Emotions.

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with the DFS and EFS are summarized in Table 11. The DFS and EFS showed evidence of construct validity by correlating strongly with other measures of interpersonal forgiveness. The DFS and EFS were positively correlated with three single-item measures of forgiveness, the TRIM-B, the RFS, and the TFS, and (as hypothesized) were negatively correlated with both the TRIM-A and the TRIM-R.

The DFS and EFS showed further evidence of construct validity by correlating strongly with other measures that are associated with forgiveness. The DFS and EFS were positively correlated with empathy and negatively correlated with state anger and negative emotion. The EFS was positively correlated with positive emotion, but the DFS was not. Contrary to our hypotheses, both the DFS and EFS were uncorrelated with rumination and religious commitment.

The DFS and EFS also showed evidence of discriminant validity. Both the DFS and EFS were uncorrelated with a measure of social desirability. Furthermore, the correlation between both the DFS and EFS and another measure of state forgiveness (RFS; .72 and .75, respectively) was larger than the correlation between both the DFS and EFS and a measure of trait forgiveness (TFS; .31 and .31, respectively; $z = 8.27$ and 9.19 , respectively; $p < .001$ for both).

Understanding of Forgiveness

The two subsamples were combined. Scores were computed for the final items of the FUS. The coefficient alphas for the new FUS and subscales on the full sample were

Table 11

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with DFS, EFS (Study 1A)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. DFS	1																
2. EFS	.71*	1															
3. SIF	.68*	.68*	1														
4. SIDF	.69*	.67*	.76*	1													
5. SIEF	.56*	.65*	.70*	.71*	1												
6. TRIM-A	-.67*	-.74*	-.64*	-.67*	-.60*	1											
7. TRIM-R	-.73*	-.48*	-.50*	-.57*	-.39*	.46*	1										
8. TRIM-B	.74*	.78*	.74*	.74*	.67*	-.78*	-.54*	1									
9. RFS	.72*	.75*	.68*	.69*	.65*	-.69*	-.62*	.74*	1								
10. TFS	.31*	.31*	.40*	.38*	.37*	-.31*	-.29*	.39*	.48*	1							
11. Empathy	.57*	.69*	.52*	.51*	.48*	-.63*	-.38*	.65*	.57*	.25*	1						
12. Rumination	-.06	-.15	-.13	-.15	-.17	.13	.11	-.05	-.35*	-.19*	.07	1					
13. SAS	-.40*	-.38*	-.45*	-.41*	-.44*	.36*	.44*	-.43*	-.56*	-.30*	-.20	.34	1				
14. PANAS-P	.07	.20*	.10	.06	.12	-.14	.05	.16	.08	.01	.32	.16	.14	1			
15. PANAS-N	-.18*	-.21*	-.28*	-.24*	-.27*	.15	.26*	-.21*	-.45*	-.20*	.02	.45	.52*	.26*	1		
16. RCI-10	.03	.08	.07	.10	.14	-.05	-.06	.07	.16	.18	.14	.00	.04	.17	-.01	1	
17. MCSDS	.13	.09	.10	.11	.16	-.10	-.22*	.13	.18*	.26*	.10	-.12	-.10	.09	-.11	.22*	1

Note. $N = 400$. DFS = Decisional Forgiveness Scale; EFS = Emotional Forgiveness Scale; SIF = Single-Item Forgiveness; SIDF = Single-Item Decisional Forgiveness; SIEF = Single-Item Emotional Forgiveness; TRIM-A = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Avoidance; TRIM-R = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Revenge; TRIM-B = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Benevolence; RFS = Rye Forgiveness Scale; TFS = Trait Forgiveness Scale; Empathy = Batson's Empathy Adjectives; Rumination = Intrusiveness subscale of the Impact of Events Scale; SAS = State Anger Scale; PANAS-P = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Positive; PANAS-N = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Negative; RCI-10 = Religious Commitment Inventory-10; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

* Bonferroni-corrected $p < .0004$

.45 for the full scale, .76 for the Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness, and .70 for the Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness.

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with the FUS and subscales are summarized in Table 12. The FUS showed evidence of construct validity by correlating with measures that also assessed the understanding of forgiveness. The Intrapersonal subscale of the FUS was negatively correlated with a single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness, and the Interpersonal subscale of the FUS was positively correlated with a single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. High scores on the single-item measure indicated a more interpersonal understanding of forgiveness, and low scores on the single-item measure indicated a more intrapersonal understanding of forgiveness. The Intrapersonal subscale of the FUS was also positively correlated with a measure that indicated forgiveness took place even when the forgiveness was not communicated to the offender. There was no relationship between the Interpersonal subscale of the FUS and this measure. The FUS also showed evidence of discriminant validity. The FUS was uncorrelated with a measure of social desirability.

Attribution of the Cause of a Transgression

The two subsamples were combined. Scores were computed for the final items of the TAQ. The coefficient alphas for the new TAQ and subscales on the full sample were .77 for the full scale, .90 for the Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression, and .87 for the External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression.

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with the TAQ and subscales are summarized in Table 13. The TAQ showed evidence of construct validity

Table 12

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with FUS (Study 1A)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. FUS	1						
2. FUS-Intra	.60*	1					
3. FUS-Inter	.55*	-.34*	1				
4. SIUF	-.09	-.40*	.31*	1			
5. NTUF-Expressed	.07	.04	.05	-.05	1		
6. NTUF-Not Expressed	.20*	.24*	-.02	-.10	.22*	1	
7. MCSDS	.03	-.04	.09	.11	.07	.10	1

Note. $N = 400$. FUS = Forgiveness Understanding Scale; FUS-Intra = Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness; FUS-Inter = Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness; SIUF = Single Item Understanding of Forgiveness; NTUF-Expressed = Narrative Test of Understanding of Forgiveness: Forgiveness Expressed; NTUF-Not Expressed = Narrative Test of Understanding of Forgiveness: Forgiveness Not Expressed; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

* Bonferroni-corrected $p < .001$

Table 13

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with TAQ (Study 1A)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. TAQ	1										
2. TAQ-Int	.71*	1									
3. TAQ-Ext	.66*	-.06	1								
4. SIAT	-.19*	-.39*	.16	1							
5. ABS-Int	-.02	-.03	.01	.00	1						
6. ABS-Ext	-.12	-.05	-.11	-.04	.38*	1					
7. LOC	-.01	-.01	.00	.02	-.05	.01	1				
8. SRAM-Cause	.28*	.44*	-.07	-.33*	-.02	.01	.02	1			
9. SRAM-Responsibility	.35*	.64*	-.18*	-.39*	-.03	-.03	.03	.49*	1		
10. NTAT	.06	.02	.07	.09	-.05	-.19*	.06	.03	-.03	1	
11. MCSDS	-.08	-.12	.01	-.03	.03	-.03	-.24*	-.15	-.13	.06	1

Note. $N = 400$. TAQ = Transgression Attribution Questionnaire; TAQ-Int = Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; TAQ-Ext = External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; SIAT = Single Item Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; ABS-Int = Attribution of Blame Scale: Internal Subscale; ABS-Ext = Attribution of Blame Scale: External Subscale; LOC = Locus of Control Scale; SRAM-Cause = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure: Causal Subscale; SRAM-Responsibility = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure: Responsibility Subscale; NTAT = Narrative Test of the Attribution of Transgressions; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

* Bonferroni-corrected $p < .001$

by correlating with measures that also assessed attribution. The Internal subscale of the TAQ was negatively correlated with a single-item measure of attribution, and the External subscale of the TAQ was positively correlated with a single-item measure of attribution, although this correlation just missed significance. High scores on the single-item measure indicated a more external attribution of the cause of the transgression, and low scores on the single-item measure indicated a more internal attribution of the cause of the transgression. The Internal subscale of the TAQ was also positively correlated with a measure of causal attribution and responsibility attribution. The External subscale of the TAQ was negatively correlated with the measure of responsibility attribution, but was uncorrelated with the measure of causal attribution. The TAQ also showed evidence of discriminant validity. The TAQ was uncorrelated with a measure of social desirability. Contrary to our hypotheses, the subscales of the TAQ were unrelated to attribution of blame (measured by the ABS) and locus of control.

Study 1B-Validity Testing on the Refined Scales and Test-Retest Reliability

In study 1A, scale refinement for the DFS, EFS, FUS, and TAQ was accomplished. The final versions of each scale were determined. Initial analyses of construct validity revealed evidence that the constructs were well conceived. However, no evidence could be adduced for construct validity for the actual scales, because the final items were contextualized within the larger item pool that participants completed. It was necessary, then, to give the final versions of the DFS, EFS, FUS, and TAQ to a new sample and adduce evidence for estimated reliability and construct validity of the scales.

Study 1B-Method

Participants

The sample for Study 1B consisted of 179 undergraduate students from a large Mid-Atlantic urban university. Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Demographic data are summarized in Table 6.

Design

This study used a cross-sectional, correlational design.

Measures

The refined versions of the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS), the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS), the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS), and the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ) were used for the present study (see Appendix E). All validity questionnaires that were administered in Study 1B were

significantly correlated with at least one of the three scales under investigation at $p < .10$ in Study 1A. Cronbach's alphas for all validity scales are summarized in Table 14.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Participants completed the study online. Participants read a consent form that explained the procedures of the study and their rights as a participant. Participants indicated consent agreeing to participate in the study.

After giving consent, participants were instructed to think about someone who has hurt or offended them, and write a short summary of the transgression. They rated its hurtfulness and estimated the time since its occurrence. After thinking about and writing about the particular transgression, participants completed questionnaires. These questionnaires included the four main scales and other scales that were used to test the validity of the four main scales. After completing the questionnaires participants were debriefed. Participants received course credit for their participation.

All participants were contacted three weeks after completing the study and asked to complete the four main scales again. Participants received an additional amount of course credit for their participation in the second part of the study.

Study 1B-Hypotheses and Planned Analyses

Hypothesis #1

Statement. The Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS), the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS), the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS), and the Transgression

Table 14

Cronbach's alphas for all validity scales (Study 1B)

Scale	Cronbach's alpha
RFS	.88
TRIM-A	.86
TRIM-R	.93
TRIM-B	.91
SAS	.92
IES	.88
BEA	.95
PANAS-P	.90
PANAS-N	.90
SRAM	.78
TFS	.72
MCSDS	.78
RCI-10	.95

Note. $N = 179$. RFS = Rye Forgiveness Scale; TRIM-A = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Avoidance; TRIM-R = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Revenge; TRIM-B = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Benevolence; SAS = State Anger Scale; IES = Intrusiveness subscale of the Impact of Events Scale; BEA = Batson's Empathy Adjectives; PANAS-P = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Positive; PANAS-N = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Negative; SRAM = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure; TFS = Trait Forgiveness Scale; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale; RCI-10 = Religious Commitment Inventory-10.

Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ) will show strong estimated internal consistency, both for the overall scales and the individual subscales.

Justification. Scale items for the four forgiveness scales under investigation were created to assess a specific construct. Each scale is comprised of two subscales. Items in each subscale were created to assess a specific construct. To the extent that the scale items measure the construct they are supposed to measure, items from each scale and subscale should be highly correlated with each other.

Analysis. A Cronbach's alpha coefficient will be computed for each of the four forgiveness scales under investigation. A Cronbach's alpha coefficient will also be computed for each subscale of the four forgiveness scales under investigation.

Hypothesis #2

Statement. The four forgiveness scales under investigation will show strong estimated 3-week test-retest reliability.

Justification. The constructs measured by the four forgiveness scales under investigation are assumed to be relatively stable over time. Thus, to the extent that the four forgiveness scales reliably assess the underlying constructs, they should show strong estimated reliability across times of measurement.

Analysis. A 3-week test-retest reliability coefficient will be computed for each of the four forgiveness scales under investigation. This coefficient will measure the stability of participants' responses at the original assessment and an assessment three weeks later.

Hypothesis #3

Statement. The Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS) will correlate positively and strongly with other measures of interpersonal forgiveness.

Justification. The DFS and EFS measure interpersonal forgiveness. To the extent that this scale actually measures this construct, the DFS and EFS should correlate positively and strongly with other measures of interpersonal forgiveness.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and each of the other measures of interpersonal forgiveness.

Hypothesis #4

Statement. The DFS and EFS will correlate more strongly with other measures of state forgiveness of others than with measures of dispositional forgiveness of others.

Justification. The DFS and EFS are measures of state forgiveness of others, the forgiveness of one specific offender. To the extent that this scale accurately measures this construct, the DFS and EFS should correlate more strongly with other measures of state forgiveness of others (TRIM; McCullough et al., 1998; RFS; Rye et al., 2001) than with other measures of dispositional forgiveness of others (TFS; Berry et al., 2005) which measure one's tendency to forgive others across time and situations.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and each of the other measures of state forgiveness of others. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and a measure of dispositional forgiveness of others.

Hypothesis #5

Statement. The DFS and EFS will correlate positively with empathy, religious commitment, and positive emotion, and will correlate negatively with state anger, rumination, and negative emotion.

Justification. Forgiveness has been shown to correlate positively with empathy (McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough et al., 1997), religious involvement (McCullough & Worthington, 1999), and positive affect (McCullough et al., 1998; Thompson et al., 2005). Forgiveness has been shown to correlate negatively with state anger (Rye et al., 2001), rumination (Berry et al., 2005), and negative affect (McCullough et al., 1998; Thompson et al., 2005). To the extent that the DFS and EFS measure the construct of forgiveness, the DFS and EFS should correlate with these measures.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and each of the above measures.

Hypothesis #6

Statement. The DFS and EFS will be uncorrelated with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Justification. Participants may report that they forgive the person who hurt them because forgiveness is a socially desirable behavior. To the extent that the DFS and EFS measure forgiveness and not simply the tendency to self-report socially desirable behavior, the DFS and EFS should be uncorrelated with the MCSDS.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and the MCSDS.

Hypothesis #7

Statement. The Interpersonal Context subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS-Inter) will correlate positively with the single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. The Intrapersonal Context subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS-Intra) will correlate negatively with the single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. The FUS-Inter will correlate positively with the two items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness that display forgiveness expressed to the offender, and will correlate negatively with the two items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness that do not display forgiveness expressed to the offender. The FUS-Intra will correlate positively with all four items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness.

Justification. To the extent that the FUS measures the understanding of forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal or intrapersonal context, the subscales should be related to a single-item that measures the same construct. Furthermore, when participants who view forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context read a scenario that describes the expression of forgiveness to the offender, they should report that forgiving has occurred. However, when those participants read a scenario that does not describe the expression of forgiveness to the offender, they should report that forgiving has not occurred. Participants who view forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context should report that forgiving has occurred both when the forgiveness is expressed and when the forgiveness is not expressed.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between each subscale of the FUS and the single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. The two items of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness that display forgiveness expressed to the offender will be summed, and the two items that do not display forgiveness expressed to the offender will be summed. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between each subscale of the FUS and each summed score of the narrative test of the understanding of forgiveness.

Hypothesis #8

Statement. The Internal Attribution subscale of the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ-I) will correlate negatively with the single-item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression. The External Attribution subscale of the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ-E) will correlate positively with the single-item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression. The TAQ-I will correlate negatively with the total score of the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions, and the TAQ-E will correlate positively with the total score of the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. The TAQ-I will correlate positively with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992). The TAQ-E will correlate negatively with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure. The TAQ will correlate more strongly with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure than with the responsibility attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure.

Justification. To the extent that the TAQ measures the external or internal attribution of the cause of a transgression, the subscales should be related to a single-item that measures the same construct. Furthermore, participants who make more external attributions for a specific transgression as measured by the TAQ-E are likely to make more external attributions across time and situations, as measured by the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. Participants who make more internal attributions for a specific transgression as measured by the TAQ-I are likely to make more internal attributions across time and situations, as measured by the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions. The Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992) measures causal and responsibility attributions. The TAQ also measures causal attributions. To the extent that the TAQ measures the construct of causal attribution, it should correlate more strongly with the causal attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure than with the responsibility attribution subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between each subscale of the TAQ and the single-item measure of the attribution of the cause of the transgression, the total score of the narrative test of the attribution of transgressions, and each subscale of the Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (based on Fincham & Bradbury, 1992).

Study 1B-Results

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Decisional Forgiveness

Scores on the eight items of the DFS were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was no missing data. Six variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the eight items of the DFS were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2 (19) = 99.08, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Three additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .93; normed fit index [NFI] = .92; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .91), however, one additional fit index suggested a poor fit (root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .13). This provided a second replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Emotional Forgiveness

Scores on the eight items of the EFS were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was no missing data. Two variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However,

confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the eight items of the EFS were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $X^2(19) = 56.60, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Three additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .95; normed fit index [NFI] = .92; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .93), however, one additional fit index suggested a poor fit (root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .10). This provided a second replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Understanding of Forgiveness

Scores on the twelve items of the FUS were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. Two cases with missing data were removed from the analysis. One variable showed a slight deviation in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the twelve items of the FUS were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $X^2(53) =$

197.99, $p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). However, additional fit indices also suggested a poor fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .89; normed fit index [NFI] = .86; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .84; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .13). This provided a second replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A, although in this present replication, all fit indices were weaker than usually desired.

Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression

Scores on the ten items of the TAQ were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was no missing data. One variable showed a slight deviation in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the ten items of the TAQ were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2(35) = 131.50$, $p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Two additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .92; normed fit index [NFI] = .90), however, two additional fit indices suggested a poor fit (goodness of fit index [GFI] =

.88; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .12). This provided a second replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Internal Consistency

The coefficient alphas for the DFS and subscales were .82 for the full scale, .82 for Prosocial Intentions, and .86 for Inhibition of Harmful Intentions. The coefficient alphas for the EFS and subscales were .69 for the full scale, .81 for Presence of Positive Emotions, and .76 for Reduction of Negative Emotions. The coefficient alphas for the FUS and subscales were .60 for the full scale, .84 for the Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness, and .76 for the Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness. The coefficient alphas for the TAQ and subscales were .72 for the full scale, .88 for the Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression, and .80 for the External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression.

Construct Validity Analyses

Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness

Scores on the DFS, EFS, and all scales hypothesized to correlate with them were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a small amount of missing data (0-3 cases per variable). Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. Three variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values above one; TRIM-Revenge, SAS, PANAS-Neg). However, analyses with transformed variables revealed almost identical relationships to the DFS and EFS as the untransformed variables. Thus, for simplicity, I decided to report the results with

untransformed variables. All outliers fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses.

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with the DFS and EFS are summarized in Table 15. The DFS and EFS showed evidence of construct validity for the scales by correlating strongly with other measures of interpersonal forgiveness. The DFS and EFS were positively correlated with three single-item measures of forgiveness, the TRIM-B, the RFS, and the TFS, and were (as hypothesized) negatively correlated with both the TRIM-A and the TRIM-R.

The DFS and EFS showed further evidence of construct validity by correlating strongly with other measures that are associated with forgiveness. The DFS and EFS were positively correlated with empathy and negatively correlated with state anger. The DFS was negatively correlated with negative emotion. The EFS was also negatively correlated with negative emotion, but this relationship just missed significance. The EFS was negatively correlated with rumination, but the DFS was not. Contrary to our hypotheses, both the DFS and EFS were uncorrelated with positive emotion and religious commitment.

The DFS and EFS also showed evidence of discriminant validity. Both the DFS and EFS were uncorrelated with a measure of social desirability. Furthermore, the correlations between both the DFS and EFS and another measure of state forgiveness (RFS; .65 and .67, respectively) were larger than the correlation between both the DFS and EFS and a measure of trait forgiveness (TFS; .43 and .48 respectively; $z = 2.95$ and 2.70 respectively; $p < .001$ for both).

Table 15

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with DFS, EFS (Study 1B)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. DFS	1																
2. EFS	.53*	1															
3. SIF	.54*	.64*	1														
4. SIDF	.54*	.59*	.72*	1													
5. SIEF	.50*	.50*	.71*	.55*	1												
6. TRIM-A	-.63*	-.73*	-.56*	-.53*	-.45*	1											
7. TRIM-R	-.60*	-.43*	-.41*	-.50*	-.44*	.37*	1										
8. TRIM-B	.68*	.75*	.68*	.65*	.58*	-.81*	-.47*	1									
9. RFS	.65*	.67*	.68*	.63*	.60*	-.58*	-.56*	.72*	1								
10. TFS	.43*	.38*	.51*	.44*	.35*	-.32*	-.30*	.44*	.55*	1							
11. Empathy	.46*	.54*	.44*	.45*	.36*	-.62*	-.23	.65*	.42*	.24	1						
12. Rumination	-.17	-.29*	-.28*	-.25	-.26	.22	.25	-.24	-.43*	-.18	.01	1					
13. SAS	-.37*	-.35*	-.39*	-.40*	-.44*	.25	.41*	-.37*	-.57*	-.35*	-.10	.40*	1				
14. PANAS-P	-.07	-.03	-.03	.02	-.01	.01	.15	-.03	-.09	.02	.17	.10	.24	1			
15. PANAS-N	-.32*	-.25	-.26	-.25	-.35*	.17	.41*	-.29*	-.48*	-.22	.03	.48*	.61*	.34*	1		
16. RCI-10	.11	.13	.23	.19	.11	-.07	-.02	.15	.17	.32*	.21	.09	-.10	.17	-.03	1	
17. MCSDS	.15	.21	.23	.26	.14	-.13	-.17	.23	.28*	.42*	.15	-.21	-.18	.05	-.17	.30*	1

Note. $N = 179$. DFS = Decisional Forgiveness Scale; EFS = Emotional Forgiveness Scale; SIF = Single-Item Forgiveness; SIDF = Single-Item Decisional Forgiveness; SIEF = Single-Item Emotional Forgiveness; TRIM-A = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Avoidance; TRIM-R = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Revenge; TRIM-B = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Benevolence; RFS = Rye Forgiveness Scale; TFS = Trait Forgiveness Scale; Empathy = Batson's Empathy Adjectives; Rumination = Intrusiveness subscale of the Impact of Events Scale; SAS = State Anger Scale; PANAS-P = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Positive; PANAS-N = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Negative; RCI-10 = Religious Commitment Inventory-10; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

* Bonferroni-corrected $p < .0004$

Understanding of Forgiveness

Scores on the FUS and all scales hypothesized to correlate with it were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a small amount of missing data (1-3 cases per variable). Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. There were no deviations in normality. All outliers fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses.

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with the FUS and subscales are summarized in Table 16. The FUS showed evidence of construct validity by correlating with measures that also assessed the understanding of forgiveness. The Intrapersonal subscale of the FUS was negatively correlated with a single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness, and the Interpersonal subscale of the FUS was positively correlated with a single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness. High scores on the single-item measure indicated a more interpersonal understanding of forgiveness, and low scores on the single-item measure indicated a more intrapersonal understanding of forgiveness. The Intrapersonal subscale of the FUS was also positively correlated with a measure that indicated forgiveness took place even when the forgiveness was not communicated to the offender. There was no relationship between the Interpersonal subscale of the FUS and this measure. The FUS also showed evidence of discriminant validity. The FUS was uncorrelated with a measure of social desirability.

Attribution of the Cause of a Transgression

Table 16

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with FUS (Study 1B)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. FUS	1						
2. FUS-Intra	.69*	1					
3. FUS-Inter	.51*	-.28*	1				
4. SIUF	-.13	-.50*	.42*	1			
5. NTUF-Expressed	.07	.09	.00	.08	1		
6. NTUF-Not Expressed	.26*	.34*	-.06	-.17	.44*	1	
7. MCSDS	.11	.06	.08	.00	.04	-.02	1

Note. $N = 179$. FUS = Forgiveness Understanding Scale; FUS-Intra = Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness; FUS-Inter = Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness; SIUF = Single Item Understanding of Forgiveness; NTUF-Expressed = Narrative Test of Understanding of Forgiveness: Forgiveness Expressed; NTUF-Not Expressed = Narrative Test of Understanding of Forgiveness: Forgiveness Not Expressed; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

* Bonferroni-corrected $p < .001$

Scores on the TAQ and all scales hypothesized to correlate with it were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a small amount of missing data (1-3 cases per variable). Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. There were no deviations in normality. All outliers fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses.

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with the TAQ and subscales are summarized in Table 17. The TAQ showed evidence of construct validity by correlating with measures that also assessed attribution. The Internal subscale of the TAQ was negatively correlated with a single-item measure of attribution, and the External subscale of the TAQ was positively correlated with a single-item measure of attribution, although this correlation just missed significance. High scores on the single-item measure indicated a more external attribution of the cause of the transgression, and low scores on the single-item measure indicated a more internal attribution of the cause of the transgression. The Internal subscale of the TAQ was also positively correlated with a measure of causal attribution and responsibility attribution. The External subscale of the TAQ showed a nonsignificant trend toward a negative relationship with the measure of responsibility attribution, but was uncorrelated with the measure of causal attribution. The TAQ also showed evidence of discriminant validity. The TAQ was uncorrelated with a measure of social desirability.

Three-Week Temporal Stability

DFS

Table 17

Intercorrelations of all scales hypothesized to correlate with TAQ (Study 1B)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. TAQ	1							
2. TAQ-Int	.73*	1						
3. TAQ-Ext	.62*	-.09	1					
4. SIAT	-.21	-.39*	.14	1				
5. SRAM-Cause	.29*	.44*	-.08	-.35*	1			
6. SRAM-Responsibility	.34*	.58*	-.17	-.39*	.61*	1		
7. NTAT	.02	-.07	.10	.20	-.15	-.17	1	
8. MCSDS	-.19	-.17	-.09	.11	-.14	-.12	.04	1

Note. $N = 179$. TAQ = Transgression Attribution Questionnaire; TAQ-Int = Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; TAQ-Ext = External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; SIAT = Single Item Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; SRAM-Cause = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure: Causal Subscale; SRAM-Responsibility = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure: Responsibility Subscale; NTAT = Narrative Test of the Attribution of Transgressions; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

* Bonferroni-corrected $p < .001$

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated by using scores on the full-scale DFS and each subscale for the first administration and the second administration. The 3-week temporal stability coefficients for the full-scale DFS, Prosocial Intention, and Inhibition of Harmful Intention were .73, .72, and .68, respectively.

EFS

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated by using scores on the full-scale EFS and each subscale for the first administration and the second administration. The 3-week temporal stability coefficients for the full-scale EFS, Presence of Positive Emotion, and Reduction of Negative Emotion were .73, .81, and .61, respectively.

FUS

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated by using scores on the full-scale FUS and each subscale for the first administration and the second administration. The 3-week temporal stability coefficients for the full-scale FUS, Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness, and Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness were .48, .62, and .64, respectively.

TAQ

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated by using scores on the full-scale TAQ and each subscale for the first administration and the second administration. The 3-week temporal stability coefficients for the full-scale TAQ, Internal Attribution of the Transgression, and External Attribution of the Transgression were .76, .81, and .66, respectively.

Study 1C-Group Testing of Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness

Study 1C-Method

In Study 1B, I showed that the DFS, EFS, TAQ, and (to a somewhat lesser extent) FUS had good psychometric properties as scales. However, the investigations in both Study 1A and Study 1B are questionnaire studies. There is undoubtedly common method variance that makes statements about estimated reliability and the adequacy of evidence supporting construct validity necessarily tentative. Using a full multi-trait multi-method matrix was not feasible within the scope of a thesis. Thus, I conducted Study 1C to provide behavioral evidence for the construct validity of the DFS and EFS using a manipulated experiment.

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 100 undergraduate students from a large Mid-Atlantic urban university. Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Demographic data are summarized in Table 6.

Design

This study used a between-subjects, experimental design.

Description of the Three Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to three conditions. Condition 1, Grudge, was directed to think and write about an offense that they have not forgiven and still hold a strong grudge. It should be an offense in which they have frequent thoughts of getting even, they avoid the person, they are actively angry and resentful, and they have granted

virtually no forgiveness. Condition 2, Decision but Negative Emotion, was directed to think and write about an offense in which they believe they have made a conscious commitment to forgive the person and give up any attempt to get even or avoid the person. However, even though they are committed to this decision to forgive and to its call on their behavior to act consistently with a forgiving decision, they still have a strong emotional reaction to the person as a result of the event. Condition 3, Decision Plus Peace, was directed to think and write about an offense in which they believe they have made a conscious commitment to forgive the person and to give up any attempt to get even or avoid the person. Also, it should be an offense that even though they may have had a strong emotional reaction to the person as a result of the event in the past, now the experience has past and they experience emotional forgiveness and peace when they recall the person's transgression.

Measures

Demographic Data Sheet

A data sheet was used to collect demographic information from participants. Participants indicated their age, sex, ethnicity, and religious orientation (see Appendix B).

Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS)

The Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS), which was created and psychometrically refined in Studies 1A and 1B, was used in Study 1C (see Appendix E). The DFS is an 8-item measure of the degree to which one has made a decision to forgive someone of a specific offense, with items rated from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 =

Strongly agree. The DFS has two 4-item subscales, one indicating prosocial intentions toward the offender, and one indicating the inhibition of harmful intentions toward the offender. Five items are reverse scored.

Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS)

The Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS), which was created and psychometrically refined in Studies 1A and 1B, was used in Study 1C (see Appendix E). The EFS is an 8-item measure of the degree to which one experiences emotional forgiveness of a specific offense, with items rated from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. The EFS has two 4-item subscales, one indicating the presence of positive emotion toward the offender, and one indicating the reduction of negative emotion toward the offender. Three items are reverse scored.

Positive Qualities of Offender-Free Response

Participants were asked to write sentences about the person who hurt them (see Appendix F). Each sentence had to include a positive quality of the person who hurt them. Participants were instructed to write as many sentences as possible in ten minutes.

Manipulation Check

Participants rated how difficult it was to write positive qualities of their offender (see Appendix F). Participants rated perceived difficulty on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = *Not difficult at all* to 7 = *Very difficult*.

Anagram Task

Participants received a list of anagrams to solve (see Appendix F). Unbeknownst to the participants, these anagrams were unsolvable.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Participants were briefed and the study's procedures were explained. After being briefed, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and seek clarification regarding the study's procedures. Participants then signed a consent form agreeing to participate in the study.

Participants were then instructed to write a short summary about the transgression. They rated its hurtfulness and estimated the time since its occurrence. After thinking about and writing about the transgression, participants completed the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS).

After completing the DFS and EFS, participants were given ten minutes and asked to write as many positive qualities about the person who hurt them. Participants then completed a manipulation check and indicated how difficult it was to write positive qualities of their offender.

After completing the free response task and manipulation check, participants were asked to collect some additional data by completing an anagram task. Participants received a list of anagrams to solve, with an explanation of how to solve them and the instructions, "This is not a test. Work on them for as long as you want, and when you want to stop, please bring your questionnaire packed to the experimenter." Participants who elected not to participate were recorded as 0 minutes. Participants who were still working after 20 minutes were stopped and their time was recorded as 20 minutes.

Participants were debriefed and allowed to ask any additional questions regarding the study. Participants received course credit for their participation.

Study 1C-Hypotheses and Planned Analyses

Hypothesis #1

Statement. The DFS and EFS will correlate positively with the number of positive qualities participants write about their offender. The EFS will correlate more strongly with the number of positive qualities participants write about their offender than will the DFS.

Justification. The process of emotional forgiveness involves emotionally juxtaposing positive other-oriented emotions (empathy, sympathy, compassion, or love; Worthington et al., 2001; Wade & Worthington, 2002) against negative unforgiveness, which eventually results in neutralization or replacement of all or part of those negative emotions with positive emotions (Worthington & Wade, 1999). Participants who experience less negative emotion and more positive emotion toward their offender should be able to write more positive qualities about their offender. Participants who have not experienced emotional forgiveness should not be able to write as many positive qualities about their offender. The process of having positive thoughts and feelings about the person who offended is rooted in emotional forgiveness. Therefore, I hypothesize that the EFS will correlate more strongly with the number of positive qualities participants write about their offender than will the DFS.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and the number of positive qualities participants write about their offender.

Hypothesis #2

Statement. The DFS and EFS will correlate positively with persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task. The EFS will correlate more strongly with persistence scores on the anagram task than will the DFS.

Justification. When participants think and write about the positive qualities of their offender, they will experience ego depletion. Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister et al., 1998; Muraven et al., 1998) have shown that the self expends some limited resource, similar to energy or strength, when it engages in deliberate actions, and one deliberate action can have a detrimental effect on a subsequent deliberate action. Participants who have not forgiven their offender should experience greater ego depletion when thinking and writing about the positive qualities of their offender than should participants who have forgiven their offender. Furthermore, merely failing to forgive may be emotionally taxing. Thus, merely living without decisional and emotional forgiveness might deplete the ego and result in less persistence on any self-control task. This ego depletion should affect participants' ability and motivation to persist on the unsolvable anagram task. Therefore, participants who have low forgiveness scores should experience substantial ego depletion and have low persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task. Participants with high forgiveness scores, on the other hand, should not experience much ego depletion and have high persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task. Because the process of having positive thoughts and feelings about the person who offended is rooted in emotional forgiveness, participants high in decisional forgiveness but low in emotional forgiveness may still experience a high level of ego depletion when

completing the writing task. Therefore, I hypothesize that EFS will correlate more strongly with persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task than will the DFS.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between the DFS, EFS, and the persistence score on the anagram task.

Hypothesis #3

Statement. The three experimental conditions will show group differences on the DFS and EFS. Participants in the Grudge condition will report low levels of decisional and emotional forgiveness. Participants in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition will report high levels of decisional forgiveness and low levels of emotional forgiveness. Participants in the Decision Plus Peace condition will report high levels of decisional and emotional forgiveness.

Justification. Participants are asked to think and write about an offense that falls in one of three categories. Participants in the Grudge condition report an offense in which they experience neither decisional nor emotional forgiveness. Participants in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition report an offense in which they experience decisional but not emotional forgiveness. Participants in the Decision Plus Peace condition report an offense in which they experience both decisional and emotional forgiveness. To the extent that the DFS and EFS accurately measures the constructs of decisional and emotional forgiveness, participants in the Grudge condition should report low levels of decisional and emotional forgiveness. Participants in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition should report high levels of decisional forgiveness but low levels of emotional

forgiveness. Participants in the Decision Plus Peace condition should report high levels of both decisional and emotional forgiveness.

Analysis. Two one-way analyses of variance will be conducted with group assignment as the independent variable and the DFS and the EFS as the dependent variables.

Hypothesis #4

Statement. The three experimental conditions will show group differences on the number of positive qualities written about the offender. Participants in the Grudge condition will be able to write few positive qualities about the offender. Participants in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition will be able to write more positive qualities about the offender. Participants in the Decision Plus Peace condition will be able to write the most positive qualities about the offender.

Justification. The process of emotional forgiveness involves emotionally juxtaposing positive other-oriented emotions (empathy, sympathy, compassion, or love; Worthington et al, 2001; Wade & Worthington, 2002) against negative unforgiveness, which eventually results in neutralization or replacement of all or part of those negative emotions with positive emotions (Worthington & Wade, 1999). Participants who experience less negative emotion and more positive emotion toward their offender should be able to write more positive qualities about their offender. Participants who have not experienced emotional forgiveness should not be able to write as many positive qualities about their offender. Participants who have experienced neither emotional forgiveness

nor decisional forgiveness should be able to write the least number of positive qualities about their offender.

Analysis. A one-way analysis of variance will be conducted with group assignment as the independent variable and the number of positive qualities written about the offender as the dependent variable.

Hypothesis #5

Statement. The three experimental conditions will show group differences on persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task. Participants in the Grudge condition will have the lowest persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task. Participants in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition will have higher persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task. Participants in the Decision Plus Peace condition will have the highest persistence scores on the unsolvable anagram task.

Justification. When participants think and write about the positive qualities of their offender, they will experience ego depletion. Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister et al., 1998; Muraven et al., 1998) have shown that the self expends some limited resource, similar to energy or strength, when it engages in deliberate actions, and one deliberate action can have a detrimental effect on a subsequent deliberate action. Participants who have not forgiven their offender should experience greater ego depletion when thinking and writing about the positive qualities of their offender than should participants who have forgiven their offender. This ego depletion should affect participants' ability and motivation to persist on the unsolvable anagram task. Therefore, participants who are asked to write positive qualities about someone whom they have not

forgiven should experience substantial ego depletion and have low persistence scores on the subsequent unsolvable anagram task. Participants who are asked to write positive qualities about someone whom they have forgiven, on the other hand, should not experience much ego depletion and have high persistence scores on the subsequent unsolvable anagram task.

Analysis. A one-way analysis of variance will be conducted with group assignment as the independent variable and persistence on the unsolvable anagram task as the dependent variable.

Study 1C-Results

Internal Consistency

The coefficient alphas for the DFS and subscales were .86 for the full scale, .83 for Prosocial Intentions, and .82 for Inhibition of Harmful Intentions. The coefficient alphas for the EFS and subscales were .83 for the full scale, .80 for Presence of Positive Emotions, and .79 for Reduction of Negative Emotions.

Coding of Positive Qualities

Each participant's free response was counted for the total number of positive qualities written. Each free response was coded by two trained coders. Inter-rater reliability was strong (correlation coefficient = .96). The mean number of positive qualities written was used in subsequent analyses.

Construct Validity Analyses

Scores on the DFS, EFS, and all behavioral measures were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a small amount of missing data (0-3 cases per variable). Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. There were no deviations in normality. All outliers on the DFS and EFS fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses. Two participants wrote an extreme number of positive qualities about the person who hurt them; however, they are thought to represent true responses. All analyses were conducted first with the scores included in the analysis and second with the scores recoded to the highest value that was not an outlier. Results of the subsequent analyses were almost identical, thus, it was decided to leave the scores unchanged.

Intercorrelations of all measures hypothesized to correlate with the DFS and EFS are summarized in Table 18. It was hypothesized that scores on the DFS and EFS would predict the number of positive qualities participants were able to write about the offender. Scores on the DFS and EFS did predict the number of positive qualities, $F(2, 92) = 11.7$, $p < .01$, $R\text{-square} = .20$. However, when assessing the individual predictors, only score on the EFS was a significant predictor of the number of positive qualities, $\beta = .33$, $p < .05$. DFS score was not a significant predictor, $\beta = .15$, $p = .28$.

To further specify the relationship between scores on the DFS, scores on the EFS, and the number of positive qualities written, we ran two hierarchical multiple regression analyses with number of positive qualities as the dependent variable. First, we entered DFS score at step one, and EFS score at step two. Scores on the EFS predicted a significant amount of variance in the number of positive qualities above and beyond the variance predicted by scores on the DFS, $R\text{-square change} = .05$, $F\text{-change} = 5.64$, $p < .05$. Second, we entered EFS score at step one, and DFS score at step two. Scores on the DFS did not predict a significant amount of variance in the number of positive qualities above and beyond the variance predicted by scores on the EFS, $R\text{-square change} = .01$, $F\text{-change} = 1.20$, $p = .27$.

It was also hypothesized that scores on the DFS and EFS would predict persistence on the unsolvable anagram task. Scores on the DFS and EFS did not predict persistence on the unsolvable anagram task, $F(2, 90) = 1.17$, $p = .31$.

Analyses by Condition

Table 18

Intercorrelations of all measures hypothesized to correlate with DFS, EFS (Study 1C)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. DFS	1				
2. EFS	.74**	1			
3. Positive Qualities	.40**	.44**	1		
4. Difficulty	-.55**	-.60**	-.61**	1	
5. Persist	.15	.04	.17	-.23*	1

Note. $N = 100$. DFS = Decisional Forgiveness Scale; EFS = Emotional Forgiveness Scale; Positive Qualities = Number of positive qualities written about offender; Difficulty = Rating of difficulty of writing positive qualities; Persist = Persistence on anagram task.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

It was hypothesized that scores on the DFS and EFS would vary based on condition. This was tested using two one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA's) with the DFS and EFS as dependent variables and condition as the independent variable. There was a significant difference in DFS score based on condition, $F(2, 94) = 12.33, p < .01$. Post-hoc tests using Tukey's HSD revealed that the mean DFS score in the Grudge condition ($M = 25.18, SD = 7.09$) was significantly lower than the mean DFS score in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition ($M = 30.28, SD = 6.11$) and the Decision Plus Peace condition ($M = 32.81, SD = 5.65$). There was not a difference in DFS scores between the Decision but Negative Emotion condition and the Decision Plus Peace condition (See Figure 1).

There was also a significant difference in EFS score based on condition, $F(2, 95) = 5.94, p < .01$. Post-hoc tests using Tukey's HSD revealed that the mean EFS score in the Grudge condition ($M = 19.61, SD = 6.08$) was significantly lower than the mean EFS score in the Decision Plus Peace condition ($M = 25.06, SD = 7.89$). The mean EFS score in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition ($M = 22.85, SD = 5.02$) was not significantly different from either the Grudge condition or the Decision Plus Peace condition (See Figure 2).

It was hypothesized that the number of positive qualities written about the offender would vary based on condition. This was tested using a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the number of positive qualities as the dependent variable and condition as the independent variable. Differences in number of positive qualities based on condition approached significance, $F(2, 97) = 2.65, p < .08$. Post-hoc tests using

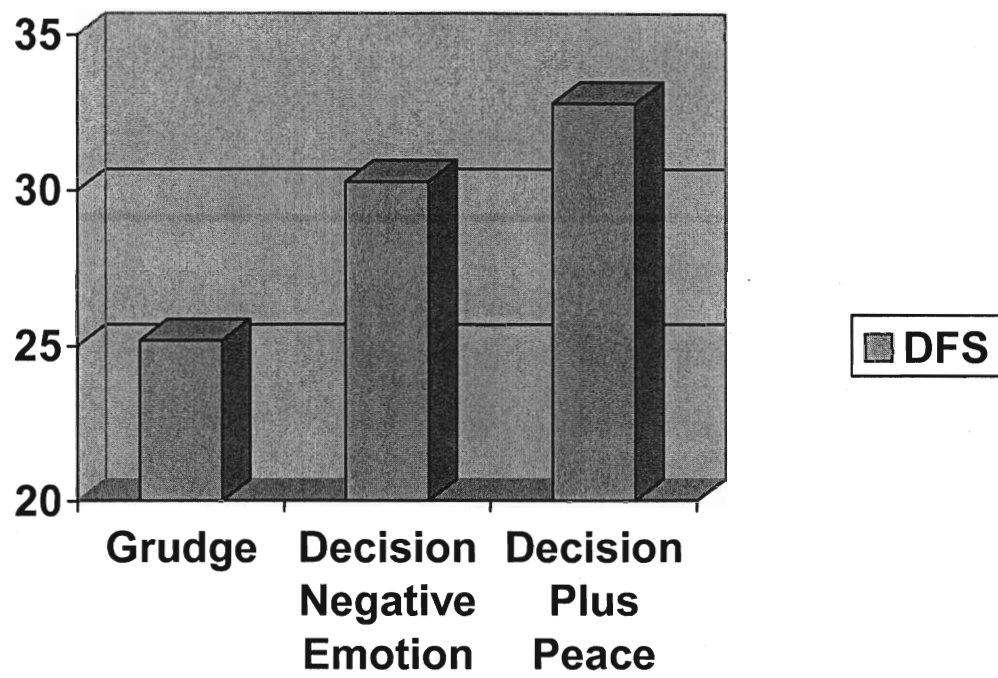


Figure 1. DFS scores based on condition.

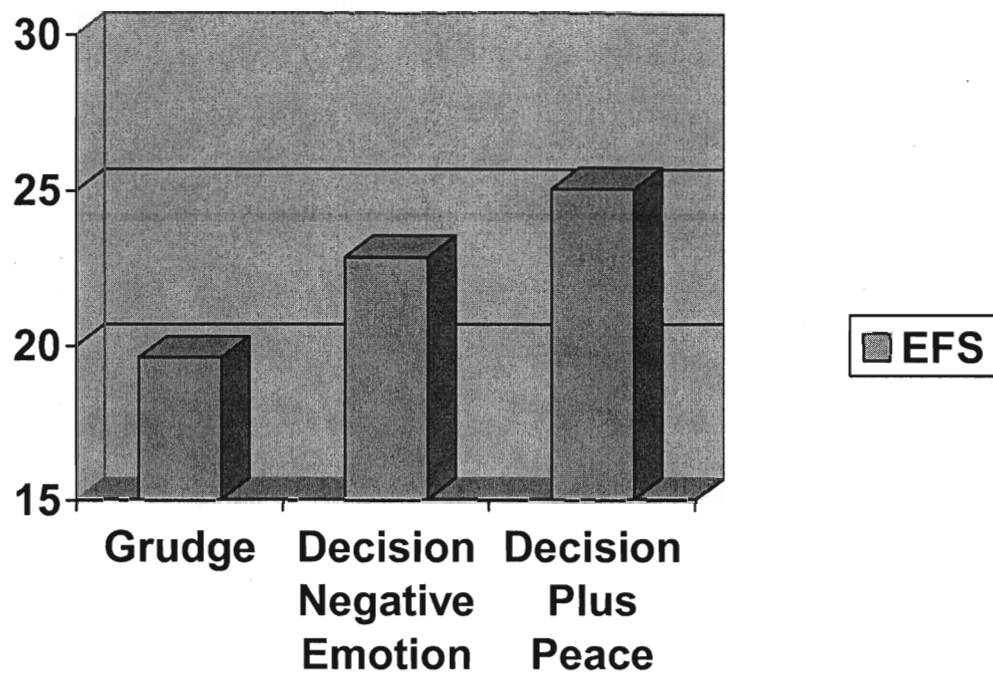


Figure 2. EFS scores based on condition.

Tukey's HSD revealed that participants in the Grudge condition ($M = 8.16$, $SD = 5.53$) showed a nonsignificant trend toward writing fewer positive qualities about their offender than either the participants in the Decision but Negative Emotion condition ($M = 11.13$, $SD = 8.04$, $p < .20$) or the Decision Plus Peace condition ($M = 11.69$, $SD = 6.35$, $p < .10$). There was not a difference in number of positive qualities between the Decision but Negative Emotion condition and the Decision Plus Peace condition (see Figure 3).

For a manipulation check, it was hypothesized that self-reported difficulty in writing positive qualities about the offender would vary based on condition. This was tested using a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with self-reported difficulty as the dependent variable and condition as the independent variable. There was not a significant overall difference in self-reported difficulty based on condition, $F(2, 97) = 1.57$, $p = .21$. A planned contrast revealed that the weighted mean of the Grudge condition ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.33$) showed a nonsignificant trend toward higher self-reported difficulty than the weighted means of the Decision but Negative Emotion condition ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.42$) and the Decision Plus Peace condition ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.24$; $p < .08$).

It was hypothesized that persistence scores on the anagram task would vary based on condition. This was tested using a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with persistence as the dependent variable and condition as the independent variable. There was not a significant overall difference in persistence based on condition, $F(2, 94) = 1.04$, $p = .36$. A planned contrast revealed that the weighted mean of the Decision Plus Peace condition ($M = 754.90$, $SD = 339.15$) showed a nonsignificant trend toward higher persistence than the weighted means of the Grudge condition ($M = 690.26$, $SD = 337.21$).

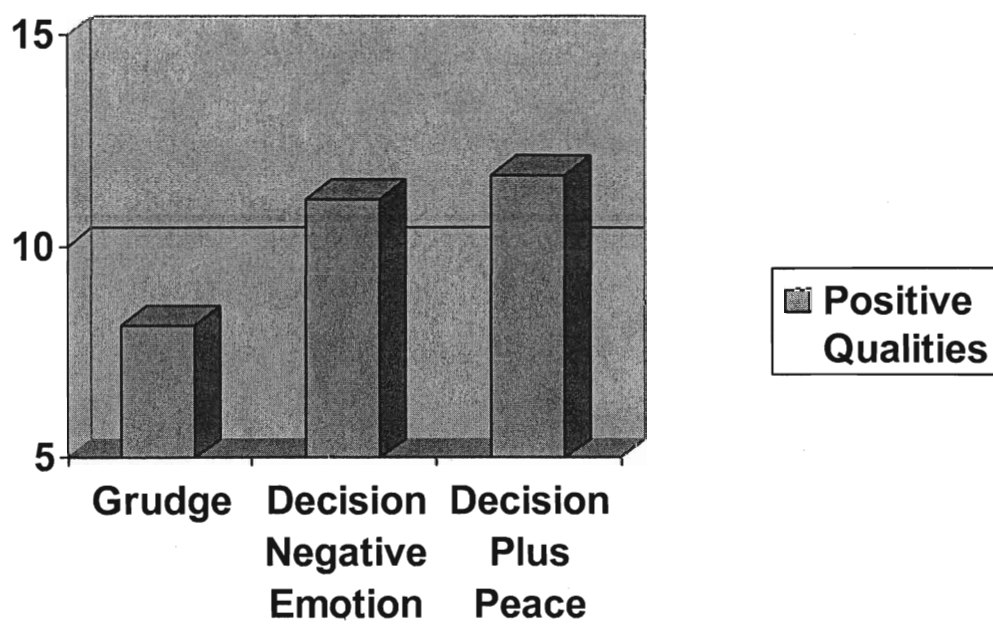


Figure 3. Number of positive qualities written about offender based on condition.

and the Decision but Negative Emotion condition ($M = 633.59$, $SD = 325.29$; $p = .20$; see

Figure 4).

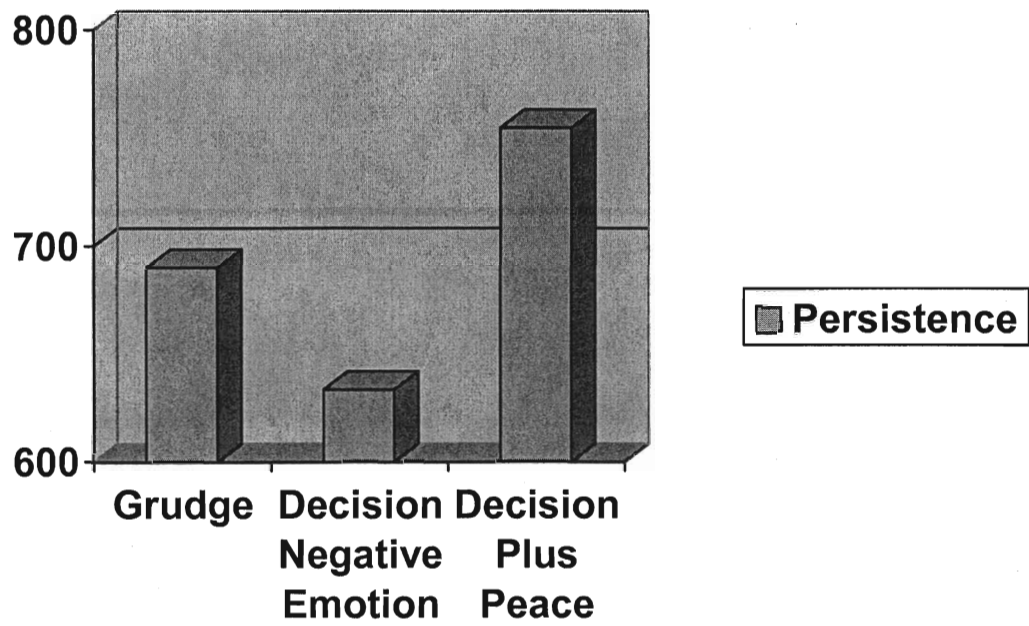


Figure 4. Persistence on anagram task based on condition.

Study 1-Discussion

In the present study, I have created four measures related to forgiveness and have presented evidence for the estimated reliability and construct validity of these measures. The Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS) are both measures of state forgiveness of others, the forgiveness of a specific offense. Both scales show evidence of estimated internal consistency and 3-week temporal stability. Both scales show evidence of construct validity by being correlated with a number of measures of state forgiveness and constructs related to forgiveness in two samples. Both scales also show evidence of discriminant validity by being unrelated to a measure of social desirability in two samples. Both measures were also related to a behavioral measure of forgiveness.

Although both the DFS and EFS show evidence of psychometric adequacy, there is mixed evidence supporting the factor structure upon replication. In two samples, the RMSEA values for both the DFS and EFS were higher than acceptable. In addition, more research must be conducted to differentiate sharply between decisional forgiveness and emotional forgiveness. It is difficult to differentiate these constructs because we expect both decisional and emotional forgiveness to be related to other measures of state forgiveness, as well as other constructs related to forgiveness. Preliminary evidence for the differentiation of these two constructs was presented in Study 1C. Perhaps the best way to differentiate the constructs of decisional and emotional forgiveness is to use methods other than self-report, such as physiological methods. I would hypothesize that

people who report decisional forgiveness but not emotional forgiveness may still show some physiological signs of unforgiveness.

Despite these limitations, the development of the DFS and EFS is an important step in the measurement of state forgiveness. Several measures of state forgiveness exist (e.g., TRIM, McCullough et al., 1998; RFS, Rye et al., 2001), however, none of these measures explicitly evaluate levels of decisional and emotional forgiveness (Worthington, 2006). In previous research, decisional and emotional forgiveness has been measured only by single-item measures. Thus, this present study makes an important contribution to the measurement of forgiveness.

I also created two measures that assess constructs related to forgiveness. The Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS) assesses whether a person understands forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context or within an interpersonal context. No scale has been created to investigate this question. The FUS has two distinct subscales, and thus the subscales should be evaluated rather than the overall scale. The subscales of the FUS show evidence of internal consistency and 3 week temporal stability. The FUS shows some evidence of construct validity by being correlated with a single-item measure of the understanding of forgiveness in two samples. The Intrapersonal subscale was also positively correlated with an item indicating that forgiveness occurred even if it is not expressed to the offender in two samples. The FUS shows evidence of discriminant validity by being unrelated to a measure of social desirability in two samples.

Currently, there are two major weaknesses in the FUS. First, there is mixed evidence supporting the factor structure upon replication. Second, the body of evidence for construct validity is small. More evidence for validity must be accrued before we can confidently say that the FUS is accurately measuring one's understanding of forgiveness. Further evidence using both self-report and non self-report methods would be ideal. However, this study is a first step in accurately assessing this construct.

The Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ) assesses whether one thinks that the cause of a specific transgression is due to the personal characteristics of the offender or to the context of the situation. The TAQ shows evidence of internal consistency and 3-week temporal stability. The TAQ also shows some evidence of construct validity by being correlated with a single-item measure of causal attribution, and a scale that measured causal attribution and responsibility attribution (Fincham & Bradbury, 1992) in two samples. The TAQ also showed evidence of discriminant validity by being unrelated to a measure of social desirability in two samples.

Similar to the FUS, currently there are two major weakness of the TAQ. First, there is mixed evidence supporting the factor structure upon replication. Second, the body of evidence for construct validity is small. More evidence for validity must be accrued before we can confidently say that the TAQ is accurately measuring one's causal attributions of a specific offense. Furthermore, the present study casts some doubt as to whether the TAQ is measuring causal attributions and not responsibility attributions. My purpose in creating the TAQ was to measure causal attributions. However, the TAQ correlated as highly with a measure of responsibility attributions as causal attributions.

Although previous research has differentiated causal attributions from responsibility attributions (e.g., Fincham & Bradbury, 1992), researchers view causal attributions and responsibility attributions as being highly related to one another. Indeed, according to the entailment model of attribution, responsibility attributions presuppose or entail causal attributions (Davey, Fincham, Beach, & Brody, 2001). So perhaps it is expected that the TAQ would correlate with both causal attributions and responsibility attributions. Despite these weaknesses, the TAQ is the first measure that has been psychometrically validated to assess the causal attribution of a specific offender.

Thus, in the present studies I have created and psychometrically refined four scales related to forgiveness: the DFS, EFS, FUS, and TAQ. Although more evidence for validity is needed, these scales may be helpful in future research in the area of forgiveness.

Chapter 4

Study 2: The Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Forgiveness

Statement of the Problem

Although the scientific study of forgiveness has intensified in recent years (for edited collections and reviews, see Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Enright & North, 1998; McCullough et al., 2000; Worthington, 1998a; Worthington, 2005a), the research on the relationship between culture and forgiveness has been minimal. Furthermore, the study of culture and forgiveness has generally been unsystematic, and there is not a “well-developed coherent body of research on forgiveness and culture” (Sandage & Williamson, 2005, p. 46).

Definitions of Cultural Constructs

I propose that the cultural framework of individualism and collectivism is an excellent way to organize the effects of culture on forgiveness. Individualism and collectivism can be described using four characteristics (Triandis, 1995). First, individualists are loosely linked to one another and see themselves as independent from the groups or collectives in which they are members, whereas collectivists are closely linked to one another and see themselves as connected with the groups or collectives in which they are members. Second, individualists are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, or contracts they have made with others. Collectivists, on the other hand, are primarily motivated by the social norms of collectives and the duties those collectives require of them. Third, individualists place more importance on personal

goals than the goals of one's group or collective, whereas collectivists place more importance on the goals of one's group or collective than personal goals. Fourth, individualists view relationships as contractual, and often analyze the costs and benefits of associating with others. Collectivists, on the other hand, place more importance on the relationships themselves and will often stick with a relationship even when the costs outweigh the benefits.

Definition of Forgiveness

Although psychologists have historically lacked consensus when defining the construct of forgiveness, recently the definitional clarity of forgiveness has become more advanced (Worthington, 2005b). For example, most psychologists agree that forgiveness is distinct from pardoning, condoning, excusing, justifying, forgetting, and reconciliation (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000). Also, most psychologists agree that forgiveness involves a prosocial transformation of cognition, emotion, motivation, and behavior (Worthington, 2005b), however they usually choose to focus on one or two aspects of forgiveness. My view of forgiveness most closely aligns with Worthington's (2005b) definition of forgiveness as involving both a decision and emotional process. In *decisional forgiveness* (Worthington & Scherer, 2004), a person makes a behavioral intention to reduce or eliminate negative behavior toward the offender, and to restore positive behavior toward the offender if the relationship will continue. *Emotional forgiveness* (Worthington & Scherer, 2004) is more of a process. It involves the reduction of negative emotions such as anger and unforgiveness toward the offender and the restoration of positive emotions

such as compassion and love toward the offender. The hypothesized mechanism is by emotional replacement.

How Individualism and Collectivism Affect Forgiveness

Several aspects of individualism and collectivism are expected to affect forgiveness. First, individualists generally have an independent construal or view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People with an independent view of self view themselves as separate from others and act according to their own thoughts, feelings, and actions rather than referencing the thoughts, feeling, and actions of others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, collectivists generally have an interdependent construal or view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People with an interdependent view of self see themselves as fundamentally connected with others and act in ways that are determined by one's relationship with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Second, the personal goals of individualists are sometimes inconsistent with the goals of the groups in which they belong. When conflict exists between the individualist's personal goals and the goals of his or her group, the individualist pursues his or her own goals and ignores the goals of the group (Triandis, 1995). The personal goals of collectivists, on the other hand, generally are consistent with the goals of the groups to which they belong. When conflict exists between the collectivist's personal goals and the goals of his or her group, the collectivist will ignore his or her own goals and follow the goals on the group (Triandis, 1995). In marriages, Fincham, Hall, and Beach (2005) point out that conflict tends to bring out emergent goals of wanting to win, hurting the partner, or demonstrating one's power, which subdue the goals of mutuality

within the marriage. On the strength of this, I suggest that emergent goals of revenge and grudge-holding are less quick to emerge in collectivist cultures.

Third, collectivistic societies generally have group norms that promote social harmony (Callister & Wall, 1997; Fu et al., 2004, Wall & Blum, 1991). Collectivists often avoid conflict (Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994), and when conflict does arise they are expected to resolve the conflict quickly. Individualistic societies, on the other hand, do not have these group norms that promote social harmony. Individualists are also generally more comfortable with competition and conflict (Callister & Wall, 2004).

Fourth, *face* is defined as the claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of him or her (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Facework, then, according to Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, (1998), refers to a set of communicative behaviors that people use to regulate their social dignity and to support or challenge the other's social dignity. Facework is often applied to conflict situations because conflict situations often lead to one's face being attacked or threatened and the need to defend one's own face or save another's face (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Cross-cultural research has generally shown that individualists tend to use more self-oriented face-saving strategies whereas collectivists tend to use more other-oriented face-saving strategies and face-honoring strategies (Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991). This difference in facework may suggest that blame and unforgiveness may be greater in individualistic cultures than in collectivistic cultures.

Fifth, individualists and collectivists explain and predict social behavior in different ways. Individualists generally focus on the dispositions and internal attributes of

people (Oyserman et al., 2002). If a person transgresses, the individualist is thought to reason that this is because the person is a bad person. Collectivists, on the other hand, generally focus on the context and the situation (Oyserman et al., 2002) and internal attributes are understood as specific to the situation, and therefore they may be unreliable (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). If a person transgresses, the collectivist is thought to reason that this is because the person perhaps had a bad day.

Sixth, individualists and collectivists differ in how other-focused they are in their emotions. Other-focused emotions are emotions that have another person as the target of the emotion. Markus and Kitayama (1991) report that collectivists will more often experience other-focused emotions such as empathy than individualists will. These other-focused emotions result from being sensitive to others, taking the perspective of others, and trying to promote interdependence.

Theoretical Perspectives of Individualism, Collectivism, and Forgiveness

The extant literature studying the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness has generally not been guided by a strong theoretical base. Sandage and Williamson (2005) proposed a seven-factor model that organizes the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. First, individualists view themselves as independent and self-reflexive, whereas collectivists view themselves as interdependent and socially embedded. Second, individualists view relationships as contractual. Collectivists, on the other hand, view relationships as covenantal. Third, the primary face concern of individualists is self-face, whereas the primary face concerns of collectivists are both other-face and self-face. Fourth, forgiveness and reconciliation are sharply

distinct for individualists, but are closely related for collectivists. Fifth, individualists highly value self-forgiveness, but collectivists do not value self-forgiveness and may view self-forgiveness as implausible. Sixth, the central goal of forgiveness for individualists is personal well-being, whereas the central goal of forgiveness for collectivists is social well-being. Seventh, the primary tools for forgiveness for individualists are professional psychotherapy, self-help resources, and individual coping skills. The primary tools for forgiveness for collectivists, on the other hand, are communal mediators or healers, narratives, rituals, and symbols.

Empirical Efforts to Study Individualism, Collectivism, and Forgiveness

The approaches to studying the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness fall into two main categories. In some efforts, researchers describe the nature of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture. Of these studies, some describe the unique aspects of forgiveness in a collectivistic culture (e.g., Fu et al., 2004), whereas others attempt to take an individualistic theory of forgiveness and apply it to a collectivistic culture hoping to gain cross-cultural support of the theory (e.g., Park & Enright, 1997).

In other efforts, researchers compare individualistic and collectivistic forgiveness. Of these studies, some compared forgiveness of people in an individualistic culture with forgiveness of people in a collectivistic culture (e.g., Kadiangandu et al., 2001) whereas others directly measured individualism and collectivism within members of a single culture and then measured the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness (e.g., Neto & Mullet, 2004).

Most studies examining the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness have compared individuals from individualistic cultures with those from collectivistic cultures on measures of forgiveness without actually measuring their levels of individualism and collectivism. Researchers compare two groups of people on forgiveness, find differences, attribute those differences to culture, and automatically attribute cultural differences to be differences in individualism and collectivism. This is dangerous because cultures differ not only on individualism and collectivism but also on their understanding of the concepts, customs, language, etc. Each variable may affect forgiveness and therefore confound these studies.

Most of the empirical studies examining the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness have focused on the propensity to forgive. Research examining the propensity to forgive others in individualists and collectivists has generally shown that collectivists report a higher propensity to forgive others than individualists (e.g., Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto & Mullet, 2004). The term "propensity to forgive," however, is conceptually problematic. For example, people from individualistic cultures may describe their willingness to forgive as high but may be referring to emotional forgiveness. People in collectivistic cultures may also describe their propensity to forgive as high but may mean decisional forgiveness. Extant research by Mullet and his colleagues has not conceptually separated the types of forgiveness being referred to (Azar & Mullet, 2002; Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto & Mullet, 2004). Research with greater specificity is needed to examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. For example, propensity to forgive can be viewed as dispositional

forgiveness. However, few studies have examined the effects of individualism and collectivism on state forgiveness, and no studies have differentiated between decisional and emotional forgiveness, or measured forgiveness of self.

Theory and research have indicated that collectivists may be more likely to experience other-centered emotions such as empathy (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), make external causal attributions (Oyserman et al., 2002), and be more religious (Vandello & Cohen, 1999). Each of these characteristics has been empirically related to forgiveness, and study on these three areas in collectivists may shed light on the mechanisms collectivists use to forgive.

In addition to studying how individualism and collectivism impact the practice of forgiveness, there has been some empirical research that has examined how individualism and collectivism affect one's understanding of forgiveness. In general, both individualists and collectivists understand forgiveness as being the opposite of revenge (e.g., Kadiangandu et al., 2001), however, collectivists are more likely to view forgiveness within the context of reconciliation and relational repair than are individualists (e.g., Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005; Sigmund, 1999).

Present Study

The purpose of Study 2 is to directly examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Most of the previous studies on the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness have a major methodological weakness. These studies find differences between two cultural groups on forgiveness, and then attribute those cultural differences to differences in individualism and collectivism without measuring

the participants on individualism and collectivism. This is a problem because not all members of a culture will be oriented uniformly toward individualism or collectivism. Instead, subcultural differences (i.e., religion, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and other group memberships) and even individual differences (i.e., attachment, independence, narcissism) could overshadow gross cultural differences and lead to much individual variation in the degree to which people embrace individualistic or collectivistic worldviews.

This is not a problem specific to the research studying the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness, indeed it is a problem that is general to most research on individualism and collectivism (Oyserman et al., 2002). The present study follows the example of Neto and Mullet (2004) and measures individualism and collectivism directly in a culturally homogenous population to test the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

In the present study, I measure the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Some hypotheses attempt to replicate results that have already been found in the empirical literature on the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. Other hypotheses empirically test, for the first time, hypotheses of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness proposed by Sandage and Williamson (2005). In the present study, I investigate hypotheses in the following areas. First, I examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness—both dispositional and state forgiveness of others and dispositional forgiveness of self. Second, I investigate three mechanisms by which I believe individualism and collectivism impact

forgiveness—empathy, causal attribution, and religiosity. Finally, I examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on the context in which a person understands forgiveness.

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 298 undergraduate students from a large Mid-Atlantic urban university. Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Demographic data are summarized in Table 6.

Design

This study used a cross-sectional, correlational design.

Measures

Demographic Data Sheet

A data sheet was used to collect demographic information from participants. Participants indicated their age, sex, ethnicity, and religious orientation (see Appendix B).

Individualism and Collectivism

Individualism and collectivism, which refers to one's tendency to see himself or herself as independent or interdependent from others, was measured by the Self-Construct Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994). The SCS (see Appendix G) consists of 24 items that measure one's tendency to think of oneself as independent or interdependent from others. Twelve items assess the independent self, and twelve items assess the interdependent self. Items are randomly ordered, and participants rate each item on a 7-

point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*. The independent and interdependent subscales are two orthogonal constructs that are related to one another but distinct. Means for each subscale are computed, yielding an independent score and an interdependent score. Singelis (1994) found acceptable estimated reliability for the SCS, with Chronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .69 to .74. The scale also shows evidence of construct validity. A comparison between Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans on the SCS showed that Asian Americans were more interdependent than Caucasian Americans, and Caucasian Americans were more independent than Asian Americans (Singelis, 1994). These group differences are consistent with Markus and Kitayama's (1991) characterizations of Asians as interdependent and North Americans as independent. Also, the interdependent subscale of the SCS predicted attributions to situational and contextual influences among Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans (Singelis, 1994). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .74 for the Independent subscale and .78 for the Interdependent subscale.

Forgiveness Outcome Measures

Dispositional forgiveness of others. Dispositional forgiveness of others, which refers to a person's general tendency to forgive others across time and situations, was measured by the Trait Forgivingness Scale (TFS; Berry et al., 2005; see Study 1A and Appendix B) and the Forgiveness Likelihood Scale (FLS; Rye et al., 2001; see Appendix G). In the FLS, participants read ten hypothetical forgiveness scenarios. The scenarios were designed to assess a variety of types of wrongdoing to which college students would likely be able to relate. Participants were instructed to imagine that the scenarios

happened to them and then consider the likelihood that they would be willing to forgive the offender. Participants indicated their likelihood of forgiveness on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Not at all likely* to 5 = *Extremely likely*. The Forgiveness Likelihood Scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .85 (Rye et al., 2001). Estimated two-week temporal stability was .81 (Rye et al., 2001). The scale shows evidence of construct validity, and was found to be positively correlated with other measures of forgiveness and religiousness, and negatively correlated with trait anger (Rye et al., 2001). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the TFS was .68. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the FLS was .70.

Dispositional forgiveness of self. Dispositional forgiveness of self, which refers to a person's general tendency to forgive the self across time and situations, was measured by the Forgiveness of Self subscale of the Heartland Forgiveness Scale (HFS-Self; Thompson, et al., 2005). The HFS-Self subscale (see Appendix G) consists of 6 items that assess a person's general tendency to forgive the self. Participants indicate the extent to which each item is true or false of them on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = *Almost always false of me* to 7 = *Almost always true of me*. The HFS-Self score is calculated by summing the items on the subscale. This yields a total range of scores from 6 to 42, with higher scores indicating higher dispositional forgiveness of self. Thompson et al. (2005) found Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .72-.76. Estimated three-week temporal stability scores ranged from .69-.72. Thompson et al. (2005) also reported evidence for construct validity. The HFS-Self subscale was found to be positively correlated with other measures of dispositional forgiveness, cognitive flexibility, and

positive affect, and negatively correlated with negative affect, depression, and anxiety.

For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .79.

State forgiveness of others. State forgiveness of others, which refers to a person's level of forgiveness in one specific situation, was measured by the following items. Participants completed the Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory (TRIM; McCullough et al, 1998; see Study 1A and Appendix B), the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS; see Study 1B and Appendix E), and the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS; see Study 1B and Appendix E). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the TRIM were .88 for Revenge, .94 for the Avoidance, and .92 for Benevolence. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the DFS were .80 for the full scale, .79 for Prosocial Intentions, and .78 for Inhibition of Harmful Intentions. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the EFS were .76 for the full scale, .85 for the Presence of Positive Emotion, and .77 for the Reduction of Negative Emotion.

Mechanisms by which Individualism and Collectivism Affect Forgiveness

Affective empathy. Affective empathy, which refers to the experience of emotions that are related to the emotions another person is feeling, was measured by the affective empathy measure used by Batson and colleagues (BEA; Coke et al., 1978; Toi & Batson, 1982; see Study 1A and Appendix B). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .94.

Attribution of the cause of the transgression. The tendency to make internal or external attributions of the cause of the specific transgression was measured by the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ; see Study 1B and Appendix E).

For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the TAQ were .69 for the full scale, .89 for Internal Attribution, and .84 for External Attribution.

Religious commitment. Religious commitment, which refers to the degree to which a person adheres to his or her religious values, beliefs, and practices and uses them in daily living, was measured by the Religious Commitment Inventory-10 (RCI-10; Worthington et al., 2003; see Study 1A and Appendix B). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .95.

Contextual Understanding of Forgiveness

Understanding of forgiveness. The tendency to view forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal or interpersonal context was measured by the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS; see Study 1B and Appendix E). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the FUS were .41 for the full scale, .80 for Intrapersonal Understanding, and .71 for Interpersonal Understanding.

Reconciliation. The tendency to reconcile with an offender was assessed by a measure created for the present study. The Forgiveness Likelihood Scale (FLS) was altered for the purposes of this study. For each of the ten scenarios listed in the FLS, participants were also instructed to consider the likelihood that they would be willing to reconcile with the offender, or restore their relationship with the offender. Participants indicated their likelihood of reconciliation on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Not at all likely* to 5 = *Extremely likely* for each of the ten scenarios. The item scores are summed to yield a scale called the Reconciliation Likelihood Scale (RLS). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .60.

Norms of social harmony. People may have norms that promote social harmony and the avoidance of conflict. The presence of such norms were measured with three self-report items created for the present study (see Appendix G): (a) It is important to live in harmony and peace with those around me, (b) It is important to resolve conflicts quickly when they arise, and (c) Sometimes it is okay to have conflict with others, even among friends and family. Participants rated their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. We refer to this scale as the Social Harmony Scale (SHS). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .17.

Face maintenance strategies. Face maintenance strategies, which refer to the strategies used to mitigate face-threatening and face-honoring situations between two or more people, were measured by the Face Maintenance Scale (FMS; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991). The Face Maintenance Scale (see Appendix G) consists of 12 items that measure face-maintenance. Six items measure self-face concern, and six items measure other-face concern. Participants are asked to imagine a classroom situation in which the group leader of a class project had to approach a classmate to redo his or her part of the project. Participants indicate their reaction to the conflict by indicating their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *To a very little extent* to 5 = *To a very great extent*. The Face Maintenance Scale had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .55-.71 for the entire scale, .55-.75 for the self-face subscale, and .56-.67 for the other-face subscale. Cultural differences on the Face Maintenance Scale follow hypothesized differences, with collectivistic cultures generally scoring higher on other-face maintenance and lower

on self-face maintenance than individualistic cultures, which gives evidence of construct validity (Ting-Toomey et al., 1991). For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the FMS and subscales were .64 for the full scale, .71 for Self-face concern, and .63 for Other face concern.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes and participated as part of a course requirement or in exchange for a small amount of class credit. Participants completed the study online. Participants read a consent form that explained the procedures of the study and their rights as a participant. Participants indicated consent agreeing to participate in the study. After giving consent, participants were instructed to think about someone who has hurt or offended them, and write a short summary of the transgression. They rated its hurtfulness and estimated the time since its occurrence. After thinking about and writing about the particular transgression, participants completed a series of questionnaires. These questionnaires included the various forgiveness questionnaires, the questionnaires assessing the mechanisms by which individualism and collectivism affect forgiveness, the questionnaires assessing the participant's contextual understanding of forgiveness, and the SCS. After completing the questionnaires, participants were debriefed. Participants received course credit for their participation.

Hypotheses and Planned Analyses

Individualism, Collectivism, and Forgiveness

Hypothesis #1

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with dispositional forgiveness of others. Individualism will be unrelated to dispositional forgiveness of others.

Justification. Previous research has found that members of a collectivistic culture had a higher propensity to forgive than did members of an individualistic culture (Kadiangandu et al., 2001). Other research has found that collectivism is positively related to the propensity to forgive others and individualism is negatively related to the propensity to forgive others (Neto & Mullet, 2003). I do not propose a simplified view of individualism, collectivism, and forgiveness that collectivists are fundamentally more forgiving, and individualists are fundamentally less forgiving. I believe that the relationship between these constructs is more nuanced. However, because collectivists place such priority on social harmony (Fu et al., 2004), I predict that collectivism will have a positive relationship with self-reporting dispositional forgiveness of others.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and each measure of dispositional forgiveness of others. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and each measure of dispositional forgiveness of others.

Hypothesis #2

Statement. Individualism will be positively correlated with dispositional forgiveness of self. Collectivism will be unrelated to dispositional forgiveness of self.

Justification. No empirical research has examined the effects of individualism and collectivism on dispositional forgiveness of self. Sandage and Williamson (2005) have theorized that individualists should view the forgiveness of self as vital in promoting self-healing and self-esteem, whereas collectivists may view the forgiveness of self as relatively implausible because the self is socially defined and sustained. Indeed, Oyserman et al. (2002) reported that individualism may be related to higher self-esteem.

Analyses. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and dispositional forgiveness of self (HFS-self). The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and dispositional forgiveness of self (HFS-self).

Hypothesis #3

Statement. Individualism and collectivism will be unrelated to general measures of state forgiveness of others. However, collectivism will be positively correlated with decisional forgiveness of others, and negatively correlated with emotional forgiveness of others.

Justification. Empirical research on the effects of individualism and collectivism on state forgiveness of others has been mixed. Park (1999) found that members of an individualistic culture (United States) reported higher levels of forgiveness on the Enright Forgiveness Inventory (Enright, 1994) than did members of two collectivistic cultures (Korea and Taiwan). So (2004), however, found that collectivism was positively correlated with the forgiveness of a specific offender and individualism was negatively correlated with the forgiveness of a specific offender. I do not propose a simplified view

of individualism, collectivism, and forgiveness that collectivists are fundamentally more forgiving, and individualists are fundamentally less forgiving. I believe that the relationship between these constructs is more nuanced. Specifically, I hypothesize that because collectivists place such priority on social harmony (Fu et al., 2004), collectivism will be positively correlated with decisional forgiveness of others. However, making a decision to forgive in order to restore social harmony may not result in emotional forgiveness. Thus, I hypothesize that collectivism will be negatively correlated with emotional forgiveness of others. I have no specific hypotheses for the relationship between individualism, decisional forgiveness, and emotional forgiveness.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent), general state forgiveness of others (TRIM-A, TRIM-R, TRIM-B), decisional forgiveness (DFS), and emotional forgiveness (EFS). The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent), general state forgiveness of others (TRIM-A, TRIM-R, TRIM-B), decisional forgiveness (DFS), and emotional forgiveness (EFS).

Mechanisms by which Individualism and Collectivism Affect Forgiveness

Hypothesis #4

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with affective empathy. Individualism will be negatively correlated with affective empathy.

Justification. Individualists and collectivists differ in how other-focused they are in their emotions. Other focused emotions are emotions that have another person as the target of the emotion. Markus and Kitayama (1991) report that collectivists will more

often experience other-focused emotions such as empathy than individualists will. These other-focused emotions result from being sensitive to others, taking the perspective of others, and trying to promote interdependence.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and affective empathy. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and affective empathy.

Hypothesis #5

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with attributing the cause of a transgression to the context of the situation and will be negatively correlated with attributing the cause of a transgression to the personal attributes of the offender.

Individualism will be positively correlated with attributing the cause of a transgression to the personal attributes of the offender, and will be negatively correlated with attributing the cause of a transgression to the context of the situation.

Justification. . Individualists and collectivists explain and predict social behavior in different ways. Individualists generally focus on the dispositions and internal attributes of people (Oyserman et al., 2002). If a person transgresses, the individualist is thought to reason that this is because the person is a bad person. Collectivists, on the other hand, generally focus on the context and the situation (Oyserman et al., 2002) and internal attributes are understood as specific to the situation, and therefore they may be unreliable (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). If a person transgresses, the collectivist is thought to reason that this is because the person perhaps had a bad day. We hypothesize that the effects of

individualism and collectivism on attribution should affect the attribution of the causes of transgressions. When making attributions of the cause of a specific transgression, collectivists should focus on the context of the situation, whereas individualists should focus on the dispositions and internal attributes of the transgressor.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and attributing the cause of a transgression to the context of the situation (TAQ-external) and attributing the cause of a transgression to the personal attributes of the offender (TAQ-internal). The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and attributing the cause of a transgression to the context of the situation (TAQ-external) and attributing the cause of a transgression to the personal attributes of the offender (TAQ-internal).

Hypothesis #6

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with religious commitment. Individualism will be negatively correlated with religious commitment.

Justification. Some researchers have posited that religious affiliation should contribute to collectivism, because religion as an institution promotes social integration through rituals and community, and also regulates norms (Vandello & Cohen, 1999).

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and religious commitment (RCI-10). The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and religious commitment (RCI-10).

Contextual Understanding of Forgiveness

Hypothesis #7

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with understanding forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context and will be unrelated to understanding forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context. Individualism will be positively correlated with understanding forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context and will be unrelated to understanding forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context.

Justification. Individualists generally have an independent construal or view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People with an independent view of self view themselves as separate from others and act according to their own thoughts, feelings, and actions rather than referencing the thoughts, feeling, and actions of others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, collectivists generally have an interdependent construal or view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People with an interdependent view of self see themselves as fundamentally connected with others and act in ways that are determined by one's relationship with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individualists, who view themselves as independent from others, should view forgiveness more within an intrapersonal context and less within an interpersonal context. Collectivists, who view themselves as interdependent with others, should view forgiveness more within an interpersonal context and less within an intrapersonal context.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and viewing forgiveness within an interpersonal context (FUS-Inter) and viewing forgiveness within an intrapersonal context (FUS-Intra).

The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and viewing forgiveness within an interpersonal context (FUS-Inter) and viewing forgiveness within an intrapersonal context (FUS-Intra).

Hypothesis #8

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with tendency to reconcile with others. Individualism will be unrelated to the tendency to reconcile with others.

Justification. No empirical research has directly examined the effects of individualism and collectivism on the relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation. Sandage and Williamson (2005) have theorized that forgiveness and reconciliation are sharply distinct for individualists, but are closely related for collectivists. Western psychological models of forgiveness tend to be individualistic and make a sharp distinction between forgiveness and reconciliation (Sandage & Wiens, 2001). Descriptions of forgiveness in collectivistic cultures, however, often include reconciliation (e.g., Sigmund, 1999). Individualistic forgivers may view forgiveness as a way to self-heal from relational injuries without a recommitment to the relationship, whereas collectivistic forgivers may view forgiveness as a pathway toward reconciliation because of the strong emphasis of group harmony and family cohesion in collectivistic cultures.

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and reconciliation (RLS). The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and reconciliation (RLS).

Hypothesis #9

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with having norms that promote social harmony. Individualism will be unrelated to having norms that promote social harmony.

Justification. Collectivistic societies generally have group norms that promote social harmony (Callister & Wall, 1997; Fu et al., 2004; Wall & Blum, 1991). Collectivists often avoid conflict (Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994), and when conflict does arise they are expected to resolve the conflict quickly. Individualistic societies, on the other hand, do not have these group norms that promote social harmony. Individualists are also generally more comfortable with competition and conflict (Callister & Wall, 2004).

Analysis. Participant's scores on the three self-report items indicating the presence of norms promoting social harmony will be summed. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and the social harmony score. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and the social harmony score.

Hypothesis #10

Statement. Collectivism will be positively correlated with other-face concern and will be unrelated to self-face concern. Individualism will be positively correlated with self-face concern and unrelated to other-face concern.

Justification. Cross-cultural research has consistently shown that individualists tend to use more self-oriented face-saving strategies whereas collectivists tend to use

more other-oriented face-saving strategies and face-honoring strategies (Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

Analysis. The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between collectivism (SCS-Interdependent) and using self-face maintenance strategies (FMS-self) and using other-face maintenance strategies (FMS-other). The Pearson product moment correlation will be conducted between individualism (SCS-Independent) and using self-face maintenance strategies (FMS-self) and using other-face maintenance strategies (FMS-other).

Study 2-Results

In this study, I examined (a) the factor structure of the four scales developed in Study 1, (b) the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness, (c) the specific mechanisms that I believe may explain how individualism and collectivism impact forgiveness, and (d) the effects of individualism and collectivism on the context in which a person understands forgiveness. I organize the results in these four sections.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Decisional Forgiveness

Scores on the eight items of the DFS were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. Five cases with missing data were removed from the analysis. Two variables showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the eight items of the DFS were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2(19) = 48.07, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .98; normed fit index [NFI] = .97; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .96; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .075). This

provided a third replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Emotional Forgiveness

Scores on the eight items of the EFS were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. Two cases with missing data were removed from the analysis. One variable showed slight deviations in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the eight items of the EFS were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2(19) = 56.38, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .97; normed fit index [NFI] = .96; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .95; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .08). This provided a third replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Understanding of Forgiveness

Scores on the twelve items of the FUS were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. Eleven cases with missing data were removed from the analysis. There were no problems with normality. There were no outliers.

Scores on the twelve items of the FUS were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $X^2(53) = 176.33, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Three additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .94; normed fit index [NFI] = .91; goodness of fit index [GFI] = .90), however, one additional fit index suggested a poor fit (root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .09). This provided a third replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression

Scores on the ten items of the TAQ were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. Twenty cases with missing data were removed from the analysis. One variable showed a slight deviation in normality (e.g., skewness or kurtosis values slightly above one). However, confirmatory factor analyses are relatively robust against violations of normality (Gorsuch, 1983). Thus, I did not choose to transform non-normal data. There were no outliers.

Scores on the ten items of the TAQ were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). A CFA that used maximum-likelihood analysis tested the extent to which a two-factor model fit the data well. The Chi-square statistic was significant, $X^2(35) = 97.26, p < .001$. However, the Chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and does not necessarily reflect a poor fit to the data (Bollen, 1989). Additional fit indices suggested a good fit (comparative fit index [CFI] = .97; normed fit index [NFI] = .96; goodness of fit

index [GFI] = .94; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = .07. This provided a third replication by CFA of the factor structure uncovered by EFA in Study 1A.

Individualism, Collectivism, and Forgiveness

Scores on individualism, collectivism, and all forgiveness measures were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a small amount of missing data (3-10 cases per variable). The increased amount of missing data in this study is probably due to the fact that measures were completed online. Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. There were no deviations in normality. All outliers on the scales fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses.

Intercorrelations of all forgiveness measures with individualism and collectivism are summarized in Table 19. I first hypothesized that collectivism would be positively related to trait forgiveness of others, and individualism would be unrelated to trait forgiveness of others. This hypothesis was partially supported. Collectivism was positively correlated with the Trait Forgiveness Scale (TFS; $r = .28, p < .01$) and the Forgiveness Likelihood Scale (FLS; $r = .24, p < .01$). Individualism was unrelated to the FLS ($r = .01, p > .05$), but was positively correlated to the TFS ($r = .24, p < .01$). Contrary to my hypothesis, individualism was positively correlated with one measure of trait forgiveness. The discrepant findings may be due to the measurement similarity of the Self-Construal Scale and the TFS. In both measures, participants rate the extent to which they agree or disagree with statements about themselves. The FLS asks a different

Table 19

Intercorrelations of collectivism, individualism, and all forgiveness measures (Study 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Collectivism	1													
2. Individualism	.08	1												
3. TFS	.28**	.24**	1											
4. FLS	.24**	.01	.42**	1										
5. HFS	-.03	.41**	.26**	.06	1									
6. TRIM-A	-.03	-.02	-.24**	-.14	-.04	1								
7. TRIM-R	-.11	-.07	-.21**	-.12	-.18*	.52**	1							
8. TRIM-B	.08	.10	.33**	.26**	.18*	-.83**	-.55**	1						
9. DFS	.16*	.09	.27**	.23**	.16*	-.66**	-.72**	.71**	1					
10. DFS-Pos	.13	.04	.24**	.19*	.09	-.76**	-.54**	.78**	.86**	1				
11. DFS-Neg	.13	.12	.21**	.18*	.18*	-.30**	-.66**	.37**	.80**	.38**	1			
12. EFS	-.02	-.01	.26**	.17*	.18*	-.76**	-.62**	.81**	.70**	.72**	.41**	1		
13. EFS-Pos	.09	.00	.16*	.15*	.07	-.75**	-.51**	.76**	.63**	.71**	.30**	.83**	1	
14. EFS-Neg	-.16*	-.02	.26**	.11	.22**	-.34**	-.42**	.43**	.40**	.34**	.32**	.67**	.14	1

Note. $N = 298$. Collectivism = Self-Construal Scale-Interdependence; Individualism = Self-Construal Scale-Independence; TFS = Trait Forgiveness Scale; FLS = Forgiveness Likelihood Scale; HFS = Heartland Forgiveness Scale-Self; TRIM-A = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Avoidance; TRIM-R = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Revenge; TRIM-B = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Benevolence; DFS = Decisional Forgiveness Scale; DFS-Pos = Decisional Forgiveness Scale-Prosocial Intention; DFS-Neg = Inhibition of Harmful Intention; EFS = Emotional Forgiveness Scale; EFS-Pos = Emotional Forgiveness Scale-Presence of Positive Emotion; EFS-Neg = Reduction of Negative Emotion.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

question. Participants read several situations, and then report the likelihood that they would forgive in this situation. It is noteworthy that collectivism was also positively correlated with this other measure of trait forgiveness of others.

Second, I hypothesized that collectivism would be unrelated to forgiveness of self, and individualism would be positively related to forgiveness of self. This hypothesis was supported. Collectivism was unrelated to the Heartland Forgiveness Scale-Self (HFS-self; $r = -.03, p > .05$). Individualism was positively correlated to the HFS-self ($r = .41, p < .01$).

Third, I hypothesized that collectivists forgive mainly to maintain social harmony, rather than for personal emotional benefits. Thus, I hypothesized that although collectivism would be unrelated to general measures of state forgiveness of others, collectivism would be positively correlated with decisional forgiveness of others, and negatively correlated with emotional forgiveness of others. I made no specific hypotheses about the relationship between individualism, decisional forgiveness of others, and emotional forgiveness of others. This hypothesis was partially supported. Both collectivism and individualism were unrelated to three overall measures of state forgiveness of others (i.e., TRIM-A, TRIM-R, TRIM-B; see Table 18). Collectivism was positively correlated with the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS; $r = .16, p < .01$). Collectivism was unrelated to the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS; $r = -.02, p > .05$). However, when we examined the correlations between collectivism and the subscales of the EFS, we found that collectivism was unrelated to the Presence of Positive Emotion subscale of the EFS ($r = .09, p > .05$), but was negatively correlated with the Reduction

of Negative Emotion subscale of the EFS ($r = -.16, p < .01$). Thus, collectivism seems to promote decisional forgiveness of others, yet helps less to reduce the negative emotions associated with unforgiveness. Individualism was unrelated to three overall measures of state forgiveness of others, and was also unrelated to decisional and emotional forgiveness of others (i.e., TRIM-A, TRIM-R, TRIM-B, DFS, EFS; see Table 19). Individualism does not appear to affect state forgiveness of others.

Individualism, Collectivism, and the Mechanisms by Which Individualism and Collectivism Affect Forgiveness

Scores on measures of the mechanisms by which individualism and collectivism affect forgiveness were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a moderate amount of missing data (11-20 cases per variable). The increased amount of missing data in this study is probably due to the fact that measures were completed online. Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. There were no deviations in normality. All outliers on the scales fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses.

Recall the hypothesis that individualism and collectivism would be related to specific mechanisms affecting forgiveness: empathy for the offender, causal attribution of the offender, and religiosity. Intercorrelations of all mechanisms hypothesized to affect forgiveness with individualism and collectivism are summarized in Table 20. I first hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with empathy, and individualism would be negatively correlated with empathy. This hypothesis was not

Table 20

Intercorrelations of collectivism, individualism, and the mechanisms by which individualism and collectivism affect forgiveness (Study 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Collectivism	1							
2. Individualism	.08	1						
3. Empathy	.10	-.02	1					
4. TAQ-Int	-.09	-.08	-.56**	1				
5. TAQ-Ext	.02	.10	.33**	-.19**	1			
6. RCI	.13*	.17**	.21**	-.07	-.02	1		
7. RCI-Intra	.11	.21**	.20**	-.06	.00	.97**	1	
8. RCI-Inter	.14*	.09	.21**	-.09	-.06	.93**	.81**	1

Note. $N = 298$. Collectivism = Self-Construal Scale-Interdependence; Individualism = Self-Construal Scale-Independence; Empathy = Batson's Empathy Adjectives; TAQ-Int = Transgression Attribution Questionnaire-Internal Attribution; TAQ-Ext = Transgression Attribution Questionnaire-External Attribution; RCI = Religious Commitment Inventory-10; RCI-Intra = Religious Commitment Inventory-10-Intrapersonal; RCI-Inter = Religious Commitment Inventory-10-Interpersonal.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

supported. Both collectivism ($r = .10, p > .05$) and individualism ($r = -.02, p > .05$) were unrelated to empathy. We found no evidence in our sample that individualism and collectivism impacted feelings of empathy toward the offender.

Second, I hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with making external attributions about the cause of the transgression, and negatively correlated with making internal attributions about the cause of the transgression. I also hypothesized that individualism would be positively correlated with making internal attributions about the cause of the transgression, and negatively correlated with making external attributions about the cause of the transgression. This hypothesis was not supported. Collectivism was unrelated to both the external subscale of the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ-External; $r = .02, p > .05$) and the internal subscale of the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ-Internal; $r = -.09, p > .05$). Individualism was also unrelated to both the TAQ-Internal ($r = -.08, p > .05$) and the TAQ-External ($r = .10, p > .05$). We found no evidence in our sample that individualism and collectivism impacted causal attributions of the offender.

Third, I hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with religious commitment, and individualism would be negatively correlated with religious commitment. There was a relationship between individualism, collectivism, and religious commitment, but the relationship was more nuanced than hypothesized. Both collectivism ($r = .13, p < .05$) and individualism ($r = .17, p < .01$) were positively related to the Religious Commitment Inventory-10 (RCI-10). However, we also examined two subscales of the RCI-10, intrapersonal religious commitment and interpersonal religious

commitment. Collectivism was positively correlated with interpersonal religious commitment ($r = .14, p < .05$), but was unrelated to intrapersonal religious commitment ($r = .11, p > .05$). Individualism, on the other hand, was positively correlated with intrapersonal religious commitment ($r = .21, p < .01$), but was unrelated to interpersonal religious commitment ($r = .09, p > .05$).

Individualism, Collectivism, and the Contextual Understanding of Forgiveness

Scores on measures of the contextual understanding of forgiveness were assessed for missing data, normality, and the presence of outliers. There was a small amount of missing data (4-8 cases per variable). The increased amount of missing data in this study is probably due to the fact that measures were completed online. Pairwise deletion was used to address missing data. There were no deviations in normality. All outliers on the scales fell within the ranges of expected values, and thus are thought to represent true responses and were retained in subsequent analyses.

Recall the hypothesis that collectivists view forgiveness more within the context of reconciliation, social harmony, and relational repair than do individualists. Several constructs that are related to forgiveness and social harmony were measured to assess this hypothesis. Intercorrelations of all measures assessing the contextual understanding of forgiveness with individualism and collectivism are summarized in Table 21.

I first hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with the Interpersonal subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS-Inter), and unrelated to the Intrapersonal subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS-Intra). I hypothesized that individualism would be positively correlated with the FUS-Intra and

Table 21

Intercorrelations of collectivism, individualism, and all measures assessing the contextual understanding of forgiveness (Study 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Collectivism	1							
2. Individualism	.08	1						
3. FUS-Intra	-.07	.14*	1					
4. FUS-Inter	.28**	.10	-.43**	1				
5. RLS	.23**	.02	-.08	.16**	1			
6. SHS	.34**	.11	-.07	.26**	.02	1		
7. Self-face	-.10	.19**	.03	.03	-.15**	.02	1	
8. Other-face	.27**	.09	-.07	.26**	.08	.27**	.06	1

Note. $N = 298$. Collectivism = Self-Construal Scale-Interdependence; Individualism = Self-Construal Scale-Independence; FUS-Intra = Forgiveness Understanding Scale-Intrapersonal; FUS-Inter = Forgiveness Understanding Scale-Interpersonal; RLS = Reconciliation Likelihood Scale; SHS = Social Harmony Scale; Self-face = Face Maintenance Scale-Self; Other-face = Face Maintenance Scale-Other.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

unrelated to the FUS-Inter. The Interpersonal subscale of the FUS assesses the degree to which people believe that forgiveness occurs within the context of reconciliation and relational repair. The Intrapersonal subscale of the FUS assesses the degree to which people believe that forgiveness can occur outside the context of reconciliation and relational repair. This hypothesis was supported. Collectivism was positively correlated with viewing forgiveness within the context of reconciliation ($r = .28, p < .01$), but was unrelated to viewing forgiveness outside the context of reconciliation ($r = -.07, p > .05$). Individualism was positively correlated with viewing forgiveness outside the context of reconciliation ($r = .14, p < .05$), but was unrelated to viewing forgiveness within the context of reconciliation ($r = .10, p > .05$).

Second, I hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with a measure of trait reconciliation—the tendency to reconcile with someone who has hurt you over time and across situations—and that individualism would be unrelated to trait reconciliation. This hypothesis was supported. Collectivism was positively correlated with the Reconciliation Likelihood Scale (RLS; $r = .23, p < .01$). Individualism was unrelated to the RLS ($r = .02, p > .05$).

Third, I hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with having norms that promote group harmony, and individualism would be unrelated to having norms that promote group harmony. This hypothesis was supported. Collectivism was positively correlated with the Social Harmony Scale (SHS; $r = .34, p < .01$). Individualism was unrelated to the SHS ($r = .11, p > .05$).

Also related to preserving social harmony, I hypothesized that collectivism would be positively correlated with using other face-saving strategies, but would be unrelated to using self face-saving strategies, and individualism would be positively correlated with using self face-saving strategies, but would be unrelated to using other face-saving strategies. This hypothesis was supported. Collectivism was positively correlated with the other subscale of the Face Maintenance Scale (FMS-other; $r = .27, p < .01$), but was unrelated to the self subscale of the Face Maintenance Scale (FMS-self; $r = -.10, p > .05$). Individualism was positively correlated with the FMS-self ($r = .19, p < .01$), but was unrelated to the FMS-other ($r = .09, p > .05$).

Study 2-Discussion

In the present study, we examined the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. We tested hypotheses in three areas: the effects of individualism and collectivism on dispositional and state forgiveness of others and self, the mechanisms by which individualism and collectivism affect forgiveness, and the contextual understanding of forgiveness.

Collectivism has a positive relationship with dispositional forgiveness of others. This finding is consistent with previous research that found positive correlations between collectivism and trait forgiveness of others (e.g., Neto & Mullet, 2003). The more collectivistic a person is, the more likely they are to report that they are a forgiving person. The relationship between individualism and dispositional forgiveness of others was unclear. The correlation between individualism and one measure of dispositional forgiveness of others was positive, however, the correlation with a second measure of dispositional forgiving of others was non-significant. Some part of this positive relationship may be due to method similarity. Both the SCS and the TFS ask participants to rate themselves on certain (often positive) characteristics. It was noteworthy that collectivism showed a positive correlation with both the TFS and FLS (which asked a different type of question). This finding is different from previous research that found a negative correlation between individualism and dispositional forgiveness of others (Neto & Mullet, 2003).

Individualism had a positive relationship with dispositional forgiveness of self. Collectivism was unrelated to dispositional forgiveness of self. This is the first study that

has evaluated the relationship between individualism, collectivism, and forgiveness of self. This finding supports previous theorizing that individualists may view forgiveness of self as vital, whereas collectivists may view forgiveness of self as relatively implausible (Sandage & Williamson, 2005).

Individualism and collectivism had an interesting relationship with state forgiveness of others. Both individualism and collectivism were unrelated with general measures of state forgiveness of others. This was expected, as it is difficult to find significant correlations at different levels of analysis (collectivism-trait, forgiveness-state). However, there was a positive relationship between collectivism and decisional forgiveness of others, and there was a negative relationship between collectivism and the reduction of negative emotions. When collectivists forgive, they are more likely to make a decision to forgive, probably to maintain social harmony (Hook, Worthington, & Utsey, 2007). However, this decision to forgive does not result in reducing the negative aspect of emotional forgiveness. Thus, collectivists may decide to forgive and commit to act toward their offender in ways that are more positive or less negative, but may still harbor resentment and anger toward the person who hurt them. This finding supports previous research that collectivists forgive to maintain social harmony (Fu et al., 2004), but extends this finding to show that, while decisional forgiveness occurs, emotional forgiveness does not.

Individualism and collectivism was unrelated to both empathy and causal attribution for the transgression. This finding is discrepant from previous theorizing that collectivists more often experience other-focused emotions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991)

and generally focus on the context of the situation rather than internal attributes when making causal attributions (Oyserman et al., 2002). There are several possible reasons for the discrepant findings. One possibility is that individualism and collectivism may not have as large an impact on empathy and attribution as previously thought. A second possibility is that individualism and collectivism affect attribution and empathy differently in the context of a specific offense. A third possibility involves who the transgressor is. An in-group transgression might engender more empathy and more positive attributions. An out-group transgressor might engender less empathy and more negative attributions. A fourth possibility is that I did not measure the constructs adequately. Indeed, the causal attribution measure was recently created and does not have adequate evidence for its validity.

Several findings from the present study supported the hypothesis that collectivists more often view forgiveness within the context of reconciliation, social harmony, and relational repair. Participants high in collectivism more often viewed forgiveness as occurring primarily within an interpersonal context. People high in collectivism reported that they were likely to reconcile with the person who hurt them. High collectivism was associated with the importance of social harmony, and using face strategies that were other-oriented. Participants high in individualism, on the other hand, more often viewed forgiveness as occurring primarily within an intrapersonal context. High individualism was unrelated to the likelihood to reconcile and the importance of social harmony. High individualism was associated with using face strategies that were self-oriented. These findings support prior theorizing and research that place forgiveness within the context of

forgiveness for collectivists (Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005; Sigmund, 1999), and stress the importance of social harmony for collectivists (Callister & Wall, 1997; Fu et al., 2004; Wall & Blum, 1991). Previous research has also shown that individualists tend to use more self-oriented face-saving strategies whereas collectivists tend to use more other-oriented face-saving strategies (Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

There are several limitations to the present study. One major limitation is that the study used a cross-sectional, correlational design. Thus, although throughout this study I have been discussing the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness, with the current design it is impossible to infer causality. When examining the relationships between trait measures (e.g., collectivism) and state measures (e.g., decisional forgiveness of a specific offense), I have more confidence with inferring that the trait measure is causing the state measure, because trait measures are conceptualized as personality measures that stay relatively consistent over time, whereas state measures are thought to change based on the specific situation. However, when examining the relationships between two trait measures (e.g., collectivism and trait forgiveness of others), it is impossible to determine which trait measure is influencing the other. Having a forgiving personality could influence one's level of collectivism just as easily as one's level of collectivism could influence one's level of forgivingness.

A second weakness is that the sample was somewhat homogenous. The sample consisted of college students at a large urban university in the Southeastern United States.

It is uncertain whether these findings will generalize to a different population either in the United States or outside the United States.

A third weakness of the study is that there were several measures that were recently created. Four measures (DFS, EFS, FUS, TAQ) were newly created and validated prior to this study. The FUS and TAQ have a small amount of evidence supporting their validity. Other measures (i.e., RLS, SHS) were created for the present study and have no evidence for their validity. Some measures (e.g., SHS) had unacceptably low internal consistency.

Despite these qualifications, the present study makes an important contribution to the understudied area of the effects of culture on forgiveness. The main finding is that collectivists tend to view forgiveness within the context of reconciliation, social harmony, and relational repair. Because of this focus, collectivists are more likely to make a decision to forgive, yet this decision may not result in reducing the negative emotions associated with unforgiveness.

Chapter 5

General Discussion of Studies 1 and 2

In the above programmatic set of studies, I explored the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. In Study 1A, 1B, and 1C, I developed and validated four scales that I believed would help inform the study of culture and forgiveness. In Study 2, I used these scales to directly examine the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness.

The cultural constructs of individualism and collectivism do impact the understanding and practice of forgiveness in important ways. First, collectivists tend to understand forgiveness within the context of reconciliation, relational repair, and social harmony. Collectivists are more likely to view forgiveness as occurring within an interpersonal context, reconcile with their offenders, view social harmony as important, and use other face-saving strategies to resolve conflict. These findings support prior research on the effects of collectivism on forgiveness. Collectivists generally have an interdependent view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Other-oriented personality variables are more important in determining forgiveness for collectivists than are self-oriented personality variables (Fu et al., 2004). Sandage and colleagues (Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005) have proposed that the constructs of forgiveness and reconciliation are closely related for people who hold a collectivistic worldview. Collectivists may view forgiveness as a pathway toward reconciliation (e.g., Sigmund, 1999). Collectivists are likely to use other-oriented face-saving strategies (Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

Individualists, on the other hand, view forgiveness outside the specific context of reconciliation, relational repair, and social harmony. Individualists are more likely to view forgiveness as occurring within an intrapersonal context, and use self face-saving strategies to resolve conflict. These findings support prior research on the effects of individualism on forgiveness. Individualists generally have an independent view of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Self-oriented personality variables are important in determining forgiveness for individualists (McCullough, 2001). Sandage and colleagues (Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005) have proposed that the constructs of forgiveness and reconciliation are sharply distinct for people who hold an individualistic worldview. Individualists are likely to use self-oriented face-saving strategies (Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

Individualism and collectivism were also found to impact the practice of forgiveness. Collectivism was positively related to trait forgiveness of others. This finding supports prior research that has found a positive relationship between collectivism and propensity to forgive (Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto & Mullet, 2004). The relationship between individualism and trait forgiveness of others was unclear. Prior research has generally found a negative relationship between individualism and propensity to forgive (e.g., Kadiangandu et al., 2001; Neto & Mullet, 2004).

Individualism was positively related to forgiveness of self, whereas collectivism was unrelated to forgiveness of self. This finding supports prior theorizing that people who hold an individualistic worldview would place a high value on self-forgiveness, but people who hold a collectivistic worldview would place a low value on self-forgiveness

(Sandage & Williamson, 2005). Indeed, individualistic forgivers may view forgiveness of self as vital in promoting self-healing and self-esteem, whereas collectivistic forgivers may view the forgiveness of self as relatively implausible because the self is socially defined and sustained (Sandage & Wiens, 2001).

Interestingly, contrary to my hypothesis, individualism and collectivism did not affect the mechanisms of empathy or causal attribution. This finding does not support prior theorizing and research that collectivists experience more other-oriented emotions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and make more external causal attributions (Oyserman et al., 2002) than do individualists. It should be noted, however, that in the present study empathy and causal attribution were assessed within the context of an identified transgression, rather than trait empathy or attributional style.

Both collectivism and individualism were unrelated to a general measure of state forgiveness of others. Prior research has reported mixed findings (e.g., Park, 1999; So, 2004). However, collectivism was positively related to decisional forgiveness, but was negatively related to the reduction of negative emotion associated with emotional forgiveness. This supports prior theorizing that collectivistic forgiveness may involve primarily decisional forgiveness and not emotional forgiveness (Hook et al., 2007). This focus on decisional forgiveness in collectivists also fits nicely in the larger framework that collectivists generally forgive in order to maintain social harmony (e.g., Fu et al., 2004).

Implications for Practice

The finding that collectivists are likely to understand forgiveness within the context of reconciliation, relational repair, and social harmony has important implications for the practice of counseling psychology. When addressing forgiveness issues with a client who has a collectivistic worldview, therapists should be aware that the client may view forgiveness within the context of reconciliation. If the therapist and client do not clearly define and agree what is meant by forgiveness, a therapist's recommendation of forgiveness to a collectivistic client may be harmful. I recommend working within the client's understanding of forgiveness rather than trying to change the client's understanding of forgiveness. For example, imagine a female client wishes to forgive her husband who is physically abusing her. If the therapist views forgiveness as distinct from reconciliation, he or she may be willing to promote forgiveness in this situation. However, if the client holds a collectivistic worldview and understands forgiveness to be contextualized within reconciliation, a counselor's suggestion of forgiveness may be harmful. Rather than changing the client's opinion about what forgiveness involves, a more effective strategy may be work within the client's definition. For example, in the above case, the therapist might tell the client that forgiveness (as the client defines it) might be harmful because the counselor is concerned about the client's safety. The therapist might try to describe the process differently, such leading the client to let go of her anger and hate toward her husband while maintaining good boundaries.

The finding that collectivistic forgiveness may involve primarily a decision to forgive and not result in emotional forgiveness also has important implications for the practice of counseling psychology. Therapists should be aware that when clients with a

collectivistic worldview report that they have forgiven, they are most likely referring to decisional forgiveness. Emotional forgiveness may not have occurred, and it may not be deemed as important to the collectivistic client. This may have important effects for the collectivistic client. If the collectivistic client makes a decision to forgive yet does not experience emotional forgiveness, he or she may still have to personally deal with the negative psychological and physical health risks associated with unforgiveness.

Implications for Research

There are several exciting areas for future research in the study of the effects of individualism and collectivism on forgiveness. One interesting unexamined question is the effect of individualism and collectivism on the forgiveness of in-groups versus out-groups (see Hook et al., 2007). We hypothesize that the collectivistic focus on decisional forgiveness to maintain social harmony may be primarily for one's in-group, and not extend to out-group members. Second, the present research was conducted in a college student population. Future research might explore whether the finding that collectivistic forgiveness is primarily decisional in adult samples or even samples outside of the United States.

Third, there has been little research on the effect of individualism and collectivism on the health benefits or drawbacks of forgiveness. The psychological (Toussaint & Webb, 2005) and physical (Harris & Thoresen, 2005) health benefits of forgiveness have been well-documented. However, there has been little research on the health benefits of forgiveness in collectivistic cultures. We hypothesize that the benefits of forgiveness may be different among collectivists because the motivations behind

forgiveness may be different. Perhaps granting decisional forgiveness to another to restore social harmony does not yield as many health benefits because one feels social pressure to forgive even when one does not emotionally forgive. There may even be negative psychological consequences caused by this cognitive dissonance of acting forgiving but retaining inward unforgiving feelings. Alternatively, there may be health benefits of forgiving, reconciling and retaining social support even when one does not feel like forgiving at the time.

Fourth, research is needed on interventions with collectivistic families, groups, and communities. Would tailoring individualistic forgiveness interventions (see Wade, Worthington, & Meyer, 2005, for a review) to a collectivistic worldview be more effective than offering the interventions as they are now provided? If so, how should they be effectively tailored?

Summary

Forgiveness research has increased in scope and depth in recent years. However, the study of the effects of culture on forgiveness is in its infancy. The present set of studies explored the impact that having an individualistic or collectivistic worldview has on the understanding and practice of forgiveness. A more precise understanding of these cultural influences on forgiveness will both improve our basic understanding of forgiveness and inform clinical practice.

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*Indicates a study used in the review of the literature.

Appendix A

Initial Items for Forgiveness Measures Under Investigation

Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS)

DIRECTIONS: For the following questions, please indicate your current intentions and emotions toward the person who wounded you. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

1. ____ I will try to act toward him or her in the same way I did before he or she hurt me.
2. ____ I will not try to get even with him or her.
3. ____ I will not seek revenge upon him or her.
4. ____ I will not try to cause him or her harm.
5. ____ I will not try to avoid him or her.
6. ____ I will commit to spend time with him or her.
7. ____ I will not talk with him or her.
8. ____ If I see him or her, I will act friendly.
9. ____ If there is an opportunity to get back at him or her, I will take it.
10. ____ I will not try to help him or her if he or she needs something.
11. ____ I have decided to forgive him or her.
12. ____ I will try to get back at him or her.
13. ____ He or she owes me for what he or she did.
14. ____ I will try to put this behind us.
15. ____ I intend to try to hurt him or her in the same way he or she hurt me.
16. ____ I have decided never to forgive him or her.

17. ____ I feel angry toward him or her.
18. ____ When I think about him or her, I feel afraid.
19. ____ I'm mad about what happened.
20. ____ When he or she is mentioned in conversation, I feel tense.
21. ____ I replay what he or she did in my mind.
22. ____ I feel empathy toward him or her.
23. ____ I understand why he or she did what he or she did.
24. ____ I feel sympathy toward him or her.
25. ____ I feel compassion toward him or her.
26. ____ I feel love toward him or her.
27. ____ I care about him or her.
28. ____ When I think about him or her, I feel at peace.
29. ____ When I think about him or her, I feel calm.
30. ____ I feel stressed when I think about what happened.
31. ____ I no longer feel upset when I think of him or her.
32. ____ I don't usually get angry when I think about him or her.
33. ____ I am afraid of him or her.
34. ____ I hate him or her.

- 35. ____ I like him or her.
- 36. ____ I am not at all sympathetic toward him or her.
- 37. ____ He or she puts a bad taste in my mouth.
- 38. ____ I feel positively toward him or her.
- 39. ____ I feel negatively toward him or her.
- 40. ____ Compared to the moment I was hurt, my hate has gone to almost zero.
- 41. ____ Compared to the moment I was hurt, my bitterness has gone to zero.
- 42. ____ I'm bitter about what he or she did to me.
- 43. ____ I feel hostile because of what he or she did to me.
- 44. ____ Compared to the moment I was hurt, my hostility has gone to zero.
- 45. ____ I resent what he or she did to me.
- 46. ____ I want to get even.
- 47. ____ Compared to the moment I was hurt, my resentment has gone to almost zero.
- 48. ____ I don't want to get even.
- 49. ____ I've given up any desire to pay back him or her.
- 50. ____ Compared to the moment I was hurt, my anger has gone to almost zero.
- 51. ____ I've given up any need to get revenge.
- 52. ____ Compared to the moment I was hurt, my fear or anxiety has gone to almost zero.

1 = Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neutral

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly agree

Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS)

DIRECTIONS: For the following questions, please indicate your current beliefs about forgiveness. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

1. ___ I think forgiveness is something that happens solely within one person.
2. ___ Forgiveness is a choice made by the victim alone.
3. ___ A person can completely forgive another without telling him or her.
4. ___ Forgiveness is a process that the person who has been hurt goes through.
5. ___ A person can forgive someone without ever talking to that person again.
6. ___ A person can forgive someone who has died.
7. ___ Forgiveness does not have to involve both the offender and the person hurt.
8. ___ A person can forgive someone and not desire to resume a friendship with that person.
9. ___ Forgiveness is completely an internal process.
10. ___ Forgiveness is something a person does himself or herself.
11. ___ Forgiving someone is different from reconciliation.
12. ___ A person can forgive someone without ever telling that person.
13. ___ The act of forgiving does not involve the offender.
14. ___ Forgiveness is not an intrapersonal process.
15. ___ Forgiveness does not have to involve both the person hurt and the offender.
16. ___ One can forgive without communicating it directly to the offender.
17. ___ Forgiveness is a decision one must wrestle with alone.
18. ___ Forgiveness happens within the skin of a person.
19. ___ Complete forgiveness does not require that one tells the wrongdoer one has forgiven (if the wrongdoer is available).
20. ___ Forgiveness is something that must happen between two or more people.
21. ___ Forgiveness involves both the person hurt and the offender.
22. ___ The offender's acceptance of the victim's forgiveness is an important part of complete forgiveness.
23. ___ An important part of complete forgiveness is restoring the damaged relationship.
24. ___ Forgiveness is a dyadic (two-person) process.
25. ___ The purpose of forgiveness is to heal the relationship between two or more people.
26. ___ An important part of forgiveness is the communication of the forgiveness.
27. ___ Seeking forgiveness by the offender is an important aspect of forgiveness.
28. ___ Offender's apology is an important step in forgiveness.
29. ___ An offender's sincere offer of restitution is an important part of forgiveness.
30. ___ Forgiveness must involve acting less negatively toward the offender.
31. ___ Forgiveness must involve acting more positively toward the offender.
32. ___ A person cannot forgive someone if he or she is not present to receive the forgiveness.
33. ___ Forgiveness is an interpersonal process (as long as the offender is alive and able to be talked to).

- 34. ____ Forgiveness must involve both a choice by the victim and the response of the offender.
- 35. ____ Forgiveness without reconciliation is false forgiveness.
- 36. ____ Forgiveness must involve interactions between victim and offender.
- 37. ____ Forgiveness is something that the person who was hurt and the offender must work through together.
- 38. ____ If a relationship is not healed, forgiveness is not complete.
- 39. ____ Forgiveness without reconciling is incomplete forgiveness.

1 = Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neutral

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly agree

Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ)

DIRECTIONS: For the following questions, please indicate your current beliefs about the cause of the transgression. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

1. ____ He or she is a bad person.
2. ____ He or she doesn't think about how his/her actions affect other people.
3. ____ He or she doesn't care about anyone but himself/herself.
4. ____ He or she lacks self-control.
5. ____ He or she can't control his/her anger.
6. ____ He or she likes to hurt others.
7. ____ He or she doesn't think before he or she acts.
8. ____ He or she is not loyal.
9. ____ He or she is evil.
10. ____ He or she can't control himself/herself.
11. ____ He or she is not responsible.
12. ____ He or she is not dependable.
13. ____ He or she is unkind.
14. ____ He or she is not an understanding person.
15. ____ He or she is impatient.
16. ____ He or she is not a loving person.
17. ____ He or she is selfish.
18. ____ He or she gets angry all the time.
19. ____ He or she is an angry person.
20. ____ He or she is not a good person.
21. ____ He or she gets mad easily.
22. ____ He or she was having a bad day.
23. ____ He or she didn't get much sleep the night before.
24. ____ He or she was having a tough week at work/school.
25. ____ He or she was stressed out.
26. ____ I caught him or her at a bad time.
27. ____ He or she had way too much on his/her plate.
28. ____ He or she was angry with someone else.
29. ____ He or she was tired.
30. ____ He or she has had a rough time lately.
31. ____ He or she was having financial problems.
32. ____ I asked too much of him or her.
33. ____ I was too hard on him or her.
34. ____ I made him or her do it.
35. ____ I wasn't treating him or her well.
36. ____ He or she was having a bad week.

- 37. ____ He or she has had a difficult life.
- 38. ____ He or she had a rough childhood.
- 39. ____ He or she wasn't treated well by his/her parents.
- 40. ____ He or she hasn't had a fair shot in life.
- 41. ____ Today's society made him or her do it.
- 42. ____ Life has been really difficult lately for him or her.
- 43. ____ He or she had a difficult family upbringing.
- 44. ____ He or she has been through a lot.

1 = Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neutral

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly agree

Appendix B

Measures Used to Assess Construct Validity of the Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS) and the Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS)

Demographics

1. Your Gender: _____ 2. Your Age: _____

4. What is your current marital status? (circle one) Single Married Separated
Divorced Widowed

5. What is your Ethnicity/Race? _____

6. What is your religious affiliation? (for example, Baptist, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim,
Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, None . . .)

11. How many (if any) activities or services do you attend at your religious institution
(circle one)?

None One a year A few times a year One a month One a week
More than one a week

12. How committed are you to your religion (circle one)?

Not at all Very Little Moderately Very Much Totally

13. How intense is your spiritual life (circle one)?

Not at all Very Little Moderately Very Much Totally

Religious Commitment Inventory-10 (RCI-10)

DIRECTIONS: Read each of the following statements. Using the scale to the right, CIRCLE the response that best describes how true each statement is for you.

	Not at all true of me 1	Somewhat true of me 2	Moderately true of me 3	Mostly true of me 4	Totally true of me 5
1. I often read books and magazines about my faith.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I make financial contributions to my religious organization.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I spend time trying to grow in understanding of my faith.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I enjoy spending time with others of my religious affiliation.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Religious beliefs influence all my dealings in life.	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is important to me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and reflection.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I enjoy working in the activities of my religious affiliation.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I keep well informed about my local religious group and have some influence in its decisions.	1	2	3	4	5

Single-Item Forgiveness Scale

DIRECTIONS: Rate, using the single item, the degree to which you have forgiven the person who hurt you. Circle the number.

- 0 = No forgiveness
- 1 = Some forgiveness
- 2 = About half forgiven
- 3 = Substantial forgiveness
- 4 = Complete forgiveness

Single Items to Measure Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness

Note: We want you to rate two types of forgiveness. For example, a person might perhaps *decide to grant* complete forgiveness but still *feel* very unforgiving toward a person.

Granting forgiveness is defined as **deciding (even if you don't say aloud) that you will not seek revenge against and not avoid but will try to put the relationship (if any) back on the pre-offense footing. This describes how you intend to act toward the person.** Using the scale below (from 0 = no forgiveness granted to 4 = complete forgiveness granted) estimate the current level to which you have granted forgiveness.

0	1	2	3	4
No Forgiveness				Complete Forgiveness

Experiencing emotional forgiveness is defined as **the degree to which you actually feel that your emotions have become less negative and (perhaps) more positive toward the person who offended or harmed you.** If 0 = No forgiveness experienced and 4 = complete forgiveness experienced (that is, if you have experienced complete emotional forgiveness, you have no negative feelings and perhaps even some positive feelings toward the person who offended or harmed you), then use the scale below to indicate to what degree you have experienced emotional forgiveness.

0	1	2	3	4
No Forgiveness				Complete Forgiveness

Rye Forgiveness Scale (RFS)

DIRECTIONS: Think of how you have responded to the person who has wronged or mistreated you. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strong Agree (SA)	Agree (A)	Neutral (N)	Disagree (D)	Strong Disagree (SD)
1. I can't stop thinking about how I was wronged by this person.	SA	A	N	D	SD
2. I wish for good things to happen to the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
3. I spend time thinking about ways to get back at the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
4. I feel resentful toward the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
5. I avoid certain people and/or places because they remind me of the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
6. I pray for the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
7. If I encountered the person who wronged me I would feel at peace.	SA	A	N	D	SD
8. This person's wrongful actions have kept me from enjoying life.	SA	A	N	D	SD
9. I have been able to let go of my anger toward the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
10. I become depressed when I think of how I was mistreated by this person.	SA	A	N	D	SD
11. I think that many of the emotional wounds related to this person's wrongful actions have healed.	SA	A	N	D	SD
12. I feel hatred whenever I think about the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
13. I have compassion for the person who wronged me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
14. I think my life is ruined because of this person's wrongful actions.	SA	A	N	D	SD
15. I hope the person who wronged me is treated fairly by others in the future.	SA	A	N	D	SD

TRIM (Transgression Related Inventory of Motivations)-Avoidance and Revenge (TRIM-A, TRIM-R)

DIRECTIONS: For the following questions, please indicate your **current thoughts and feelings** about the person who hurt you. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement with each of the questions.

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = mildly disagree
- 3 = agree and disagree equally
- 4 = mildly agree
- 5 = strongly agree

1. ____ I'll make him or her pay.
2. ____ I wish that something bad would happen to him/her.
3. ____ I want him/her to get what he/she deserves.
4. ____ I'm going to get even.
5. ____ I want to see him/her hurt and miserable.
6. ____ I keep as much distance between us as possible.
7. ____ I live as if he/she doesn't exist, isn't around.
8. ____ I don't trust him/her.
9. ____ I find it difficult to act warmly toward him/her.
10. ____ I avoid him/her.
11. ____ I cut off the relationship with him/her.
12. ____ I withdraw from him/her.

TRIM (Transgression Related Inventory of Motivations)-Benevolence (TRIM-B)

DIRECTIONS: For the following questions, please indicate your **current thoughts and feelings** about the person who hurt you. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement with each of the questions.

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = mildly disagree
- 3 = agree and disagree equally
- 4 = mildly agree
- 5 = strongly agree

1. ____ Even though his/her actions hurt me, I still have goodwill for him/her.
2. ____ I want us to bury the hatchet and move forward with our relationship.
3. ____ Despite what he/she did, I want us to have a positive relationship again.
4. ____ I have given up my hurt and resentment.
5. ____ Although he/she hurt me, I put the hurts aside so we could resume our relationship.
6. ____ I forgive him/her for what he/she did to me.
7. ____ I have released my anger so I could work on restoring our relationship to health.

Trait Forgivingness Scale (TFS)

DIRECTIONS: Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement below by using the following scale:

- 5 = Strongly Agree
- 4 = Mildly Agree
- 3 = Agree and Disagree Equally
- 2 = Mildly Disagree
- 1 = Strongly Disagree

- _____ 1. People close to me probably think I hold a grudge too long.
- _____ 2. I can forgive a friend for almost anything.
- _____ 3. If someone treats me badly, I treat him or her the same.
- _____ 4. I try to forgive others even when they don't feel guilty for what they did.
- _____ 5. I can usually forgive and forget an insult.
- _____ 6. I feel bitter about many of my relationships.
- _____ 7. Even after I forgive someone, things often come back to me that I resent.
- _____ 8. There are some things for which I could never forgive even a loved one.
- _____ 9. I have always forgiven those who have hurt me.
- _____ 10. I am a forgiving person.

State Anger Scale (SAS)

DIRECTIONS: As you think about the person who hurt you, please answer the following questions about the intensity of your feelings toward that person. We do not want your ratings of your past feelings, but your rating of feelings right now as you think about this event, and all that has happened since. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement with each of the questions.

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = Somewhat
- 3 = Moderately so
- 4 = Very much so

1. ____ I am mad.
2. ____ I feel angry.
3. ____ I am burned up.
4. ____ I feel like I'm about to explode.
5. ____ I feel like banging on the table.
6. ____ I feel like yelling at somebody.
7. ____ I feel like swearing.
8. ____ I am furious.
9. ____ I feel like hitting someone.
10. ____ I feel like breaking things.

Impact of Event Scale (IES)

DIRECTIONS: As you think about the offense, please indicate how frequently you experience each of the following experiences. Please circle your answer.

1. I thought about it when I didn't mean to.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
2. I had trouble falling asleep or staying asleep because of pictures or thoughts about it that came to my mind.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
3. I had waves of strong feelings about it.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
4. I had dreams about it.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
5. Pictures about it popped into my mind.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
6. Other things kept making me think about it.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
7. Any reminder brought back feelings about it.	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often

Batson Empathy Adjectives (BEA)

DIRECTIONS: As you think about this situation as it has developed to this minute, please answer the following questions about your attitude toward the person. We do not want your ratings of your past attitudes, but your rating of attitudes right now as you think about this event, and all that has happened since. After each item, please **CIRCLE** the word that best describes your current feeling. Please do not skip any item.

Not = Not at all **Lit** = Little **Som** = Somewhat **Mod** = Moderately **Qui** = Quite a lot **Ext** = Extremely

For example, if you were rating the word "proud," and you felt somewhat proud of the person, you would circle the word "Som" following the word "proud." Complete the next items in the same way.

Current Degree of Feeling

1.	sympathetic:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
2.	empathic:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
3.	concerned:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
4.	moved:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
5.	compassionate:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
6.	softhearted:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
7.	warm:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext
8.	tender:	Not	Lit	Som	Mod	Qui	Ext

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

DIRECTIONS: This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment concerning the event. Use the following scale to record your answers.

1 = very slightly or not at all

2 = a little

3 = moderately

4 = quite a bit

5 = extremely

1. ____ interested

2. ____ distressed

3. ____ excited

4. ____ upset

5. ____ strong

6. ____ guilty

7. ____ scared

8. ____ hostile

9. ____ enthusiastic

10. ____ proud

11. ____ irritable

12. ____ alert

13. ____ ashamed

14. ____ inspired

15. ____ nervous

16. ____ determined

17. ____ attentive

18. ____ jittery

19. ____ active

20. ____ afraid

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS)

DIRECTIONS: Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *True* or *False* as it pertains to you personally. Circle your answer.

- T F 1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
- T F 2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
- T F 3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work, if I am not encouraged.
- T F 4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
- T F 5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
- T F 6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
- T F 7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
- T F 8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
- T F 9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.
- T F 10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
- T F 11. I like to gossip at times.
- T F 12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
- T F 13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
- T F 14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
- T F 15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
- T F 16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
- T F 17. I always try to practice what I preach.
- T F 18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud-mouthed, obnoxious people.
- T F 19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- T F 20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
- T F 21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
- T F 22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
- T F 23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
- T F 24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
- T F 25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
- T F 26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
- T F 27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
- T F 28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
- T F 29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
- T F 30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
- T F 31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
- T F 32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
- T F 33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

Appendix C

Measures Used to Assess Construct Validity of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS)

Single-Item Understanding of Forgiveness

DIRECTIONS: Rate, using the single item, the degree to which you believe forgiveness is an intrapersonal process (happens within one person) of an interpersonal process (happens between two people). Circle the number.

- 1 = Completely intrapersonal
- 2 = Mostly intrapersonal
- 3 = Equally intrapersonal and interpersonal
- 4 = Mostly interpersonal
- 5 = Completely interpersonal

Narrative Test of Forgiveness

DIRECTIONS: Below are four scenarios that describe a transgression and the response of the person who was hurt. Make two judgments for each scenario. First, indicate the amount of forgiveness that you think took place. Use the following scale to record your answers.

- 1 = No forgiveness
- 2 = Not much forgiveness
- 3 = Moderate forgiveness
- 4 = Quite a bit forgiveness
- 5 = Complete forgiveness

Second, indicate the whether you believe the cause of the transgression was due to the personal characteristics of the offender or due to the context of the situation. Use the following scale to record your answers.

- 1 = Completely due to the personal characteristics of the offender
- 2 = Mostly due to the personal characteristics of the offender
- 3 = Equally due to the personal characteristics of the offender and to the context of the situation
- 4 = Mostly due to the context of the situation
- 5 = Completely due to the context of the situation

1. Someone John occasionally sees in a class has a paper due at the end of the week. John has already completed the paper for the class and this person says he is under a lot of time pressure and asks John to lend him his paper for some ideas. John agrees, and this person simply retypes the paper and hands it in. The professor recognizes the paper, calls both John and his classmate to her office, scolds John, and says he is lucky she doesn't put them both on academic probation. John is angry for a while, but finally makes a decision to forgive his classmate. Eventually, he becomes less angry toward his classmate, and puts the situation behind him. John's classmate never apologized for his actions, and John never verbalized his forgiveness.

_____ Indicate the amount of forgiveness that took place.
 _____ Indicate the cause of the transgression.

2. A fairly close friend tells Amy that she needs some extra money for an upcoming holiday. Amy knows a married couple who needs a babysitter for their 3-year old for a couple of nights and Amy recommends her friend. Amy's friend is grateful and takes the job. On the first night, the child gets out of bed and, while Amy's friend has fallen asleep watching television, drinks cleaning fluid from beneath the kitchen sink. The child is taken by an ambulance to the hospital and stays there for 2 days for observation and treatment. The married couple will not speak to Amy. Amy is angry and frustrated with her friend, but after her friend apologizes, Amy decides to forgive her friend. Amy tells her friend that she has forgiven her, and they begin the process of rebuilding their relationship. Over time Amy feels less angry and frustrated with her friend.

_____ Indicate the amount of forgiveness that took place.
 _____ Indicate the cause of the transgression.

3. A friend offers to drop off a job application for Greg at the post office by the deadline for submission. A week later, Greg gets a letter from the potential employer saying that his

application could not be considered because it was postmarked after the deadline and they had a very strict policy about this. Greg's friend said that he met an old friend, went to lunch, and lost track of time. When he remembered the package, it was close to closing time at the post office and he would have to have rushed frantically to get there; he decided that deadlines usually aren't that strictly enforced so he waited until the next morning to deliver the package. Greg is very hurt by his friend. His friend apologizes, and Greg makes a decision to forgive his friend, and tells his friend that he forgives him. It takes a while, but Greg begins to feel less negative and more positive toward his friend.

_____ Indicate the amount of forgiveness that took place.

_____ Indicate the cause of the transgression.

4. Lisa just started a new job and it turns out that a classmate from high school works there, too. Lisa thinks this is great; now she doesn't feel like such a stranger. Even though the classmate wasn't part of her crowd, there's at least a face she recognizes. The two hit it off right away and talk about old times. A few weeks later, Lisa is having lunch in the cafeteria and she overhears several of her coworkers, who do not realize that she is nearby, talking about her and laughing; one even sounds hostile toward her. Lisa discovers that her old classmate has told them about something Lisa did back in school that she is deeply ashamed of and did not want anyone to know about. Lisa is mad at her coworker and hurt. After a while, Lisa realizes that she does not enjoy being angry, and she makes a decision to forgive her coworker. Over time, Lisa feels less mad and hurt, and more love and compassion toward her coworker. She never tells her coworker that she forgives her.

_____ Indicate the amount of forgiveness that took place.

_____ Indicate the cause of the transgression.

- 1 = No forgiveness
- 2 = Not much forgiveness
- 3 = Moderate forgiveness
- 4 = Quite a bit forgiveness
- 5 = Complete forgiveness

- 1 = Completely due to the personal characteristics of the offender
- 2 = Mostly due to the personal characteristics of the offender
- 3 = Equally due to the personal characteristics of the offender and to the context of the situation
- 4 = Mostly due to the context of the situation
- 5 = Completely due to the context of the situation

Appendix D

Measures Used to Assess Construct Validity of the Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ)

Single-Item Attribution of Transgression

DIRECTIONS: Rate, using the single item, whether you think the cause of the transgression was due to the personal characteristics of the offender or to the context of the situation. Circle the number.

- 1 = Completely due to the personal characteristics of the offender
- 2 = Mostly due to the personal characteristics of the offender
- 3 = Equally due to the personal characteristics of the offender and to the context of the situation
- 4 = Mostly due to the context of the situation
- 5 = Completely due to the context of the situation

Attribution of Blame Scale (ABS)

DIRECTIONS: This scale assesses how people assign blame. Use the following scale to indicate your agreement or disagreement with each item

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = moderately agree
- 3 = mildly agree
- 4 = mildly disagree
- 5 = moderately disagree
- 6 = strongly disagree

1. ____ Victims of crime nearly always deserve what they get.
2. ____ When a crime occurs, it is the offender's fault.
3. ____ Alcohol is to be blamed for most of the crimes in our society.
4. ____ Society's rigid rules bring people to jail.
5. ____ Provocation by the victim is the cause of most crimes.
6. ____ Most crimes can be attributed to problems in the offender's personality.
7. ____ If people would stop drinking the crime rate would be sharply reduced.
8. ____ Living in a bad neighborhood is the cause of most crimes.
9. ____ Victims should be blamed for being attacked.
10. ____ Most offenders commit crimes because they can't control themselves.
11. ____ Alcohol is responsible for the majority of inmates being locked up.
12. ____ When a man commits a crime it is society that should be blamed.
13. ____ Women who are raped have usually set themselves up to be raped.
14. ____ Criminal behavior is often caused by mental illness.
15. ____ Alcohol makes people commit crime.
16. ____ Current societal morality is the cause of so many crimes.
17. ____ There is no such thing as an innocent victim.
18. ____ Criminal behavior is the result of abnormal personality.
19. ____ The high incidence of violent acts is related to drinking.
20. ____ The media are responsible for so much violence on the street.
21. ____ A person who commits rape is mentally ill, or psychologically disturbed.
22. ____ Rapists are driven to commit rape by something wrong in their personality.
23. ____ Women entice men to rape them.
24. ____ A women hitchhiker is almost asking to be raped.

Locus of Control Scale (LOC)

DIRECTIONS: Each number below has an "a" statement and a "b" statement. Please circle either "a" or "b" depending on which one most accurately reflects your view.

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
 b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
 b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
 b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
 b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
 b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
 b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
 b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality
 b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.
9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
 b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
10. a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
 b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
 b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
 b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
 b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.
 b. There is some good in everybody.
15. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
 b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
16. a. Who get to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.

- b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
 - b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
- 18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
 - b. There really is no such thing as "luck."
- 19. a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
 - b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
- 20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
 - b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
- 21. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
 - b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
- 22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
 - b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
- 23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
 - b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
- 24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
 - b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
- 25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
 - b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
- 26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
 - b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
- 27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
 - b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.
- 28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
 - b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- 29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
 - b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

Specific Relationship Attribution Measure (SRAM)

DIRECTIONS: As you think about the offense and the person who hurt you, read each of the following statements. Please circle the number that indicates how much you agree or disagree with each statement, using the rating scale below:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree	Agree strongly

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | His/her behavior was due to something about him (e.g., the type of person he is, the mood he was in). |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | The reason he/she hurt me is <i>not</i> likely to change. |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | The reason he/she hurt me is something that affects other areas of our relationship. |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | He/she hurt me on purpose rather than unintentionally. |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | His/her behavior was motivated by selfish rather than <i>unselfish</i> concerns. |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | He/she deserves to be blamed for hurting me. |

Appendix E

Refined Items for Forgiveness Measures Under Investigation

Decisional Forgiveness Scale (DFS)

DIRECTIONS: Think of your current intentions toward the person who hurt you. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (SD)	Disagree (D)	Neutral (N)	Agree (A)	Strongly Agree (SA)
1. I intend to try to hurt him or her in the same way he or she hurt me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
2. I will not try to help him or her if he or she needs something.	SD	D	N	A	SA
3. If I see him or her, I will act friendly.	SD	D	N	A	SA
4. I will try to get back at him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
5. I will try to act toward him or her in the same way I did before he or she hurt me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
6. If there is an opportunity to get back at him or her, I will take it.	SD	D	N	A	SA
7. I will not talk with him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
8. I will not seek revenge upon him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Reverse code: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7

Prosocial Intention subscale items: 2, 3, 5, 7

Inhibition of Harmful Intention subscale items: 1, 4, 6, 8

Emotional Forgiveness Scale (EFS)

DIRECTIONS: Think of your current emotions toward the person who hurt you. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (SD)	Disagree (D)	Neutral (N)	Agree (A)	Strongly Agree (SA)
1. I care about him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
2. I no longer feel upset when I think of him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
3. I'm bitter about what he or she did to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
4. I feel sympathy toward him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
5. I'm mad about what happened.	SD	D	N	A	SA
6. I like him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
7. I resent what he or she did to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
8. I feel love toward him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Reverse code: 3, 5, 7

Presence of Positive Emotion subscale items: 1, 4, 6, 8

Reduction of Negative Emotion subscale items: 2, 3, 5, 7

Forgiveness Understanding Scale (FUS)

DIRECTIONS: Think of your beliefs about forgiveness. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (SD)	Disagree (D)	Neutral (N)	Agree (A)	Strongly Agree (SA)
1. A person can completely forgive another without telling him or her.	SD	D	N	A	SA
2. The purpose of forgiveness is to heal the relationship between two or more people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
3. A person can forgive someone without ever talking to that person again.	SD	D	N	A	SA
4. The act of forgiving does not involve the offender.	SD	D	N	A	SA
5. Forgiveness must involve acting more positively toward the offender.	SD	D	N	A	SA
6. Offender's apology is an important step in forgiveness.	SD	D	N	A	SA
7. Complete forgiveness does not require that one tells the wrongdoer one has forgiven (if the wrongdoer is available).	SD	D	N	A	SA
8. Forgiveness does not have to involve both the person hurt and the offender.	SD	D	N	A	SA
9. An important part of complete forgiveness is restoring the damaged relationship.	SD	D	N	A	SA
10. Seeking forgiveness by the offender is an important aspect of forgiveness.	SD	D	N	A	SA
11. I think forgiveness is something that happens solely within one person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
12. The offender's acceptance of the victim's forgiveness is an important part of complete forgiveness.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Intrapersonal Understanding subscale items: 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11

Interpersonal Understanding subscale items: 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12

Transgression Attribution Questionnaire (TAQ)

DIRECTIONS: Think of your current beliefs about the cause of the transgression. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (SD)	Disagree (D)	Neutral (N)	Agree (A)	Strongly Agree (SA)
1. He or she is a bad person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
2. He or she has had a rough time lately.	SD	D	N	A	SA
3. He or she is not dependable.	SD	D	N	A	SA
4. He or she was stressed out.	SD	D	N	A	SA
5. He or she didn't get much sleep the night before.	SD	D	N	A	SA
6. He or she is not a loving person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
7. He or she was having a tough week at work/school.	SD	D	N	A	SA
8. He or she is unkind.	SD	D	N	A	SA
9. He or she had way too much on his/her plate.	SD	D	N	A	SA
10. He or she is not a good person.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Internal Attribution subscale items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 10

External Attribution subscale items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 9

Appendix F

Behavioral Measures Used in Study 1C

Positive Qualities

DIRECTIONS: Think about the person who has deeply hurt or offended you. In the space below, write sentences about that person. Each sentence must describe a distinct positive quality of that person. Please write as many sentences as possible. You have ten minutes to complete this task.

Please indicate the difficulty of writing sentences describing the positive qualities of the person who hurt you. Circle your answer, using the rating scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
Not difficult at all	Slightly difficult	Moderately difficult	Fairly difficult	Very difficult

Anagram Task

There is one more task for you to do. It is a puzzle that we would like you to solve. However, you must get your puzzle from the experimenter. Please turn in your packet of questionnaires now, and pick up the task from the experimenter.

(Experimenter records time when anagram task is given out and completed.)

Name _____ Subject number _____

DIRECTIONS: An anagram is a scrambled English word. For example, RMAS can be unscrambled into ARMS, which is an English word, or RAMS, also an English word. Below, we have provided ten very difficult anagrams of eight letters each. You are to solve as many as possible.

This is not a test. Work on them for as long as you want, and when you want to stop, please bring your questionnaire packet to the experimenter.

1. GTUPLMEO _____

2. BRAKPOTT _____

3. DELVEBEN _____

4. WILMDERG _____

5. YELPNUME _____

6. BRMACHIR _____

7. CICESKFA _____

8. DUBELOKO _____

9. OOPGAILL _____

10. YALEMINN _____

Appendix G

Additional Measures Used in Study 2

Self-Construal Scale (SCS)

DIRECTIONS: This scale consists of a number of statements that describe different feelings or behaviors. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement. Use the following scale to record your answers.

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = moderately disagree
- 3 = somewhat disagree
- 4 = neutral
- 5 = somewhat agree
- 6 = moderately agree
- 7 = strongly agree

1. ____ I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.
2. ____ It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.
3. ____ My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.
4. ____ I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor.
5. ____ I respect people who are modest about themselves.
6. ____ I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.
7. ____ I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.
8. ____ I should take into consideration my parent's advice when making education/career plans.
9. ____ It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group.
10. ____ I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group.
11. ____ If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.
12. ____ Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.
13. ____ I'd rather say "No" directly than risk being misunderstood.
14. ____ Speaking up during a class is not a problem for me.
15. ____ Having a lively imagination is important to me.
16. ____ I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.
17. ____ I am the same person at home that I am at school.
18. ____ Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.
19. ____ I act the same way no matter who I am with.
20. ____ I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am.
21. ____ I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met.
22. ____ I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects.
23. ____ My personal identity independent of others is very important to me.
24. ____ I value being in good health above everything.

Heartland Forgiveness Scale (HFS)-Self

DIRECTIONS: In the course of our lives negative things may occur because of our own actions. For some time after these events, we may have negative thoughts or feelings about ourselves. Think about how you **typically** respond to such negative events. Next to each of the following items write the number (from the 7-point scale below) that best describes how you **typically** respond to the type of negative situation described. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as open as possible in your answers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Almost Always False of Me		More Often False of Me		More Often True of Me		Almost Always True of Me

- _____ 1. Although I feel bad at first when I mess up, over time I can give myself some slack.
- _____ 2. I hold grudges against myself for negative things I've done.
- _____ 3. Learning from bad things I've done helps me get over them.
- _____ 4. It is really hard for me to accept myself once I've messed up.
- _____ 5. With time I am understanding of myself for mistakes I've made.
- _____ 6. I don't stop criticizing myself for negative things I've felt, thought, said, or done.

Forgiveness Likelihood Scale (FLS) and Reconciliation Likelihood Scale (RLS)

DIRECTIONS: Imagine the scenarios below happened to you. Based on the information provided, consider the likelihood that you would choose to forgive the person. Also consider the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile, or restore your relationship, with the person. Then, circle the response that is most true for you.

1. You share something embarrassing about yourself to a friend who promises to keep the information confidential. However, the friend breaks his/her promise and proceeds to tell several people. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

2. One of your friends starts a nasty rumor about you that is not true. As a result, people begin treating you worse than they have in the past. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

3. Your significant other has just broken up with you, leaving you hurt and confused. You learn that the reason for the breakup is that your significant other started dating a good friend of yours. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your significant other?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your significant other?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

4. A family member humiliates you in front of others by sharing a story about you that you did not want anyone to know. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive the family member?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with the family member?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

5. Your significant other has a "one night stand" and becomes sexually involved with someone else. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your significant other?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your significant other?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

6. Your friend has been talking about you behind your back. When you confront this person, he/she denies it, even though you know that he/she is lying. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

7. A friend borrows your most valued possession, and then loses it. The friend refuses to replace it. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your friend?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
5	4	3	2	1

8. You tell an acquaintance about a job that you hope to be hired for. Without telling you, the acquaintance applies and gets the job for him/herself. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive your acquaintance?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely

5	4	3	2	1
What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with your acquaintance?				
Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely

5	4	3	2	1
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9. A stranger breaks into your house and steals a substantial sum of money from you. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive the stranger?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
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5	4	3	2	1
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What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with the stranger?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
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5	4	3	2	1
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10. You accept someone's offer to attend a formal dance. However, this person breaks their commitment to take you and goes to the event with someone who they find more attractive. What is the likelihood that you would choose to forgive this person?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
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5	4	3	2	1
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What is the likelihood that you would choose to reconcile with this person?

Extremely Likely	Fairly Likely	Somewhat Likely	Slightly Likely	Not at all Likely
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5	4	3	2	1
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Social Harmony Scale (SHS)

DIRECTIONS: This scale consists of three statements that describe different feelings or behaviors. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement. Use the following scale to record your answers.

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = mildly disagree
- 3 = agree and disagree equally
- 4 = mildly agree
- 5 = strongly agree

1. ____ It is important to live in harmony and peace with those around me.
2. ____ It is important to resolve conflicts quickly when they arise.
3. ____ Sometimes it is okay to have conflict with others, even among friends and family.

Face Maintenance Scale (FMS)

DIRECTIONS: Imagine that you are involved in a group research project worth two-thirds of your course grade in a class where you very much want to get a high grade. The grade on this project will be given to the group as a whole by the instructor, making the entire group dependent on the performance of each member. A member of the group has been designated by the instructor as the group leader. You are the group's leader and your responsibility is to facilitate the development and the completion of the project within the deadline. In your view, all of the group members except one have done very well. This one member's work is of such poor quality that the group grade is in jeopardy, and you want to get this group member to redo his/her part of the project in the remaining time before the project is due. This group member will basically have to start all over again, concentrating a term's worth of work into three days. It can be done, however, but only in a concerted, round-the-clock effort from this particular group member. The group member in question is someone you don't know very well, except for group project meetings.

Please think of how you would respond to this student. For each statement, indicate the likelihood that you would respond in that way. Use the following scale to record your answers.

- 1 = not at all likely
- 2 = slightly likely
- 3 = somewhat likely
- 4 = fairly likely
- 5 = extremely likely

1. ____ You indicate that you have done your fair share of the work on the project or that s/he owes it to you to reciprocate.
2. ____ You tell him/her that only an irresponsible person would fail to re-do the project work.
3. ____ You state the negative consequences if the work is not re-done.
4. ____ You aren't very friendly to the person until s/he gets the hint that you aren't very pleased with the quality of his/her project work.
5. ____ You simply inform the other person that s/he has no choice but to re-do the project work.
6. ____ You tell the person how upset the rest of the group will be if s/he doesn't re-do the project work.
7. ____ You ask the other person how busy his/her schedule is before mentioning the request.
8. ____ You promise any assistance you can contribute if the other person agrees to re-do his/her part of the project.
9. ____ Before mentioning the request, you ask the other person's reasons for not producing a quality piece of work on this project.
10. ____ You show that you understand the kinds of time pressure or demand the other person faces.
11. ____ You try to get on 'common ground' with the other person by showing how alike you are on things before mentioning the request.
12. ____ You tell the other person that s/he will feel better about her/himself if the work is redone.

Appendix H

Means and Standard Deviations for All Measures

Variable	Study 1A N = 400 M (SD)	Study 1B N = 179 M (SD)	Study 1C N = 100 M (SD)	Study 2 N = 298 M (SD)
DFS	29.51 (6.56)	28.94 (6.24)	29.30 (7.04)	28.62 (6.06)
DFS-Prosocial	12.96 (4.21)	12.79 (4.06)	13.43 (4.39)	13.11 (3.93)
DFS-Harmful	16.55 (3.45)	16.15 (3.65)	15.91 (3.65)	15.52 (3.35)
EFS	22.53 (6.74)	22.46 (5.58)	22.48 (6.74)	22.92 (5.98)
EFS-Positive	11.75 (4.57)	12.24 (4.23)	11.84 (4.29)	12.67 (4.47)
EFS-Negative	10.78 (3.71)	10.22 (3.46)	10.55 (3.65)	10.23 (3.41)
TRIM-A	19.71 (8.56)	21.22 (8.57)		20.40 (8.48)
TRIM-R	8.29 (4.35)	8.16 (4.14)		9.11 (4.41)
TRIM-B	22.76 (8.35)	21.51 (7.38)		22.22 (7.79)
RFS	53.94 (10.39)	53.97 (10.54)		
TFS	33.48 (5.54)	32.38 (6.07)		33.06 (5.59)
FLS				26.61 (6.47)
HFS				27.93 (6.27)
Empathy	21.49 (10.82)	19.37 (11.27)		23.02 (10.53)
Rumination	15.98 (5.45)	15.77 (5.31)		
SAS	13.04 (4.54)	13.86 (5.54)		
PANAS-P	20.34 (8.97)	19.20 (9.17)		
PANAS-N	15.93 (6.13)	15.88 (7.02)		
RCI-10	24.89 (11.14)	24.99 (11.26)		24.05 (10.69)
MCSDS	16.19 (5.26)	16.65 (5.34)		
TAQ	22.98 (7.15)	26.67 (6.32)		26.94 (6.12)
TAQ-Int	11.49 (5.41)	12.79 (4.96)		12.60 (5.03)
TAQ-Ext	11.49 (5.03)	13.88 (4.36)		14.30 (4.52)
ABS-Int	26.31 (5.84)			
ABS-Ext	49.94 (8.49)			
LOC	11.69 (3.52)			
SRAM	23.98 (6.33)	24.67 (6.22)		
SRAM-Cause	12.52 (3.36)	12.51 (3.33)		
SRAM-Responsibility	11.45 (3.96)	12.16 (3.61)		

NTAT	10.31 (2.53)	9.97 (2.45)	
FUS	40.65 (4.79)	39.55 (5.87)	40.14 (4.73)
FUS-Intra	19.86 (4.27)	19.40 (5.27)	19.85 (4.77)
FUS-Inter	20.81 (4.06)	20.15 (4.41)	20.30 (4.01)
NTUF-Expressed	7.75 (1.35)	7.94 (1.36)	
NTUF-Not Expressed	6.68 (1.56)	6.64 (1.54)	
Positive Qualities			10.30 (6.84)
Difficulty			2.72 (1.34)
Persistence			692.23 (334.09)
Collectivism			58.51 (9.78)
Individualism			60.18 (9.28)
RLS			26.02 (5.72)
SHS			10.58 (1.65)
Self-Face			18.71 (4.68)
Other-Face			19.51 (4.25)

Note. DFS = Decisional Forgiveness Scale; DFS-Prosocial = Prosocial Intentions; DFS-Harmful = Inhibition of Harmful Intentions; EFS = Emotional Forgiveness Scale; EFS-Positive = Presence of Positive Emotions; EFS-Negative = Reduction of Negative Emotions; TRIM-A = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Avoidance; TRIM-R = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Revenge; TRIM-B = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory-Benevolence; RFS = Rye Forgiveness Scale; TFS = Trait Forgiveness Scale; FLS = Forgiveness Likelihood Scale; HFS = Heartland Forgiveness Scale-Self; Empathy = Batson's Empathy Adjectives; Rumination = Intrusiveness subscale of the Impact of Events Scale; SAS = State Anger Scale; PANAS-P = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Positive; PANAS-N = Positive and Negative Emotions Scale-Negative; RCI-10 = Religious Commitment Inventory-10; MCSDS = Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale; TAQ = Transgression Attribution Questionnaire; TAQ-Int = Internal Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; TAQ-Ext = External Attribution of the Cause of the Transgression; ABS-Int = Attribution of Blame Scale: Internal Subscale; ABS-Ext = Attribution of Blame Scale: External Subscale; LOC = Locus of Control Scale; SRAM = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure; SRAM-Cause = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure: Causal Subscale; SRAM-Responsibility = Specific Relationship Attribution Measure: Responsibility Subscale; NTAT = Narrative Test of the Attribution of Transgressions; FUS = Forgiveness Understanding Scale; FUS-Intra = Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness; FUS-Inter = Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness; NTUF-Expressed = Narrative Test of Understanding of Forgiveness: Forgiveness Expressed; NTUF-Not Expressed = Narrative Test of

Understanding of Forgiveness: Forgiveness Not Expressed; Positive Qualities = Number of positive qualities written about offender; Difficulty = Rating of difficulty of writing positive qualities; Persist = Persistence on anagram task; Collectivism = Self-Construal Scale-Interdependence; Individualism = Self-Construal Scale-Independence; RLS = Reconciliation Likelihood Scale; SHS = Social Harmony Scale; Self-face = Face Maintenance Scale-Self; Other-face = Face Maintenance Scale-Other.

Vita

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