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“WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?” THE
INFLUENCE OF PERSONALITY AND
SOCIAL MOTIVATORS ON ATTITUDES
TOWARD STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND
INTERPERSONAL FORGIVENESS

Melvin Laven

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“WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?”

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL
MOTIVATORS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD STRUCTURAL
VIOLENCE AND INTERPERSONAL FORGIVENESS

A Doctoral Dissertation

Presented to

The College of Humanities & Social Sciences

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Kennesaw State University

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Doctor of Philosophy in International Conflict Management

By

MELVIN WILLEM LAVEN

April 2019

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Keywords: interpersonal forgiveness, conflict management, peacebuilding, structural violence, community, social movements, personality, social motivators

Signature Page



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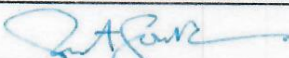
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Dedication

To the family and friends whose love held me together.

To my father, George Thomas Laven, and brother, Thomas Jacob Laven, in memoriam.

Epigraph

Tidal waves don't beg forgiveness
Crashed and on their way
Father he enjoyed collisions; others walked away
A snowflake falls in may.
And the doors are open now as the bells are ringing out
Cause the man of the hour is taking his final bow
Goodbye for now.

Nature has its own religion; gospel from the land
Father ruled by long division, young men they pretend
Old men comprehend.

And the sky breaks at dawn; shedding light upon this town
They'll all come 'round
Cause the man of the hour is taking his final bow
Goodbye for now.

And the road
The old man paved
The broken seems along the way
The rusted signs, left just for me
He was guiding me, love, his own way
Now the man of the hour is taking his final bow
As the curtain comes down
I feel that this is just goodbye for now.
—Eddie Vedder, *Man of the Hour*

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Words will fail in conveying the depth of my gratitude for support I've received in completing my dissertation. Dr. Volker Franke has provided me guidance and support well beyond the project of chairing my committee. It has been a lengthy process with rewards hardly served by praise, so I hope to provide real meaning to the question "so what?" by making an actual difference. Dr. Robert Gould and Dr. Sherrill Hayes also deserve appreciation for their roles on the committee. Rob's guidance and friendship go back to 2003, his mentorship and guidance have gotten me through two graduate programs and helped me in the classroom, over 1,000 students of my students have benefitted from his influence and passion. I'm very proud to provide empirical verification for his thinking on forgiveness in this work. Dr. Hayes' provided crucial insights at each stage of development which were instrumental in navigating a manageable project and also making the strongest argument possible. Dr. Paul Story played a similar role the proposal process and the operationalization of variables.

There were numerous faculty and staff at the four institutions originally selected for this study, too many individuals to list by name, who are all worthy of my appreciation. Kennesaw State University, Portland State University, Goshen College, and University of Mount Union were originally the sample cases for the study. Getting Internal Review Board approval and then reaching out to the student populations required work—and assistance—beyond what I realized; I could not have done it alone. While the data collected from Goshen College and University of Mount Union did not get used in this study, I will be sure to use it in future analyses. I am thankful for the hundreds of unnamed students who participated in this study, many did so without any offer of extra credit, and the hundreds more who took pre-tests which helped in constructing a better questionnaire. The faculty and staff at Kennesaw State University have

provided assistance and support, providing regular reminders for what needed to be done, but, more importantly, encouragement.

I have received generous encouragement throughout my whole life, and I'm not sure I was always deserving of the energies of those who went above and beyond. My undergraduate mentor Dr. Stafford Betty went out on a limb for me and changed my life. Stafford believed in me, continued to believe in me, and, in my mind, is singularly responsible for me ever getting into graduate school. Dr. Paul Newberry is responsible for getting me started in the academic study of forgiveness and theories of emotion. I never forgot the undergraduate instructors and other educators who said "you can't do it," I did forgive them, but used their words as encouragement.

Then there are the friends and family who saved my life and provided meaning with acts of love and forgiveness. I am most grateful and sad that my father and brother, who always supported me, do not get to share in my joy in person; they provided me with so many of my lessons on being a more loving and forgiving person. My mother, Jacoba Laven, sister, Anna Laven, niece, Hope Laven Kendall, and partner, Megan McLean will be at my graduation, I don't think they understand—since my words fail me—that I couldn't do it without them. When Tom died the last day of my first year in the Ph.D. program, I was truly lost, and it took multiple anchors to keep me from washing away. Megan and the cats and dogs helped to keep me grounded, though it was never easy. Dr. Sheldon Rifkin, provided me counseling and psychological support, which was also crucial. I have received love and support from my extended family, Michael Prince, Karen Cooley, aunts, uncles, cousins, for more support more than I can list, thank you.

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Abstract

The goal of this research is to develop an interpersonal definition of forgiveness. The question asked by Martin Luther King Jr. in 1967 still remains: where do we go from here? Conflict is ubiquitous and systems for managing direct and structural violence are struggling to address issues like the police brutality experienced by African American populations or women's lived experience of sexual abuse and harassment. Forgiveness can play a role in many conflicts, what can it do in these cases? From intractable global and political disputes to basic inter and intra-personal conflicts forgiveness and reconciliation projects have meant the difference between outcomes of persistent dysfunction and vulnerability, or resilience. Forgiveness has not been clearly defined, or predicted, and many questions about who forgives and how they forgive remain unanswered. This research examines hypotheses on personality type influencing individuals' preferences for forgiveness. This research also examines hypotheses on social motivators influencing individuals' preferences for forgiveness. Statistical analysis of participant responses is done to generate a functioning forgiveness typology with 10 distinct forgiveness types relating to specific preferences in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. Analysis identifies strong relationships with personality. Significant relationships between gender, race, religiosity, and conflict management styles are also identified. The results of participant responses and the findings on the relationships between personality and social motivators are applied to the contemporary #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo movements and their responses to structural violence. This dissertation successfully defines forgiveness in interpersonal terms and presents a forgiveness typology which aids in assessing responses to structural violence.

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List of Abbreviations

BLM—#BlackLivesMatter
CMSA—Conflict Management Styles Assessment
CRS—Centrality of Religion Scale
GA—Georgia
LA—Los Angeles
KKK—Ku Klux Klan
MBTI—Myers Briggs Type Indicator
TNTF—Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness
TRC—Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa
UN—United Nations
U.S.—United States of America
USIP—United States Institute of Peace
WHO—World Health Organization

Preface

In March of 1991 I sat on a couch with my father; I couldn't believe the images on the television. Police officers were standing around a man who was down on the ground, as best as I could tell he was motionless. Blow after blow the police officers brutalized this man; I asked my father "how could this be happening? They can't just beat him like this?" What I remember next, when the disturbing footage of police brutality was over, my father got up and called a friend. I heard him say, "I'm sorry I never got it before—I never actually understood how bad it was..."

I was thirteen and I look back at that evening as a kind of political awakening. I asked so many questions and my father patiently struggled through an explanation of the history of racism in America. What I remember about his phone call, and his apology, was that he'd heard stories of brutality for decades, but he had believed things had gotten better—there was no denying the graphic clarity, however, and what his friends had shared had not been exaggerations. He was truly sad that he'd not believed the truth of the African American experience. Decades later I understand; he was apologizing for the structure of violence because he had not done more to resist and confront what was going on, at his core he knew it was unfair. The apology is not responsibility; it is regret—I wish I had done more.

"Where do we go from here?" was a question Martin Luther King Jr. asked in 1967, his book's title continues "Chaos or Community." It was his analysis of race relations in America, he anticipated problems—new problems—Selma and the Voting Rights Act would usher in a new wave of problems; he believed that the Poor Peoples' Movement would continue and that African Americans would pressure for equality in everything from higher paying jobs to education. He was concerned that "the persistence of racism in depth and the dawning awareness that Negro demands will necessitate structural changes in society have generated a new phase of

white resistance in North and South” (King, 1968, p. 12). The problem and the violence were both structural. The question, in my opinion, is timeless; we should still ask “where do we go from here?” because the structures have not been dismantled. An examination of attitudes and behaviors for an inter-relational understanding of forgiveness is what I’d like to add to this question. At thirteen I was being socialized to understand that sometimes it was essential to apologize for social injustice and structural violence.

I was already familiar with forgiveness. I had learned to apologize for my own mistakes and to ask for forgiveness from those whom I hurt, but I was unfamiliar with apologizing for inaction or the deeds of another. I see why it was so important to express the wish that this hadn’t happened—why truth can shock the consciousness and traumatize communities—and how morality can emphasize personal accountability in direct violence but miss inaction and structural violence. My father apologized because Rodney King was beaten by police officers. His friends were hurt by the beating of Rodney King, and I had learned about prejudice and discrimination in America. The only justification, it seemed, for this abuse was the color of his skin.

In those teen years I also managed to get myself in trouble. Reflecting on this trouble and the role of forgiveness in my own life I wrote and presented the following sermon:

If I come to you, as I have, in love, then I should start with declarative enthusiasm.

Unfortunately, that has not always been my greatest trait. When I say it is great to speak to this congregation under these conditions, I immediately draw a comparison. Twice I’ve spoken to this congregation to eulogize people I loved. You have been a spiritual home for people I love, you’ve been pivotal...

Forgive me, literally, because I aim to make everyone squirm a little—I want to challenge everyone in this room, before I end with a call to action. A discussion of forgiveness provides disservice to spirituality when it ignores the inhumanity present in the world today.

There is nothing magnanimous in forgiving mundane offenses, I know that I look past transgressions out of sheer laziness all the time. Conflict avoidance is the most commonly practiced method of conflict management in the U.S. used in some 90% of all conflicts. It is too difficult, frustrating, or time consuming—we've learned to pick our battles.

In the last two decades I've travelled the world looking for opportunities to redeem myself, to justify forgiving my own transgressions, and I think I have. In four continents of conflict resolution and peacebuilding I've experienced nothing that challenges me more than the following:

During a workshop on designing social justice in Myanmar, during the break, she asked—**“How can I forgive the soldier who raped me and killed my sister?”**

[Now, placing this in context, ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya people in Myanmar is getting some coverage it is another in a string of humanitarian failures, but that wasn't the point; she asked a question and deserved an answer.

So, as I promised, I will manipulate you, and let you think about what you will tell a rape victim about forgiving a rapist murderer. I'll add, she wants to, she hates the fear and night terrors, she doesn't want to be victim anymore, she wants to be a survivor ... you can think about that while I tell my own story.]

As a teenager I made a mistake. Isn't that cute? Don't we describe our own transgressions in simple terms? I committed felonies when I was younger, one involved burglarizing a friend's home; an act betraying years of friendship and trust. I didn't feel like I'd been forgiven, and I spent years, decades really, atoning. Spoiler alert: I think there are really good reasons why forgiving yourself is hard, but I also think we should forgive ourselves.

In 2018, I learned a great lesson while I was teaching in prison. Classes were over and I was grading final papers. I read the best undergraduate paper I've ever read, and I thought to myself "she is going to be alright." I did what I had avoided the whole term, I looked up her public record. I didn't look up the records for any of my students, their crimes wouldn't matter to the class unless they brought them up, but now I felt I needed to know. Two life sentences for killing her grandparents when she was a teenager. During sentencing when the judge asked "what do you think should happen to you?" she answered "I think I should die," the judge responded "that makes two of us, but the state won't allow me to..."

I immediately realized that I had misjudged my experience. I decided to educate myself on the class I just taught. I quickly realized that women who were trying to set examples

for their kids “if I can do it in here, you can do it out there” were unlikely to experience freedom again. By the time I had reviewed the eighth record I had four students who’d been convicted of murder, and five students serving life sentences. I was overwhelmed, I couldn’t read anymore, the details were grim and I had cognitive dissonance.

They worked harder than any class I’ve ever had, and I chalked it up to the negative impact freedom has on student success; it turns out that students use of freewill does not always prioritize hard work.

I reconnected with a friend I’d known in Jr. High around the same time—Shawanna Vaughn. Shawanna shared with me that she’d found out who she was while she was incarcerated. After her brother was murdered she got involved in a life of crime. She had a choice at one point, she could work on her back, or she could work on her feet. At 12 years old she knew she didn’t want to be a prostitute... It was hard to imagine that during the day we were classmates and when she left the calm of school she went home to a life of crime to help her family avoid eviction. Eventually she was caught.

In the jail cell she came to realize that her brother’s murderer had actually killed her whole family—the living die too. She tracked him down, after her release she found him— “I’m going to love you now because someone didn’t love you enough when you were younger...”

That is the love supreme, loving someone who doesn't deserve it. I rarely hear the story from men, but I've heard it from more women than I can count. Strong women don't always forgive, but they frequently devote their lives to making sure that "what happened to me doesn't happen to someone else." Machismo keeps us focused on revenge and punishing those who've hurt us—I'm going to get them back. My post 9-11 GI Bill students, so many of them signed up because of what happened. Sometimes anger, sometimes hate...

Time and time again, however, I meet these women who get little to no credit, who dedicate themselves fully.

It wasn't so hard for me to teach inmates, and I think it was balanced between the recognition of my own moral failures and my willingness to love them that made our class a success. It really wasn't hard to love students who called me the highlight of their week. Peace Studies in prison, somehow it makes sense.

It wasn't so hard for me to answer the young woman who wants to forgive the soldier, I told her:

My job is not to tell you what you should do, I can't even pretend to imagine the pain you've experienced in my own life, but I know others who have, and I have studied this for a long time. Eva Mozes Kor survived the holocaust, her twin sister did not. They were test subjects to a man known as Dr. Evil—Dr. Mengele—and she works helping others. What she has spent most of the last few decades doing

is counseling young women who are victims of abuse. She says her most common question: ‘How can I forgive the man who did this to me?’ and for her the answer is simple: ‘you don’t do it for him, you do it for you...’

I don’t know if you can forgive, I know it works differently for everyone, but I do want you to know there are those who have and this is the way they did it.

A teenager made a mistake that changed my life, and last year when I visited the friend whose home I burglarized twenty-something years ago. I hadn’t seen him since high school graduation, but I saw I was forgiven and I finally forgave myself. I’m happy with the person I am, and I what I saw as obstacles back then had really been my stepping stones.

Whatever it is that you’re struggling with, it could be forgiving yourself, or someone else. I can’t tell you how to do it, and I can’t tell you that you should do it, but there are some benefits to a love supreme and you deserve them. I can tell you that it can be done.

The call to action is this: I humble myself before you and admit I was racist, sexist, homophobic and that did not change because I was shamed into changing. I was not redeemed because others saw fit to resist the urge to hate the hater—I didn’t even know that “just joking” racism was racism. I’m a whole lot better today, and that happened through acts of love. I’m a flawed snowflake, but I’d likely be dead, institutionalized, or in jail if it weren’t for many big and small acts of forgiveness that saved my life.

Are you willing to take the risk of saving someone’s life when they don’t deserve it? You don’t kill with kindness, you water seeds of opportunity; forgiveness is no guarantee—the investment could go bankrupt—and I want you to take that risk.¹

I have arrived at the research questions addressed in this study out of these personal experiences. The study itself, however, is rigorous and interdisciplinary in its approach. Let this be something of a disclaimer, readers from different backgrounds or disciplines are likely to find some sections helpful and others obtuse. Exhaustive statistical analysis has been used in order to make meaningful observations about participant responses. But there is an asymmetry, these findings are then applied and generalized to a larger population and to social movements, which make no claims of delivering forgiveness. The argument, then, is fundamentally philosophical; I’m claiming the findings are important because they can help us to expand our thinking on forgiveness. A reader could skip directly to the conclusion sections in chapters 5 and 6 before reading the final discussion in chapter 7, but while the applications are more philosophical the forgiveness types being presented emerge directly out of the evidence being examined. The interdisciplinary methodology employed is somewhat unusual, I want to warn/prepare the reader of this in advance. For a deeper look at the limitations prior to examining the study and findings please jump ahead to section 7.6 Limitations (p. 199).

¹ I presented this as: “Forgiveness: A Love Supreme,” in a short sermon at the Unitarian Universalist Church of Bakersfield CA on March 3rd, 2019.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Studying the Influence of Personality and Social Motivators on Attitudes Toward Structural Violence and Interpersonal Forgiveness

“Can we all get along.” —Rodney King’s grave marker

In April of 1992 all of the police officers charged with crimes in the beating of Rodney King were acquitted. This sparked what became known as the Los Angeles Riots, days into the civil unrest King plead with the public:

People, I just want to say, you know, can we all JUST get along? Can we get along? Can we stop making it, making it horrible for the older people and the kids? ... It’s just not right. It’s not right. It’s not, it’s not going to change anything. We’ll, we’ll get our justice ... Please, we can get along here. We all can get along. I mean, we’re all stuck here for a while. Let’s try to work it out. Let’s try to beat it. Let’s try to beat it. Let’s try to work it out (May 1, 1992).

The question is timeless: Can we get along?

1.1 Introduction

The issue of race and police brutality is not isolated to 1990’s Los Angeles. In 2019 the threat of another social explosion, like what was experienced in Watts in 1965¹ or citywide in

¹ Sometimes referred to as the “Watts Rebellion,” the Watts Riots took place August 11-16, 1965, in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles. The civil disturbance was preceded by a traffic stop that escalated to more violence.

1992, is quite real—Los Angeles has high unemployment, inequality, and injustice in poor black and Latino communities; in 2017, a poll by Loyola Marymount University found that:

Los Angeles residents are less hopeful than they've been in 20 years when asked about the prospects of another violent convulsion. Researchers found that about 60 percent of a cross-section of Angelinos believe a civil disturbance could happen again sometime in the next five years. Young adults 18 to 29 were even more convinced another riot is looming, with seven out of 10 expecting one in the near future (Walker, 2017).

Rodney King's story is challenging at multiple levels. Bearing witness to direct violence is not easy. The video-taped evidence of his beating is graphic and ugly. On March 3, 1991, King had been drinking and feared a return to state prison because he was on parole. He led officers on a chase and was ultimately detained, once in custody he was severely beaten. To most observers it was gratuitous violence, to millions of African Americans it was evidence of the brutality—structural violence—described for decades. The acquittal of the four police officers charged in the beating was handed down by a jury of mostly white people (and no blacks), the outrage sparked by this ruling catalyzed the civil unrest—the LA riots—which ultimately amounted to 55 deaths, over 2,000 injured, over 11,000 arrests, and approximately \$2 billion in damages.

In 2014 two Los Angeles police officers shot and killed Ezell Ford³. A police oversight board had determined that Ford had been wrongfully stopped, but prosecutors decided not to file charges over the deadly force (Gumbel, 2015). The officers' self-defense was found to be justified, because Ford went for an officer's weapon. The public was outraged, however, because

A famous civil rights activist, Bayard Rustin, asserted that: "The whole point of the outbreak in Watts was that it marked the first major rebellion of Negroes against their own masochism and was carried on with the express purpose of asserting that they would no longer quietly submit to the deprivation of slum life" (1966).

³ For more on Ezell Ford and the events surrounding his death please review coverage provided by the Los Angeles Times, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ezell-ford-shooting-sg-storygallery.html> retrieved on 4/29/19.

Ford was mentally ill and there was no legal basis for the contact which lead to the altercation—and Ford’s death⁴. I argue that the difference between the riots following the King verdict in 1992 and the relative/comparative calm following the 2017 decision not to charge the officers in Ford’s death is the presence of an effective Black Lives Matter movement.

This study offers findings to acknowledge the efficacy of #BlackLivesMatter; protests addressing truth, for example, may have helped to address the anger and outrage, which could have sparked heightened levels of violence. Their work was enough to influence Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti, who said: “Ezell’s life mattered. Black lives matter. All lives matter” (Gumbel, 2015). These differences, some partial forgiveness and acknowledgement of wrongdoing, could explain why there was not another riot. Examining personality and social motivators in forgiveness can help us understand if or why #BlackLivesMatter or other movements are successful.

The empirical study of peace and conflict offers a paradoxical reality; knowledge about the causes and responses to conflict is growing at an exponential rate—providing more hope for increasing the capacity of peace and justice—the intensity, frequency, and duration of violent conflict is trending in a negative direction—the 20th century was the bloodiest on record and the 21st is on pace to be worse. This bifurcated reality manifests in many forms, in the 20th century

⁴ The story, in part, reads:

Ford, who had been diagnosed with bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, looked over at the officers, walked away and tried to hide his hands near his waistband, according to the Police Department’s account of the shooting.

The officers trailed Ford to a driveway, where Ford hid near a car and bushes. An officer reached for Ford, who then forced the officer to the ground, LAPD Chief Charlie Beck has previously said.

Wampler stated that Ford tried to grab his firearm, according to a lawsuit the officer later filed against the city. Villegas fired two shots at Ford, and Wampler used a secondary gun to shoot Ford in the back.

From: <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-ezell-ford-lawsuit-20161101-story.html> retrieved on 4/29/19.

thinkers returned to Nietzsche's (1882) declaration—God is dead!⁵The evil of genocide and the capacity of humans to bring death and destruction challenging the limits of understanding appear unforgivable (Amery, 1980). In the 21st century, we advance this tension by examining the dual nature of religion, it can function as both the cause and solution to conflict (Lundy, Adebayo, & Hayes, 2018). There is reason to revisit many secular and spiritual answers, the world is changing. I place forgiveness in this category.

Forgiveness is interesting in its own right. Exploring who, what, when, where, why, and how people practice forgiveness readily presents function to scholars in the fields of peace and conflict. Forgiveness also presents as an interesting proxy for the measurement of personal and social motivators influencing both inputs and outputs to crisis and conflict. The challenge, however, is that while the study of forgiveness, since World War II, has significantly increased, most of the literature focuses on the ethics of forgiving from philosophical and theological perspectives, and on the intrapersonal-psychological-dimensions within an individual. Discussion of relationships—an interpersonal dimension—is limited, and application to bigger picture issues like state level forgiveness and structural violence doesn't extend much further than truth and reconciliation commissions.

This study starts from an observation on the centrality of forgiveness and conflict resolution; “forgiveness is an issue in a wide array of conflict resolution processes when one, some, or all of the parties feel victimized” (Gould, 2008, p. 1). I believe questions of forgiveness are ubiquitous; we should seek to understand forgiveness in all disputes where one or more parties feel victimized. From this position, of the important role of forgiveness processes, I look

⁵ First presented in *The Gay Science*, Sections 108, 125, and 343, and later in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, prologue and XXV.

to apply the wisdom and benefits of forgiveness to modern day conflict. Psychology has spent several decades observing the myriad benefits of forgiveness for the purposes of healing. The literature provides a great understanding of what intrapersonal forgiveness can offer to individuals in this capacity. What can an interpersonal understanding of forgiveness do for relationships in need of healing? How can we understand one friend apologizing to another for structural violence like racism? How can we frame this healing in proximity to strengthening relationships or communities?

Modern conflict resolution, management, and peacebuilding covers a broad range of disputes. Conflicts today range in scope and scale from barking dogs creating conflict between neighbors to nuclear proliferation capable of ending life as we know it. Dealing with thousands of years of racial or ethnically antagonistic history would certainly require a different solution than trash littering a person's yard, but lingering anger or hatred could certainly impact either. Challenges to resolving conflicts, developing peaceful relations, and addressing security threats are dynamic; the complex relations involve changing actors, strategic goals, and operational contexts, with increasing levels of stress caused by uncertainty and sometimes unmanageable pacing (Franke & Dorff, 2012). The environment of crisis upon crisis has generated its own new problems even before the original issues are addressed.

Refugees and displaced people are one such example. Displaced populations have not found new homes yet, and while their numbers are growing and borders are closing to them, one new concern is radicalization of youths into violent extremism. In public discourse there are two competing explanations; either there is a radical religious leader corrupting the young people or youth are radicalizing themselves through material they find on the internet, but, it seems, helping marginalized groups has a much more positive impact because it achieves resilience

instead of radicalization (Hayes, 2017). The response to the perception of threat is frequently to lock things down, but as Sherrill Hayes (2017) observes, “the harder we look for radicalization in mosques, churches, and other religious communities, the less successful we are in finding it” (p. 153). In this environment of increasing complexity and with such great need for multifaceted cooperation where will trust and shared norms come from? What innovations or strategies can be employed to increase efficacy? I would expect that those who overcome lingering anger and hatred would be less likely to become radicalized. Forgiving and healing from past trauma could improve assimilation and integration.

This dissertation examines connections between interpersonal forgiveness and structural violence through application to #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo movements. The rich association of Christian spirituality in the African American activist history provides an important backdrop for thinking about generating resilience to conflict and crisis through forgiveness. The secular feminism of #MeToo an equally salient point of intersection with structural violence.

By first examining interpersonal forgiveness and its application to these contemporary responses to endemic problems of structural violence two goals are accomplished. First we increase our understanding of resistance, resilience, and vulnerability to conflict and crisis, particularly the role of forgiveness in influencing these outcomes. Second we increase our understanding of the relationship between forgiveness and structural violence. These outcomes have the potential to influence numerous other issues, like the radicalization of refugee youths or deescalating conflict with violent histories of anger and hatred. Forgiveness can address or right moral wrongs in ways that cannot be duplicated otherwise. An interpersonal understanding is the only mechanism for many of these contexts.

1.1.1 Forgiveness as Innovation for Conflict Resolution and Management

Conflict resolution and management as a practice dates back to some of the earliest writings in recorded history. Texts from the worlds' religions include instructions on styles for managing conflict including various forms of avoidance, accommodation, collaboration, competition, and compromise, in addition to advice on the application and enforcement of rules and justice. Thucydides' (416 BC) "Melian Dialogue" is an early philosophical examination of foreign policy and international relations. As a field, however, "conflict resolution" is relatively new, in an entry for the World Encyclopedia for Peace, John Burton (1998) writes, "Conflict resolution as a concept has been promoted over the years by members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and others. When 'Conflict Resolution' was introduced at the University of London in 1965 as an extension of the conventional strategic, power politics, International Relations course, it was given a specific meaning. This new section dwelt on the possibilities of analytical problem solving in inter-state relationships rather than dealing with potential military conflict situations by balance of power and alliance means" (para. 1).

Conceptualizing conflict resolution as analytical problem solving provides a great foundation for the examination of forgiveness. This dissertation acknowledges that there is no guarantee of a predictive value for forgiveness. The words "I'm sorry" do not promise safety from vengeful retaliation or retributive justice anymore than a clear show of force guarantees surrender, but it might work, possibly even at a state level. Acknowledgement of harm, repair of damages, and a sincere apology, may present opportunity as an effective strategy for avoiding costly military responses like war. The key is understanding forgiveness as relating to different parties and their relationship(s).

1.2 Forgiveness as Interpersonal in addition to Intrapersonal

Understanding forgiveness as an internal process is sufficiently intuitive. Feelings of anger and corresponding resentments are fairly common in the course of day-to-day activities. Many of these lesser offenses take place completely out of the view of others. Conflict avoidance is the most commonly used strategy for managing conflicts, and it stands to reason overcoming emotions on one's own would be necessary in that endeavor. Hurt, pain, fear, and anger are not particularly comfortable, and people do generally avoid these feelings. The feeling is within you, so to is the forgiveness in overcoming—getting over—the emotion.

This study is not a sort of crushing blow to intrapersonal definitions of forgiveness. A person can address feelings in response to police brutality without calling anyone to apologize, and it is possible to think “I wish this would not have happened” without giving the message an audience. Members of communities who have been discriminated against or experienced prejudice frequently move past injustice without an acknowledgement of harm or wrongdoing from an offender. The feelings are part of personal experiences, and the changes to feelings are primarily internal. Psychologists are clearly right when they examine forgiveness in terms of what it changes within a person. This provides fantastic value for treating trauma and abuse, it may be essential for helping victims to heal. Conflict resolution may sometimes be a kind of therapy, but this can also be an opportunity to do more—conflict resolvers can help to process emotional, procedural, and substantive conditions. Resolution may address anger and resentment, but it can also address the events, issues, and structures that produced the anger and resentment.

This study is an expansion; it adds crucial details about understanding forgiveness in terms of relationships. What an intrapersonal definition offers to psychologists, an interpersonal definition offers to those working with parties in conflict and crisis. Hurt, pain, fear, anger, and

resentment can have important impacts on individuals but they also impact relationships. These experiences and relationships showcase one's place within society. Feelings are also important because their impacts extend outside of an individual's body through attitudes and behaviors. Forgiveness can significantly impact outcomes in reconciling relationships and unforgiveness is likely to increase dysfunction and the de-escalation of civil relations.

1.3 Forgiveness in Response to Structural Violence

The structures of society provide context and conditions for understanding moral behavior (Galtung, 1969). I offer the following picture, photo 1: Ku Klux Klan (KKK) child and a black State Trooper meet each other in Gainesville GA (Robertson, 1992), (next page) for consideration of forgiveness in response to structural violence (permission for use of photo granted by The Gainesville Times). The photo depicts a young boy standing in front of a Georgia State Trooper touching his shield. The boy appears young and curious—innocent—despite wearing the robes of hatred. The State Trooper, in contrast, is a black man present in a position to protect and serve, ironically, to keep the Klan, who see him as racially inferior, safe in their presentation of white supremacy. Of the event Trooper Allen Campbell said:

I didn't even see the kid. I was just looking down to see what was bumping on my shield. And when I looked down, there was this little kid in a Klan uniform. He saw his reflection in the riot shield. He was tracing his outline. The child was oblivious to what was going on around him [...] the State Patrol made me be there. His momma and daddy made him be there [...] It's the last holiday of the summer. We all get together, have a barbecue and adult beverages, and have a good time. But here I am, at a Klan rally in Gainesville, protecting the rights of Ku Klux Klan (Gill, 2013).

photo 1: KKK child and a black State Trooper meet each other in Gainesville GA (Robertson,1992)



If “momma and daddy” are responsible for the behavior, and if the Ku Klux Klan is responsible for the violence, then forgiving a four-year-old is hard to make sense of, but a child raised this way carrying out acts of unforgivable violence later in life is easy to imagine.

Structural violence refers to structures and institutions that do damage by preventing individuals or groups from meeting basic needs (Galtung, 1969). It posits a social suffering, which I present as a kind of shared or inherited suffering. But it is challenging to identify the source or culprit. This young boy, Josh, is innocent. We would somehow blame his parents for subjecting him to the hateful ideology, but his parents are not responsible for the whole of the KKK’s terrorism. The hurtful ideology—the practice of racism—may be unforgivable; millions of lives irreparably damaged and cut short is hard to fathom in any context Nazi Germany or white supremacist America, but the ignorance or fear leading to the hatred may be forgivable. The same can be seen with the policing of American laws. The Trooper here acknowledges that he would rather have celebrated Labor Day than defend the expression of racial hatred.

Racism is written into the very fabric of American laws; from the absolute protection of slavery embedded in the Constitution and to the indignity of the so-called 3/5ths Compromise at the country’s foundation. Article I, Sec. II, Paragraph III of the U.S. Constitution (1787) states:

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons.

It established that “all other persons”—slaves—would be counted as 3/5ths of a person. Article I, Section IX, Clause I states (next page):

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

This guaranteed that the Federal government could not prohibit or interfere with the importation of slaves until 1808 and could not tax the importation of slaves at more than \$10 per person. To the lopsided inequality of brutality, incarceration, and punishment destroying American families everywhere, in some ways it is as challenging to see a black police officer as it is to see a 4 year-old in Klan robes. Racism is American cultural violence.

1.4 Forgiveness, #MeToo, and #BlackLivesMatter

Gender and race are two of the most pronounced forms of categorization of individuals in groups and society (Nagel, 2003). Throughout history they have been used in all variety of moral and legal hierarchies. Issues of racism and sexism are persistent, and, sadly, timeless. They both represent challenges to equality in the most invidious and nefarious manifestations, and, despite limited efforts for progress, all variety of serious gaps still remain (Graf, Brown, & Patton, 2019). Of the many inequalities that can be identified ranging from differences in pay to life expectancy, two have been predominant in recent years. The epidemic of sexual assault and harassment against women (Martin, Macy, & Young, 2011) and the experience that Black lives do not matter as much as other lives have been expressed in contemporary social movements. #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter provide important cases emerging out of the antagonisms of racism and sexism.

The Christian spirituality of the American civil rights movement provides a significant ideological framework and strategy for pursuing equality of black lives. This dissertation will revisit these themes for their strategic merit. Was Dr. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. correct in his promotion of messages of forgiveness and love in order to reach a promised land where children would be judged by the content of their character instead of the color of their skin? I believe that we have good signs to indicate that his message has been internalized in the black community, and that it works. As expressed above, there is good reason to think that #BlackLivesMatter protests have been a difference between more escalated events of violence and rioting. I also believe that the evidence that is presented showcases that love and forgiveness produces better outcomes in terms of the demands of the movement. This dissertation provides empirical data for the timeless wisdom of the efficacy of nonviolence.

Women all over the world have looked to many sources of inspiration in generating their own resilience to conflict and crisis (Martin, Macy, & Young, 2011), sometimes this has also been achieved through forgiveness (Minow, 1998). There are parallels between the discrimination and harm that is perpetrated on the basis of gender and race, but there are differences as well, which introduces issues of intersectionality. The parallel between the movements is that they address problems rooted in inequality. But where Christian spirituality is presented as a source of inspiration for civil rights and #BlackLivesMatter, the egalitarian feminism of #MeToo is divorced from dogma. The rationale here is that there are both principled and pragmatic motivations for employing forgiveness strategies in social movements.

The underlying argument and motivation is that there are differences individuals' and groups' conceptions of forgiveness. People practice forgiveness and unforgiveness for different reasons and in order to influence different outcomes. Successful application of interpersonal

forgiveness, at some level, requires alignment between parties. Forgiving for the sake of personal healing is different than forgiving for a “double victory” against oppressors and there are distinct differences in outcomes. For the purposes of understanding the variation in preferences ten forgiveness types are offered. Some of the types appear to relate more to people and relationships, which is consistent with many understandings of forgiveness, however some of them are accommodating to ideas of individuals forgiving structures and systems.

1.5 Forgiveness and Healing Outcomes

The larger framework of conflict and crisis being examined in this study identifies resilience, resistance, and vulnerability. Parties to conflict and crisis can have systems that can sustain episodes or that require change and/or adaptation. One of the latent mechanisms in conflict and crisis is healing and we need to be careful that we do not conflate the terms. Not all healing is forgiveness and not all forgiveness is healing. The World Health Organization (WHO) provides a starting point for this understanding of healing. They define both negative health and positive health: negative health is the absence of sickness, disease, and infirmity, and positive health is emotional, physical, and social well-being.

Episodes of crisis are sometimes so significant that the trauma is carried from generation to generation because it is not merely a collection of symptoms it can present as an existential threat or tear at the moral fabric of a society. Healing after the Rodney King beating is not evidenced by his bruises going away, it lies in the recovery of the masses; individuals and groups—social and cultural—recovering their emotional, physical, and social well-being. The scars would remain, sometimes in the flesh and sometimes in the memory, but would not

threaten health and survival—there would be a shift from victim to survivor—an admittedly social and cultural event.

Forgiveness can play a significant role in healing, but it's scope is limited. You will read literature pronouncing the health benefits of forgiveness that range from reductions in stress to increases in immune systems and heart health (Chap. 2), but this is not to be confused with the real need for medical treatment when individuals experience direct violence and the malignant physical health outcomes from structural violence. It is like the “thoughts and prayers” sent to the victims and their families after mass shooting events in the United States of America (U.S.), being supported can have a positive influence, but it is not a replacement for policy or activities to reduce or stymie future events of mass violence, and it doesn't pay the medical bills for those who've been shot⁶. Forgiveness is not a panacea; it will not create significant change on its own—it will not change the conditions of the past that impact the present. However, I argue, forgiveness can change the way the condition of the past impact the present and future, and, more importantly, how the past impacts a wide range of relationships.

The impacts of forgiveness on relationships provides information immediately transferable to thinking about conflicts and strategies for addressing them. Arguing while angry, for example, can help to deliver emotional satisfaction, but telling someone you hate them can predictably limit substantive satisfaction when it causes the other party to walk out of negotiations. Preferences for forgiveness are the data being collected and applied to social movements in the formation of an inter-relational definition of forgiveness. There may be cases

⁶ People frequently struggle, sometimes declaring bankruptcy, when confronted with mounting medical debt following episodes of violence like mass shootings. Fifty-eight people (plus the shooter) were left dead, hundreds more injured after the Oct. 1, 2017 shooting in Las Vegas. Within a month at least 40 Go Fund Me (crowd-sourced funding) pages had been set up to help families pay for medical bills or funeral expenses (Harrell, 2017).

where forgiving someone who has done wrong will make it possible for improving relationships—conflict as opportunity—but there will also be cases where forgiving someone who has done wrong will fail to deliver positive outcomes for the relationship (like cycles of domestic violence where behaviors do not change). Understanding more about the relationship between healing and forgiveness improves the viability of achieving desired outcomes.

1.6 Summary of Study

The following chapters present the rigorous examination of forgiveness employed in this study. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the history of forgiveness and its relationship to conflict management and resolution. This framework showcases the causal mechanisms in play and the variables that are being measured to test hypotheses. This framework provides the means for seeing the logic for understanding applications of forgiveness to structural violence. Chapter 3 presents the operationalization of the forgiveness typology being used for hypotheses testing. The ten types of forgiveness are explained and the significance of these dimensions is provided. Chapter 4 presents the research questions and hypotheses being examined. Chapter 5 then presents the analysis and discussion for the findings on hypotheses 1-16 which relate to relationships between personality and preferences in forgiveness. In the discussion these findings are also applied to the #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo movements. Chapter 6 presents the findings for hypotheses 17-24 addressing relationships between social motivators and preferences for forgiveness.

The discussion returns to the movements with further articulation about what this interpersonal forgiveness typology can do to aid understandings of responses to structural violence. The conclusion then provides a distilled summary of the major findings from testing of

the 24 hypotheses. The limitations of this study are provided alongside recommendations for policymaking and future research. The framing offered in this examination is interdisciplinary. The study employs empirical and philosophical methodologies for the purpose of adding utility to those engaging in conflict resolution and peacebuilding projects. The larger philosophical picture is that forgiveness must be understood as central to addressing conflict where one or more parties have experienced harm, but this is not what the data measures. Rich stories are presented in the effort to bring clarity to this assertion. The findings relate to the development of a forgiveness typology which outlines different dimensions of forgiveness. The study then departs from the examined population, by extrapolating the value of the findings when confronting the #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo social movements. Others have presented on the efficacy of these movements, and I believe this forgiveness typology provides additional value for thinking strategically about social movements. Nonetheless, the intersectionality is incomplete, and this limitation is provided upfront. The typology is the result of statistical analysis but the applications are the product of historical and philosophical examination.

Chapter 2: Theories and Why Understanding Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Forgiveness Matters

This chapter explores theories on forgiveness. This survey of thought on the subject spans thousands of years as well as a variety of contexts and presentations. This chapter also grounds the discussion of forgiveness into moral frameworks that respond to crisis and conflict. The grounding of forgiveness theory is punctuated with statements on need—there is a demand to know more about how and why forgiveness processes work. This survey of literature begins with a look at some of the questions of forgiveness, and is achieved with case studies, embedded dilemmas, and philosophical paradox. Next, is a look at how forgiveness can function as *resistance* or *resilience* (Norris et al., 2008). The resulting framework developed in this chapter is buttressed through its application to conflict theories. Forgiveness is useful in this regard because moral transgressions are ultimately a source of conflict or the result of conflict, and successful forgiveness interventions present a meaningful attempt at managing conflict.

I articulate forgiveness as a concept that sits in relationship to ethics, memory, and justice. I address the distinction between forgiving and forgetting. Given the relationships between religion, morality, and law I enumerate some of the historical religious construction of forgiveness. Then I explore forgiveness as resistance or resilience to crisis in relationships. Conceived of according to a *resistance or resilience* model (Norris et al., 2008) in conflict, I suggest that resistance is experienced when the parties are able to reconcile on their own, and resilience is when adaptation in the relationship, with or without outside intervention, leads to a new functioning status quo between parties. Following the *resistance or resilience* model, I

provide some context for forgiveness as intervention by looking at different approaches to conflict management and resolution. The language of “moral transgression” and “conflict” is not synonymous, but there are many occasions where forgiveness can help in processing the disputes or reaching resolutions.

This *resistance or resilience* model captures internal and external influences on forgiveness processes. Some offenses are easier to forgive than others, for obvious reasons. Layers of complexity are quickly added in examining moral transgressions. Some histories and ideologies prescribe forgiveness as virtue, others will be forgiveness resistant. As these external forces will push people differently they may explain some of the variation in the attitudes and behaviors individuals exhibit for forgiveness. Internally people differ and this will be explored in chapter 3. They have different personality types and styles for conflict management, which are further operationalized in chapter 4. These differences are also expected to explain some of the variation in the attitudes and behaviors individuals exhibit for forgiveness.

Understanding the variation in attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness will help in addressing the challenges expressed in the questions and cases offered. Forgiveness has been broadly defined as the intentional process where healing or reconnection takes place after moral wrongdoings (Murphy & Hampton, 1988; Worthington, 1998; 2005). This research examines the different ways it is achieved. People overcome their feelings of anger, resentment, and revenge in different ways (Newberry, 2001, 2004), they heal from traumas and repair relationships with different behaviors (Minow, 1998; Newberry, 2004), and their motivations and thoughts about what they are doing showcase a range of similarities and differences (Davis, 2003). This moral process is embedded in understandings of fairness (Downie, 1965). The forgiveness process is

rooted in what is remembered and how to think about those transgressions (Margalit, 2004) and has deep roots in spirituality and religious belief (Butler, 1846; Worthington, 1998).

There are many contemporary and historical questions for the application, relevance, and use of forgiveness; what could forgiveness do to assist the #metoo movement in addressing sexual assault or the #blacklivesmatter movement in addressing violence and systematic racism targeting black populations? Are refugees who've forgiven the violence that caused them to flee their homelands better equipped to adjust and assimilate to their new environments? Can peace have any durability in a divided society? Forgiveness as a tool for conflict prevention and de-escalation is worth serious consideration.

2.1 The Significance of Theory on Forgiveness

There are a variety of debates about the concept and uses of forgiveness. These debates respond to the following questions: Does forgiving prematurely amount to condoning the act (Kolnai, 1978)? Can forgiving an unrepentant aggressor exaggerate re-victimizing an already traumatized victim (Grovier, 1999)? Should a perpetrator who has been forgiven still be punished (Murphy & Hampton, 1988)? Can there be forgiveness when the victims are dead (Wiesenthal, 1997)? Can I forgive myself (Snow, 1992)? Are some things simply unforgivable (Grovier, 1999; Ryan, 2000)? What should be done in situations where the victim and perpetrator are not clear? Just like with the range of views on forgiveness there will be a range of responses to the challenges. Can the limits of post-conflict forgiveness be defined for justice processes (Enright & North, 1998)? What are the cultural and ethnic intersections of forgiveness (Abu-Nimer, 2001)? These questions and answers demonstrate considerable need for a deeper understanding of forgiveness processes.

In *An Ethic for Enemies*, Shriver (1995) compares and contrasts the relationships between the United States and Germany with the United States and Japan following World War II. He wanted to identify the salient features responsible for the differences in the ways the relationships have recovered. His study leaves one asking, “why was it easier for the U.S. to forgive Germany?” among other questions in the relationships of former combatants. In *Forgiveness and Politics: The Case of The American Black Civil Rights Movement* (1987) Shriver asserts:

No ‘new integration’ will ever be possible between enemies in a struggle over social justice without their mutual achievement of a new memory of the past, a new justice in the present, and a new hope for community in the still-to-be-achieved future. In every one of these dimensions of the new society, forgiveness has a powerful place (p. 54).

Where the significance of forgiveness seems clear the practice does not.

Case studies like those presented by Shriver (1987, 1995) are helpful because they provide substantive depth. Qualitative research analyzes the data of life and experience—data that reflect deeper meanings and the nuances of the perspectives of its subjects (Berg & Lune, 2012; Bryman, 2012; Maxwell, 2005), which I assert is necessary for navigating moral questions. When he describes the “powerful place” forgiveness holds (1987), just like in other examples provided, there is a serious consideration of histories of injustice and significant trauma. The question: could you forgive? is important, and what it means to forgive is as well.

There is no scholarly consensus on what makes forgiveness (Murphy & Hampton, 1988; Newberry, 2004). But there is not a consensus, for some it is a performance—a speech act, for others a feature of emotion (or emotions), and still others a kind of moral calculus defining relationships (Newberry, 2004). It may be taught by parents, or learned from social communities

or churches, and while there appears to be great overlap in the practices of different traditions, there also appears to be great variation as well. Newberry (2004) argues the lack of consensus appears to extend to practices in addition to necessary and sufficient conditions. The use of the word “forgiveness” from context to context, as such, can potentially operate under extremely different definitions and practices. This diversity, however, does show great potential for the use of forgiveness.

I explore attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness to make sense of the powerful place and potential forgiveness holds. For example, Queen Elizabeth II is said to have marked an end to decades of bloody conflict when she visited the Republic of Ireland. This plays out as:

Queen Elizabeth II put forgiveness into action. ‘With the benefit of historical hindsight we can all see things which we would wish had been done differently or not at all,’ she said at the state dinner hosted by the Irish president, Mary McAleese. ‘To all those who have suffered as a consequence of our troubled past I extend my sincere thoughts and deep sympathy’ (Malone, 2016, para 3).

Understanding attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness helps to explain when, why, and how a “wish things had been done differently or not at all” can be received as an apology and an opening for forgiveness.

Shiver’s cases (1987 & 1995) mentioned reference timeless questions of ethics and justice. The Nazis are, perhaps, the most commonly cited example of an unforgivable evil, but, despite the narratives of survivors who describe the unforgivable evil, and philosophical arguments made on their behalf, the relationship between the U.S. and Germany has recovered. Conversely, redress of slavery, Jim Crow legislation, and inequalities in black civil rights in the U.S. has not taken place, hence it is argued that continuing racial antagonisms are serious and

leave the U.S. divided over issues like #blacklivesmatter and reparations (Ragland, 2019).

Understanding the attitudes and behaviors involved in the processes will help us to understand each of these cases, and, more importantly, the morality of our ethics and judicial institutions. By default, the role of religion in society and its function in conflict and peace is also better understood.

Where forgiveness is frequently prescribed in religious texts, religions and their ideologies are frequently the sources of conflict—not reconciliation (Brahm, 2005). An individual’s reading of the bible, for example, may teach that forgiveness is a virtue, but not offer significant instruction on how to go about giving or receiving forgiveness. Forgiveness is certainly not limited to Christianity or Christians, and grasping the nuances between the attitudes and behaviors of individuals will aid in the understanding of the relationships between such groups. Forgiveness at the group and state levels is the subject of increased study, and this research supplements those efforts.

Over three dozen state-level commissions have been conceived of to address the issues of forgiveness, reconciliation, and truth⁷. These commissions have been formed in response to serious conflicts and systemic injustices, and new commissions continue to be proposed. The motivation is clear, there is great need for healing and peace, and forgiveness can play a central role in this. Forgiveness helps because it can address issues of structural violence, like discrimination and oppression, as well as direct violence; forgiveness can help create transitional and/or restorative justice processes (Minow, 1998; Eppinegga, 2010). The escalation of

⁷ The United States Institute of Peace provides a “Truth Commission Digital Collection” which is part of the *Margarita S. Studemeister Digital Library in International Conflict Management*. It can be accessed at: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2011/03/truth-commission-digital-collection>

intrapersonal conflict cycles can also be interrupted by acts of apology, atonement, and forgiveness (Enright & North, 1998). Forgiveness can help to prevent strong emotions like anger from developing into hateful ideologies and bitter resentment (Grovier, 1999) which frequently precede war; war continues to be seen in terms of good versus evil, and despite institutions and rules designed to discourage War—the “last resort”—continues to be visited on *unforgivable enemies* (Bergen, 1998; Mearsheimer, 2007). Preventing or interrupting the movement from anger to hatred could reduce escalations in violence and willingness to engage in wars.

The claims and hopes made about the use of forgiveness are problematic. The concept needs increased conceptual clarity. It is not *merely* an ethical challenge to ask, “how can one forgive the Nazi?” but also a practical question. While some people need to hear the words “I’m sorry” before they can forgive someone, others may need to see an offender punished, or to witness a change of heart. Personal healing, time, or other factors may be necessary in some forgiveness processes but not others.

The critical analytic of truth and reconciliation commissions reflects some of these antagonisms. Where success is found there is great need to understand what the mechanisms for success have been. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, for example, was originally scheduled to run from 1995 to 1998 but it was extended to 2002. In the long run it will be helpful to those who model Truth and Reconciliation Commissions after South Africa’s model to know how much of the success of processes can be attributed to the extra time. States making fiscal priorities for reconciliation could also strategize on the benefit or utility of shorter processes, especially if that is all they can afford. The predictive value, however, is likely to be based on the ability to generalize processes from one group to another. The self-reported value of healing and time in relationship to forgiveness are both examined in this study.

As another example we can review the research of Kwaku Danso (2017) whose dissertation “Rebuilding Relationships after Civil War: Relational Justice and Ex-Combatant Reintegration in Liberia” examines Liberia’s truth and reconciliation process. Liberia instituted Palava Huts to counteract Liberia’s “unaddressed injustices, and acknowledging its own limitations in terms of ensuring justice and reconciliation” (Danso, 2017, p. 14). Danso presents details of Liberia’s plan:

“Palava Huts across the country to serve as forums for justice and help ‘restore broken relationships at the community and national levels’ (Republic of Liberia, 2009, p. 2). The Commission specified the names of some 6,000 persons, mostly ex-combatants, to appear before the national Palava Hut when it was established (Republic of Liberia, 2009), and mandated the Independent National Commission on Human Rights (INCHR) of Liberia to ensure the implementation of the process” (p. 14).

These features are worthy of examination, and the typology being developed aims to help in providing a mechanism for addressing whether the intervention would work with fewer than 6,000 testifying; figuring out who are the right people to testify; or if including more victim testimony would work better than focusing on ex-combatants?

More detailed information on how individuals and communities forgive would hold significant value for those trying to duplicate post-conflict intervention and could provide early indicators for commissions tasked with leading a country’s healing. The case of Liberia’s reintegration of ex-combatants implies some level of forgiveness. That seems to have been the case with the communal justice processes of *fambul tok* in Sierra Leone and *gacaca* in Rwanda. This model of resistance and resilience and forgiveness typology can help identify features of these processes that might work in another location, like Sri Lanka, which is addressing its own

history of ethnic conflict and civil war. Understanding attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness in individuals would be a starting point to addressing these broader questions.

Theory presents variations in attitudes and behaviors amongst individuals. Relating different forgiveness attitudes and behaviors to cases of forgiveness and unforgiveness can expose fault lines in these variations. The faults reflect differing interests and needs amongst individuals, the interests and needs in turn reflect the necessary and sufficient conditions for forgiveness. Some variables will be easier to manage, and parties will have control over some but not others. Others will be fixed, memory—you either remember, or you don't, ethics is frequently right or wrong (though this is frequently blurred), and justice, and may be out of an individual's control.

2.2 Ethics, Memory, and Justice

"Forgetting is the shears with which you cut away what you cannot use, doing it under the supreme direction of memory. Forgetting and remembering are thus identical arts, and the artistic achievement of this identity is the Archimedean point from which one lifts the whole world. When we say that we consign something to oblivion, we suggest simultaneously that it is to be forgotten and yet also remembered." Soren Kierkegaard (1946)

Forgiveness is an ethical and metaphysical act. It calls into question the obligation and role of memory, the duty to justice, and the challenges in repairing strained and severed relationships. Questions of forgiveness are frequently accompanied with statements about forgetting. There is a whole politics of memory. Avishai Margalit tells a story in *The Ethics of Memory* (2004) about a military officer who returns home from war. Upon returning home a reporter asks him about another soldier, and the officer indicates that he doesn't know who he is being asked about. Not remembering, in this context, is unforgivable. The other soldier was from

the same hometown and died under his command; the locals are in complete disbelief. In the end, however, the officer has not forgotten this soldier; he has been asked the wrong question—he didn't know his name—but he remembers many details about him. This story begs questions of what details we are expected to remember and how we are expected to remember them. The people of the town were outraged that the soldier could be forgotten but they are quick to forgive when they discover the officer remembered the soldier after all.

Questions of memory in politics are common. “Forgive but don't forget” was a common response to World War II. “Tempers Flare Over Removal of Confederate Statues in New Orleans”^s is a May 7, 2017, article about how the history of struggle in the United States should be remembered. One person suggests “everybody take a whack — just like the Berlin Wall” and another opinion posits that the statues “demonstrate that there was no sense of guilt for the cause in which the South fought the Civil War.” One side wants to consign the confederacy to oblivion, the other wants to preserve its claim to history, they both experience existential threats. Unresolved and unforgiven these conflicts persist^t. There are many existential conflicts, I am not sure when forgetting is an option, but it clearly seems to fail as an ethical model. Forgiveness appears to be the moral alternative, the proactive resolution to moral transgressions that addresses wrongdoing without requiring it be forgotten.

^sSee: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/07/us/new-orleans-monuments.html> <retrieved 5/15/17>.

^t See another case, Charlottesville, Va., which has reached a world stage. A “Unite the Right” rally in conjunction with protests against the removal of a Robert E. Lee statue erupted in violence. For more about the event and a response from the United Nations see: “A Far-Right Gathering Bursts Into Brawls,” New York Times 8/13/17, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/charlottesville-protests-unite-the-right.html> <retrieved 8/23/17> and “U.N. Panel Condemns Trump's Response to Charlottesville Violence,” New York Times 8/23/17, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/23/world/un-trump-racism-charlottesville.html> <retrieved 8/23/17>.

These challenges, dilemmas, and paradoxes are not *merely* mental puzzles. They express the linkage between memory, trauma, and traumatic transference; healing will not occur without addressing these memories (Wolterstorff & Grassmann, 2014). It is possible to tease out responses and clarifications in the examples given. Historical analysis *should* provide answers to questions about the causes of confederacy in the American Civil War and the basis for removal of commemorative statues. Objective details and information makes all of the difference in the case of the officer who returns home from war. Sometimes problems are resolved once more information is gathered and disseminated. It is hard to imagine, however, what could be clarified about the Civil War, or World War II that would change opinions regarding what people find offensive. Forgiveness can be a process to address and redress historical and contemporary controversies.

Popular accounts of forgiveness have been observed, researched and studied in recent decades. Accounts of forgiveness span the globe. There are stories of freed political prisoners, like Nelson Mandela in 1990 (Benson, 1994; Mandela, 1994; Maanga, 2013), local forgiveness practices such as *fambul tok* (translated: family talk) in Sierra Leone (Lofton, 2014; Park, 2010) and *gacaca* (translated: justice amongst the grass) in Rwanda (Bornkamm, 2012; Brehm, Uggen, and Gasanabo, 2014). There are contemporary examples like Dylann Roof being forgiven by the family members of the nine people he shot to death at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston South Carolina on June 17, 2015 (Brown, 2017; Spencer, 2015) and the Truth Telling Project intended to help produce a reconciliation from structural violence and systemic racism following police shootings like the one in Ferguson Missouri¹⁰. These stories,

¹⁰ I first became aware of the Truth Telling Project via the Peace and Justice Studies list serve, subsequently I attended a panel with David Ragland at the 2015 annual Peace and Justice Studies Association conference, I have

and others like them, follow increased discussion and study of transitional justice and approaches to peacebuilding (Bell, 2009; van der Merwe & Lykes, 2016)¹¹. These cases also spill over into larger conversations on addressing structural violence. The Dylann Roof story is referenced in the case for removing Confederate statues. His actions are directly connected to histories of the Confederacy and white supremacist ideologies. In some ways acts of racist violence are individual and unique, but in others they are systemic and connected.

Racism, for example, operates as psychological harm. A child singing, “eenie, meenie, miney, mo...” today is likely unaware of the songs racist origins. This child may not even be aware that the words “catch a tiger by the toe” could trigger memories of the racist “catch a nigger by the toe” but the pain would still be real. In 2004 such a case was tried in the U.S.¹² Two older airline passengers, 46 and 49, had been offended to hear “Eenie, meenie, minie, moe; pick a seat, we gotta go.” The flight attendant was unaware of the racist version. Clearly the song invoked powerful memories. But, in the end, the attendant said that while she probably wouldn’t use it, she wouldn’t tell anyone not to use it. Had the attendant apologized it isn’t clear for what reason: would it be for a racist past, for unintentionally causing offense? Alternatively, what about those who feel undue prejudice, that they are not singing racist songs, and shouldn’t have to worry about what they or their children are singing?

been in personal communication with David Ragland since. For current developments with the Truth Telling Project please see: <http://thetruthtellingproject.org>

¹¹These references are by no means exhaustive, they are reflective of the International Journal of Transitional Justice (IJTJ). Christine Bell’s piece was an early justification against challenges to transitional justice as an “evolving field,” van der Merwe & Lykes address moral challenges in the “next-generation concerns,” both pieces showcase the persistence of challenges within the young field, the IJTI was born in 2009. Even the link between peacebuilding and transitional justice is debatable, as articulated in Mendeloff (2004) “Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding: Curb the Enthusiasm?” the two are not functionally synonymous.

¹² See: “Jurors find no discrimination in flight attendant's rhyme use,” USA Today January 22nd, 2004. http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/news/2004-01-22-swa-rhyme_x.htm?siteID=je6NUbpObpQ-BWrfTKbN129zxHYzdE3ayg <accessed 8/1/2017>

In the Netherlands the tradition of Sinterklaas is practiced. It is a Christmas-like event of gift giving on the 5th of December.¹³ Zwarte Piet (Black Pete) is a character in the story, and the source of great conflict. Some see the “black face” used in portraying this character as offensive. In the Dutch side of my family I have heard differing arguments ranging from he is black from chimney ash to he is black because he is a Spanish moor. As a result, I have cousins who are embarrassed by the display and also family members who feel like their tradition is being destroyed. In the first case sincere apologies are made for the country’s racist history, in the second there are people who feel they are owed an apology. Truth and agreement can be elusive, but forgiveness can still play a role. Forgiveness may even play a role when parties do not agree on the truth, though the requirement does appear to be acknowledging the other side even when one disagrees with it.

The use of forgiveness in response to serious disputes and intractable conflicts has provided some encouragement for thinking about durable peacebuilding; forgiveness frequently plays a significant role in deescalating tensions, reaching settlements or resolutions, and helping parties reconcile (Bush & Folger, 1994). Forgiveness is the healing or reconnection that takes place in relationships after moral wrongdoings allowing parties to overcome their feelings of anger, resentment, and revenge. Forgiveness processes generally feature some collection of the following: an acknowledgement of wrongdoing and harm, atonement or reparations for damages, a belief, promise, or understanding that what happened will not happen again, and usually the forgiver agrees to think, feel, and act differently toward a perpetrator.

¹³Belgium and Luxemburg celebrate on the 6th of December.

2.3 Historical and Religious Development of Forgiveness

This study looks at a modern interpersonal understandings of forgiveness. The concept has evolved over time, but understandings of who, what, when, where, why, and how to forgive differ. There is some common ground in the concept of asking for God's forgiveness in committing the sin of murder as there is in asking the state for forgiveness in a campaign of atrocities or human rights violations but there are also serious differences and disagreements. In one case an offender may ask for God's forgiveness, in another he/she may ask for amnesty from the state, in others those they've harmed, or sometimes individuals may seek to forgive themselves. Historically forgiveness took place between individuals and God. The concept has progressed to something that happens between individuals and, in some post modern critiques, of individuals forgiving God. This discussion lays the foundation for the typology being presented. I offer an abbreviated look at the development and evolution of forgiveness as an interpersonal concept. Both personal and social motivators emerge as important, but not all contexts are explored; forgiveness is presented as fundamentally good, however, there may be good reasons for being hard hearted or why a person might want to be cautious about being too forgiving.

2.3.1 Ancient Roots

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2014) dates the origin of forgiveness with the ancient Greeks and Hebrews, and Christian bibles and defines it as a response to wrongdoing and harm. In the beginning, it was an individual response to wrongdoing that would negate culpability. "God forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34) is a Biblical expression of these roots, God was responsible for forgiving, and wrongs were recognized as sins against God. "[T]he Western tradition forgiveness came to prominence in Judaic and Christian

thought" (Griswold, 2007, p. xv) but "the modern concept of forgiveness, in the full or rich sense of the term, did not exist in classical antiquity" and expressed more fully; "What is more, it is not fully present in the Hebrew Bible, nor again in the New Testament or in the early Jewish and Christian commentaries on the Holy Scriptures; it would still be centuries -- many centuries -- before the idea of interpersonal forgiveness, and the set of values and attitudes that necessarily accompany and help to define it, would emerge" (Konstan, 2010, p. ix).

There is debate about the precise origins of forgiveness. Which words in Greek, for example, compare or equate to forgiveness (Griswold and Konstan, 2010)? It is argued that in the Nicomachean Ethics (1136a 5-9) Aristotle "carefully delineates objective standards for what is forgivable and what is not" (Gutzwiller in Griswold and Konstan eds., 2010, p. 53).

Forgiveness has always been subject to ethical examination and conceived of as threatening to the practice of justice. But it was also understood as a means for problem solving, especially where consequences of conflict escalation were clear. Turning the other cheek, was clearly presented by Jesus as an alternative both justice and punishment, and they know not what they do a reasonable excuse or mitigating factor for moral wrongdoing.

2.3.2 Middle Ages

The Christian practice of forgiveness was very contentious in the middle ages. Many ecclesiastical rifts and breaks emerged because of the Doctrine of Indulgences. The Catechism of the Catholic church (:1471) says "a remission before God of the temporal punishment due to sins whose guilt has already been forgiven, which the faithful Christian who is duly disposed gains under certain prescribed conditions through the action of the Church which, as the minister of redemption, dispenses and applies with authority the treasury of the satisfactions of Christ and

the saints".⁴⁴In layperson speak, an Indulgence was a form of forgiveness in which some of the surplus of grace (merit) that was created in Jesus' sacrifice could be applied to remove the punishment from another sin, from a person dead or alive.

Problems surfaced in a number of ways. At the Council of Claremont (1095) Pope Urban II granted plenary (complete) indulgences to all believers who fought during the Crusades, in effect he treated military service as penance and forgave all sins. This is the first recorded use of plenary indulgences and has since been revisited and revised. The Church also started selling indulgences during this period. Fundamentally this changed both how people practiced forgiveness and how they thought about it. The abuses suggested (for some) that God's mercy was for sale and/or a tool for selfish purposes. Philosophically it reflected the idea that wrongdoing was a sin against God, and one need to seek God's forgiveness; forgiveness was still quite distinct (in many ways) from the interpersonal event characterized in modern scholarship.

2.3.3 Enlightenment/Modern/Cosmopolitan Forgiveness

Modern discussion is frequently traced to the Bishop Joseph Butler. His "Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel" (1726) showcased a broad and up to date philosophical study. He was well versed in Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau (amongst others) and struggled with the many challenges of human nature. "[R]eal sorrow and concern for the misery" (Sermon V) of others defined compassion and the Christian obligation—to love our enemies—which created a paradox between forgiveness and resentment. To reconcile this dilemma, he observed different kinds of resentment: "mere harm without appearance of wrong or injustice," serious and

⁴⁴ Retrieved on August 15, 2016 from: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P4G.HTM

deliberate moral transgressions and violations to “the common bonds by which society is held together, a fellow feeling, which each individual has on behalf of the whole species” (in Sermon VIII). He distinguishes between the revenge of the state-of-nature and moral justice, but, again, not without challenge.

Reacting to “mere harm” with punitive force would (or could) function as revenge. Even in the case of moral harm punishment would present a challenge to “the quiet and happiness of the world” and an “enlarged obligation [...] the duty of goodwill” (Sermon IX). Griswold (2008) tries to explain the roots of Butler’s orientation to resentment with the reflection that an awareness of our own imperfections increases the desire to forgive, and that, as Butler would see it, forgiveness is not akin to forgetting a moral injury but offering a perpetrator the same goodwill that would be shown to anyone. This is an early formation of resentment as an emotion, which we do not have control over, and of forgiveness as a rational activity exercising faculties, which we do have, control over.

Control over morality and the basis of moral law have radically shifted. The state and the sovereign’s power being established through social contract, but Butler still sees God as the source of moral authority. He dedicates several sermons to addressing ignorance and self-deceit, possibly imagining sin in a Hobbesian state of nature. Butler saw the attribution error and cognitive bias involved in our processes of discernment: “our fondness for ourselves” (Sermon X) which helps individuals slide into increasingly immoral behaviors.

In *Preparing for Peace* (1995) renowned practitioner and academic John Paul Lederach outlines a more modern take on forgiveness. Influenced by his Mennonite faith in “Micah’s Dilemma: the Paradox of Justice and Mercy” he describes a moral tension; that justice—righting wrongs—is challenged in offering support and encouragement to those who have committed

injustices. “Mercy, on the other hand, involves compassion, forgiveness, and a new start” (Lederach, p. 20). Lederach asserts fundamental challenges to the practicality of punishments. It is functionally impossible to do justice after atrocities, putting half a country in jail is not a viable option. Whereas forgetting is about the past, forgiveness is oriented toward the future, but, as this paradox implies, it is either unfair or unnecessary while at the same time the only viable option.

Aurel Kolnai (1973) makes this presentation in the *Logical Paradox of Forgiveness*. The problem in his account is that there are only two categories of people to forgive; there are those who have repented and those who have not. In light of this distinction, he argues, it becomes apparent that neither group will meet the conditions *necessary* of forgiveness. In the first group we deal with the repentant sinner, and in this case forgiveness is not only unnecessary but redundant as well. After the sinner has repented there is nothing left to forgive – the debt has been repaid. In the second case the sinner has done nothing to deserve or merit being forgiven, and as a result, forgiveness would amount to condoning the sin. Kolnai reconciles this challenge to the morality of forgiveness by concluding that forgiveness cannot be judged by focusing on the perpetrator, but instead by examining the intentions of the forgiver.

Ultimately, I argue the cosmopolitan construct of forgiveness is used to address legal, historical, and moral wrongdoing. Discussions of truth and reconciliation do not revolve around the relationships that individuals or groups have with God (or gods) but with one another. While the historical roots of forgiveness are rooted in the divine, a spiritual relationship is not a necessary condition for forgiveness in current discussions. One of the many problems that can be taken up then is the apparent reality that truth is vital in moral matters but elusive in legal jurisdictions. Whereas moral transgressions were sins against God, legal transgressions are

crimes against the state—neither places a focus on a victim-perpetrator relationship—until much more recently. I also believe a further step should sometimes be taken, inherited trauma and traumatic transference also present conditions where witnesses and descendants would need to heal from memories of the past in order to heal (Wolterstorff & Grassmann, 2014).

2.4 Resistance and Resilience

Scholars credit forgiveness with helping to interrupt the escalation of conflict by recreating dialogue, facilitating reconciliation, healing from past traumas, and aiding in community reintegration (Brison, 2003; Folger & Bush, 1994; Eppinegga, 2010; Murphy & Hampton, 1988; et al); forgiveness may mean the difference between war and peace (Shriver, 1995; Tutu, 1999). Acts of apology, for example, can correct misperceptions that the wrong was intentional or even planned. Atonement and reparations can take the place of retaliation or revenge. The idea that groups with more forgiving relationships have reduced potential for conflict escalation and are less likely to engage in violent conflicts fits into a model of resistance and resilience. Protracted social conflict is hard to manage and forgiveness could play a part in social resilience (Azar, 1990).

Forgiveness, however, is not always easy—if possible at all. Taking a behavioral look at forgiveness as the positive response to a negative stimulus (Bono & McCullough, 2006) seems to be painfully lacking when addressing large scale injustice, hatred, genocide, and other structures of violence and oppression. Forgiveness may present a wide range of benefits, but there are very good reasons why people are angry and resentful of the moral wrongs visited upon them. Facing evil and responding to moral transgressions are not easy tasks, but for many people they are an everyday reality and push our minds to their limits. At its worst forgiveness involves

unspeakable suffering, followed by a need for healing— which seems impossible—and, yet, some can do it while others cannot. I look at this as a kind of resilience, outlined as follows.

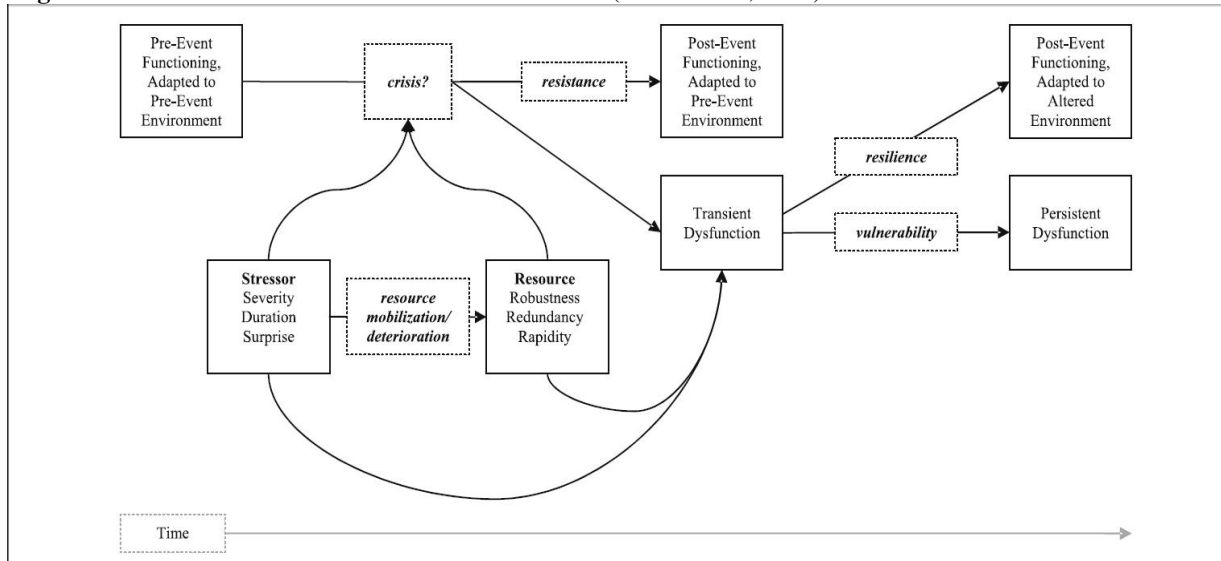
Research on resilience¹⁵ assesses crisis to the status quo in terms of input and output factors. The crisis has input *intensity*, *duration*, and *proximity*. The response output has *resources*, *rapidity*, and *redundancy*. This framework can be used to determine whether or not a response is expected to produce resistance when responding to a threat to the status quo—returns to normal—or if transient dysfunction is likely to emerge. During dysfunction adaptation can restore normalcy and a new status quo—resilience—or the transient dysfunction will develop into persistent dysfunction—vulnerability.

In contexts of conflict and moral transgression this model is applicable. Conflict can be measured in terms of intensity, duration, and proximity. Responses can also be thought of in terms of resources, rapidity, and redundancy. Increasing input variables (intensity, duration, and proximity) creates more challenging conditions for conflict management and increasing response variables (resources, rapidity, and redundancy) increases the likelihood of resistance to the conflict. The engagement of forgiveness follows stress to relationships, successful forgiveness processes could then be seen as conflict resistance or later (possibly with help) a kind of resilience as I'm presenting it here. Think of the friend who says to another, “don't worry about it,” as an example of this. The event will not create any wedge in the relationship. This model attempts to explain the conditions and factors responsible for both individual responses, relationship dynamics, and process outcomes. Indeed, in many situations the expectation may be

¹⁵Cardona notes: the evolution of the concept comes from “efforts by social scientists undertaken since the mid 20th century” he cites Kates, 1971; White, 1942; White, 1973; Quarantelli, 1988 (Cardona, 2004). I also observe that resilience starts with Holling's (1973) work on the study of resilience in ecosystems.

a form of conflict escalation: anger, hatred, or rage can be developed or retaliation or revenge may be the expected behavioral responses; dysfunction is frequently predictable. Norris et al. (2008) outline the process in the schematic presented in the figure below.

Figure 2.1: stress resistance and resilience over time (Norris et al., 2008):



Model of stress resistance and resilience over time as described by Norris et al. (2008):

Resistance occurs when resources are sufficiently robust, redundant, or rapid to buffer or counteract the immediate effects of the stressor such that no dysfunction occurs. Total resistance is hypothesized to be rare in the case of severe, enduring, or highly surprising events, making transient situational dysfunction the more likely and normative result in the immediate aftermath of disasters. Resilience occurs when resources are sufficiently robust, redundant, or rapid to buffer or counteract the effects of the stressor such that a return to functioning, adapted to the altered environment, occurs. For human individuals and communities, this adaptation is manifest in wellness. Vulnerability occurs when resources were not sufficiently robust, redundant, or rapid to create resistance or resilience, resulting in persistent dysfunction. The more severe, enduring, and surprising the stressor, the stronger the resources must be to create resistance or resilience (p. 130).

This model is used for crisis and disaster management. It outlines inputs in terms of communities responding to crisis and calculations for resulting resilience and vulnerability.

There are moral arguments to be made regarding the human-caused dimension of natural disasters, but the application being considered here is in thinking of transgressions as crisis.¹⁶ My interest is to see that individuals and communities have the ability and potential to function effectively in the wake of moral transgressions. But it also identifies the potential need for successful adaptation (conflict resolution, management, or peacebuilding processes) in the aftermath of serious transgressions (requires resilience). This conceptual framework is being applied to complex human interpersonal events. *Crisis, resistance, and resilience* are filtered and processed in individuals differently. Perhaps, then, personality and religion can be operationalized as *resources* which may shape forgiveness processes and impact forgiveness outcomes in addition to functioning as input variables which may contribute to the conflict or transgression in issue.

Looking at conflict as a kind of crisis has interesting implications. Many scholars in the field caution against thinking of conflict as inherently bad in the way that disasters are inherently turbulent¹⁷. Conflict can in fact be positive, especially where it serves to educate, catalyze

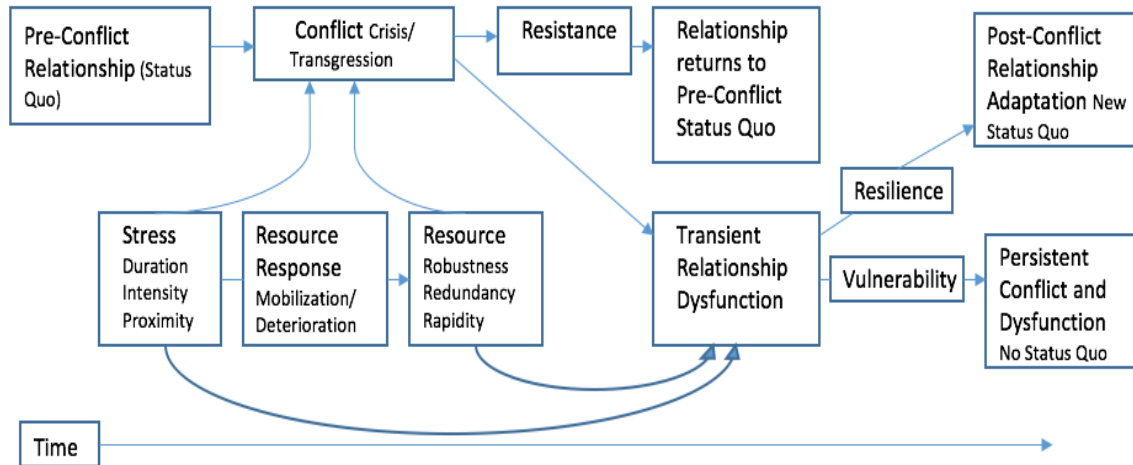
¹⁶There are at least two schools of thought regarding disasters. *Positivists* (like Cardona, 2003) assert that disasters are almost exclusively associated with physical phenomenon. The *human ecological paradigm* argues that humans and human actions have some responsibility for disasters and advocates a human-nature dualism (Hufschmidt & Glade, 2010). For more on this debate see: *Disaster's Impact on Livelihood and Cultural Survival: Losses, Opportunities, and Mitigation* (Riviera, 2016). There are some important comparisons between conflicts and disasters. They are sometimes seen as inevitable, and both can be indicators or catalysts for a need for change.

¹⁷ Pioneer in the field, Morton Deutsch, explained that it was important to understand that there were ways conflict could be both constructive and destructive. Interviewed for *Beyond Intractability* he said:

From the first study, I came up with the idea that a constructive way of managing conflicts, was to have people working cooperatively. On the other hand, the competitive situation, when they had conflicts, they didn't manage them well, they tended to be win-lose situations. So I came up with this first principle, which is important, that a constructive way of managing conflicts is like having a cooperative, creative group working on a problem, where the problem is the conflict. A destructive way of handling conflict is having people see that they're in a sort of win-lose struggle. Either I win or you win, either I get the top grade, or

positive social change, or improve relationship dynamics (Burton, 1998). In this sense it can be helpful to think of crisis as a time when a difficult or important decision must be made as opposed to a time of intense difficulty, trouble, or danger (Azar, 1990). **Figure 2.2: Conflict/ Crisis/ Transgression as Resistance/ Resilience/ Vulnerability** (Laven, 2017):

Conflict/Crisis/Transgression as Resistance/Resilience/Vulnerability Figure



Conflict/ Crisis/ Transgression as Resistance/ Resilience/ Vulnerability changes the language of systems functions in figure one to interpersonal relations, and shifts the language from crisis to conflict.¹⁸ This model suggests that parties in conflict will experience one of three things following conflict. The relationship will either experience resistance, resilience, or vulnerability.

you get the top grade. And that leads to poor communication. It leads to poor outcomes of the conflict. So that's a very important principle (Portilla, 2003).

¹⁸ Figure 2.2 was first presented at “From Civil Rights to Human Rights” the 2017 Peace and Justice Studies annual conference in Birmingham AL. The panel, “Priorities in building meaningful peace,” featured Mark Lance (Georgetown University), Damon Lynch (University of Minnesota), Alison Castel (University of Colorado, Boulder), and Wim Laven. The panel addressed the following questions:

“Is there some priority in these dimensions of positive peace? Should we generally frame our struggles, for example, as first recognizing truth, then building for justice, and finally moving to reconciliation? Or do we pursue all at the same time, or in some other order? What are some of the key ethical, strategic, and other challenges in thinking through these issues?”

While there was not an overarching consensus during the panel my need statement: forgiveness is ambiguous and unclear in many ways, my descriptive statistics and preliminary findings, and this model were received as helpful.

The model articulates the importance of intervening variables upon relationship recovery. The stress of the conflict, defined in terms of duration, intensity, and proximity to the conflict in concert with the resource response (mobilization/deterioration) and resource availability (rapidity, redundancy, and robustness) will influence relationship outputs in conflict and subsequent dysfunction.

This model takes different input factors into account. Inputs like personality, socialization, and religious influence can have a significant impact on what outputs in attitudes and behaviors on forgiveness are. Religion and social identity are resources which can be mobilized in responding to transgressions and conflicts. *Mobilization* could be achieved through charismatic leadership, individuals like Bishop Desmond Tutu have been known to inspire the faithful to be more forgiving. *Deterioration*, on the other hand, can also occur under leadership which adds to antagonisms. Ashin Wirathu is an example of this.

Wirathu, branded “the face of Buddhist terror” by Time Magazine (2013), is an example of such deterioration.¹⁹ Buddhism is generally regarded as a peaceful religion with peaceful practices. So when he opposes Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyii, “[she] like to help the Bengali, but I block her,” during the conflict over the Rohingya people in Myanmar it tends to fuel the conflict.²⁰ Said differently, the mobilization of the 989 movement and the Ma Ba Tha (the Organization for the Protection of Race and Religion) reduces opportunities for forgiveness

¹⁹ “The Face of Buddhist Terror” (Time, July 1, 2013) has the byline: “It’s a faith famous for its pacifism and tolerance. But in several of Asia’s Buddhist-majority nations, monks are inciting bigotry and violence — mostly against Muslims.” Retrieved on 11/5/17 from: <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2146000,00.html>

²⁰ “‘It only takes one terrorist:’ the Buddhist monk who reviles Myanmar’s Muslims,” (The Guardian, May 12, 2017) argues that while the monk claims to be protecting his people he incites racial violence against Rohingya refugees. Retrieved on 11/5/17 from: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/may/12/only-takes-one-terrorist-buddhist-monk-reviles-myanmar-muslims-rohingya-refugees-ashin-wirathu>

and peacebuilding. Where some human rights agencies call Rohingya Muslims “the most persecuted people on Earth,” he says they “don’t exist” (Guardian, 2017). Wirathu’s influence, a social force, can impact what personality and religion what might have dictated otherwise, leaving new questions: Do social forces help us to understand why some people can forgive while others cannot? Does personality influence forgiveness behaviors more than social forces do? How do these influences relate to attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness?

2.4.1 Conflict as a Manageable Stressor

Research shows that some offenses are easier to forgive than others²¹ and an examination of offenses is worthwhile. My focus in this study is on the attitudes and behaviors reflected in the processes different individuals apply to forgiveness partly because I think this is less intuitive. While *time* (figure 2.2) would generally be a forgiveness aiding variable (as per figure 2.1), truth, punishment, apologies, interactions, distance, etc. appear (as I hypothesize) to be more important to some individuals than others. The background here, however, is that conflict as a stressor can have significantly different proximity, intensity, and duration. This is likely the most significant factor in the recognition of unforgivability—that some acts are too heinous to forgive.

World War II played a significant role in the discussions about evil and forgiveness. Philosophically, the shift in morality and moral thinking tried to account for *the death of God* (Nietzsche, 1882), *the banality of evil* (Arendt, 2006), and a whole range of ethical questions

²¹ The Transgression Narrative Test of Forgivingness (TNTF) (Barry, Worthington, et. al, 2001) (used in this study) tests an individual’s forgivingness by asking participants to respond to five hypothetical scenarios involving their likelihood to forgive an offender. The purpose of the study was not to identify what was harder to forgive but this was an unintended outcome, they did identify scenarios that were easier and more difficult to forgive. The point does appear to be intuitive, forgiving a murderer would be harder than forgiving someone for cutting in line.

about following orders and the obedience to authority²². The questions have been as metaphysical as they are moral, in many cases, and scientists have looked to everything from neurobiology and pharmaceuticals to inherited trauma, and “how do I forgive?” is as practical a question after atrocity as it is a timeless ethical inquiry.

Politically, the League of Nations had failed and the United Nations (UN) took on the mandate to make sure global war would never happen again. A functioning international system would need to see relationships like the ones between the U.S. and Germany, and the U.S. and Japan recover, or, at least, this is what liberalism implied. The experience of a second global war showcased the dilemma central to questions of peace: humankind was capable of mutually assured destruction, but was it capable of preventing war?

Academics have researched questions about the causes of war, and how to prevent it; forgiveness fits into some of the models for conflict management and resolution. Conflict is a modern reality; its complexity is manifest in a wide range of human interactions. But (as I discuss later) how the U.S. can forgive attacks on Pearl Harbor or how Japan can forgive the detonation of nuclear bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki is a kind of impossible request and simultaneously a pivotal (possibly the only) means for creating a peaceful future. I assert that the increasing complexity of the world we live in requires broader understandings of concepts like forgiveness, not just the conceptual clarity, but also the function and practice. But, it is not necessary to buy into this assertion in order to recognize value in the interpersonal forgiveness

²² Stanley Milgram’s experiment “Obedience” (1965a, b) is one of the more famous of these experiments. Time Magazine featured a cover in 1966 with the question “Is God Dead?” I have no intention to be exhaustive, but wish to offer some contextual clarity.

typology presented in this study. Forgiveness may not ever prevent war, as I hope it can, but it will still have utility in a broad range of conflicts.

2.5 Fitting Forgiveness into Conflict Theories

Within the broader fields of conflict management and resolution there are strategies for interest based negotiations and problem solving, responding to damaged or fractured relationships and social problems, access to natural resources, survival, and issues regarding cultural differences, identities, and recognition (Deutsch et al, 2006). The analogy of the toolbox is common: it suggests that the different modes of intervention are different tools that have different jobs (Deutsch et al, 2006). Some are aimed at putting an end to direct violence, others structural violence and some both. Forgiveness can fit into these processes in various ways.

Kolnai (1973) describes “forgiving Fred” and “wrongdoing Ralph” in explaining forgiveness. Most theories on forgiveness follow a similar progression: an objective moral harm takes place—with a victim and a perpetrator, the harm or damage is understood, and forgiveness will restore the damage resulting from the transgression. Theories of conflict management challenge this assumption; forgiveness cannot be so simple. Morals and harms are not objective, they are seldom agreed upon, and frequently the victim/ offender distinction is blurred—both (all) parties are frequently victims in some way. In practice this might mean a victim is left living next door to ex-combatants, or it might be a matter of amnesty or of shared responsibility, and in others the healing might be more general or of past wrongs in a long history of antagonisms. Few conflicts, however, are *resolved* by reaching an agreement on which party or position was right or wrong, but in addressing the interests and needs of both sides. Forgiveness, itself, will tend to reflect a whole range of interests and needs that can be highly fluid. Participants and practitioners

will both be well served with a greater understanding of the differing expressions and roles of forgiveness.

2.5.1 Forgiveness and Social Identity

Social identity theory explains how individuals come to know themselves. The theory starts with a self concept covering personal and social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It suggests that individuals and groups start with negative definitions of self—I'm (we're) not that—before reaching positive definitions—I'm (we're) this; in the broader context of a social environment individuals only define themselves after they have defined other groups in comparison with their own characteristics (Ashforth & Mael, 1986; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). The process of acquiring an identity requires the identification of difference. This difference becomes the starting point of conflict, and can lead to hatred. Difference as “us” and “them” emerges followed by ideas of fairness and respect—we hate that which threatens us. It is inductive experience that attaches individuals to “social locations” and presents the distinctions identified in daily engagements, and mores are prescribed by cultural scripts, but the significance of these differences are debatable, they have no objective value, but are simultaneously responsible for conflict and violence (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Conklin, 1997; Dove, 2006).

In many conflicts the threat is existential and forgiving an enemy is too—forgiveness might be akin to disowning an ancestor or your family (Azar, 1990). More fundamentally the challenge identified here is that there is seldom a clear script for forgiving someone whose only or most serious crime is merely being different or existing. The crime of having been born is common in social justice narratives, and it is hard to imagine overcoming such a hatred without some sort of forgiveness process. Identity would then be both an input variable to conflict, but

could also operate as a resource impacting one's resistance, resilience, or vulnerability in addressing the conflict and potential dysfunction in a relationship as modeled in Figure 2.1 (p. 38). People with forgiving identities would be expected to be more forgiving in practice, people who identify as grudge-holding or unforgiving would be expected to be less forgiving in practice. The stronger those identities the greater the expectation in outcome.

2.5.2 Forgiveness and Basic Human Needs

There are a range of ways individuals and groups can respond to real and perceived injustices. The challenge here is dealing with conflicting issues. On the one hand studies show that unforgiveness can take its "toll on physical, mental, relational, and spiritual health" and "forgiveness can benefit people's health" (Worthington, 2004). On the other hand, injustices frequently present direct challenges to the ability of groups and individuals to meet basic needs (Burton, 1990). Forgiveness may present as an interruption in the escalation of conflict over threats to basic human needs through an acknowledgement of harm and wrongdoing, a promise the wrong will not be repeated, and repair of damages. Identification of the costs and impacts of war can potentially provide the basis for such an interruption. Forgiveness will be an extreme challenge during periods when basic human needs are not met.

Returning to the model presented in Figure 2.2 (p. 40) we can conceptualize human needs as both *input* and *intervening* variables. Abundance and scarcity are features of the human needs context. The expectation is that conflict is less likely to escalate after someone steals a loaf of bread or a twenty-dollar bill when the loaf isn't the only thing a person has to eat, or the person still has money in savings. Likewise, it may also be easier to forgive the offender who steals out of *need* and not just *opportunity*. Human needs can impact both the costs and benefits in conflict

and subsequent intervention. *Transient dysfunction* and *persistent dysfunction* are frequently not the desired outcomes but the absence of resource availability prevents relationship *resistance* and *resilience* (Cardona, 2004).

2.5.3 Forgiveness, Transitional Justice, and Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding frequently requires a kind of transitional justice. The following dilemmas showcase a compelling problematic to the implementation of Transitional Justice. Much like in the previously mentioned Micah's Paradox (Lederach, 1995), each of them presents a conflict between two (or sometimes more) values appearing to contradict one another. Indeed, the challenges are serious, with the potential to delay, prevent, and/or stifle the success of transitional justice programs, which are frequently key in long-term conflict management and peacebuilding strategies.

Transitional justice, ultimately, is forced to address the questions of what crimes will be prosecuted and with providing justification for why (Danso, 2017; Perry & Sayndee, 2015). In cases of prolonged violent conflict prosecuting all wrongs would serve to be impossible, forgetting the logistics behind trying cases of genocide and crimes against humanity for a moment, however, choices are not merely pragmatic but can also be (or appear) self interested. Functional transitional justice programs cannot be the opportunity for the victors to punish those who have committed wrongs, but victors are unlikely to undermine their new authority (van der Merwe & Lykes, 2016). One of the central considerations ends up being the question of time, and it is clear that covering more cases/history/events takes more time and resources. So the challenge is responding to time pressures without the appearance of pushing an agenda.

Information is fundamental to prosecuting offenders and providing “truth” in the transitional process. Answering the question, “truth or justice?” is not easy (Rotberg & Thompson, 2000). Governments have limited resources, and will simply not have the ability to cover all crimes. The challenge, then, is in making strategic decisions regarding the collection of information. In many cases a choice has to be made about offering amnesty to the lesser offenders in order to make cases against those who had been in positions of power. Ideally governments can trust their intelligence services to make all cases and prosecute all offenders, but such ability is rare in developed countries and near impossible in periods of transition. Deciding where to draw the line is difficult; those who can offer more, and more important, information tend to also be bigger offenders.

Related to the questions of information are the questions of truth and justice (Rotberg & Thompson, 2000). In the judicial process defendants who are guilty have incentive to refrain from incriminating themselves, and this is a serious obstacle to achieving the goal of truth. Granting amnesty (for example) will increase the veracity of the truth, but at the cost of prosecution and punishment. Amnesty is a kind of state-level forgiveness, but this may create community-level problems. For transitional justice to be effective the public will have to accept some level of forgiveness of perpetrators.

2.5.4 Conflict Mapping

Conflict mapping approaches conflicts from the standpoint that conflicts are a challenging but navigable terrain. In this theorists see that parties may find themselves lost and unsure of where they’ve come from, where they are headed, and how to get there. Following this metaphor, increased understanding of the terrain will increase predictability and offer elements

of near certainty. The goal of mapping is providing a clearer understanding of what is going on. Mapping can lay out the diversity of elements in play. This can include the parties, the people in each of the parties (both present and absent), and the organizations they are in.

Each conflict map, its basic elements, are the basis for navigation of the *transgression/conflict* in Figure 2.1 (p. 38). Parties and observers to a conflict can then make sense of the experiences/observations (Wehr, 1979). Theorists like Boulding (1988) offer general—macro—principles for this analytical process. Deutsch (1973) provides significantly more detail, his microscopic approach to understanding conflict expresses that small details frequently have huge consequences. Blalock (1989) maps both the macro and the micro. Forgiveness, in this metaphor, could be drawn as a bridge spanning a rift or chasm between parties. Forgiveness is frequently seen as a kind of reconnection. But, it could also be a bridge over some other impediment to resolution. Sometimes, however, in religious cultures forgiveness can be a “tightrope” (Gopin, 2001). People, principles, issues, events, histories, etc. can all be obstacles to achieving mutually satisfying outcomes. Macro, micro, and hybrid approaches all provide different information which can be useful according to participant interests and needs.

In many conflicts participants are unlikely to imagine change because of their *proximity* to the conflict or the *intensity* or *duration* of the conflict. Mapping is a tool that can be used to help parties understand the interests and values which have contributed to their goals and positions. In the case of forgiveness mapping can help align the process. Holding a grudge, for example, may not be the best way for one friend to reconnect with another friend who committed a betrayal. Forgiveness is likely to work better when the goal is reconciliation.

Participants, both conflict resolvers and parties, are well served to identify the relative proximities, distances, obstacles, and barriers as well as the opportunities for addressing and mitigating unwelcome influence. This can mean many different things, in some cases it might reflect the “hot buttons” that should be avoided, in others similar goals and values may be a good starting point. For the purposes of forgiveness research, I can see tremendous benefit in understanding histories and relationships. It is not merely enough, for example, to identify family members, but also to ask questions like: Are you or have you ever been close? Do you trust each other? And, lastly, do you think you could forgive each other?

Family disputes over inheritances can offer a good example for thinking about the utility of a conflict map. Some family members may be closer to each other than others, or with the deceased. There may be lingering histories of conflicts that went unresolved and the trauma of dealing with death can leave some emotionally hardened and others vulnerable. In one family a position based negotiation might make the most sense, perhaps between family members who’ve not seen each other in 40 years or who’ve never been close. In another family deciding how to divide property may not be as helpful as addressing relationship interests and needs. Sometimes disputes over money are not really about the money, the money is just a proxy. In a family dispute over money where money is really a signifier for hurt or the lack of acknowledgement of past wrongdoing forgiveness processes could offer significant potential benefit. In such disputes where family members want to maintain severed ties over past wrongs forgiveness processes are likely to have high costs with little to no benefit.

The impact of the relationships can vary from conflict to conflict. In some conflicts being close to the person may increase feelings of betrayal and other antagonisms. In other cases, a party may be more motivated to reconcile with someone they have known than with a stranger.

A map can define durations, intensities, and proximities to flashpoints and issues impacting relationships. Forgiveness, then, would be one of many possible responses that could impact the future of relationships. Many variables can influence an individual's attitudes and behaviors relating to forgiveness. I look to explore the relationship between personality and different attitudes and behaviors relating to forgiveness.

2.5.5 Conflict Mode Instrument and Forgiveness Types

With these approaches to conflict I hope to have provided entry into the analysis of forgiveness. Systematic understanding of forgiveness for this study is achieved by seeing forgiveness in its proximity to conflicts and disputes. The language of moral transgressions is also helpful, but the narratives of forgiveness, and their attachment to values and needs, are well served by conflict theory. The Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument offers a presentation of approaches according to how seriously each parties' interests are taken. Accommodation, avoidance, collaboration, competition, and compromise are the five basic conflict modes. This presentation is purely descriptive, but evaluations and interpretations of these approaches are possible.

Accommodation in conflict is when one party forgoes their interest in order to meet the needs of another. As an example, a friend or family member visits you. You arrive at the airport to discover their flight is delayed. You would like to go home and go to bed as soon as possible as it has gotten quite late, but when the traveler arrives there is a request to stop for dinner before going home and you do. In the same scenario *avoidance*, forgoing the interests of both self and other, would be reflected in not bringing up frustration over not being told about the delay in advance because you don't want to hear the excuse and you don't think it is worth bringing up.

You *compromise* with the traveler over where to stop for dinner, neither person gets their first choice but you find a suitable alternative. Each giving up some and receiving some. During the dinner you *compete* over who will pay the bill, both wanting to pay for the whole bill, and you win by paying while you've excused yourself from the table to go to the restroom. You *collaborate* (working to fully meet the interests of both parties) upon getting home by carrying the traveler's luggage in as a team and then your groceries too.

Each of the different conflict modes will function differently in different contexts. Making strategic choices about which mode to use ultimately should be reflective of the value of the needs of self and other. It makes sense to compete over the price of a used car when dealing with a stranger you're unlikely to see again or to be accommodating on a first date when there is a motivation to having a second date. Collaboration is good when there is a need for relationship building, but avoidance—picking one's battles—may be strategic when you lack the time or energy to deal with everything. Compromise is also a useful strategy when speed is important and satisficing will be good enough.

Forgiveness types appear to be similar; not all contexts, histories, participants, issues, etc. are the same. People practice and ask for forgiveness in different ways for a variety of reasons. In the same way as a person may choose to avoid pursuing their interest in a conflict with a stranger, forgiveness may not seem necessary in a dispute with a party who will never be seen again. Forgiving a stranger, however, could be very important when it compromises an individual's mood or emotional temperament, staying angry could have negative consequences. Forgiveness can focus on victims, perpetrators, or on the relationships between the two. This assessment looks at different interests and motivations related to forgiveness by examining participant responses to questions on attitudes and preferences regarding forgiveness.

2.5.6 Structural Violence

In the prior sections (2.5.1-5) attention is paid to violence that occurs in systematic ways and as the byproduct of discriminatory systems. It can be subtle and accumulate as micro-aggressions or can be overt, sometimes with, sometimes without, a specific perpetrator. Paul Farmer, a medical doctor dedicated to providing medical services to those who cannot afford care, provides a fantastic definition dealing with medical treatment:

“The term ‘structural violence’ is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way [...] The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people (typically, not those responsible for perpetuating such inequalities). With few exceptions, clinicians are not trained to understand such social forces, nor are we trained to alter them. Yet it has long been clear that many medical and public health interventions will fail if we are unable to understand the social determinants of disease” (Farmer, et al, 2006).

The definition comes in response to the observation:

Because of contact with patients, physicians readily appreciate that large-scale social forces—racism, gender inequality, poverty, political violence and war, and sometimes the very policies that address them—often determine who falls ill and who has access to care. For practitioners of public health, the social determinants of disease are even harder to disregard (Farmer, et al, 2006).

By way of this medical comparison²³ I articulate the relationship between forgiveness and structural violence. My father, like Paul Farmer, was a doctor who treated the poor in Haiti (this is where my parents met) and one of the stories he told me outlined a common treatment pathway. There was little medical care available in the most rural and economically disadvantaged parts of Haiti. The free care that was made available by organizations like the one he volunteered for, was not free for those who needed it most; they would have to raise money for the bus fare (frequently by borrowing from their local community) and take a whole day off from working. The unfortunate impact of the cost—of free health care—was that situations tended to be dire by the time he saw many of these patients.

One local practice, was that the soil from the hut would be rubbed into the umbilical cord after childbirth. He offered that a possible anthropological explanation for the practice was that high iron content clay could function to help the blood clot, but he was not sure where or why the practice came from; he was sure of a direct consequence though. Tetanus was contracted this way, and in unvaccinated patients—like newborn infants—it would cause lockjaw. The lockjaw would then restrict breathing and by the time patients arrived they were frequently extremely oxygen deprived. With limited medical equipment and pronounced symptomology, the treatment option was sometimes the use of an intravenous muscle relaxer to get the jaw to open. One of two outcomes would result, the jaw muscle would relax and allow normal breathing to resume, or another large muscle would relax to the point that it would stop beating and circulating blood throughout the body.

²³ The medical comparison was not just an excuse to sneak a story about my father into my dissertation, though I am glad I did, I think access to medical care is effective for making the point.

Structural violence is the means by which we understand that it was not my father's fault that babies died in his hands when he tried to save them. As I reflected to the local newspaper on the day he died, he saved lives, there are patients who simply would not have had a doctor if he had not been there. Structural violence is the mechanism for understanding the systematic oppression that produces outcomes where basic medical treatments, and other implements of survival, are out of reach for large populations. It is not the fault of the parents, they did not choose to be poor, it is the fault of a system guaranteeing poverty. There is no choice; short on necessary supplies, sometimes the best is still not good enough—tetanus is easily treatable, but not in Haiti. Every day people in every major city on the planet die because they could not afford the cost of living; framed differently, greed, not resource scarcity, is a leading cause of death. This dissertation examines what forgiving structural violence and what healing from oppressive structures look like.

People will continue to suffer when they fail to heal from injustice. There are negative consequences physically and socially for staying angry and hanging on to hatred. So it is sometimes the systems themselves that need to be forgiven, and not the individuals working within them. The addition of structural forgiveness is not some novel undertaking; it is an effort to address the reconciliation of serious systematic injustices.

2.6 Need Statement—History of Problem

Everett Worthington Jr. (quoted below) is a true authority in scholarship on forgiveness his book *Dimensions of Forgiveness: Psychological Research & Theological Perspectives* (1998) provides an exhaustive accounting of intrapersonal forgiveness. It concludes:

Despite the immense importance of the concept of forgiveness in religion, theology, and philosophy, very little explicit attention has been paid to forgiveness by scientists in the social, behavioral, and medical sciences. This neglect is especially remarkable in light of the fact that forgiveness has also been held as an important virtue by most societies throughout history and around the world. Interestingly, there is no real evidence that the social sciences had any particular disdain for the concept of forgiveness; rather the concept simply seems to have been viewed as not sufficiently relevant or amenable to scientific investigation (p.193).

...the need for further investigation in this area seems to be outpacing the research being done. Throughout the world, hostility among people and perpetration of evil continues, and the need for forgiveness for political abuses is high (p.3).

The need for forgiveness remains as do the challenges with scientifically understanding the subject. Developing an interpersonal forgiveness typology may help in responding to these concerns.

Academic discourse has identified dilemmas and challenging questions when addressing the practice of forgiveness. There has been a surge of research since World War II and inquiries have been made into a range of questions; can anyone forgive the Nazis; can we forgive evil; can we forgive or understand those who watched and did nothing (Amery, 1980, Arendt, 2006, Blass, 1991, 1993, Milgram, 1965 a, b, 1967, 1973, Wiesenthal, 1997, et al)? Can the United States forgive the attack on Pearl Harbor; should Japan forgive the nuclear bombs detonated over Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Shriver, 1995)? Can only those who've been victimized grant forgiveness (Pettigrove, 2010)? What causes people to act in a vengeful manner even when there is great cost to the self (Brown, 1968)? Looking further into questions about structural violence

and oppression, questions are raised about Truth and Reconciliation Commissions like the one in post-apartheid South Africa, did it deliver genuine forgiveness; and political apologies made for not intervening in the Rwandan genocide, or for the history of slavery and Jim Crow legislation, do they mean anything (Minow, 1998)? Do we forgive deeds or individuals (Pettigrove, 2010)? These questions lead to further questioning of transitional justice, peacebuilding and their implementation. On the whole transitional justice faces challenges with participants gaming the system, amnesty, and bigger questions about whether or not forgiveness or truth are obtained through the processes at all. Lingering anger, hatred, and resentment present threats to the durability of peace.

The continued presentation of these questions highlight fundamental antagonisms with forgiveness practices. Understanding forgiveness, as a personal event, requires greater information about what influences an individual's process and the range of ways individuals engage with forgiveness. Forgiveness has been conceived of as a social event for a long time, its social role also requires greater information. The roots of forgiveness tend to be in religious traditions but this does not account for all of the variations in its expression, nor is their consensus on what is forgivable. Some churches teach that actions cannot be forgiven when the victims are dead, while others teach that all things can be forgiven.

2.7 Need Statement—Theoretical Challenges

How forgiveness is understood remains ambiguous and unclear in many ways. Notions of forgiveness have been problematized because ontological assumptions vary and while some questions are metaphysical, many more are moral (Gould, 2008, Newberry, 2004). Given the range of questions, and of injuries suffered, a broad understanding of forgiveness is needed

(Gould, 2006, 2008; Laven, 2006, 2011; Murphy & Hampton, 1988; Newberry, 2004, et al). This need is further evidenced by the continued use of truth and reconciliation commissions, and restorative and transitional justice projects, which are frequently attached to faith traditions. An amoral analysis should provide a way to understand the variety of forgiveness practices. Extrapolating from cases with low levels of trauma should provide a baseline, key data, and a basis for future comparisons which would also apply to cases with increased levels of trauma, potentially aiding those who are suffering the most without making them test subjects and limiting their exposure during research. “Forgiveness and related constructs (e.g., repentance, mercy, reconciliation) are ripe for study by social and personality psychologists, including those interested in justice. Current trends in social science, law, management, philosophy, and theology suggest a need to expand existing justice frameworks to incorporate alternatives or complements to retribution, including forgiveness and related processes” (Exline, Worthington, Hill, & McCullough, 2003). Study and interest in forgiveness has persisted. This dissertation adds conceptual clarity, which continues to be identified as a key need in the subject. I address a gap in understanding on attitudes and preferences regarding forgiveness.

2.8 Conclusion

Discussion on forgiveness spans millennia. There are timeless philosophical questions which present important challenges and dilemmas in thinking about who, what, when, where, why, and how to forgive. Forgiveness also has a unique ability in helping victims, offenders, and relationships heal, sometimes as the only option for such healing. This ability has been realized in a range of responses from war to interpersonal conflict. Scholars have struggled with coming up with definitions for forgiveness covering such broad terrain and they have also been limited in

offering models and predictions for the success of forgiveness programs. The intersection of theories of conflict management and forgiveness is noteworthy. Where there is a diversity of ways to think about conflict designed to resolve or manage it with different theoretical foundations, forgiveness easily fits into the calculus of each of them. Though, it should be noted, the role and expectation of the influence forgiveness is mostly uncertain.

The need for greater understanding of forgiveness crosses disciplines. The utility for practitioners and the administration of peace and justice is robust. Forgiveness can be the difference between unstable ceasefires and durable peace agreements or it can be the difference between severed relationships and healing communities. Successful interventions would be benefited by greater knowledge of forgiveness practices. Forgiveness is practiced differently from individual to individual and context to context. The next chapter examines some of the theoretical variation in attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness.

Chapter 3 constructs the diversity of attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. The diversity of attitudes and behaviors include several dimensions that fall along continua, and the core of the chapter will define transactional vs. non-transactional, incremental vs. instantaneous, calculated vs. emotional, proactive vs. reactive, and pragmatic vs. punitive attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. This augments the theoretical discussion of chapter 2 by wrestling with more of the nuance practitioners and participants experience in conflict. It also advances the discussion toward the research questions presented in Chapter 4, this dissertation sees these forgiveness types as instrumental to answering: What is the variation in unique attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness? And, What personal and social influences impact attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness in individuals?

Chapter 3: Understanding Unique Attitudes and Behaviors for Forgiveness

The literature review in chapter 2 provided an overview of the conceptual development of forgiveness and presented several different models which can be used to understand forgiveness. I also utilized the frameworks from conflict management and resilience to map the inter and intra-personal processes involved in transgressions leading to forgiveness and unforgiveness. The cases and review of the subject demonstrated considerable disagreement and paradox, in part, because of different constructions of forgiveness. Building on this foundation, I now showcase the variance in attitudes and behaviors surrounding forgiveness (the categories are fully operationalized in chapter 4 (p.78)).

The presentation of these types is an attempt to add the “conceptual clarity,” requested by Worthington (1998, p. 323). Where Worthington pushes the field to, “distinguish forgiveness from related processes (eg. Reconciliation, exoneration, condoning, pardoning, confessing)” (p. 324). He went on to explain, “for instance, one woman told me that she could never forgive a man who abused her because she was afraid he would do so again. She was confusing forgiveness (an intrapersonal act) with reconciliation (an interpersonal transaction)” (p. 324).

I believe that conceptual clarity is best served first by understanding greater breadth in situational and individual variation. As such the focus of this study is not redefining forgiveness beyond the definition already provided, the presentation of attitudes and preferences offered here is in places consistent and inconsistent with prior scholarship. The motivation is the assessment of variation in preferences and traits for forgiveness, and to examine some of the personal and

social influences upon these attitudes and behaviors. The understanding of forgiveness will provide the greatest utility when it captures the broadest range in human interactions.

3.1 Unique Attitudes and Behaviors for Forgiveness

The definition and practice of forgiveness varies between different people and the variation is important. Forgiveness has been defined as the intentional process where healing or reconnection takes place after moral wrongdoings, this section looks at the different ways it is achieved. How people, for example, overcome their feelings of anger, resentment, and revenge and their differing reasons for doing so. Definitions of five forgiveness component binaries (transactional vs. non-transactional, incremental vs. instantaneous, calculated vs. emotional, proactive vs. reactive, and pragmatic vs. punitive) that have been identified in scholarship on forgiveness are provided (Gould, 2006, 2008; Murphy & Hampton, 1988). These attitudes and behaviors help to explain process in forgiveness from the perspectives of both victims and perpetrators.

The attitudes and behaviors offered here are presented in pieces. It is important to remember that in many cases the presentation of a forgiveness process is likely to be a combination of multiple components. These different components will satisfy different underlying interests and needs, which can change from relationship to relationship or based upon the transgression or offense. A transactional apology may be important to a person when a wrong has been committed by a friend or family member, but that same person may not be interested in anything more than punishment when the same act is committed by a stranger. Questions, then, are phrased in terms of general preferences as well as in relationship to specific relationships like coworkers, friends, spouses, and strangers.

3.2 Forgiveness Process Typology ²⁴

An interpersonal definition of forgiveness needs to account for a variety of different dimensions. This section conceives of these dimensions in terms of types that can make sense of different preferences. It is referred to as a “process typology” because these types relate to the presence (or lack thereof) of the dimension in an individual or groups’ processing of forgiveness. There are many different expressions of forgiveness, and how it works, which inform individuals in societies about what is expected. For example, at some level the lyrics of Bob Dylan’s “Masters of War” (1963) are literal:

“Let me ask you one question
Is your money that good?
Will it buy you forgiveness
Do you think it could?
I think you will find
When your death takes its toll
All the money you made
Will never buy back your soul.”

²⁴The collection of attitudes and behaviors listed here are taken and adapted from Robert Gould’s (unpublished) papers, “Five Forgiveness Assessments Recommended for Conflict Resolution” (2008) and “Forgiveness” (2006) which were presented at the Building Cultures of Peace conference, Eugene OR, May 6, 2006. Gould’s work showcases the continua of a longer list of characteristics and dimensions. Transactional vs. non-transactional, incremental vs. instantaneous (turning point), and proactive vs. reactive are explicitly his terms and pragmatic vs. punitive and calculated vs. emotional are adapted from the lists presented in Gould’s work. He also makes use of obsequious/servile vs stingy (not used in this study) to identify the terrain of forgiveness from those who grant forgiveness too easily to those who are too difficult in giving forgiveness.

Do you think you could buy forgiveness? What is exchanged between people is not always financial or negotiable. No amount of money, will buy back a soul, is what Dylan decides about the cold-war profiteers who are fully capitalizing on the nuclear proliferation of the early 1960's. Some things may be unforgivable—nothing could ever make up for what happened—and others might be unforgiven—it would take too much to make up for what happened. And at the same time ideas of “buying forgiveness” go back to the selling of Indulgences (sect. 2.3.2). The typology presented suggests that these dimensions likely rest on continua opposed to one another, but the study first looks for the presence of each type. Chapter 4 goes into greater detail on this detail to see if dominate traits and preferences would emerge, subsequent analysis will hopefully articulate whether or not these types sit in contrast with each other.

3.2.1 Transactional forgivers (Gould, 2006) desire or require face-to-face or relational processes when forgiving. This is likely to include public or interpersonal moments like an apology, an acknowledgement of harm, and acceptance of the apology or granting of forgiveness through the expression of “I forgive you.” Transactional forgivers may also describe a desire to talk about what happened as well as a need for sincere disclosure— “I’ll know when you look me in the eyes”—before they can have closure. The transaction may be a literal one. The victim could receive restitution or have repairs made. Such a debt may also be released through a transaction. This can happen through contractual language and formal terms, but may also be colloquial, “what do I need to do to make this up to you?” or “how can I make this up to you?”

3.2.2 Non-transactional forgivers (Gould, 2006) is a kind of reverse of transactional forgiveness. In this process a victim can forgive an offender independent of the offender's actions. This can happen for a variety of reasons. A transaction might be unnecessary or unwanted. There may be logistical impossibility in making a transaction, or the perpetrator of a

transgression could be unknown or unavailable. In some cases, non-transactional forgiveness will mean self-forgiveness. Non-transactional forgivers are likely to find face-to-face interactions awkward, or show discomfort when publicly dealing with a past harm. They are likely to experience their own healing privately.

Non-transactional forgiveness can take place with people who are in touch with one another, this is not to be thought of as severing ties. “I don’t want to talk with you,” is hardly a sign of forgiveness, but it can be complicated. A person could say, “I forgive you, I don’t hold any grudges, I don’t want anything from you, but I want a divorce.” This could be a non-transactional response to an affair, “I don’t need an apology or explanation, I understand,” but still a change to the relationship, despite, “I’m not angry anymore.”

Neither transactional or non-transactional forgiveness is a guarantee that things will be the same as they used to be. But they do highlight different responses to transgressions that can be interpreted in different ways. The transactional offender and the non-transactional victim, or vice versa, are likely to have more difficulty managing their process than individuals who are matched. Forgiveness should not be oversimplified here either, non-transactional forgiveness does not mean “I never want to see you again” in the same way that “spending time with you does not mean I’ve forgiven you” would qualify as transactional forgiveness.

3.2.3 Incremental Forgivers (Gould, 2006) reflect forgiveness practices that take place in steps. Feelings of forgiveness and unforgiveness would change as steps are completed. This kind of forgiver works on forgiving in stages which tends to be slower or more time consuming in orientation, but this tendency is not a rule and the process could be completed rapidly depending on the transgression and individuals involved. This person may experience feelings of having partially, but not completely, forgiven a transgression. The damage likely needs to be

repaired or rebuilt over time, possibly in layers, and beginning and endpoints might not be clear. The incremental orientation reflects upon an individual's experience of forgiveness as a kind of movement from unforgiveness to forgiveness. Such change could take place, in stages, as different forgiveness needs are met. The damage needs to be repaired or rebuilt over time, possibly in layers, and beginning and endpoints might not be clear.

An individual has been betrayed when their friend shares their secret. Initially the anger and hurt may be too much for this person to be in the same room. After a week of venting, this person may be able to overcome those feelings enough to have a conversation. That conversation may include an apology, acknowledgement of harm, and a promise it would not happen again. The two may spend more time together, and get closer, again. But it may still take years before secrets are shared again. The friend knows that as long as she does not trust her friend, she has not completely forgiven.

3.2.4 Instantaneous forgivers (can also be described as turning point forgivers) (Gould, 2006) forgive in a moment. This either/or forgiveness reflects the practice of forgiveness as being just that—the turning point movement from unforgiven to forgiven. This might take place as part of a performance, like the words “I do” accompany the pronouncement of marriage, the “I forgive you” seals the deal. The turning point from unforgiveness to forgiveness is frequently conditional. In the case of a transaction, it would be upon the completion of the transaction. “I’ll forgive you when you’ve made amends.” It is a kind of conditional forgiveness, when the conditions are met, then forgiveness happens. Or it can be an emotional conclusion, “I knew I had forgiven because all at once I realized I wasn’t angry anymore.”

Instantaneous forgiveness need not be thought of as immediate forgiveness. While it can happen with immediacy, after an accident the person may exclaim, “I’m so sorry I didn’t see you

there” to receive an immediate acknowledgement of forgiveness, “don’t worry about it, we all make mistakes.” But instantaneous forgiveness can take place after time has passed. One version of this can be thought of as deathbed forgiveness, where a victim can forgive a perpetrator on their deathbed allowing them to die in peace.

Forgiveness can be reached as a step, or in steps, in a process, or by reacting to a spontaneous change—when its time you just know. Lesser offenses may have less to be processed and some offenses and relationships are more complicated than others. In each of these the language and expression of forgiveness can vary. Taking steps could be a reflection of the risks associated with forgiving or an individual’s history of victimization. But, at the same time, some people refuse to let victimization change or define them.

3.2.5 Calculated forgivers (Gould, 2006) reflect on how they think about another who has done them wrong and about what has happened. Underlying this is the idea that sense can be made of a transgression, and that once the parts have come together—in logical order—forgiveness can be a sort of solution or end result. Calculated forgiveness may take a number of variables into account, but only after they’ve been thought out will the person proceed to forgiving an offender. The keys for the calculated forgiver are things like certainty and making logical sense of what happened in order to move forward—to know that the offense has been made up for—and is likely to be matter of fact about it. Calculated forgiveness hinges on a change in how a victim thinks about a perpetrator or event (Boon & Sulsky, 1997).

The calculated forgiver is likely to want questions answered. The transactional version of this would mean asking an offender to describe (in detail) the events, motivations, and causes of a transgression. The nontransactional version could require an examination of evidence and data. The explanation would be more important than the apology. The offense itself can be

experienced as a threat to order, if _____ can happen then other bad things can happen too.

Damages in transgressions are a sum of all direct and indirect harm, and all of the details are important in calculating the moral indignation and outrage.

The calculated forgiver processes the offense in their head not their heart. By focusing on more objective details an assessment can be made about a moral transgression. Given the experience of offense x the recourse should be y . The process itself can be mechanical, but as in other cases the $x \rightarrow y$ structure may be unknown and require serious thought. The person who has been harmed may not have clarity on what it will take to think about the offender differently.

3.2.6 Emotional forgivers (Gould, 2006) reflect on the feelings they have for another. Forgiveness happens when it feels right, and apologies and repentance are judged by their sincerity. The emotional forgiver is very sensitive to their emotions and may either engage in the conflict or avoid it because of his or her feelings: “I’m too angry to talk about it right now,” or “no, I don’t want to wait, until I calm down.” Offenses are likely to be characterized as reflecting a lack of care or as disrespectful, and the forgiver is likely to be more/primarily concerned with addressing these concerns than the event in question.

It is worth noting that for most people and most offenses there will be an emotional component to an offense. Only the most stoic individuals would not feel anger or hurt having been seriously disrespected. Just the same as most people experiencing an offense will have a cognitive and calculated component. There is nothing mutually exclusive about “knowing that you did me wrong” preventing me from also “feeling deeply disturbed and angry about it” as well. The types here are a reflection of how significant the leaning of individuals are, or can be. For some the way they think about the person will be more significant in their experience of

processing forgiveness, for others it will be hinged on their feelings, and others more of a balance between the two.

Where calculative forgiveness responds to the details of an offense the emotional forgiver responds to the feelings. Transgressions inspire anger, fear, resentment, or revenge because they are experienced as disrespect and as intentional threats. A victim's statement to a court, for example, is likely to feature calculative details in articulating damages to be objectively weighed. Such a statement was provided during the sentencing of Brock Turner. After Brock Turner was found guilty, his victim who, was unconscious at the time of the rape on January 17, 2015, told the court about her damages: "You don't know me, but you've been inside me, and that's why we're here today."²⁵ She delivers details and explains what it was like for her to deal with being victimized, "I was not ready to tell my boyfriend or parents that actually, I may have been raped behind a dumpster, but I don't know by who or when or how. If I told them, I would see the fear on their faces, and mine would multiply by tenfold, so instead I pretended the whole thing wasn't real."²⁶

Many victims process both calculated and emotional forgiveness. To the degree that one can separate emotions from the details of the event the categories here have some clarity.

²⁵ The victim's statement should not be taken as forgiving Turner, it is used to showcase calculative and emotional statements. At the same time, as has been discussed, a victim's healing need not *necessarily* be bound by a perpetrator's acceptance of culpability. For the complete 12 page statement please see: Here Is The Powerful Letter The Stanford Victim Read Aloud To Her Attacker https://www.buzzfeed.com/katiejmbaker/heres-the-powerful-letter-the-stanford-victim-read-to-her-ra?utm_term=.drLNMADvv#.eoJLMrd66 <retrieved on 9-13-2017>

²⁶ This language contrasts with the emotional presentation later in the same statement to the court, "My life has been on hold for over a year, a year of anger, anguish and uncertainty, until a jury of my peers rendered a judgment that validated the injustices I had endured. Had Brock admitted guilt and remorse and offered to settle early on, I would have considered a lighter sentence, respecting his honesty, grateful to be able to move our lives forward. Instead he took the risk of going to trial, added insult to injury and forced me to relive the hurt as details about my personal life and sexual assault were brutally dissected before the public. He pushed me and my family through a year of inexplicable, unnecessary suffering, and should face the consequences of challenging his crime, of putting my pain into question, of making us wait so long for justice."

Statements to a U.S. court focus on objective details because U.S. law, for the most part, is disinterested with victims and their feelings—crimes are against the state. Parents’ actions with their children can function in a similar way. The material cost from an accident can be relatively minor while the importance of following rules or being thoughtful can be very significant. An old computer might not have much legitimate value, even with years worth of pictures stored on it, but its sentimental value could be enormous. Calculated forgiveness tends to focus on the material harm and emotional forgiveness is more relative to feelings. A price tag can be placed on material things; emotional damages are likely to be measured only partly in terms of the costs of counseling or therapeutic treatment.

3.2.7 Proactive forgivers (Gould, 2006) actively seek or try to forgive. This may include identifying potential steps or approaches toward individual healing or reconciling the damage to a relationship after a transgression and acting on them. This can be an attitude of “we’ll get through this,” or through deliberate actions. But, again, timing can be a factor. Proactive and immediate should not be conflated. For example, someone may only become proactive after years of feuding, once hostilities increase, or when improvement seems possible.

Proactive forgiveness can be thought of in terms of both attitude and behavior. Some moral teachings describe proactive modes for both giving and receiving forgiveness. This can relate to the speed and ease with which a person accepts or attempts to make amends or apologies. This can be situational and specific or more general. Some marketplaces apply “the customer is always right” logic in order to appease customers even when they may have done no wrong. We can also think of the stories of people with terminal illnesses, or on deathbeds, who go out of their way to make amends before they pass. A person could have been stingy with their forgiveness in the past and suddenly change. The proactive forgiver has the basis or mechanism

for forgiveness without needing to receive something from the other party. For some this may entail a kind of divine inspiration or command. There are those who feel that their faith commands forgiveness.

The statements “I usually work toward forgiving an offender” and “I believe forgiveness is an obligation” can reflect different modes of proactive forgiveness. Working towards forgiveness and feeling it as an obligation can have different foundations in belief. Some may experience the compulsion as a form of identity, “Being forgiving is part of my identity” but there can be other sources. Not all religious identities will necessarily prescribe proactive forgiveness. Some may feel commanded to forgive, but only when specified conditions have been met.

3.2.8 Reactive forgivers (Gould, 2006) are responsive to the other party. When asked “what will it take for you to forgive me?” a reactive forgiver may not know. It is also possible that the person would advise, “I’ll forgive you when you’ve changed your ways...” or “when your apology is sincere.” Reactive forgiveness tends to hinge on forgiveness occurring as a result of necessary conditions being met. For the victim this can mean waiting for a perpetrator to earn it, but there can be an asymmetry. A perpetrator trying to earn forgiveness may have a different set of conditions, like saving to repair damages when an apology is what the victim is waiting for. Alternatively, a perpetrator could feel prematurely forgiven when he still hasn’t made the repairs, but is forgiven on the basis of his apology. This study examines responses to the statements, “I believe an offender needs to positively change in order to be forgiven” and “I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender.”

Proactive and reactive forgivers may be impacted by their orientations to punitive vs. pragmatic forgiveness. Some stories of unforgiveness describe victims who carry around a

weight that they would like to give up. In some cases, these individuals describe proactive efforts to do so, but failing to accomplish the goal, in others the individuals describe reactive hopes. But the requirement for forgiveness goes unmet, and the party remains unforgiven. In other cases, calculations or emotions over the wrong may be at issue. The individual simply will not have started thinking or feeling differently about the event or individual responsible for the harm. In this sense the proactive forgiver may see more of an ability to change his or her feelings or thoughts, while the reactive forgiver may feel like the changes will only come as a reflection of the actions of the perpetrator.

3.2.9 Punitive forgivers look to see that offenders have sufficiently suffered, paid the price, or been punished for transgressions. This process looks to the past and may completely ignore future events or present relationships. Withholding forgiveness can also be perceived as a kind of deterrent or punishment where other judicial or restorative processes have failed. Punitive forgiveness is a kind of protection of social order—right and wrong—focusing on principles and forgiveness must be earned not given. Earned through the completion of the punishment or from carrying the stigma long enough.

Punitive forgiveness centers on the transgressions and an appraisal of the punishment due based upon the harm committed. A wrongdoer will have a price to pay for the wrong committed, the punitive debt could be independent of any restitution or repair that would need to be made. It is not some distortion of karma or *Schadenfreude* where victims engage in taking some sort of delight in seeing the just desserts or suffering of another, but in a feeling of wholeness in knowledge that a price has been paid. It is orderly and organized and forgiveness is merited in or through some punishment or suffering. Unforgiveness serves as a marker that the price has not been paid—the transgressor has not “gotten away with it.” This can have a social impact beyond

the direct relationship between a victim and transgressor. There are different thoughts about the role of punishment in society. It is not uncommon to hear of individuals becoming upset with friends who do not treat offenders with appropriate levels of contempt or disdain. Exemplified with remarks like, “I can’t believe you talked with her after what she did to me.”

3.2.10 Pragmatic forgivers are the inverse of punitive forgiveness. They focus on the future and/or future relations. They may forgive for “old times sake” letting a moral debt go because of a relationship to an offender (Murphy & Hampton, 1988). It is forgiveness that focuses on the good that will be brought about and not the bad that has transpired. It may be focused on the victim’s healing, the perpetrator’s healing, or both. Frequently pragmatic forgiveness has not been earned, belief in the promise of change, for example, may be enough.

“Old times sake” refers to relationships of some duration. In such a case the victim in a transgression has a legitimate complaint, but also sees the history of good from the transgressor. The friend may say, “After all we’ve been through, I think I can overlook what you did this time.” The betrayal is real, and it is disappointing, but throwing the relationship away, or asking your friend to suffer or pay a price seems unnecessary or superfluous. This may also occur where there is disagreement about harm, who is at fault, and so forth. Continuing the argument over the disagreement, “who started it,” or “what was said” means everyone pays a price and there is good reason to move past a transgression.

Pragmatic forgiveness may also be seen as the forgiveness of wisdom. The old forgiving the young, or parents forgiving their children, can feature examples of this. Holding something against someone for a punitive outcome can have significant consequences, sometimes greater than what is originally intended. Pragmatic forgiveness can help, in some cases, to act as a catalyst or to facilitate redemption. Restorative justice processes frequently take this into

account. Unmerited care and unconditional love are, simply put, sometimes the only things that can get some offenders back on track. Sometimes parents describe “picking their battles” in these terms. It is not a moral laziness that could cause an offense to be overlooked, but a moral awareness of the bigger picture. In simple terms, sometimes forgiveness is granted in consideration of what it is likely to bring about and not what has happened. The risk, however, has been laid out in theory; while forgiving someone before it has been earned may inspire moral growth it also runs the risk of appearing to condone the wrong.

3.3 Objective Variables—Healing, Time, and Truth

Healing, time, and truth are listed as objective variables. This is intended to reflect their relationship to empirically observable and factually deliverable measurements. They are not completely free from intersubjectivity, time can be seen as circular and not linear, one person’s truth may not match another’s, and healing can be existential in addition to physical and psychological. Ignoring the epistemic and metacognitive challenges for a moment, participants are not asked “how do you know you’ve been given the truth” or “what indicates to you that enough healing or time has taken place,” they are asked to score their needs for healing, time, and truth in order to process forgiveness.

The subjective variables presented in 3.4 showcase common means and motivations for overcoming moral transgressions. Apology and atonement present specific actions that can be taken by wrongdoers which can affirm the victim and/or ameliorate the wrongdoing. An injured party may not forgive a moral trespass on the basis that enough time has passed, or that she has healed from the harm, she may wait until the grace has been earned through an apology acknowledging the harm and wrongdoing or atonement which shows the turning away from evil

or restitution of damages. The truth of an offense can also be tied into such an assessment. Accidents are frequently easier to forgive than intentional acts. Truth, in a very literal sense, can be part of a moral contract. How is a victim to forgive someone when they do not know the offense? Some people will require more information and clarity, while the literature presented in 2.1 suggests that some will only be retraumatized by such details. Simon Wiesenthal's "The Sunflower" (1997) presents this precise dilemma. In the book's symposium a number of responses lay out clear moral issues with the dying SS officer's request of forgiveness from "a Jew" who is still imprisoned in a concentration camp.

3.4 Subjective Variables—Apology, Atonement, and Identity

Apology, atonement, and identity are the subjective variables of forgiveness that are examined in this study. They examine the subjectivity and intersubjectivity of individuals in forgiveness processes. Apology and atonement feature transactions between victim and offender. For example, an apology is given, received, then judged—is it good enough? Sincere? Where the days or months since and offense can be objectively measured in terms of time, the quality or sincerity of an apology does not have such a standard. The expression acknowledging harm and wrongdoing might have been enough yesterday, but received as "too little, too late" tomorrow. Identity impacts how individuals encounter each other, a person with a forgiving identity would be more inclined to forgive a transgression than a person with an unforgiving identity.

Apology features in significant portions of the literature reviewed in chapter 2. It is generally understood as an expression of harm or wrongdoing and an acknowledgement of responsibility that is frequently accompanied with a promise that the transgression will not be repeated. It is frequently, but not always, a public event. Some accounting, however, notes that

apologetics may reflect feeling guilt or shame, and that in many contexts “I feel really bad about what happened” can function to express responsibility that is not explicitly stated. Lastly, for some, behavior alone can demonstrate one’s sorrow and apology. *“I Thought We’d Never Speak Again: The Road from Estrangement to Reconciliation”* (Davis, 2003) features a broad assortment of stories which feature non-verbal expressions of apology in addition to verbalized statements. Non-verbal apologies should not be confused with atonement. Where a gesture, a cliché example may be bringing someone flowers to show “I’m sorry,” may function as an apology. Atonement is a reparation of damage. The flowers in such an apology are not intended to repair damages.

Atonement—the making amends after wrongdoing—is an equally complex process. Where the words to say sorry, and acknowledge responsibility for the wrong that has been committed can be hard to find and/or express, there may also be no clear calculus for making amends. What repairs betrayal? How does one reverse the impacts of maiming, raping, or murdering someone? Those are some of the questions explored in Danso’s (2017) research on Palava Huts in Liberia or Davis’ (2003) book centered in the United States context.

The key dilemmas and paradoxical challenges addressed in chapter 2 sit at this intersection: forgiveness seems simultaneously impossible—nothing could make amends—and absolutely necessary. *“No Future Without Forgiveness”* (1999) is Bishop Desmond Tutu’s engagement with this absolute necessity, a call to make atonement possible. This variable connects to an individual’s relationship to the dilemma, how important is fixing the past in moving forward? Scholarship observes that many times it is impossible to fix the past, in these cases engaging with forgiveness and reconciliation has tremendous potential benefits.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the basis for understanding a wide range of preferences in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. This is a movement away from looking at forgiveness as a hierarchy. Forgiveness is not simply practiced better by some people than others; it is practiced in fundamentally different ways by different individuals. This chapter has grounded different types for forgiveness as well as objective and subjective variables which relate to attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. The survey looks at different preferences, which reflect different interests, needs, and values. Measurement of these attitudes and behaviors can provide key insights into how forgiveness and reconciliation relate to how individuals deal with conflicts and other crises.

Chapters 2 and 3 have taken a broad look at attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. These attitudes and behavior are attached to historical, ideological, and theoretical traditions with significant variation. Theory which pays acute attention to conceptual clarity is used, but broad and sometimes ambiguous colloquial examples are also used. The basic intuition is that people know what they are talking about when they say they have forgiven despite rarely fitting developed academic molds of the concept. Chapter 2 showcased why these attitudes and behaviors are important and Chapter 3 laid out what these attitudes and behaviors are.

The next chapter focuses on what the measurements for attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness are. It operationalizes the mentioned component binaries: transactional vs. non-transactional, incremental vs. instantaneous (turning point), proactive vs. reactive, pragmatic vs. punitive, and calculated vs. emotional in greater detail. It also presents the research instruments and methodology used for this dissertation. Participants complete questionnaires with a range of psycho-social questions and prompts. The instruments measure personality type, preferences for

conflict management, religiosity, and forgivingness in addition to questions on attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness. The methods chapters provide depth on the research question being asked, hypotheses being tested, instruments for data collection, and the methods for analysis.

Chapter 4: Methods, Research Questions, Hypotheses, and Operationalization of Variables for Examining *Unique Attitudes and Behaviors for Forgiveness*

This chapter focuses on preferences regarding forgiveness. It operationalizes the mentioned component binaries: transactional vs. non-transactional, incremental vs. instantaneous (turning point), proactive vs. reactive, pragmatic vs. punitive, and calculated vs. emotional. It presents the research instruments and methodology. Participants completed questionnaires with a range of psycho-social questions and prompts. The instruments measured personality type, preferences for conflict management, religiosity, and forgivingness in addition to questions regarding forgiveness.

4.1 Measuring Preferences for Forgiveness

Based upon the conceptual development and overview of forgiveness this study examines a wide range of preferences regarding forgiveness. The subject is full of disagreement and paradox that arises, in part, out of the different constructions of forgiveness. While a broad definition of forgiveness has been provided, this study focuses on the practice of forgiveness, which varies from person to person and event to event. This chapter examines some of the most prevalent variations and differences in these preferences regarding forgiveness according to the identified variables.

The answers to the question, “what is forgiveness?” vary. Forgiveness is the intentional process where healing or reconnection takes place after moral wrongdoings. The examination of attitudes and behaviors looks at the different ways it is achieved. How people, for example, overcome their feelings of anger, resentment, and revenge and their differing reasons for doing

so. The five forgiveness component binaries (transactional vs. non-transactional, incremental vs. instantaneous, calculated vs. emotional, proactive vs. reactive, and pragmatic vs. punitive) that have been identified in scholarship on forgiveness are measured according to participant responses and examined against other psycho-social prompts (Gould, 2006, 2008; Murphy & Hampton, 1988).

Preferences regarding forgiveness are quite diverse. How people respond to key questions showcases this variation. Sample statements: “The offender needs to say, ‘I’m sorry’ before I can forgive them,” “I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them,” and “I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them” are examples of prompts participants in this research responded to (the entire questionnaire is provided in the Appendix). The measurements are not used to identify a ranking of attitudes and behaviors but to understand the range in variation in participant preferences, possible explanations for these differences, and test causal relationships between variables.

4.2 Research Question

The underlying curiosity for this research is a desire to understand differences in preferences for forgiveness. There is tremendous potential for forgiveness to impact the development and maintenance of peace, and the prevention of war, which has been demonstrated through the successes of truth and reconciliation commissions (Folger & Bush, 1994). Those same commissions, however, have been challenged with social dilemmas, and the enforcement and execution of justice as well as other problems (see USIP’S list of commissions in footnote 7, p. 23 for more accounting of these problems). I believe that understanding forgiveness at the

group and state level will require greater understanding of forgiveness at the individual level.

Forgiveness is a deeply personal topic and individuals answer “what is forgiveness?” differently.

Forgiveness has been defined as - the intentional process where healing or reconnection takes place after moral wrongdoings. Attitudes and behaviors influence the healing and reconnection in different ways. This research explores the variation in greater detail. As laid out in 2.5 Fitting Forgiveness into Conflict Theories, individual practice differs, and motivations do as well; people overcome their feelings of anger, resentment, and revenge in different ways and for different reasons. The deeper questions, looking at 3.1 Unique Attitudes and Behaviors for Forgiveness, are what causes the variation in responses to “what is forgiveness” and what does it mean? This chapter presents the means for understanding a broad interpersonal forgiveness typology, which accounts for variation in preferences and attitudes between participants. People forgive in different ways and for different reasons.

The central questions for this research are:

1. What is the variation in preferences for forgiveness?
2. Are there distinct forgiveness types represented by these preferences?
3. What personal and social influences impact preferences for forgiveness in individuals?

The sub-questions examined in the process of answering the central questions are:

4. What is the role of gender on preferences for forgiveness?
5. What is the role of religion on preferences for forgiveness?
6. Do social or identity groups influence attitudes for forgiveness?

7. Is there a relationship between conflict management styles and preferences for forgiveness?
8. What impact does personality have on forgiveness?

4.3 Operationalization of Variables

The examination of personal and social influences on attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness was conducted through self-scored psycho-social surveys providing information on preferences. Surveys included questions from previously validated instruments, questions constructed by the researcher, and basic demographic questions. Justification is presented for each instrument in 3.4.13 *Other Instruments*. These scales provide data on personality types, religiosity, forgivingness, and conflict management styles. 4.3.1.1-13 provides descriptions of the forgiveness binaries and intervening forgiveness variables.

4.3.1 Transactional Forgiveness

Transactional forgiveness is an exchange, face-to-face, or relational process when forgiving. It is measured with prompts addressing public or interpersonal moments, like apologies. This includes the desire to talk about past events, and the need for full disclosure. Transactions can be symbolic or literal, like writing checks to cover damages or “I knew when I looked in his eyes.”

4.3.2 Non-Transactional Forgiveness

Non-transactional forgivers are likely to find face-to-face interactions awkward, or show discomfort when publicly dealing with a past harm. They are likely to experience their own

healing privately. When confronted they may express feelings like “I’ve already moved on,” “I don’t want to bring up old stuff,” or to express “don’t say I’m sorry, just don’t do it again.” This is not to say, however, that they do not want an acknowledgement of wrong or an apology, but that the public performance (or response) is unwanted. A transaction between victim and perpetrator in this type is unwelcome or unnecessary.

4.3.3 Incremental Forgiveness

Incremental Forgivers use forgiveness practices that take place over time. This may require gathering information or reflecting on feelings. Thoughts and feelings of forgiveness and unforgiveness change gradually as this information is collected. This kind of forgiver works on forgiving a past offense in parts. Steps may relate to different details, truth, repairing damages, and responding to feelings of betrayal (for example) can be processed separately. Such a person may experience feelings of having partially, but not completely, forgiven a transgression.

4.3.4 Instantaneous Forgiveness

This either/or forgiveness reflects the practice of forgiveness as being just that—the turning point movement from unforgiven to forgiven—either you are forgiven or not. This might take place as part of a performance, like the words “I do” accompany the pronouncement of marriage, the “I forgive you” seals the deal. Forgiveness can be reached as a step in the process, or by reacting to a spontaneous change—when its time you just know. Understanding forgiveness as a turning point does not suggest much opportunity for partial forgiveness, and this could create clear misunderstandings when partial forgiveness is mistaken for turning point forgiveness.

4.3.5 Calculated Forgiveness

Calculated forgiveness reflects how someone thinks about another. Underlying this is the idea that a victim can make sense of victimization; once the parts have come together—in logical order—forgiveness can be a sort of solution or end result. Calculated forgiveness may take a number of variables into account, but only after they've been thought out will the person proceed to forgiving (Boon & Sulsky, 1997). The calculated forgiver resolves moral disputes in a cognitive way.

4.3.6 Emotional Forgiveness

Emotional forgiveness is a reflection of the feelings one has for another. Forgiveness happens when it feels right. The feeling forgiver is very sensitive to their emotions and may either engage in the conflict or avoid it because of their feelings: “I’m too angry to talk about it right now,” or “no, I don’t want to wait, until I calm down.” Emotional forgiveness does not just involve emotion, it is an overcoming of, or change in, emotion(s) (Baumeister et al, 1990). Emotional forgiveness takes place in one’s heart.

4.3.7 Punitive Forgiveness

Punitive forgiveness reflects the idea that someone has sufficiently suffered, paid the price, or been punished for their transgression (Baumeister et al, 1995). Withholding forgiveness can also be perceived as a kind of deterrent or punishment where other judicial or justice processes have failed. Punitive forgiveness is a kind of protection of social order—right and wrong—focusing on principles and forgiveness must be earned not given, and given after justice has been served.

4.3.8 Pragmatic Forgiveness

Pragmatic Forgiveness takes a different look at cooperation following moral transgressions, restoring the relationship before it has been earned or merited in terms of justice (Axelrod, 1980 a & b). Whereas punitive forgiveness focuses on the role of punishment in the exacting justice, which specifically looks at whether or not a perpetrator has earned or merited a release from the moral debt, pragmatic forgiveness may have little or nothing to with actions of a perpetrator at all (Bendor et al, 1991). Pragmatic forgiveness is focused on the future and/or future relations, and is motivated by what forgiveness is likely to bring about. Thinking of forgiveness in this way may include forgiving for “old times sake” where an individual lets a moral debt go because of a relationship to an offender (Murphy, 1988).

4.3.9 Proactive Forgiveness

Proactive forgiveness reflects the forgiver who takes charge after a moral transgression and uses control and intentional strategies to bring about forgiveness (Bendor et al, 1991). This person would not avoid the issue, topic, or source of the problem and might actively seek it out and bring attention to it. The key however is the amount of energy put into making it happen, the source of that energy, however, can be quite varied.

4.3.10 Reactive Forgiveness

Reactive forgiveness places the onus on the other. For the emotional forgiver the reactive forgiveness is when a victim’s feelings change as a reaction or response to the perpetrator based upon the perpetrator’s efforts. Many people may appear as reactive following a transgression

because they may not know what they want. The key is the energy or ownership over the process.

The list provided so far offers dimensions as binaries (transactional or non-transactional, calculated or emotional, instantaneous or incremental, pragmatic or punitive, and proactive or reactive), which are hypothesized to reflect different attitudes and behaviors related to forgiveness. The following variables, healing, time, and truth, are also important.

4.3.11 Implicit Intervening Variables for Forgiveness

Healing, time, and truth each present interesting dimensions to forgiveness. They can relate directly or indirectly to the dimensions presented in 3.4.1-10; healing, time, and truth tend to fall along non-transactional lines as part of circumstance and context. But they all appear significant in their own right. Healing and time reflect the physical and spatial necessity of proximal and existential distance between a transgression and forgiveness (Al-Mabuk et al, 1995). Truth can also be reflected onto a transgression in important ways. Healing can reflect different needs in different parties including victims, wrongdoers, relationships, and communities (Al-Mabuk et al, 1995). In the model provided (figure 2.2, chap. 2.4) time presents as significant in marking the movement to resistance, resilience, and vulnerability as the *x axis*; healing also presents as significant in marking the movement to resistance, resilience, and vulnerability as the *y-axis*.

Healing, time, and truth are important because they may be the most limiting features in some accounts of forgiveness. People are asked if they need time in order to heal. Those who need time may not be able to shortcut this need, and efforts to speed up reconciliation are likely to fail regardless of steps taken. People are asked if they need to heal before they forgive. Those

he need to heal are likely to be challenged in forgiving serious and/or ongoing injuries. There may not ever be “healing” from the loss of a loved one, grief can last decades, so this can also create a serious challenge when anticipating group forgiveness after episodes of violent conflict. People are also asked if they need truth in order to forgive. Truth can be extremely elusive in many conflicts; people may literally not know what happened in the fog of war or perpetrators may be unknown or available (possibly dead).

In the model presented time has a relationship to the proximity, duration, and intensity of the disturbance caused by a transgression as well the efforts to recover from it. In this way time and healing can be hard to separate, healing takes time. There are cases where people think of forgiveness preemptively, which involves both time and healing.²⁷ Truth can be uncertain and elusive in cases of moral transgression. In section 2.2 ethics and memory are described. Time can distort memory. A person who needs to know what happened can be challenged with arriving at point where the truth required for healing and forgiveness is unavailable. People may be motivated by those factors mentioned in 2.2, they may have reason to withhold information—telling the truth could lead to a conviction, and memory can also be impermanent.

4.3.12 Explicit Intervening Variables for Forgiveness

Apology, atonement, and identity also have unique impacts on the forgiveness process. Apology, atonement, and identity tend to fall along transactional lines. Apologies take on a range of functions. Atonement is the reconciliation or restitution made for damage and wrongdoing. Frequently atonement relates to material and relational considerations (Baumeister et al, 1995).

²⁷ In her book “Crazy Enough: A Memoir” (2012), Storm Large describes sitting on a beach trying to forgive herself for what she is about to do.

Where an apology can be an expression of sorrow over what has transpired atonement is the attempt to make up for what has happened. Atonement frequently has a religious dimension to it. Wrongdoing—to sin against God and humankind—threatens moral order, atoning for sin is demonstrated through the turning away from evil.

Atonement and apology can both take on different connotations with religious individuals. This is part of the reason identity has been introduced as a variable. Where one person forgives a transgression because the damage has physically been repaired another might forgive because the damage has been morally repaired. Another possibility exists, however, and this is of individuals who forgive because it is a part of their identity to do so. There can be a religious association as with the covenant with God showcased in Amish grace, but people also make the decision to “let things go” for purely psychological and secular reasons. Being forgiving can be predicated on a religious identity, but this need not necessarily be the case.

4.3.13 Other Instruments

This study makes use of other instruments in data collection. This includes the Centrality of Religion Scale (Huber & Huber, 2012), the Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (Berry et al., 2001), Myers Briggs Type Indicator (Myers & McCaulley, 1985), and Conflict Management Styles Assessment (Adkins, 2006). These measures provide the means for measuring religiosity, forgivingness, personality type, and conflict management preferences. By using a variety of measures this study will have the ability of testing between a variety of plausible explanations.

The study hypothesizes both individual and social components as defining and influencing attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness. One would expect multiple

explanations, and they will be tested for generalizability. Identifying, if present, best versions for explaining the relationships between the measured variables. Methodological justification for each of these instruments follows. The rationale presents the specific use and inclusion of each of the *other instruments*. The personal and social forces being examine are starting points for the larger examination of attitudes for forgiveness. They do not account for all explanations for variation, but they test for *most likely* cases. Other sources, like family dynamics and how individuals are raised are also expected to explain for variation in preferences, but these motivators are less prone for generalizability.

4.3.13.1 *Centrality of Religion Scale (CRS)*

The authors of the Centrality of Religion Scale describe it as “a measure of the centrality, importance or salience of religious meanings in personality” (Huber & Huber, 2012, p. 1). They credit it with use in more than 100 studies in sociology of religion, psychology of religion, and religious studies and with broad validation. It has been used in 25 countries with more than 100,000 participants. The purpose of the CRS is to measure the general intensity of core dimensions of religious practice in individuals. These are public and private practice, religious experience, ideology, and intellectual dimensions, which represent all aspects of religious life.

The scale has been selected because of the hypothesized relationship between attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness and religion. The intensity, salience, importance, and centrality of religion in an individual (what the authors (Huber & Huber) define as religiosity) are expected to have a direct impact on participant responses. The relationship between religion and identity (explored in 3.4 & 4.3.12), measured as religiosity, is hypothesized to have an increase in forgivingness where the religious tradition is a forgiving one, because the practice of forgiveness

would be an expression of that faith. Where forgiveness and forgivingness are observed in participants with low religiosity scores alternate explanations for the attitudes and behaviors are likely better than religion for explaining the relationship.

The CRS builds validity improving upon single item scales by addressing each of the core dimensions. It also addresses the question of generalizability across faiths by making the model multidimensional and referring to processes instead of specific beliefs or practices. It has been selected for use in this study as it is validated for all Abrahamic traditions, which are the faiths being targeted in this study.

The construct validity of the CRS specifically accommodates the religious concept of forgiveness. “Theoretically it can be expected that the group of the ‘highly religious’ differ at least in two constitutive features from the two other groups. First, in the group of the ‘highly-religious’ the system of personal religious constructs should be much more differentiated than in the groups of the ‘religious’ and ‘non-religious’ (thesis of differentiation). Second, religious contents, e.g., the experience of forgiveness by God, which are salient in the religious construct system of the ‘highly-religious’, should have a much stronger relevance for general psychological dispositions, e.g., the willingness to forgive others in social situations, than in the groups of the ‘religious’ and ‘non-religious’ (thesis of differentiation). Both predictions were already tested empirically. The thesis of differentiation was confirmed in relation to the theological complexity of positive and negative religious emotions” (Huber & Huber, 2012). This study goes beyond their comparison of “highly religious” and “non-religious” but it is helpful that these theses have been empirically tested.

This study explores differences between high religiosity and low religiosity groups. Many of the hypotheses assume that those who have incorporated religion into a bigger part of their

daily lives will practice forgiveness and hold preferences differently from those for whom religion plays a less central role in their daily lives. The ten questions are scored from 1 to 5 making the score range 10 to 50. Scores were divided into thirds, 10-23, 24-36, and 37-50. Those who scored <24 (10-23) were placed into the low religiosity group, those scored >36 (37-50) were placed into the high religiosity group. Functionally those in each group tended to score either high or low in the measured areas of public and private practice, religious experience, ideology, and intellectual dimensions, which represent all aspects of religious life, either a strong majority of 1s and 2s or 4s and 5s.

4.3.13.2 *Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF)*

The Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF) (Berry et al, 2001) is a test of the trait of forgiveness as opposed to the act. The disposition—forgivingness—is an important measurement for this study because proximity, intensity, and duration of events are expected to impact individuals' forgiveness processes. The hypothetical narratives provide a standard for comparison, and provide a more reflective indicator than other questions which are subject to social desirability biases. The pretest revealed 85% of participants reported “forgiving” or “strongly forgiving” in response to “In your opinion how forgiving do you think you are?” but a range of 30% to 56% indicating “likely to forgive” or “definitely forgive” to the five hypothetical narratives. Most respondents indicated that they wanted to be perceived as being forgiving, and reported feeling that they were more forgiving than the average person.

This assessment was also selected because there is not a conception of forgiveness embedded in the narrative scenarios. Other questions will address specific attitudes and behaviors regarding an individual's motivation to forgive. As Berry et al (2001) observe:

“Researchers differ in how they conceptualize forgiveness, and these differences are reflected in the content domains of items included in existing scales. For example, some measures emphasize motivations (McCullough, Rachal, et al., 1998); both cognition and motivations (Wade, 1989); or cognition, affect, and behavior (Hargrave & Sells, 1997; Subkoviak et al., 1995) thought to underlie forgiveness. Although we encourage the construction of theory-based measures in forgiveness research, we believe it is important to have at least a few ‘ecumenical’ measures that can be used by researchers working from diverse theoretical perspectives” (p. 1278-9). The TNTF does not explicitly measure attitudes and behaviors, it measures the tendency of people to forgive as a disposition. I would like to see if there are differences in the narratives that showcase other attitudes and behaviors, which were not originally intended.

4.3.13.3 *Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)*

The Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) (Myers & McCaulley, 1985) is one of the most widely used psychological instruments. It was developed to identify an individual’s personality type and hopefully present individual strengths and preferences. The assessment has participants respond to forced choices between two options on a series of questions that are used to sort people into “psychological types,” like those first identified by Carl Jung (1923). Participants are scaled in four areas: Extroversion-Introversion; Sensing-Intuition; Thinking-Feeling; and Judging-Perceiving.

This instrument was selected on the basis of the four scales and the hypothesized relationships between the variables represented in those scales and the forgiveness types presented in 4.4. The 28 question—brief—version is used in place of longer questionnaires, providing good balance between personality type information and participant time (the 28

questions take approximately 3 minutes). The types are easy to understand, relevant for the comparisons being made, and more familiar to both participants and practitioners. This should not be understated; the wide use of the MBTI provides significant utility that other psychological inventories do not offer.

The Myers and Briggs Foundation advertises reliability as: “the MBTI instrument in three categories: (1) the validity of the four separate preference scales; (2) the validity of the four preference pairs as dichotomies; and (3) the validity of whole types or particular combinations of preferences.”²⁸ The MBTI provides a good measurement of personality traits and preferences.²⁹

There is some disagreement about the construct validity and factor analysis of the MBTI. There is a growing consensus amongst psychologists arguing the 16 types the MBTI produces are unhelpful. I want to acknowledge these issues, but assert that it is not these types that are being used but the scales of Extroversion-Introversion, Sensing-Intuition, Thinking-Feeling, and Judging-Perceiving which are useful for the purposes of this study. I’m not interested in whether or not an ENTP is well matched to be a lawyer, actor, psychologist, or psychiatrist, I’m interested in whether or not the “E,” “N,” “T,” and “P” reveal important details about the necessary and sufficient conditions for forgiveness. The MBTI short is a reliable mechanism for scaling participants in these four areas.

²⁸ Retrieved from their website 9/15/18. <https://www.myersbriggs.org/my-mbti-personality-type/mbti-basics/reliability-and-validity.htm?bhcp=1>

²⁹ Robert Capraro and Mary Capraro (2002) examined MBTI score reliability and found: “Cronbach’s alpha was computed for large sample studies collected from the Center for Applications of Psychological Type (CAPT) databank. These scores exhibited reliability coefficients averaging EI = .79, SN = .84, TF = .74, and JP = .82 on more than 32,000 participants and a range of EI = .74 to .83, SN = .74 to .85, TF = .64 to .82, and JP = .78 to .84 on more than 10,000 participants (Myers & McCaulley, 1985). Harvey (1996) conducted a meta-analysis on the studies summarized in the MBTI Manual (Myers & McCaulley, 1985) for which data are given by gender on a sample of 102,174 respondents. This meta-analysis gave corrected split-half estimates on men and women, respectively: EI, .82 and .83; SN, .83 and .85; TF, .82 and .80; JP, .87 and .86” (p. 594).

4.3.13.4 *Conflict Management Styles Assessment (CMSA)*

The Conflict Management Styles Assessment (CMSA) (Adkins, 2006) is an additional measure for examining preferences and strengths in individuals. More specifically the framework modeled in section 2.4 and figure 2.2 Conflict/ Crisis/ Transgression as Resistance/ Resilience/ Vulnerability showcases forgiveness as relational—interpersonal not intrapersonal—where it is hypothesized that forgiveness can present as a means for deescalating conflict and increasing the durability of peace. As such identifying the relationship between attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness and conflict management styles could be extremely helpful. It has been hypothesized that interest of other (accommodation and collaboration) will have higher forgivingness scores than interest of self (avoid and compete), high avoid scores will have higher non-transactional than transactional forgiveness scores, and high collaborate scores will have higher proactive and pragmatic forgiveness scores. It is also hypothesized that different styles in conflict management relate directly with different forgiveness types.

The underlying rationale for the examination of conflict management styles is that personality traits relate to human interactions in a general way that may not translate to all areas of life. Extroverted people, for example, may be quite closed off when it comes to conflict despite preference for dealing with people very extensively in other areas of their life. In such a case information about preferences for conflict management may be more helpful given the theory offered presents forgiveness as addressing relationships after crisis or conflict. Personality type and conflict management styles offer different but complimentary information about how individuals relate to one another. Examination of conflict management styles is truly a means for testing the relational dimension of forgiveness.

4.4 Hypotheses

This dissertation examines the three central questions and the nine sub-questions by testing the following hypothesized relationships:

Hypothesis 1: people with higher levels of extroversion have higher transactional forgiveness scores.

Those with extrovert preferences desire more interaction with other individuals, the expectation is that this would be expressed through forgiveness transactions.

Hypothesis 2: people with higher levels of introversion have higher non-transactional forgiveness scores.

Those with introvert preference desire less interaction with other individuals, the expectation is that this would be expressed in forgiveness without transactions.

Hypothesis 3: people with higher levels of sensing have higher reactive forgiveness scores.

Those with sensing preferences rely on the use of their senses in decision making, the expectation is that they need empirical sources to justify “reactions” to decisions regarding forgiveness.

Hypothesis 4: people with higher levels of intuition have higher proactive forgiveness scores.

Those with intuitive preferences rely on their instincts in decision making, the expectation is that intuitive people would be more proactive in their intuitions about forgiving.

Hypothesis 5: people with higher levels of thinking have higher punitive forgiveness scores.

Those with higher thinking scores are expected to process more considerations of punishment in deciding whether or not forgiveness has been merited.

Hypothesis 6: people with higher levels of feeling have higher pragmatic forgiveness scores.

Those who process forgiveness according to feeling preferences are expected to follow their own hearts and be more pragmatic in forgiving others.

Hypothesis 7: people with higher levels of judging have higher instantaneous forgiveness scores.

Judging people are expected to be more instantaneous in forgiving others because they are expected to process offenses in absolute—all or nothing—black and white, terms.

Hypothesis 8: people with higher levels of perceiving have higher incremental forgiveness scores.

Perception is expected to relate to incremental forgiveness because incremental forgiveness would take in more of the grey area—seeing some progress and improvement but also areas of continued need.

Hypothesis 9: people with higher levels of feeling have higher emotional forgiveness scores.

Preferences in feeling are expected to translate directly to emotional processes in forgiving because of the role emotions play in how individuals' process events and decision making.

Hypothesis 10: people with higher levels of thinking have higher calculative forgiveness scores.

Preferences in thinking are expected to translate directly to calculative processes in forgiving because of the role cognition plays in how individuals' process events and decision making.

Hypothesis 11: people with higher levels of sensing have higher punitive forgiveness scores.

Sensing individuals are expected to be more punitive in forgiveness processes because they are motivated by the experience of change. When sensing individuals experience someone has suffered enough they are expected to forgive.

Hypothesis 12: people with higher levels of intuition have higher pragmatic forgiveness scores.

Intuitive people are expected to identify indications that others have learned their lessons by trusting their intuitions.

Hypothesis 13: people with higher levels of extroversion have higher proactive forgiveness scores.

Extroverts preferences for interacting with others are expected to relate to proactive preferences in forgiveness, this would help to address adversity in relationships more rapidly.

Hypothesis 14: people with higher levels of extroversion have higher instantaneous forgiveness scores.

Extroverts are also expected to prefer more instantaneous models of forgiveness that allow relationships to avoid drawn out antagonisms.

Hypothesis 15: people with higher levels of judging have higher punitive forgiveness scores.

Judging personality types are expected to desire punitive elements in forgiveness.

Hypothesis 16: people with higher levels of perceiving have higher pragmatic forgiveness scores.

Perceiving personalities are expected to translate their perceptions into more justifications (reasons) to forgive others.

Hypothesis 17: black and white populations score differently on the TNTF, the measurement of the trait of forgivingness.

Hypothesis 18: females and males score differently on the TNTF.

Hypothesis 19: high religiosity people score higher on the TNTF than low religiosity people do.

Hypotheses 17-19 test for difference in forgivingness scores (measured by TNTF) between different groups. Those who are more religious are expected to have higher forgivingness scores.

Hypothesis 20: black and white populations have different preferences for forgiveness.

Hypothesis 21: females and males have different preferences for forgiveness.

Hypothesis 22: highly religious people have different preferences for forgiveness than low religiosity people do.

Hypothesis 23: people with higher forgivingness scores have different preferences for forgiveness than people with lower forgivingness scores.

Hypothesis 24: people's preferences in managing conflict management relate directly to their preferences in forgiveness.

Hypotheses 18-24 return to the forgiveness types and examine the relationships between forgiveness type and social motivator.

(Hypotheses 1-16 are addressed in Chapter 5 and hypotheses 17-24 are address in Chapter 6.)

4.5 Survey Design

The survey was designed to gain insight into the perceptions individuals hold of their preferences and traits in giving and receiving forgiveness as expressed in the stated hypotheses. Two sets of prompts are used to reflect these preferences. One set includes 29 questions where forgiveness is implicitly related, though forgiveness is not explicitly mentioned. These questions relate to a range of common activities and ordinary relationships. This set includes questions like: "If a friend disappoints you, you want to talk about it?" This prompt could reflect either transactional or calculative forgiveness, "talk about it" reflects a transaction—friend to friend—and cognition—talking about the betrayal. These implicit behaviors have been identified in the literature review as presenting degrees of forgiveness and/or unforgiveness as well as preferences, and they provide a measure of forgiveness without mentioning "forgiveness," which is hoped to reduce implications of social desirability.

Explicit forgiveness is the other set of forgiveness prompts, it includes twenty-eight direct questions about forgiveness, which ask for agreement or disagreement on specific statements. Statements like: "I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them," and "I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone." "See offenders punished" reflects punitive forgiveness, acknowledgement of hurt, on the other

hand, indicates emotional forgiveness. Each of these sets ask participants to score statements about specific details regarding forgiveness from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.”

Chapter 2 presented significant conceptual range in the practice of forgiveness. This included historical and contemporary challenges to how academics have conceived of forgiveness. The prompts for measuring individuals’ attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness reflect a significant diversity in the theories presented. Effort has been made to reflect the inter-relational presentation of forgiveness in relationship to resistance, resilience, and vulnerability and to specifically attended to Robert Gould’s “Five Forgiveness Assessments Recommended for Conflict Resolution” (2008) described in chapter 3 and operationalized in 4.3 (p. 76). The fifty-seven prompts on forgiveness attitudes and preferences cover a significant range in identified practices.

4.6 Causal Mechanisms

As identified in chapter 2, there are many challenges and opportunities surrounding the concept of forgiveness. Three questions are very common throughout these discussions: 1. Who forgives? 2. When do they forgive? 3. Why do they forgive? These questions can be taken more broadly as asking, what causes people to forgive? The framework provided gives an inter-relational answer to the question of what causes people to forgive; people in conflict forgive when specific conditions are met or are expected to be met, and they actually do so for different reasons. This study focuses on understanding the conditions and reasons impacting individual choice to grant or withhold forgiveness. Forgiveness is granted when conditions are met, and withheld otherwise.

Personality impacts significant parts of human interaction. A person's personality shapes their willingness to engage with others and the nature of those engagements, including interactions with strangers, coworkers, responses to social pressures, and conflicts. Personality relates to the expression of attitudes, which reflect the individual's perceiving functions, judging functions, and lifestyle preferences. These functions and preferences are intimately connected to the underlying interests, needs, and values individuals hold. After transgressions responses are different from person to person. Personality is an expression of some of this variation. Conflict arises out of the challenges, tensions, or threats to the ability of an individual to meet their interests, needs, and values. Personality is then a part of how conflict is processed, and the subsequent resolution (should there be one), because it is directly responsible for shaping interests, needs, and values.

A subset of conflicts and transgressions will include forgiveness processes. The difference between a neighbor with barking dogs, racial discrimination and hate crimes, or interstate conflict are practical as well as moral. The suspicion here is that personality also helps to define the individual's interests, needs, and values in giving or receiving forgiveness. An introverted person might not be expected to desire or seek a public apology or performance, while an extrovert would prefer a face-to-face meeting. The introversion, in this case, is part of a person's personality. This personality type would, it seems, then be at least partially responsible for the desire to hold forgiveness as a private event. Diverse personalities are responsible for diversity in forgiveness processes; the wrong process will fail to achieve desired outcomes.

Religion impacts forgiveness through its role in shaping values and the formation of identity. Religion can play a significant role in the development of values and beliefs (Weber, 1992, 1993; Longenecker, McKinney, & Moore, 2004). Some religions provide instruction on

the role and value of forgiveness (McCullough, Bono, & Root, 2005). Individuals in religions emphasizing forgiveness as a virtue would have increased motivation to practice forgiveness; “Gorsuch and Hao (1993) found that, compared to nonreligious people, highly religious people reported having greater motivation to forgive, working harder to forgive, and harboring fewer reasons for getting even and staying resentful toward their transgressors” (cited in: McCullough, Bono, & Root, 2005). Some religious groups have strong forgiveness identities, membership in such a group, like Amish grace or Christian forgiveness, would be expected to increase an individual’s forgivingness. This happens through the process of the socialization of values.

This research hypothesizes that personal and social influences impact the attitudes and behaviors individuals exhibit when dealing with decisions about forgiveness following conflicts. The personal influences showcase a number of findings on the subject of forgiveness following decades of study as an intra-personal event. This encompasses the cognitive and emotional events that take place in individuals as they process their responses to conflict. Personality type and conflict management style relate to individual’s responses to conflict. The expected causal relationship, as hypothesized, is that since forgiveness has been presented as an inter-personal (relational) response to conflict, personality type and conflict management style will also impact attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness. Similarly aligned individuals are expected to have similar modes for forgiving when circumstances are the same because their choices regarding forgiveness follow similar decision making pathways.

Social influences are also expected to follow predictable patterns. Individuals who are part of groups or organizations with strong forgiveness identities or traditions are expected to be more forgiving by virtue of their participation and group membership. Adoption of group mores and rules is expected to present in traits and behaviors with increased significance as individual’s

connection to those groups increase. Religious forgiveness, for example, would be found with greater intensity in individuals with higher levels of religiosity.

4.7 Ethical Issues

There were no known significant risks identified or anticipated in this study. The questions should subject respondents to no greater a risk than the questions normally used in a classroom would. Students had a reasonable expectation to be free from harm, they experienced no stress elevating beyond even the most mildly provocative questions encountered in a classroom. All participants did so voluntarily, and only after having provided agreement of their consent to participate. Their participation is held completely confidential by the use of sophisticated (Qualtrics) software and adherence to the policies of Kennesaw State University. The survey portion of the research was confidential, responses were recorded anonymously and no identifying information was collected or stored in any way. All associated electronic data will be stored on the researcher's computer requiring password access to both the computer and the documents. Physical data will be stored in a locked file in the researcher's office. Any potentially identifying information will not be stored with the corresponding data. No incentive or promise is being offered by the researcher or implied by the study.

The research methods did not cause any notable physical discomfort or distress to participants. The surveys were completed at locations and times of the participants choosing with convenience, and confidentiality in mind. The questions were not designed to trigger a participant's past experiences or to stimulate any trauma. Specific questions are hypothetical and involve fairly minor transgressions and questions have been chosen to minimize any potential

anxiety or discomfort. More specifically, student participants are selected from classes where participation in surveys is a normal, expected, and naturally occurring part of the curriculum.

4.7.1 Justification

Participants respond to hypothetical scenarios and questions identifying their perceived attitudes and behaviors, which will help to define the concept of forgiveness. For participants this study has the potential to identify key dimensions of forgiveness. These findings may directly relate to questions participants are interested in. There are many people who seek knowledge on giving and receiving forgiveness. The findings from this study may relate directly to teaching materials participants are exposed to. In the bigger picture this study has the potential for changing the way we address forgiveness and reconciliation in a whole spectrum of conflicts from minor interpersonal events to long protracted wars. These potential benefits significantly outweigh any known potential risks or other considerations.

4.8 Limitations

There are some noteworthy limitations to this study. Psycho-social testing frequently relies on self reported data. While this is common it is known to have some specific limitations. People frequently make mistakes when answering questions outside of their areas of expertise and they also can find themselves challenged when asked to predict responses, even their own, to hypothetical events. This survey is not immune to such cognitive and social biases. Efforts have been made in question selection and in response to pre-testing to limit the inherent influence of bias and social desirability. Pretesting has reflected the presence of social desirability bias in

respect to forgiveness.³⁰ The study is limited to reflecting individuals' perceptions of their own attitudes, beliefs, and preferred behaviors and not in forecasting actual behaviors.

Alternate methodologies, however, would be less desirable for the study being conducted. Observations would not necessarily provide better information about attitudes, beliefs, or preferences since it would require assumptions be made about observed behavior. This would be an incredibly inefficient means of gathering information on forgiveness and observers would still be subject to questions of validity in terms of coding the presentation of attitudes and behaviors. This privileges an individual's ability to identify when they forgive (or do not) over the ability of an observer to make that determination. I will not make predictions about populations or the likelihood of any individual or group to be more or less forgiving to any specific infraction. The ability to make predictions about forgiveness will take future research, good predictions would likely require addressing attitudes and behaviors beyond the variables included in this study. Lastly, the analysis only examines responses from students at two universities, the findings are not expected to generalize to all populations. While some observations will be made about how these forgiveness types can help to understand contemporary movements, no claims are presented about the frequency of these preferences in terms of precision.

4.9 Conclusion

This dissertation approaches questions of forgiveness differently than psychologists do; it examines forgiveness as interpersonal as opposed to intrapersonal (Nook et al, 2012). This

³⁰ One example to reveal this likely bias: out of 118 respondents participating in the pre-test, two answered "somewhat unforgiving" and zero answered "very unforgiving" which appeared inconsistent with approximately 20% of respondents answering "unlikely to forgive" or "definitely not forgive" on each of the 5 hypothetical prompts.

innovation could be particularly helpful to conflict resolvers and peacebuilders who are responding to conflicts where relationships are of significance. The methodology offered in this study allows participants full freedom in presenting and expressing forgiveness as they understand it in an effort to broaden the conception of forgiveness and include as much diversity in world views as possible. The resulting definitions and findings will provide the greatest benefit to participants, and to practitioners in the fields of conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Dimensions of forgiveness have been presented that showcase fundamental differences in the ways people understand the subject. Prompts and questions exploring the different attitudes and behaviors are utilized to testing these dimensions against other measures of personality type, religiosity, forgivingness, and conflict management styles in order to answer the two primary research questions:

1. What is the variation in preferences for forgiveness?
2. What personal and social influences impact attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness in individuals?

Hypotheses were presented with a full operationalization of the variables and relationships being examined. The hypotheses were developed in consideration of the conceptual frame presented in chapters 2 and 3 as well as the need statements. Section 2.6 provided a history of the problem, "...the need for further investigation in this area seems to be outpacing the research being done. Throughout the world, hostility among people and perpetration of evil continues, and the need for forgiveness for political abuses is high" (Worthington, p. 3, 1998). Despite serious study of forgiveness, "little is known about how one's conceptualization of forgiveness might help or hinder forgiving" (Nook et al, p. 687, 2012). Section 2.7 showcase the theoretical basis for addressing the problems—both moral and metaphysical—and the continued call for a broad

understanding. In the following chapter (5) greater detail on the results of unique attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness is presented as it relates to theory testing.

Chapter 5: Exploring Personal Factors in Attitudes and Behaviors for Forgiveness

“We must develop and maintain the capacity to forgive. He who is devoid of the power to forgive is devoid of the power to love. There is some good in the worst of us and some evil in the best of us. When we discover this, we are less prone to hate our enemies.”

Martin Luther King Jr.³¹

This chapter expands on forgiveness theory that is rooted in intrapersonal understandings of the presentation of forgiveness; such theories argue that fundamentally forgiveness takes place within a person (not between individuals). Frequently, this means, looking at what is happening within an individual defines and explains forgiveness and unforgiveness, perhaps as healing or overcoming an emotion. This study has identified theoretical underpinnings for forgiveness which expand on intrapersonal definitions by exploring variables impacting relationship resistance, resilience, and vulnerability due to conflict. This presentation that defines forgiveness different, it says forgiveness is fundamentally about relationships, and that it happens between individuals. Forgiveness in this interpersonal—inter-relational—model can be treated as a resource. This hypothesizes that decisions about who, what, when, where, why, and how forgiveness is attempted during and following conflict have serious impacts and important implications for the process. This chapter focuses on two of the research questions:

³¹ Quote taken from sermon found in “A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings” (King, 2012).

1. How do we make sense of and find meaning in the variation in unique attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness?
2. What personal and social influences impact attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness in individuals?

5.1 Introduction

This chapter details the measurement of different dimensions and types of forgiveness (question 1) as well as the personal influences (first half of question 2), both inter-personal and intra-personal, which have been hypothesized to impact attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness. The theory presented suggests that these attitudes and behaviors are forgiveness inputs and outputs for both victims and offenders. The hope is that increased understanding of unique attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness can aid in the delivery of successful forgiveness processes, increase peace, and aid practitioners in navigating strained relationships where parties appear motivated to forgive one another but do not know how.

The methods chapter (4) presented the details for data collection. 435 study participants completed a variety of psycho social measures as well as questions on personal preferences for attitudes and behaviors on forgiveness. This chapter presents the findings and implications showcased in the analysis of participant responses. In particular, hypotheses on personality type and attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness are examined. The question: what does personality—introversion vs. extroversion; intuition vs. sensing; thinking vs. feeling; and judging vs. perceiving—tell us about how people forgive? is explored. Means difference testing revealed statistically significant variation in response to 23 of 29 implicit forgiveness prompts and 20 of 28 explicit forgiveness prompts. This initial confirmation of significant variation in participant

responses, suggests that personality is significant in shaping individual preferences. Exploratory factor analysis of all 57 prompts identified 17 components. Reliability testing of scales designed to measure similar concepts produced five forgiveness type scales with Cronbach’s alpha scores greater than .6. Five more types are reflected with single prompts; ten measurements of forgiveness types are produced in this study.

This chapter presents results of the analysis, the validity of these findings, which hypotheses are supported and rejected, and a discussion on this data and the presented findings. The discussion then looks at what these findings add to our understanding of social movements and responses to structural violence. If the inter-relational theory of forgiveness presented is accurate, then personality type should have a measurable impact on participants’ identified preferences in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness and the findings can help us to understand the strengths and weaknesses of these modern social movements. The creation of a valid forgiveness typology and types scales is offered as evidence of the validity of the inter-relational theory of forgiveness and confirmation of hypotheses on the influence of personality on attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness is also presented.

5.1.1 Participants in the Study, were students at Kennesaw State University and Portland State University. The following tables provide the demographic details of study participants:

Table 5.1: Race and Gender by University

	Kennesaw State University n=326	Portland State University n=104	Total 430
Male	175	23	198
Female	146	78	224
White	222	62	284
Black	62	1	63

The two largest racial categories were white and black. Other racial categories were not large enough to make comparisons. In total 83 participants did not identify as white or black. The majority of black respondents were from the Kennesaw sample, only one black respondent was from the Portland sample. Most participants identified as male or female, again, other categories were not large enough to make comparisons. In total eight participants did not identify as male or female.

Table 5.2: Mean Scores by University

	KSU	PSU	Mean
Religiosity	3.31***	2.66	3.15
Forgivingness	3.12	3.26	3.16
Avoid	2.97	2.87	2.94
Accommodate	3.81	3.69	3.78
Compete	3.68***	3.28	3.59
Compromise	3.69	3.68	3.69
Collaborate	4	4.12	4.03

Statistically significant means difference in bold. $p < .001 = ***$

Respondents from Kennesaw were somewhat more religious and competitive, and also slightly less forgiving. Otherwise there were not statistically significant differences between mean scores.

Table 5.3: Personality Types of Participants

Extrovert	EI	Introvert	Thinking	TF	Feeling
189	112	129	183	77	170
Intuition	NS	Sensing	Judging	JP	Perceiving
187	105	138	294	70	66

Table 5.4: Religiosity of Participants

Low Religiosity	Mid Religiosity	High Religiosity
125	140	165

There were a sufficient number of respondent in each personality type category and level of religiosity. There were significantly more respondents of the judging personality type than there were of the perceiving personality type.

5.2 The Variables

The causal mechanism (p. 96) presented in chapter 4 outlines the relationship between personality type and attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. This mechanism hypothesizes that since personality impacts significant parts of human interaction, and that since forgiveness is fundamentally about human interactions—relationships—personality, therefore, should impact forgiveness practices. This tests theory alleging that since personality shapes a person's willingness and means for engaging with others, it will also impact their motivation to engage in forgiveness and their preferences in forgiveness behaviors.

Personality relates to the expression of attitudes, and these attitudes reflect the individual's perceiving functions, judging functions, and lifestyle preferences, which have been theorized to impact individual forgiveness habits. When decisions on who, what, when, where, why, and how to forgive are made, underlying interests, needs, and values are reflected in individuals' preferences. If forgiveness is to be viewed as a rational or strategic act, then understanding the motivations for choosing such an expression are important. If, on the other hand, forgiveness is an emotional process, like overcoming anger or hatred, then, understanding and predicting which behaviors are likely to positively influence an individual's emotions are also important. One hypothesis is that for some people and some occasions the former is true, for other people and instances the latter is true; this literally suggests that forgiveness means different things at different times. These variables provide the means for measuring the different

types of forgiveness. Theorized forgiveness traits are tested against established personality types.

5.2.1 Forgiveness Traits

For the purposes of this study forgiveness traits are the specific attitudes and behaviors for which participants identify preferences. These traits have been identified in prior scholarship on forgiveness. They have been operationalized into Likert scale statements and grouped into different forgiveness types. The forgiveness types, examined in chapters 2 and 3, are presented in this chapter as dependent variables. This study tests these types and scales for validity in measuring each of these variables. This is done, where possible, by grouping prompts that reliably measure features of these traits together into coherent types.

5.2.2 Personality Type

The Myers Briggs Personality Type Indicator (MBTI) questions were used to identify preferences in participants that relate to four different areas: introversion vs. extroversion; intuition vs. sensing; thinking vs. feeling; and judging vs. perceiving. The test forces participants to choose between two options, for example, either the extrovert or introvert answer (see questionnaire in Appendix). Based upon the total score of answers in an area participants are categorized in each of those dimensions, either scored in one end, the other, or as balanced. The MBTI was used in this study to “identify, from self-report of easily recognized reactions, the basic preferences of people in regard to perception and judgment, so that the effects of each preference, singly and in combination, can be established by research and put to practical use”

(Myers & McCaulley, 1989, p. 1). Personality type is an independent variable, this study hypothesizes that attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness are influenced by personality type.

5.3 Data Analysis

Testing the hypothesis that personality has an influence on attitudes and preferences in traits for forgiveness was done through systematic analysis. To test this hypothesis each of the prompts was analyzed with an independent samples t-test to see if the forgiveness behavior was dependent on the independent personality variable as expected. As described in 4.4, the forgiveness prompts were means tested against the personality categories as independent variables. Statistically significant ($p < .05$) relationships were identified and presented as support of the hypothesis that personality has an influence on attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. Additionally, this provided the means for choosing, from the many prompts on attitudes and behaviors, which prompts appeared to function best for scaling each of the forgiveness types. Both the prompts and scales reveal important information about attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. Individual prompts provide specific information, knowing the personal preference for “being left alone” can provide very focused advice. The utility for scales and types is that they can provide more general detail and differentiation, the value of the sum can be greater than the parts.

Meaningful variation in the forgiveness prompts was indicated in the results of t-tests. The tests showcased statistical significant ($p < .05$) difference in means between groups in 43 of the 57 prompts tested. There were 15 prompts with differences in extroversion and introversion; 19 prompts with differences in sensing and intuition; 24 prompts with differences in thinking and feeling; and three prompts with differences in judging and perceiving.

The prompts were subsequently grouped according to their identification with the hypothesized forgiveness types: transactional, non-transactional, incremental, instantaneous, calculated, emotional, punitive, pragmatic, proactive, and reactive. Exploratory factor analysis of the prompts revealed 17 underlying component factor loadings. Prompts that loaded to multiple components were grouped into the component with greatest load strength (Kaiser, 1974). Factor analysis allows researchers to measure concepts that are not easy to observe, while also providing another measure of statistical validation for the developed scales (Kaiser, 1974). This was necessary in this study because most prompts refer to multiple aspects of forgiveness, and also because individuals do not identify as “transactional” or “non-transaction” but they do know whether or not they engage in different transactions.

Factor analysis provides a strength of association between the prompts and each of the identified components. A review of the components revealed locations of likely noise³², prompt removal to improve scale reliability was utilized. Varimax rotation was used for the factor analysis, it was desirable because it offers the greatest ability to identify a variable with a factor. Given the coding of some prompts to more than one category, this feature was particularly desirable. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (MSA) was .810, a “meritorious level,”³³ above the commonly recommended value of .6, and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 (1596) = 7666.963, p < .001$).

³²As expressed in 4.1, testing the prompts for a single feature of forgiveness is challenging, there are very few prompts that do not code for multiple types. Noise variables are variables that are difficult or impossible to control at the design and production level.

³³Kaiser (1974) gave the following verbal evaluation for the levels of his index of factorial simplicity: in the .90s, marvelous; in the .80s, meritorious; in the .70s, middling; in the .60s, mediocre; in the .50s, miserable; below .50, unacceptable.

5.3.1 Hypothesis Testing

There are three sets of hypotheses presented in 4.3 of the methods chapter that will be examined here. The first set hypothesizes relationships between personality categories and specific attitudes and behaviors in forgiveness. The second set relates to grouping those attitudes and behaviors into effective forgiveness types. The third set hypothesizes correlations between personality and forgiveness type. The hypotheses suggest there is variation in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness, and that personality explains a significant portion of that variation.

The first hypothesis group is supported *prima facie* through the use of independent samples t-tests. Analysis revealed that personality type explained for differences in 43 of 57 prompts (see tables A3.1 and A3.2 in the Appendix). This presents significant variation in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. The second hypothesis group builds off of the first. Principle component factor analysis was used to identify the strongest loading for each prompt. From the 17 factors the 10 specified in this study were identified. Measurements for all 10 proposed forgiveness types were developed, including five scales⁴ with Cronbach's alpha reliability scores greater than .6 and five types explained with a single prompt defining the type⁵. This tests the ability of the prompts to identify an underlying concept. Instantaneous Forgiveness as “for me forgiveness happens all at once,” and Incremental Forgiveness as “for me forgiveness is a process that happens in steps” are examples of types being measured with a single prompt; it is not always necessary to use multiple questions when the information needed can be obtained from one.

⁴ Cronbach's alpha scores for each of the forgiveness type scales: emotional forgiveness, .623; reactive forgiveness, .797; proactive forgiveness, .630; punitive forgiveness, .607; and transactional forgiveness, .625.

⁵ Cronbach's alpha has been described as “one of the most important and pervasive statistics in research involving test construction and use” (Cortina, 1993, p. 98).

The third hypotheses set—personality correlates with forgiveness type—includes a number of statements about personality type categories and their relationship to forgiveness types. Each aspect of personality (Orientation to World; Process Information; Decisions; Structure) had 4 hypotheses. Pearson Correlations were used to test these hypotheses. Statistical analysis supports 11 out of the 16 sub-hypotheses on correlations between personality scores and forgiveness scales. Five of the 16 were not supported at this time. The hypothesis—personality correlates with forgiveness type—is at least partially supported, but further research is necessary for developing a more robust answer. The strength and direction of the relationship is presented in the following Table: 5.5.

Table 5.5: Pearson Correlations for Personality Scores and Forgiveness Scales

	Trans	Non-Trans	Re-active	Pro-active	Prag-matic	Punitive	Emo.	Calc.	Instant	Incre.
Extrovert	.176***	-.122*	-.077	.183***	.160**	-.052	-.070	.000	.154**	-.053
Introvert	-.176***	.122*	.077	-.183***	-.160**	.052	.070	.000	-.154**	.053
Sensing	.081	.036	.121*	-.197***	-.113*	.260***	-.094	-.068	.037	.008
Intuition	-.076	-.031	-.114*	.191***	.113*	-.257***	.099*	.069	-.037	-.006
Thinking	.006	.001	.045	-.212***	-.152**	.236***	-.267***	<i>[-.059]</i>	.074	-.084
Feeling	-.004	.000	-.039	.212***	.154**	-.231***	.269***	.059	-.074	.090
Judging	-.016	-.009	-.036	-.068	-.075	<i> [.095]</i>	.008	-.019	<i> [-.047]</i>	.055
Perceiving	.016	.009	.039	.072	<i> [.079]</i>	-.094	-.005	.023	.046	<i> [-.052]</i>

All positive relationships with significance are shown in **bold**. Hypothesized relationships are *italicized*, and hypothesized relationships not supported ($p < .05$) are marked with []. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$.

Hypotheses 1, 2, 13, and 14 (pp. 94 & 96), on introversion and extroversion personality types, were all supported. Transactional and non-transactional forgiveness were presented as separate statements. It was unknown if they would present as mutually exclusive. As expected, extroverts prefer face-to-face and interactive forgiveness while introverts prefer practices that can be done in solitude. Extroverts also showed expected preferences for proactive and instantaneous forgiveness. Extroversion also presented a relationship with pragmatic forgiveness that was not hypothesized.

Hypotheses 3, 4, 11, and 12, on intuition and sensing personality types, were supported. As expected, sensing people were more reactive while people who were more intuitive were more proactive. Sensing people were also more punitive while intuitive people were more pragmatic. Hypotheses 5, 6, and 9 (p. 95), on thinking and feeling were supported. Thinking types scored higher for punitive forgiveness and feeling types scored higher for both pragmatic and emotional forgiveness. Feelings, it seems, may translate better to positive forward thinking while cognitive processes respond to addressing grievances. Hypothesis 10 (p. 96), thinking types practice more calculative forgiveness, was not indicated in the findings. This suggests that forgiveness is fundamentally (or generally) an emotional event and that those who are more calculative in their processes likely do so for other reasons (social motivators are examined in chap. 6).

Judging and perceiving presented no significant relationships with forgiveness scales. Hypotheses 7, 8, 15, and 16 (pp. 95-6) were all rejected based upon this evidence. One possible explanation for the results was a lack of perceiving respondents, there were fewer perceivers than all other personality traits. Only 15% of respondents scored to the “perceiving” category. Meanwhile there were more judges than any other trait, two-thirds of all respondents (67%) presented the “judging” personality trait. This result does not match with expectations, P and J personality types are expected to be fairly evenly split. This may explain for the lack of statistical significance, but it is also possible that the “structural” aspect of personality—judging and perceiving—are not significant in explaining for difference in forgiveness processes. In either case it is important to note that the “judgment” of personality types is distinct from the “punitive” of forgiveness types. Judging evidence in this sense relates to how individuals process information.

5.4 Discussion of Data

“The major task of writing involves working out how to make contextually grounded theoretical points that are viewed as a contribution by the relevant professional community of readers” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1997, p. 20). One contribution of this dissertation is the empirical validation of prior scholarship (Newberry, 2003; Gould, 2008) identifying different dimensions in an inter-relational understanding of forgiveness. This is specifically achieved through the construction of valid measurements of the different forgiveness types. Each of these dimensions can reveal important information about an individual or group’s engagement following moral transgressions or conflict; in the most extreme cases understanding the attitudes and behaviors presented could prevent dangerous escalations in conflict or even the outbreak of genocidal violence or war.

The data analysis and hypothesis testing generated several noteworthy results. Each of the three steps of hypothesis testing on forgiveness and personality revealed important details about how forgiveness is conceived and limitations in understanding attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness. This discussion highlights these claims and why they are important as well as surprises which are worth taking note of. These findings, while incomplete, provide a significant challenge to the use of intra-relational definitions of forgiveness in conflicts and relationship disputes as well as presenting strong empirical evidence for an inter-relational definition of forgiveness with these types. This section provides this proof by presenting clear differences in preferences which relate to clear differences in outcomes as these preferences relate to necessary condition for forgiveness, many of which involve the other party in the dispute.

This analysis does not answer questions like: how can we know if someone will forgive? But it does provide significant information on what people believe motivates their responses in scenarios where questions of forgiveness may emerge. Response to “If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology” provide very clear information on what an apology may, or may not, be expected to do in a give spousal relationship.

Understanding common behaviors is important, but ultimately forgiveness will come down to individual choices, and in the case of forgiveness the attitudes and behaviors of victims and perpetrators and may not align. Individuals practice and think about forgiveness differently, both from person to person and event to event. This simple, but robust, statement appears to be substantiated by these results. Such a claim flies in the face of psychological literature, which tends to present differences as reflecting individuals’ abilities to forgive. When Worthington and Scherer (2004) define the subject, “forgiveness is conceptualized as an emotional juxtaposition of positive emotions (i.e., empathy, sympathy, compassion, or love) against the negative emotions of unforgiveness. Forgiveness can thus be used as an emotion-focused coping strategy to reduce a stressful reaction to a transgression” (p. 385) their definition does not account for the variation presented in participant responses. There was approximately 20% disagreement and 20% neither agree nor disagree with the prompt: “I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them.” Forgiveness *can be* used as such a strategy, citing these articles in presentation of the benefits offered by forgiveness. But, it is difficult to categorize forgiveness as always being an “emotion-focused coping strategy,” as the intra-relational definition does, when less than 60% of respondents agree that they need to feel differently in order to forgive. Over 40% of respondents, according to this prompt, did not indicate that forgiveness was an emotion focused strategy; an interpersonal definition offers benefit in this detail. These hypotheses

present findings that people practice—in their attitudes and behaviors—forgiveness in fundamentally different ways. Differences in introverts and extroverts, for example, could possibly be explained through a bias extroverts showed for religion, extroverts reported being more religious, and religiosity expressed more pragmatic forgiveness, or it could be something fundamental to the personality type. Perhaps extroverts do value relationships in way that allows them to forgive in order to keep their relationships more open and available, pragmatic for both offender and the victim.

5.4.1 Discussion of specific types and prompts

This discussion examines emotional forgiveness, reactive forgiveness, and proactive forgiveness. These types appear specifically helpful for conflict resolution and/or thinking about the model of resistance/ resilience/ vulnerability that has been presented. The degree and type of emotional interests and needs present are both generally and specifically important to conflict. Proactive and reactive forgiveness present radically different orientations, which would significantly impact relationship dynamic in a forgiveness process. The proactive forgiver, for example, sees forgiveness as part of an identity, and tries to forgive. The reactive forgiver, on the other hand, waits for a condition, or conditions, to be met. Meeting conditions will certainly happen more easily with someone who has an orientation of “obligation” or sees forgiveness as a “virtue.” “Healing” and “time to forgive” are also likely to be tangible.

5.4.1.1 Emotional Forgiveness

Forgiveness is frequently described in terms of emotion. Particularly in overcoming an emotion like anger or a desire for revenge. While there is no consensus on which emotion, or

emotions, need to be overcome, revenge and anger are two of the most commonly cited emotions. The veracity of this thinking appears to be substantiated in this analysis. Agreement for “overcoming anger or hatred” was the highest of all explicit forgiveness prompts with 83.2% of respondents agreeing, and only 7.8% disagreeing. 183 participants registered a clear “thinking” preference, 170 participants registered a clear “feeling” preference, and 77 in the “thinking-feeling” middle with no strong preference.

The analysis compares those with clear preferences against one another. Table 5.2 (next page) presents the results of these comparisons. For example, for the prompt “I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred,” for thinkers 79.1% agree and feelers 89.9% agree. This is noteworthy, it shows that even those with a clear preference for “thinking” score high in “emotional forgiveness.”

Table 5.6: Emotional Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Emotional Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology.	4.15	4.26	4.23	4.19	4.02***	4.38	4.22	4.24
	74.6/7.9	80.7/7.0	79/ 5.8	78.6/ 6.4	70.5/ 8.7	86.5/5.9	79.3/7.1	78.8/ 6.1
2 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an explanation.	4.42	4.47	4.34	4.47	4.30**	4.52	4.43	4.42
	86.3/13.8	91.5/8.5	86.1/2.2	89.8/ 2.7	83.5/ 3.3	93.5/2.9	89.1/4.1	86.4/ 1.5
3 If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up.	4.17	4.13	4.18	4.23	4.09*	4.32	4.15	4.09
	76.2/8.0	78.3/10.2	75.1/4.4	83.4/ 8.1	75.8/ 9.3	84.6/6.5	76.7/8.9	80.3/ 9.1
4 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.	4.23	4.18	4.15	4.30	4.11**	4.43	4.25	4.20
	79.3/7.9	78.3/11.6	76.1/8.7	82.4/ 4.8	77/ 10.9	85.3/5.3	80.6/7.8	79.8/ 9.1
5 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake.	4.31	4.28	4.20	4.40	4.18*	4.41	4.32	4.21
	82.5/7.9	82.9/6.2	72.4/5.8	86.1/ 5.3	78.1/ 7.7	85.3/5.3	83.3/6.5	78.8/ 7.6
6 I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone.	3.41	3.68	3.60	3.53	3.39	3.69	3.43	3.65
	58/26.6	66.7/23.2	61.6/ 21	62.6/ 23	54.6/23.5	68.6/18.9	59.2/26.2	58.5/ 18.5
	3.14	3.33	3.30	3.29	3.26	3.38	3.23	3.33

7 I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them.	41.3/ 30.7	48.1/ 24	45.7/ 22.5	49.7/ 24.6	45.4/ 25.1	49.4/ 21.8	48/ 27.6	42.4/ 21.2
8 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.	3.42	3.34	3.38	3.38	3.29	3.49	3.36	3.41
	53.5/ 19.3	50.8/ 22.7	48.2/ 17.5	52.9/ 22.5	51.4/ 22.7	53.6/ 20.1	51.4/ 21.2	53/ 24.2
9 I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance.	3.78	3.96	3.69*	3.99	3.60***	4.08	3.79	3.98
	63.8/ 18.6	74.4/ 14	65.2/19	70.6/ 13.4	58.2/ 22	79.1/ 11.2	65.4/ 16.4	75.8/ 16.7
10 I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred.	4.15	4.18	4.04*	4.32	3.97***	4.36	4.15	4.24
	84.6/ 9.6	85.9/ 7.8	81.9/ 8.7	87.2/ 7.5	79.1/ 9.3	89.9/ 5.9	84/ 7.5	87.9/ 9.1

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

The recognition of the clear importance of emotion in forgiveness practices across a broad spectrum of the surveyed population should also be measured against another prompt; about 51% of participants agreed (37%) or strongly agreed (14%), forgiveness “is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.” The declaration that feeling is fundamental for half the population, is quite revealing, feelings should be considered, but the fact it was *only* 51% implies that while anger and hatred are very important, they are not always most important.

5.4.1.2 Reactive Forgiveness

Reactive forgiveness can feature apology, change of heart, promise for change, or the need for truth. They are some of the most commonly provided necessary and sufficient conditions for granting forgiveness. If-then statements, like these, function well for identifying reactional relationships. While it is striking that these components are commonly featured in definitions of forgiveness, such needs are not universal by any measure. This reveals potential relationship dysfunction; misalignment of expectations between victims and offenders can cause processes to fail in delivering resistance or resilience in the face of conflict or transgression. See Table 5.7 on the next page.

Table 5.7: Reactive Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Reactive Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore.	3.96*	4.22*	4.07	4.01	4.04	4.06	4.02	4.02
	73/ 14.3	86.8/ 3.9	77.5/ 10.1	78.1/ 9.6	77.6/ 10.4	78.2/ 9.4	77.2/ 11.2	75.8/ 7.6
2 The offender needs to say, "I'm sorry" before I can forgive them.	3.40	3.60	3.78***	3.25	3.56	3.37	3.45	3.56
	56.6/ 29.1	66.7/ 21.7	70.3/ 18.1	53.5/ 30.5	62.8/ 21.9	57.1/ 30	60.5/ 27.6	60.6/ 19.7
3 I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them.	3.54	3.62	3.79	3.50	3.71	3.53	3.53	3.65
	59.8/ 22.8	66.7/ 13.2	67.4/ 15.2	62.6/ 24.1	65.6/ 16.4	62.4/ 22.4	60.5/ 23.1	62.1/ 19.7
4 The offender needs to say "I will not do it again" before I can forgive them.	2.89	2.90	3.22**	2.78	3.04	2.91	2.87	3.15
	37/ 39.2	34.9/ 41.9	47.8/ 30.4	32.1/ 42.8	38.3/ 33.3	37.6/ 40	35.7/ 41.5	40.9/ 27.3
5 I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone.	3.43**	3.76	3.54	3.60	3.44*	3.68	3.55	3.67
	55/ 21.7	67.4/ 14.7	58.7/ 20.3	62.6/ 18.2	55.2/ 23.5	64.1/ 15.3	60.2/ 20.7	60.6/ 13.6
6 I need time in order to forgive someone.	3.68**	4.05	3.83	3.92	3.81	3.91	3.85	3.77
	65.6/ 18	82.9/ 8.5	70.3/ 13	77/ 13.4	71.6/ 15.3	75.3/ 12.9	74.1/ 14.6	71.2/ 19.7
7 I need truth before I can forgive someone.	4.00	4.14	4.21*	3.96	4.13	4.04	4.04	4.12
	77.2/ 11.6	82.2/ 10.9	81.2/ 8	76.5/ 13.9	79.2/ 8.7	79.4/ 11.2	77.6/ 12.2	80.3/ 7.6
8 I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender.	3.39	3.22	3.31	3.28	3.33	3.27	3.22	3.45
	52.9/ 20.6	44.2/ 25.6	47.1/ 18.1	48.1/ 24.6	49.7/ 21.3	45.9/ 23.5	44.2/ 25.2	53/ 21.2
9 I believe an offender needs to positively change in order to be forgiven.	3.39	3.22	3.48	3.27	3.47	3.29	3.33	3.48
	53.4/ 25.4	47.3/ 29.5	53.6/ 18.8	52.4/ 30.5	55.2/ 19.7	50.6/ 30.6	49.7/ 26.9	62.1/ 27.3

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

One of the common statements on forgiveness is that people need to say "I'm sorry" before they can be forgiveness. Such a performance is reactive, it fits the form: if _____, then_____.

A significant portion of Chapter 2 feature explanations and defenses of these constructions of the

forgiveness process, for good reason, most of these practices had at least 50% agreement. Many moral arguments present these as necessary or sufficient conditions. What is striking here, for the purposes of the study, is the observation that people do not react universally to these conditions; 70% of sensing people agree that they need to hear “I’m sorry” while those who process information through intuition only had 54% agreement. The association of an apology to forgiveness is ubiquitous, but personality type has a dramatic impact on how this actually plays out. Truth, it turns out, is more important than an apology in all personality types. As will be discussed later in this chapter, capitalizing on the importance of truth is something that may significantly contribute to the success of #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter.

5.4.1.3 Proactive Forgiveness

Proactive forgiveness, on the other hand, can indicate forgiveness occurring without being earned or merited in any way. Creating a different potential for relationship dysfunction in the misalignment of expectations, since proactive forgiveness as an input variable, in this case, does not necessarily appear to present as a relationship output. It may reflect more on personal healing or a spiritual relationship. This could also help explain why 8%-12% of respondents across all personality types disagreed that they need truth in order to forgive. Proactive forgivers appear to forgive for their own reasons independent of the actions of perpetrators. Roughly half of respondents indicated that they see their forgiveness as being part of their identity.

Table 5.8: Proactive Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Proactive Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If a coworker does not follow through on a	3.90***	3.50	3.64	3.81	3.60*	3.84*	3.78	3.62

promise you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship.	72.5/10.1	54.3/21.7	63/ 18.8	66.8/ 11.2	59.6/ 19.1	68.8/ 11.2	66.3/ 13.6	60.6/ 15.2
2 I usually work toward forgiving an offender.	3.75	3.53	3.44**	3.81	3.47**	3.79	3.60	3.77
	60.8/ 9	58.1/ 18.6	50/ 17.4	67.9/ 11.2	51.4/ 16.4	67.6/ 11.8	58.5/ 14.6	66.7/ 12.1
3 Being forgiving is part of my identity.	3.67	3.39	3.30***	3.78	3.25***	3.75	3.52	3.70
	63.5/ 15.3	48.1/ 19.4	47.8/ 27.5	66.3/ 8	43.7/ 24.6	68.2/ 12.4	55.4/ 19	69.7/ 13.6
4 I believe forgiveness is an obligation.	2.79**	2.33	2.50	2.65	2.47	2.66	2.52	2.59
	32.8/ 40.7	22.5/ 62	27.5/ 50.7	31.6/ 48.7	25.1/ 53	32.9/ 46.5	26.5/ 51.4	30.3/ 50
5 I believe forgiveness is a virtue.	3.94	3.91	3.74*	4.00	3.77*	4.01	3.89	4.06
	74.1/ 9	72.9/ 8.5	65.2/ 12.3	77/ 8	67.8/ 10.9	75.3/ 8.8	69.7/ 8.8	84.8/ 7.6

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Measuring religious components for forgiveness is important. Clearly we expect individuals who see forgiveness as an obligation to be more forgiving, and this would have a dramatic impact on processes. Tapping into the source of this obligation, like Bishop Tutu in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, may have great efficacy, but amongst individuals without the feeling of obligation is likely to fall flat. The feeling of an obligation to forgive received disagreement on the whole, with 33% agreement and 41% disagreement for extroverts and 23% agreement and 62% disagreement for introverts.

5.4.2 Application of Findings to Social Movements

The model of resilience/resistance/vulnerability to crisis and conflict establishes important relationships between inputs and outputs to the conflict event as well as the type and timing of the intervention. It is used because it provides value to practitioners in its groundings to contexts, history, and relationships. The model should also function in relationship to groups and

states and not just individuals. Social movements showcase the struggle of groups and their efforts to earn recognition, establish justice, and create positive change. Discussion of forgiveness has focused on moral transgressions that occur as direct and indirect violence, the aim here is to provide an understanding of forgiveness and unforgiveness that relates to structural violence. #BlackLivesMatter responds to an apparent antagonism that posits an immoral truth: bad things happen to black lives at disproportionate rates because black lives don't matter as much as other lives do. #MeToo responds to systematic violence against women by amplifying the message—the truth—that violence is happening and it will not be hidden any longer. I don't want to suggest that the horrendous crimes of police brutality and murder, or sexual assault should be forgiven, or remain unforgiven.

I highlight the important role of this thinking; people and groups can choose to forgive, or not, both the perpetrators and the structures making violence possible. This includes crimes against others, and for the threats structures present. By shifting from a focus on the self in an intrapersonal practice to relationships in an interpersonal understanding we appreciate a larger proximity of damage and harm. Forgiveness and unforgiveness can present on behalf of groups or society as a whole. These forgiveness types can significantly broaden these understandings by providing information on both the main tendencies and the total variation in preferences in both the participants and the audiences being addressed.

This can help to answer: Why do apologies work sometimes, and not others? Even when apparently sincere? Why punishment sometimes fails? Why are some offenders reintegrated into some communities, but others remain expatriated? These questions are not asked in the study but strong rationale is provided that links the findings to strengths and weaknesses for these two movements. This should provide a basis for more thinking on inter-relational forgiveness at the

group and state levels. These applications come out of the findings, the university students who have responded are likely to reflect the larger cross section of participants in #blacklivesmatter and #metoo, but the generalization is less important than the conceptual utility being presented.

5.4.2.1 *Application of Findings to the #MeToo movement*

In “‘Me Too:’ Epistemic Injustice and the Struggle for Recognition” (2018) Debra Jackson showcases how sexual assault should be understood as attacking all women. The part, individual attacks that play out as a woman and a perpetrator, that should not be separated from the whole, that sexism and misogyny are pervasive, systemic, and self-perpetuating. Each occurrence of the former contributing to the latter. Her argument: “‘me too’ is more than a strategy for ‘giving people a sense of the magnitude of the problem;’ it simultaneously makes visible the epistemic injustice suffered by victims of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and helps overcome that injustice through a process of mutual recognition” she continues, “in declaring ‘me too,’ the epistemic subject emerges in the context of a polyphonic symphony of victims claiming their status as agents who are both able to make sense of their own social experiences and able to convey their knowledge to others” (p.3).

Additional layers of structural violence— institutions obstructing equality and justice— complicate matters. While all women are subject and subjected to the everydayness* of sexism, the credibility of the testimony is not treated with equality, rape culture promotes narratives that women lie about being raped; white women are more likely to be believed than women of color (Jackson, 2018). This presents great injustice in every aspect of victimization, individually as

* For more please see: #EverydaySexism, a campaign launched by Laura Bates in 2012.

well as societally. The initial act of violence is frequently misunderstood, in presenting the aggregate data from teaching teenagers about sexual violence Laurie Anderson reports³⁷: “In schools all over the country, in every demographic group imaginable, for 20 years, teenage boys have told me the same thing about the rape victim in Speak: They don’t believe that she was actually raped. They argue that she drank beer, she danced with her attacker and, therefore, she wanted sex. They see his violence as a reasonable outcome” she continues, “this is only made worse by the other question I get most often from these teenage boys in the classroom: Why was the rape victim so upset? They explain, The sex only took a couple minutes, but she’s depressed for, like, a year. They don’t understand the impact of rape.”

The summary of violence against women provided here makes a few clear distinctions. First, #metoo responds to both direct and indirect sources of violence. Second, this implies that there are both direct and indirect victims of this violence. Third, there is great disagreement and ignorance over the crime being committed. Fourth, the harmful impacts are also misunderstood. Hopefully the movement is able to catalyze positive change out of the symphony of voices. The question is whether or not the findings offered in this chapter can help to create this positive change, and I believe they can.

The interpersonal forgiveness typology presented in this chapter can aid the #MeToo movement in several ways. In the following section I make relevance of the four summary points mentioned above and findings from this study. This is not an exhaustive analysis of the #MeToo movement and does not intend to be flippant in abbreviating the long history of gender based

³⁷ See her article in TIME, January 15, 2019, “I’ve Talked With Teenage Boys About Sexual Assault for 20 Years. This Is What They Still Don’t Know.” Retrieved from: <http://time.com/5503804/ive-talked-with-teenage-boys-about-sexual-assault-for-20-years-this-is-what-they-still-dont-know/?fbclid=IwAR0g8Y0GWtH3bOx0udtpkjoio64v1SIRzJIfIn421140FVwBv2ZsvazOan4> January 18, 2019.

violence, nor do I wish to imply that forgiveness is the answer to gender based violence. I do however, want to be explicit in identifying two intersections and specifying what interpersonal forgiveness types can do to help. The interpersonal forgiveness types provide helpful insight into understanding how individuals experience the harm from violence and the corresponding victimization. Structural violence, like #MeToo responds to, includes the millions of women who have been directly assaulted and the millions more who live in fear as a result of the conditions of living in their gender. There appear to be differences in how we forgive direct and indirect violence. The difference is manifested and internalized in the roles as direct and indirect victims.

5.4.2.1.1 direct and indirect violence

#MeToo presents both direct and structural violence. This makes the common victim-offender formulation of wrongdoing problematic; there are many victims and offenders, and the movement has overwhelmingly demonstrated that point—45% of Facebook users in the U.S. had a friend who posted using the hashtag (CBS News, 2017). Within 24 hours of Alyssa Milano's Oct. 16, 2017 tweet "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet" there were 53,000 comments. "Milano said the idea was to elevate the Harvey Weinstein conversation, placing the emphasis on victims rather than perpetrators and offering a glimpse into the number of women who continue to be victimized" (CBS News, 2017).

Sixty per-cent (60%) of respondents in my survey indicated that they agree or strongly agree that they need to heal before they can forgive. This suggests that Milano's idea was spot on. The focus on perpetrators, like calls for punishing Harvey Weinstein, misses the mark (as far as forgiveness is concerned). Only 27% respondents indicated that they agreed or strongly agreed that they need to see offenders punished before they can forgive, most respondents base their

forgiveness on something else. This is not to say that forgiving structural violence, which in this case involves sexual violence and harassment of millions of women and men, ought to be the goal, but that understanding a shift from offender to victim is central to the strategy's success. Though I would push further in saying that where forgiveness is performed in the service of healing, punishment of the offender is not merely a superfluous detail.

The indirect violence appears to fall into two primary categories. The first being the discovery of injury to others—to hurt because others have been hurt—the second in realizing the miscarriage of justice—discovering that the wrongdoers are getting away with it. I will speculate that those who've been directly harmed can process forgiveness for themselves in a significantly different process from those who've been indirectly harmed. Those who forgive for indirect harm, without the administration of justice, must certainly fear that they appear to have condoned the violence. Those who've said "Me Too" can ethically heal and move on, but those who've borne witness to #MeToo and been indirectly harmed, may not feel they have standing to forgive the perpetrators. This suggests that it is challenging for individuals to forgive the consequences of fear, this can include forgiving themselves for having been afraid. There is not a clear means for addressing strangers, for saying, "I don't know you, but we're in a rape culture, and I forgive you for what you could do to me or other women." Hanging onto bitter resentment has negative consequences, but releasing resentment over injustice can also turn into inaction where it is sorely needed.

5.4.2.1.2 *direct and indirect victims*

Forgiveness frequently falls into a law or rule oriented metaphor. In a court of law proof of wrongdoing is frequently not enough, proof of damages is also required. Somewhere at the

foundation of this thinking is the language of reasonable expectations. A perpetrator who accepts responsibility for directly harming a victim is unlikely to take responsibility for the larger picture of indirect victims. As feminist author Aqsa Sajjad points out, “She is someone’s sister/ mother/ daughter/ wife. Imagine how you would feel if someone did that to a woman you cared about” is insufficient “their intention is to make the victim more relatable, but what they usually forget in the process is that women are people too, and *their value does not lie in their relation to a man—or another woman, for that matter*” (2016).

One problem with structural violence is that first it distorts the damage to the victim. In the U.S. crimes are committed against the state, not individuals, and this is further exaggerated by this sister-mother-daughter-wife thinking about victims of gender-based violence. Second it distorts the reach of victimization through psychological harm and trauma. Third there is frequently a greater perception of stigma for being victimized than being the victimizer, and being known as an accuser can also carry damaging impacts to self and others. What is clear from respondents, however, is that truth is extremely important.

Participant responses indicate high levels of agreement for “I need truth before I can forgive someone.” Its mean score amongst explicit forgiveness prompts, 4.07, was second to “I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred,” 4.17 (4 indicating agreement, 5 indicating strong agreement). 43.5% of respondents strongly agreed and 34.8% agreed, they need the truth. But, as mentioned, there are many reasons why perpetrators are dis-incentivized from providing truth. Forgiveness is one of the few incentives for being honest about the commission of moral wrongs.

#MeToo is essentially a response affirming the findings of the reactive forgiveness type. The system addresses punitive responses to injury, which do little to help victims, direct or

indirect, heal. “I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them” had the second lowest mean score amongst explicit forgiveness prompts with 2.73, and 46.5% of respondents who disagree (28.1%) or strongly disagree (18.4%). The specific complaints of #MeToo is that victims need to be trusted—not punished; a focus on truth and healing are supported in this analysis.

5.4.2.2 Application of Findings to #BlackLivesMatter

#BlackLivesMatter is a movement that was created in 2013 to respond to the acquittal of George Zimmerman. Zimmerman was responsible for the death of Trayvon Martin, which was clear from the facts, but was not found guilty of murder. Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi organized in response to the injustice they identified in this outcome. The political and ideological position presented in the movement outlines systematic and structural oppression of black lives and obstacles to justice and human rights in black communities. They argue that George Zimmerman was acquitted because black lives do not matter, and also that Trayvon Martin was killed because black lives do not matter.

They continue to argue that each new injustice—building off the last—re-aggravates and traumatizes the whole black community. When Darren Wilson was found innocent of crimes in killing Michael Brown Jr., in Ferguson Missouri in 2014, #BlackLivesMatter was credited with mobilizing protests, and the trend has continued with numerous other cases. By 2017³⁸ the movement is credited with influencing outcomes. One case is police officer Roy Oliver being

³⁸The 2017 update is documented in “Black Lives Matter' cases: When controversial killings lead to change” by Holly Yan, CNN, and retrieved from: <https://www.cnn.com/2017/05/04/us/black-lives-matter-updates-may-2017/index.html> February 2, 2019.

fired after the April 29, 2017, shooting of 15-year-old Jordan Edwards; Police Chief Jonathan Haber had initially indicated a car was moving aggressively towards officers, but footage later revealed the car was moving away, and Oliver was fired because he "violated several departmental policies." #BlackLivesMatters has responded to many cases⁹, and while there has been some improvement, in some cases, there is considerable work to be done on the whole. As with the #MeToo movement, there are clear implications for these findings when thinking about #BlackLivesMatter.

Part of the debate over #BlackLivesMatter is over tactics that have been used in protest. The movement has generated controversy over #TakeAKnee and protests that have intentionally caused freeways to become blocked or closed. Taking a knee is a spinoff of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement sparked by Colin Kaepernick, an NFL player, who refused to stand for the National Anthem, before games, and was subsequently persuaded by Retired Army Green Beret Nate Boyer to take a knee so that he could show respect to those who serve the flag while protesting. Kaepernick said, "I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color. To me, this is bigger than football and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder" (Wyche, 2016).

BLM protestors have also intentionally blocked freeways in a number of large cities connecting to the history of civil rights protests in the 1960's. Benjamin Jealous, former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and visiting professor at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, quoted in

⁹ Philando Castile, 32; Freddie Gray, 25; Eric Garner, 43; Walter Scott, 50; Alton Sterling, 37 are some of the many cases alleging wrongdoing in police force leading to unnecessary deaths, which argue the point: this wouldn't happen if Black Lives Mattered.

the Wall Street Journal explained blocking highways is a tactic used by activists “who feel like they have no other way to get their community and the world to stop and take notice of what’s happened” sending a broader public message “we will be inconvenienced if we allow our local government to continue to tolerate the killing of innocent civilians” (Bauerlein & Calvert, 2016). The methods have been criticized and at points the methods appear to overshadow the message. The findings in this study of interpersonal forgiveness relate to truth-telling, anger and hatred, and change of heart in terms of the Black Lives Matter movement.

5.4.2.2.1 *Truth-Telling*

The message of truth about systematic and disproportionate violence committed by police on black communities is important. As previously mentioned in thinking about #MeToo, the need for truth had the second highest mean score amongst participants, 79.1% of respondents were either in agreement or strong agreement with the prompt that they need truth in order to forgive. The BLM movement is highly effective when its efforts amplify the messages of police violence and its roots. Sustained grassroots and community based truth-telling processes have fostered community building and the development of coalitions in vulnerable populations. These are included in the mission statement of the Truth Telling Project (TTP) with the goal of: “engage the U.S. in stories that galvanize thoughtful, empathetic and educated allies for Black and communities of color. By encouraging ‘witnesses’ to listen and reflect on voices ‘from the margins,’ our hope is that more individuals and communities might become interested in ending the structural and militarized violence in the U.S. [...] We ultimately encourage empathy and anti-racist learning among ally communities, and lead people to The Movement for Black Lives and other racial justice organizations as supporters” (TTP Goal).

The findings of this study confirm this strategy, echoed by TTP and other organizations, positively impacts a broad population. Again, forgiveness may not be the goal but as it relates to healing the need appears to be clear. Truth is more important to victims (on the whole) than an apology, acknowledgement of wrongdoing, promise it won't happen again, or restitution are. Truth-telling is, again, conducted in the service of spreading the message, which is problematized by a context that legitimizes and sponsors the violence. Empathy for the lived experience of others can bridge gaps in relationships and also to help create allies. Sympathy between victims is also achieved through shared experience and solidarity. It is an effort to increase pressure to catalyze positive social change, which one would hope could lead to a new status quo, which has been labeled as relationship resilience. There will not be a healthy relationship while the violence and suffering are ongoing, but once changes are enacted such that black communities are no longer terrorized truth-telling will provide the advantage of advancing forgiveness of the oppressors.

5.4.2.2.2 Anger and Hatred

Anger and hatred are powerful emotions. Analysis of responses indicates that overcoming anger and hatred was most important in achieving forgiveness of all the prompts offered. In the cases of serious injustice outrage seems to be an extremely understandable response. It is worth questioning the value of such a powerful response. People frequently refer to anger as a negative emotion, but this is not necessarily the case. Anger can be a powerful reminder of values and beliefs, which catalyze action and change. What is negative about being reminded of one's own self-worth or respect?

Overcoming anger and hatred appears to take on value in the common identification of having been constrained, defined, or limited by strong feelings. The description of “seeing red” and “losing control” are examples of this. Overcoming anger, in this sense, would mean that one is not overwhelmed or defined by it. Or that it would not be the cause of poor decision making. It is absolutely understandable that reoccurring tragedy of unnecessary deaths at the hands of seemingly out-of-control police officers would cause people to be fired up with anger. Communities are being destroyed by the people who are supposed to keep them safe, and people are justifiably angry.

This is where an important critical examination needs to take place. If BLM protests are motivated by anger and hatred, and actions like blocking traffic are a kind of revenge or lashing out, then one could explore the question of overcoming anger and hatred (or some degree of it). If actions like blocking traffic are based on rational decision making—as a strategic choice—then they can be examined for their efficacy. Nonviolence works better than violence, and actions like blocking traffic close sympathy gaps, which are beneficial to the cause. Sympathy gaps are created when people see that there is gap between what is right, and fair, separating it from reality. That gap closes rapidly when the tables are turned, when the victim becomes a wrongdoer. In simple terms, inconveniencing someone is likely to produce anger, in turn prohibiting the possibility of a receptive listener.

Omar Wasow asked the question “Do Protests Matter?” and examined black-led protests from the 1960’s; his findings could not be more clear: “In presidential elections, proximity to black-led nonviolent protests increased white Democratic vote-share whereas proximity to black-led violent protests caused substantively important declines and likely tipped the 1968 election from Hubert Humphrey to Richard Nixon” (2017). Violence, name calling, shaming behaviors,

or even creating an inconvenience is strategically unsound, in this case because anger and hatred are an obstacle to forgiveness in the long run, because acting in anger reduces one's ability to gain sympathy or recruit allies.

The findings presented here are important because they can offer more strategic guidance to those working in social movements. If the BLM protests are driven by emotion, and that emotion is causing counterproductive behaviors, then these forgiveness types and the work of campaigns like the Truth Telling Project are crucial. If the BLM protests are strategic, then these findings may help explain why causing inconveniences, like being stuck in traffic, do not have the intended consequences. Gandhi's teachings also echo these understandings; it was crucial that his followers not respond in anger—even when being cracked in the head—because it would damage the protest. Martin Luther King Jr. followed in the same practice of nonviolent devotion, he absolutely knew that they would be on the receiving end of violence, and he knew this would showcase the brutality of racism in the South even more. It was necessary to shock consciousness in order to create a change of heart.

The crucial detail emerging here is not that it is wrong to be angry; the opposite is true—the experience of anger when exposed to injustice is absolutely appropriate—anger and resentment at injustice is the appropriate moral response. It is a question of what to do with that anger, and this is clearly a challenge, but time and healing appear to be variable within a victims' control and crucial to most individuals. Social movements will benefit by understanding the roles anger and hatred play. Showcasing the anger and hatred of oppression can elicit sympathy and will aid recruitment of allies. Causing potential allies to experience anger and hatred, however, will likely push them away. Individuals are well served by identifying the steps they can take to prevent these strong emotions from compromising their goals, it can mean the difference

between achieving resilience or persisting as vulnerable; or worse, anger and hatred presented by a social movement may even be used as justification for the violence the group protests. These findings provide insight with the potential to inform engagement in more efficient strategies of nonviolent communication by understanding the role of anger and hatred in forgiveness. Future research providing greater clarity into how anger and hatred sabotage social movements from achieving their intended outcomes could be particularly valuable.

5.4.2.2.3 *Change of Heart*

Cheshire Calhoun's piece, "Changing One's Heart" (1992), presents a common ethical argument for why forgiveness must be "deserved," and why it comes short. It references several different versions (Kolnai, 1978; Murphy, 1988, etc.) of the ethical arguments that separate the wrongdoer from the harm that was inflicted—separating the sin from the sinner—has changed and is not the person who committed the harm any longer. Calhoun ultimately concludes forgiveness is not given out of obligation, "The choice to forgive under these circumstances forces upon us a second choice—one that we might prefer never to have to make. Either we go on with her, accepting that she cannot be who we want her to be, and knowing what going on will cost. Or we disengage, removing ourselves from harm's way" (p.96).

Calhoun provides great clarity to the challenge: "The concern that one might, by forgiving, condone wrongdoing arise because moving from resentment to some more positive emotion is not simply a matter of changing how one feels about wrongdoers. No emotion is simply a feeling; [...] A forgiving change of heart thus commits us to changing how we think about and treat the wrongdoer" (p.84). Understanding this in terms of BLM means truly accepting that the officer in a shooting may have been genuinely fearful, but that the fear had

metastasized as a result of racial biases—biases which had been inexcusably cultivated.

Forgiving profiling is forgiving the death sentence that was carried in every shift, not because an innocent life was ended prematurely, but because the conditions for a death sentence were in place. The structural violence was in place, the officers had trained and developed a sensitivity—the fear of the thug—which was a time bomb.

Respondents have echoed the argument Calhoun opposes— 62% agree or strongly agree that they need to see that offenders have a change of heart before they can be forgiven. But those who support BLM do not appear to change their own hearts, because while there may be the messages from a remorseful officer⁴⁰, the system which promotes and perpetuates the racial bias does not change. To borrow Calhoun’s language there is no acceptance that [the system] cannot be who we want [the system] to be, and knowing what going on will cost. Or we disengage... or we protest.

5.4.2.2.4 Healing and Reparations

Writing for the Fellowship of Reconciliation David Ragland states: “If structurally violent conditions like gentrification lead to the explicitly violent conditions we face with police, and to poverty [...] as we work with Black communities across the country. Reparations is an intersectional issue that crosses and impacts various identities. FOR has taken up this work,

⁴⁰For one example see: “Dallas officer who apologized to Black Lives Matter is shining example of humility” Herndon-De La Rosa (2016) which outlines a message of forgiveness to Black Lives Matter after Sgt. Michael Smith is killed during an ambush against Dallas Police. An anonymous undercover officer spoke: “I’m so very sorry that you felt as if your voice, your opinion and your life did not matter to us. I am sorry for the misdeeds and wrongs of the few in my profession over the years that have caused and created this distrust, fear and anger toward law enforcement... We cannot fight the criminals and also the people we have sworn to protect. ‘You do matter.’” Which continued, “We cannot allow tragedy to continue to bring us together. Forgiveness for the hurt must come first.”

listening and acting in ways consistent with the wishes of the most impacted communities. We affirm a framework of healing, support, and continued solidarity for reparative justice” (2019, para. 11-13). It is clear that the structural violence of the past and the present are both parts of the formula for responding to Black Live Matter, and there is clear evidence here supporting his observations.

His argument is about reparations sitting as a midpoint between truth and reconciliation and respondents’ responses support this. Healing (59% agree/ 19% disagree) for many respondents needs to come before forgiveness, but time (73%/ 14%), and then truth (78%/ 10%) have even more agreement. The next chapter looks at this in more detail. Social forces like religion, race and gender certainly must be considered in responding to these challenges. The key here, however, is to see reparations as a reflection of or related to truth. Reparations are a tangible manifestation of the recognition that wrongs were committed, but also a systematic—judicial—effort to interrupt the ongoing (frequently structural) violence.

Reparations are situated in proximity to forgiveness in what Ragland (2019) describes as comprehensively understanding “the legacy of slavery and to the world we live in now. [...] the racial apartheid in the United States that privileges White citizens, directly resulting in violence against Black and non-White people. The legacy of slavery constantly impacts Black people in the United States who are descendants of the transatlantic slave trade. In the United States, the New Jim Crow, housing and employment discrimination, and economic inequality make the social, material, and spiritual conditions that Black people experience unbearable” (para. 2). Without reparations society undoubtedly remains divided, the number of people who can forgive without truth or healing is, indeed, quite small; only 25 of the 435 respondents disagreed with both, meanwhile 217 indicated agreement for both prompts.

5.5 Conclusions

Analysis of fundamental differences in preferences individuals hold for forgiveness has yielded important findings. The attitudes and behaviors present different forgiveness types. This goes a long way in addressing the questions of variation in unique attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness as well as what personal influences impact these attitudes and behaviors. There is evidence supporting the hypothesized claims and it means that there are measurements for different interpersonal forgiveness types. They can provide utility in the service in a range of activities from conflict management and resolution to evaluating social movements. Knowledge about these types could potentially provide significance for making predictions on outcomes as well as guidance on the role of different strategies of intervention.

Application of these findings to the #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter show the utility of these interpersonal forgiveness prompts. These two contemporary social movements address issues highlighting ongoing systematic injustice. Intrapersonal definitions are not able to address contexts of structural violence, but these findings provide immediate strategic value for social movements. #MeToo and #BlackLiveMatter address truth, and these findings confirm the central importance of truth; it is empirical validation of the importance of truth-telling, which has been crucial for gaining progressive momentum and catalyzing social change. The findings also provide empirical detail for understanding why certain strategies in protest may have counterproductive outcomes. There may be ways to help limit the impacts of anger and hatred which can serve to sabotage the goals of a social movement—where the methods frequently distort (or are more important than) the message.

The impact of input on outputs is crucial when they are predictable. Anger, hatred, forgiveness, healing, and time are important, ultimately, because they influence the ability of

individuals to be vulnerable, resistant, or resilient to crisis and conflict. While this is morally distinct from prior scholarship weighing the burdens of moral transgressions and judicial responses, it provides utility for neutrals and professionals in conflict resolution. Asking “is the anger helping?” is fundamentally different from “is the anger appropriate?” The utility of anger in conflict may be limited to such things as catalyzing interventions and responses where avoidance might be one’s natural inclination—it creates an opportunity for change—but overcoming that anger when it becomes an impediment to goals may also be crucial. These findings present the central role of emotion, anger and hatred in particular, in most individuals’ experience and expression of forgiveness. Feelers practice more emotional forgiveness than thinkers do, but there is clearly an emotional dimension.

This chapter should be seen as a significant starting point for the development of an interpersonal forgiveness typology. The analysis provides robust data establishing the interplay of individuals—a relationship—as a direct influence in the forgiveness process, which moves past intrapersonal—within an individual—understandings. Beyond the variance in forgiveness that is explained by relationships the establishment of different types, bundling different traits together, is also significant. People are practicing forgiveness in distinctly different ways, sometimes fundamentally different ways, and acknowledging and identifying the salient differences in forgiveness can be crucial for effective interventions into conflict. These differences can be grouped into 10 different forgiveness types. Practitioners and conflict coaches need to appreciate forgiveness types like one would see different techniques in other activities. Just like oil paints and watercolors are different for a painter—not all forgiveness is the same and these distinctions are important.

The next chapter will revisit the research questions examining the influences of social influences. Those results should also help explain the hypothesized forgiveness types. Perhaps punitive and pragmatic forgiveness relate more to social harmony than personal preference, or it could be possible that groups who've faced more systematic oppression or discrimination have embraced forgiveness practices as a coping mechanism, or resisted forgiveness as an affirmation of the central importance of truth. Chapter 6 will provide more insight into the historical, ideological, and theoretical traditions laid out in Chapters 2 and 3. Forgiveness is frequently understood according to social prescriptions, the influence of religion and gender on forgiveness are also examined. Forgiveness will also be explored, are some people more naturally forgiving than others?

Chapter 6: Theory Testing on the Relationship Between Social Motivators and Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Forgiveness

While revenge weakens society, forgiveness gives it strength
—Dalai Lama⁴

The challenges that conflicts and moral transgressions place upon relationships have been presented in detail. We see common themes about the strength of individuals and societies; that those who can forgive are strong and that forgiveness can be a source of strength. The theory provided in this study alleges that one-way resistance and resilience from conflicts and moral transgressions can be achieved is through forgiveness. Conversely, it is offered that unforgiveness can be a source of vulnerability and dysfunction. Chapter 5 looked at the way personality influences forgiveness inputs and outputs, and tested hypotheses that suggest personality influences decisions about who, what, when, where, why, and how people forgive. Chapter 6 revisits similar hypotheses from a social perspective. How much of the variation in attitudes and behaviors identified in chapter 5 can be explained by social forces?

6.1 Introduction

Religion is hypothesized to have an influence on decisions about forgiveness. One can imagine that a charismatic leader like the Dalai Lama (quoted above) or the Bishop Desmond

⁴ Tweet from the Dalai Lama's official account @DalaiLama, 2:45 AM - 3 Jan 2012, retrieved from <https://twitter.com/dalailama/status/154151370251972608?lang=en> on 9/23/18.

Tutu (cited in chap. 2) could have a significant influence on a disciple or follower, or that traditions, which frequently provide moral instructions of forgiveness, could have significant influences on choices individuals make about who, what, when, where, why, and how to forgive. As social inputs like religion present influences on attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness support for a movement from an intra-relational definition to an inter-relational definition should increase.

This chapter details the measurement and study of social forces hypothesized to influence attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. These social inputs — motivators — are tested against the forgiveness prompts as well as the developed types from chapter 5. Another variable is also introduced in this chapter, forgivingness is a measurement of the trait of being forgiving, and it is tested for dependence on, and relationship to, different social inputs. It is hypothesized that since religion teaches forgiveness, that forgivingness will increase with religiosity. Another hypothesis examines differences in forgiveness based on gender, though there are hypothesized differences in attitudes and behaviors in male and female preferences for forgiveness, it will be interesting to see if one gender group is more likely to forgive than the other. The hope is that greater understanding of the role of social forces on forgiveness process will help in the de-escalation of conflicts and the durability of peace in reconciliation, where it is appropriate.

Study participants provided demographic information, completed a ten question Centrality of Religion scale (CRS), took a fifteen question Conflict Management Styles Assessment (CMSA), and completed the five prompt Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF) (see study questions in Appendix). These tests (described in chap. 3) provide social information about participants in specific areas: gender, religious belief and religiosity, and assertiveness and cooperativeness in responding to conflict. The goal was not to

test all social variables, but to test biological, ideological, and socialized factors for influences on forgiveness practices. Subsequent evaluation was used to test whether relationships are explained by an intra-relational understanding of forgiveness or an inter-relational model of forgiveness, as has been presented⁴².

The social measures were tested against the forgiveness measures. Means tests of male ($n=198$) and female ($n=224$) participants against the forgiveness prompts presented as statistically significant difference in 23 of the 57 categories, 15 implicit and eight explicit. Eleven prompts solicited significant differences between white ($n=284$) and black ($n=63$) respondents, five implicit and six explicit. Twenty-three prompts showcased difference between a high religiosity ($n=165$) and low religiosity ($n=125$), ten implicit and thirteen explicit (the mean scores and the percentages of agreement and disagreement for all prompts are presented in the Appendix). Deeper analysis was conducted to explain these differences and what, if any, role social forces play in explaining this variation.

This chapter presents results of the analysis, a return to the hypotheses being tested, a discussion on the data and the findings, and application of these findings to current events. If the inter-relational theory of forgiveness presented is accurate, then social forces should have a measurable impact on participants' identified preferences in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. Means differences between populations on the basis of gender, race, and religion as well as correlations between social measures and forgiveness and forgivingness measures are offered as evidence of the validity of the inter-relational theory of forgiveness and confirmation

⁴² There is debate about whether gender is biological or not, and it is worthy of consideration. What is intended here is that there are no biological differences that would prevent males or females from engaging in any of the particular elements of forgiveness that are presented. The difference is one of social roles, an examination of masculine and feminine forgiveness is one recommendation for future research.

of hypotheses on the influence of social forces on attitudes and behaviors regarding forgiveness. These conclusions provide both more complexity and opportunity for examining the role of forgiveness in conflict management, interventions into crises, and peacebuilding.

6.2 The Variables

The inter-relational understanding of forgiveness presented makes use of a causal mechanism (found in section 4.6 (p.99)) in which social forces influence attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. Since socialization impacts human interaction, learned behaviors, cultural norms, and value systems, it is hard to envision that forgiveness—as being fundamentally about relationships—would not be significantly impacted by social forces. Culture and socialization dramatically influence the engagement of individuals with one another, and this tests whether social forces impact individuals' attitudes and motivations for engaging in forgiveness and their preferences in forgiveness behaviors.

Four social inputs are tested in this study. The four inputs present as most likely cases for showing the influence of social forces on forgiveness. Gender, race, religion, and conflict management styles have been chosen as representations of socialization—behaving in society in ways that are acceptable. Gender, “a social construct regarding culture-bound conventions, roles, and behaviors for, as well as relations between and among, women and men, boys and girls” (Krieger, 2003), is selected because differences between males' and females' preferences for forgiveness would be a product of social construction. It is not the biological parts that males and females have, which make it possible to engage in forgiveness behaviors—there is no metaphysical justification to explain a moral difference here. However, there are many socially prescribed differences, and this is one of the easiest places to measure those social differences. If

a woman can or is expected to apologize for not being ladylike, or a man for being too feminine, then we see exaggerated examples (not tested in this study) of both the offense and the forgiveness process.

The same also holds true for racial and religious differences. It is not the skin pigmentation, but the socio-cultural significance of race that is hypothesized to impact preferences for forgiveness. Expression of preferences for forgiveness that differ along racial or religious lines would demonstrate features about socialization of forgiveness as a practice or value. Even more importantly these measurements, of similarity or difference, can provide crucial information for developing processes in known demographics. These factors of socialization provide easy means for methodological social differentiation which also provide practical utility. Religion and conflict management styles differ from gender and race in that they are learned and practiced behaviors, and this implies that individuals have at least some control in their abilities to learn to be more or less forgiving.

6.2.1 Gender

This study looks at differences in forgiveness dynamics between males and females. Gender is seen to affect conflict dynamics at multiple levels, individual, societal, and cultural, and they are all inter-relational. There are arguments about differences between males and females, and, for the purposes of this study, differences in responses on attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness are presumed to be socially constructed aspects of gender. I do not have an interest or mechanism for finding out if females actually care more than males do (this is a limitation of subjectivity in self scoring), but I'm also not blaming differences on the patriarchy or something else. The study examines differences in attitudes and behaviors as well as

differences in what males and females forgive. Gender is a most likely case for theory testing because its role as a social construction is well documented and the role of gender as structural violence—gender based and sexual violence—is also well documented. The #MeToo movement is the test case for this examination.

6.2.2 Race

The differences in forgiveness dynamics between black and white populations is a second “most likely” examination for the purposes of theory testing. Race is seen to affect conflict dynamics at multiple levels, individual, societal, and cultural, and they are all inter-relational. The study examines differences in attitudes and behaviors as well as differences in what black and white respondents forgive. The discussion in this chapter connects to the larger history of racism in its analysis of #BlackLivesMatter in reflecting on questions of forgiving structures that promote and/or support race based violence and hatred.

6.2.3 Religiosity

Religion is broadly conceived of as being a system or creed, which people use to inform metaphysical and moral conditions of the world they live in⁴³. Religion is frequently a source of moral instruction, and in those teachings parishioners learn about who, what, when, where, why and how to forgive. The religious examination utilized in this study is one of religiosity. Since religion relates to the expression of attitudes and behaviors through moral education, it is

⁴³ There are a multitude of ways to define religion. Ninian Smart’s (1998) seven dimensions of religion: ritual, narrative and mythic, experiential and emotional, social and institutional, ethical and legal, doctrinal and philosophical, and material, are particularly helpful for understanding the full extent of religion as an input to forgiveness processes; each of the dimensions could have direct implications on attitudes and behaviors.

expected that religious people's practices would align with the teachings of their church.

Religiosity is a reflection of the extent people incorporate religion into their daily lives. It is hypothesized that an increase in religiosity translates to an increase in forgivingness. There are also four prompts specifically coded for an examination of religion and its influence on attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. These prompts ask about the experience of forgiveness as an obligation, religious responsibility, virtue, and requiring penance. To a lesser degree the forgiveness prompt expressing a connection between forgiveness and identity is also expected to increase as religiosity increases.

Participants answered ten questions from the CRS, which scores the strength of an individuals' commitment to religious practice. It is an attempt at an objective measure of religious commitment. While it is imperfect, because it scores all of its prompts equally though some practitioners may not see equal value to each of the features, it does provide robust detail comparing individuals against one another in a fairly objective way. The variable reflects an individuals' commitment and exposure to religious teachings, which include ideas about a range of moral behaviors including teachings on forgiveness.

Religiosity and religion are not merely control variables in a study on forgiveness, they are important variables for measuring the influence of social force as an input on the output of forgiveness. If religious pressure can influence forgiveness processes, then an inter-relational understanding of forgiveness does a better job of explaining the phenomena. The question here, however, addresses whether or not religious people more forgiving. The goal is not to determine which religions are most forgiving. Research focusing on comparisons between church congregation could help to answer which religions are most forgiving, but those results would be

less generalizable. The goal of making a general claim about religion, and its daily expression (religiosity), as a social motivator is well served with the use CRS.

6.2.4 Conflict Management Styles

Conflict management styles are a secular measurement of individual responses to conflicts and dilemmas, which may include moral transgressions. Conflict management styles are the output of a large number of factors shaping an individual's behavior. At least part of the explanation of an individual's engagement and response to conflict is a reflection of social pressures and societal norms. Colloquial expressions are found everywhere, and while this research is not immediately looking at the sources of the teachings it is worth noting the extent in which forgiveness traits are a product of and explained by socialization. If, for example, the hypotheses that accommodation and collaboration correlate with increased forgivingness and competition correlates with decreased forgivingness there are many implications for forgiveness processes, then looking at these behaviors offers considerable predictive value.

Conflict management styles reflect individual preferences in addressing problems. While these questions engage with individual preferences, they showcase specific features of how an individual engages in society, and what acceptable behavior looks like. The five conflict management scales (see chart below) reflect behaviors as they relate to interest for the self and interest for the other; competing is high in interest for self (assertiveness) and low in interest for the other (cooperativeness); accommodating is low for the self and high for the other; avoiding is low for self and low for other; collaborating is high for self and for other; and compromising balances between self and other. Chart 6.1: Dual Concern Model on the next page.

Chart 6.1: Dual Concern Model

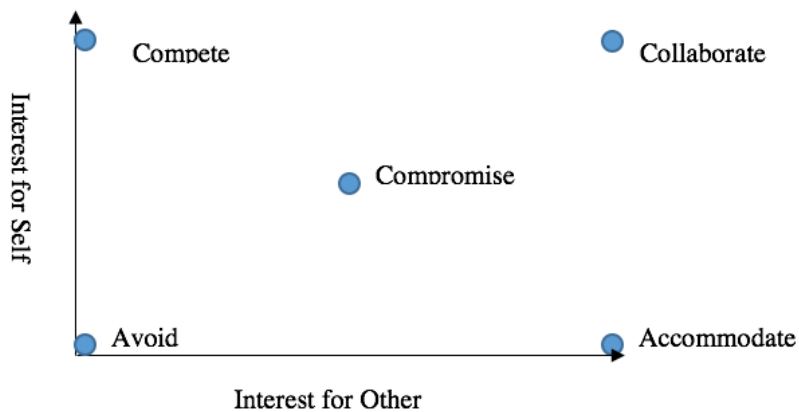


Chart: Dual Concern Model (Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993)

The hypothesis on conflict management styles (hypothesis 24 p.91) does not distinguish between behaviors that have been learned from one's culture, experience, or a classroom, just the impact of the behavior. One could be competitive by virtue of living in a society where men are given incentive for being aggressive in competition, or from years of training in athletic competition, but the hypothesis is the same: as an individual's preference for competition increases their trait for being forgiving—forgiveness—decreases. Forgiveness and forgiveness are antithetical to competition; they are validation of the other in ways that can sacrifice the interests of the self.

6.2.5 Forgivingness

Forgivingness is the trait or tendency to be forgiving. It is the general measurement of an individual's resistance or openness to giving forgiveness⁴. As a variable forgivingness helps to

⁴“Five Forgiveness Assessments Recommended for Conflict Resolution Processes” (Gould, 2008) presents:
“Forgiveness-Resistant/Overly-Forgiving Assessment: Forgiveness-resistant or prideful victims resist forgiveness

distinguish between socialization on whether or not individuals *should forgive* versus providing guidance to individuals on *how they should forgive*. Certain attitudes and behaviors are reflected in religion (sometimes), like apology, atonement, change of heart, *metanoia* (in Judaism this is a turning away from evil), mercy, obligation, penance, punishment, and restitution. Certain faiths and cultures do teach people how to forgive, and the notion that social forces—like religion—suggest that people should forgive is noteworthy. If an increase in religiosity increases forgivingness that is important, regardless of the processes an individual engages in, because it suggests forgiveness can be learned or taught. On the other hand, if institutions cannot effectively teach forgiveness, when they try to, then focus should be redirected back to the individuals. This would mean refocusing on the differences like those between gender and conflict management styles in the tendency of an individual to forgive.

6.3 Data Analysis

There are three sets of hypotheses (17-24) presented in 4.3 (pp. 95-9) of the methods chapter relating to social forces. The first set (hypotheses 17-19) hypothesizes relationships between social forces and specific attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. Specifically, these hypotheses examine the influence biology, ideology, and socialization (through race, gender, and religious practice) have on preferences in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. The second set (hypotheses 20-23) hypothesizes relationships between social groups and forgivingness—the

because it is perceived as lowering the victim to the level of the offender. Overly forgiving or servile victims forgive too easily because they perceive the offender as having a higher or intimidating status. Those in the middle of this continuum have a healthy amount of self-respect, neither too inflated, nor too deflated” (p.6). I want to distinguish trait forgiveness—forgivingness—as an expression of a disposition to be forgiving from the concerns in this continua, though it is again important to note, the resistance or openness can come from different sources.

trait of being forgiving. This tests to see if race, gender, or the strength or religious practice influences how forgiving people are. The last hypothesis (hypothesis 24) suggests relationships between preferences in conflict modes and preferences in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness. The hypotheses broadly examine variation in attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness in their relationships to biological, ideological, and socialized factors presented as social forces. The first hypothesis group was confirmed by the results of the independent samples t-tests. The analysis of means shows social forces express variation ($p < .05$) in 41 of 57 prompts (complete tables are found in Appendix A.4) which can at least be partially explained by social forces—different groups forgive in different ways. The second hypothesis group appears to present that forgiveness is or can be a learned behavior. There is no significant difference in forgiveness scores on the basis of gender or race, but more religious people are more forgiving. The third set of hypotheses adds to this claim, strategies for conflict management are clearly learned behaviors. This suggests that there are both religious and secular frameworks, or ideologies, which directly relate to one's capacity to forgive.

6.3.1 Hypothesis Testing

The three groups of hypotheses were systematically analyzed for validity. Participant responses from the different groups were tested for statistical difference. Where differences were identified explanations for those differences were explored. Several prompts revealed multiple differences, in those cases supplemental analysis was used to identify best or most likely explanations. The threshold for difference was set at a significance level of $p < .05$, other relationships are rejected at this time.

Independent samples t-tests were used to establish statistically significant different preferences in attitudes and preferences for forgiveness on the basis of gender, race, and religiosity. These tested for differences between males and females, black and white populations, and high and low religiosity groups. Additional analysis tested for correlations between scaled variables. Correlations tested relationships between forgivingness, religiosity, forgiveness type, and conflict management type scores.

Two sets of forgiveness prompts were used, 41 of the 57 prompts presented a statistically significant ($p < .05$) difference in means in at least one of the social groups or motivators being compared. Twenty-nine (29) implicit prompts asking questions about preferences relating to participant responses to wrongdoing and responses to wrongdoing that relate to aspects of forgiveness were used. In total 22 of the implicit prompts were statistically significant in at least one social category; of these 15 prompts were significantly different between males and females, five were different between black and white groups, and ten were different between high and low religiosity groups. Twenty-eight (28) explicit forgiveness prompts asking questions about specific details about what participant do or need in order to forgive were asked. In total 19 explicit prompts were significant in at least one social category; of these seven prompts were different between males and females, five were different between black and white groups, and 13 were different between high and low religiosity groups. Independent samples t-tests were also used to test for the trait of forgivingness in the different social groups. Responses to the five TNTF prompts as well as the total score were analyzed. There was no difference reported between black and white samples, and males and females differed only on a single prompt. High and low religiosity categories were different on four out of five prompts as well as the total score. Analysis conducted on hypotheses 20-24 involved testing for correlations between styles

for conflict management, forgivingness, and religiosity scores with forgiveness types. There were statistically significant ($p < .05$) correlations in forty-five of eighty relationships.

6.4 Hypothesis Testing—Gender, Race, and Religiosity

This section presents the findings for hypotheses 17-24 by examining both participant responses on the forgiveness prompts and the means for the forgiveness type. Starting in section 6.4.2, 8 tables (Emotional, Reactive, Proactive, Punitive, Transactional, other types, and miscellaneous implicit and explicit prompts) relate to the hypotheses (17-19) are explained. The forgiveness typology generating these types was laid out in chapters 3 and 4. Factor analysis of the prompts produced 5 scales and 5 types were captured by a single prompt. The discussion following each table will express what significance these prompts and types reflect for the measured demographic groups. The following table 6.1 reports the TNTF means for gender, race, and religiosity. The last section of hypotheses (20-24) reports the significance and direction of correlations between forgivingness, religiosity, forgiveness type, and conflict management type scores in 3 different tables.

6.4.1 Hypothesis Testing—Forgivingness

The hypothesis that is most fundamental in the examination of social forces and the forgiveness typology presented in this dissertation is that of the trait of forgivingness. The study of differences in preferences is an acknowledgement that forgiveness is practiced differently. But only one group is hypothesized to be categorically more forgiving. Males and Females are expected to be equally forgiving, but to practice forgiveness in different ways. White and Black respondents are also not expected to present a difference in the trait of forgivingness. The trait of

forgivingness is expected to increase according to the religiosity of the participant. That said, whether or not there would be identified differences on specific prompts was unknown.

The Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF) (Berry et al., 2001) provided measurements comparing the differences in the likelihood of being forgiving between individuals and groups. Five different prompts were provided and individuals were asked to respond to how likely they would be to forgive each offense. The prompts provide some information on specific offense and also what an individual’s total score is. For each of the five prompts respondents decided from the range: 5 “definitely forgive” to 1 “definitely not forgive.”

One of the hypotheses is that since religions provide moral education, and teach forgiveness, that forgivingness increases with religiosity. This was reflected in 4 of 5 TNTF prompts and the total score. Comparing those with high religiosity scores (34-50) against those with low scores (10-25) presented difference in four of the five prompts and with the mean total forgivingness scores, high religiosity 17.03 and low religiosity 14.94 ($p<.001$). The means tests for the TNTF analyzed by race (white/black) showed no statistically significant difference (see table: Mean Forgivingness Scores by gender, race, and religiosity, below). Analyzed by gender, results indicated that the mean for total score is not different (the means for both males and females were the same, 15.76), but females were more forgiving of prompt two ($p=.038$) than males were. Analyzed by race, no statistically significant differences in forgivingness were identified.

Table 6.1: Mean Forgivingness Scores by gender, race, and religiosity

	Race		Gender		Religiosity	
	White	Black	Male	Female	High	Low
“Cheat on paper”	2.81	3.11	2.91	2.82	3.21***	2.54
“Babysitter/sick baby”	3.27	3.46	3.16*	3.38	3.49	3.28

“Job application”	3.22	3.37	3.21	3.25	3.46**	3.07
“New job gossip”	2.86	2.87	2.95	2.79	3.13**	2.69
“Drunk cousin”	3.49	3.73	3.54	3.52	3.76**	3.36
Forgivingness Mean	3.13	3.36	3.15	3.15	3.41***	2.99
Score	15.64	16.79	15.76	15.76	17.03***	14.94

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Prompt 2 is notable because females were more forgiving than males were. It reads:

A fairly close friend tells you that he or she needs some extra money for an upcoming holiday. You know a married couple who needs a babysitter for their 3-year-old for a couple of nights and you recommend your friend. Your friend is grateful and takes the job. On the first night, the child gets out of bed and, while your 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 you. Imagine yourself in such a situation and mark how likely you are to forgive your friend.

The prompt appears to engage several different important features. Discussion of this prompt has yielded several different but competing explanations. Some question why the married couple will not speak to you, since you were just a broker. Others note that the parents are actually at fault because they did not keep the cabinet under the sink secure. I suspect, however, that the biggest difference in responses is the familiarity of the respondent with the experience of babysitting. During pretesting it was pointed out that anyone familiar with childcare knows how quickly a kid can get into trouble, and, more specifically, that anyone with experience as a parent can probably tell you about a few times when they accidentally fell asleep on the job.

There may be issues, to some degree, with contextual limitations in assessing all of the prompts. Students may be more keenly aware of the consequences of cheating (TNTF prompt 1) or the tribulations of dealing with gossip over the embarrassment from high school (TNTF 4) which results in them being harder to forgive than other offenses. Interestingly, the prompt that

involves your distant cousin was expected to be harder to forgive, but “your cousin throws a bottle at you, cutting the side of your head. The police arrive and, with some scuffling, take your cousin away and take you to the emergency room where you have stitches put on your cut (prompt 5)” ended up being the easiest to forgive of the TNTF prompts in all examined categorical groups. This suggests that context is more important than objective harm. The presence of an apology, the accidental nature of the harm, or the forgivability of family members may all have contributed to the ease of forgiving the offense.

On the whole the TNTF prompts are not being reported to provided significant meaning on attitudes or preferences for forgiveness. Race and Gender do not appear to explain for any increase or decrease in the trait of forgivingness. Religious practice in one’s daily life does appear to be related to the likelihood of an individual being forgiving. This is consistent with theorized expectations expressed earlier. Forgiveness appears to be a learned behavior that is frequently (though not exclusively) taught in religious socialization. That people who believe forgiveness is a religious responsibility or obligation would also expect to be more forgiving is not surprising. Forgiveness projects should pay close attention to the religiosity of participants, it appears to have a significant and predictable impact on the expression of forgiveness.

6.4.2 Emotional Forgiveness

The review of literature presented several plausible explanations for why the emotional component for forgiveness would differ from group to group. Women have historically been treated as “more emotional” across different cultures. Minority respondents have been associated

with stoicism to differing degrees, sometimes as a survival—know your place—strategy⁴⁸. In other cases, minority populations have been described as more emotionally expressive, either in partisan or rebellious responses (Henderson, 1988). Some religious people are also conceived of with versions of uptight stoicism on some occasions⁴⁹ and with descriptions of emotional investment, sometimes leading to poor mental health, in other characterizations⁵⁰. This analysis looks for evidence of these features of emotion in each of the groups testing hypotheses that females score higher in emotional forgiveness than males do, and that the high religiosity group would score higher as well. The following table presents the findings of emotional forgiveness scores according to gender, race, and religiosity:

Table 6.2: Emotional Forgiveness and Gender, Race, and Religiosity with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Emotional Forgiveness	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/Disagree %	Female Mean Agree%/Disagree %	White Mean Agree%/Disagree %	Black Mean Agree%/Disagree %	High Mean Agree%/Disagree %	Low Mean Agree%/Disagree %
1 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology.	3.86***	4.50	4.20	4.08	4.20	4.14
	65/10	90/5	80/7	75/13	79/8	77/8
2 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an explanation.	4.22***	4.58	4.45	4.24	4.43	4.40
	83/5	92/2	89/2	83/6	87/3	87/3
3 If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up.	3.99**	4.33	4.20	4.15	4.25	4.03
	71/9	84/8	79/9	79/10	81/8	74/10
4 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.	4.06***	4.42	4.27	4.33	4.43	4.01
	75/10	85/6	80/7	87/8	85/6	74/12

⁴⁸ One study, “The invisible minority: Black students at a southern White university,” found the minority group was divided between “partisan,” “stoic,” and “renegade” types in response to racism (Henderson, 1988).

⁴⁹ Traditional Stoicism, an organization devoted to the the philosophy of stoicism, notes: “Many people introduced to Stoicism by twenty-first-century popularizers are surprised by the religious nature of the philosophy. The deafening silence on this topic leaves most people unaware of the deep religious piety of the Stoics.” Retrieved from: <http://www.traditionalstoicism.com/the-religious-nature-of-stoicism-2/> on April 10, 2019.

⁵⁰ In the most extreme some studies suggest that there is a link between religiosity/ spirituality and “mental health has lately been studied extensively, and results have indicated significant associations among these variables” (Agorastos, et al, 2014).

5 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake.	4.13**	4.42	4.32	4.27	4.50**	4.19
	77/9	87/5	84/6	84/8	89/6	80/8
6 I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone.	3.34*	3.66	3.58	3.33	3.48	3.58
	52/35	68/21	63/20	54/29	61/26	63/18
7 I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them.	3.27	3.29	3.29	3.10	3.12*	3.41
	45/23	48/26	48/23	38/35	42/32	54/20
8 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.	3.34	3.38	3.32	3.32	3.48*	3.20
	50/20	52/23	49/23	54/22	53/18	47/27
9 I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance.	3.76	3.90	3.80	3.82	4.02**	3.62
	65/18	69/14	67/17	68/22	72/12	58/22
10 I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred.	4.01	4.29	4.14	4.05	4.39***	3.93
	79/10	88/6	85/7	78/18	90/6	77/12
Scale mean of means	3.79***	4.07	3.96	3.87	4.03**	3.85

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Males and females are different when it comes to emotional forgiveness. On the scale as a whole, females were more emotionally forgiving ($p < .001$). There was much stronger agreement with the prompt about an apology when a spouse says something mean. Nine-in-ten females agreed while only two-in-three males did. This reflects a possible relationship between emotional forgiveness and emotional hurts, and, perhaps, reason to believe females take emotional hurts more seriously than males do. It does not appear that males did not care about a spouse being mean, 8 in 10 agreed they wanted an explanation. This is a good example for the potential for misalignment. Males and females score similarly on “sincere apology” (table 6.8) but are different in the case of a spouse. A female, who wants an apology, may wait on a male spouse for an apology, that male, however, may not deliver to expectations.

The high and low religiosity groups also were different in respect to emotional forgiveness ($p < .01$). There was also an interesting potential misalignment between the two groups. The high religiosity group had significant agreement for overcoming anger and hatred (90%) and revenge or vengeance (72%) compared to the low religiosity group (77% and 58%), but the low religiosity group scored higher for “need to feel differently about an offender” (54%) than the high religiosity group (42%). This suggests that emotions involved in forgiving may be different, as well as what they are directed toward. Processing an emotion, feeling hurt, and getting over emotional hurts are more common than moving to a positive view of the offender.

In terms of the discussion of #BlackLivesMatter and structural violence this can have some interesting impacts. 78% of black respondents agreed forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred, leaving 1 in 4 in a position where they may potentially forgive and still feel angry. Anger, or a lack thereof, over injustice, in the case of BLM, could potentially send the wrong signals. This appears more likely to be an issue when confronting social issues where the church performs an inspirational role. Some of the features of forgiveness do not appear to match with the heightened levels of religiosity within the group.

6.4.3 Reactive Forgiveness

Reactive forgiveness was not expected to have many strong associations with social motivators. The literature has presented necessary and sufficient conditions (chap. 2) which tend to follow along similar lines across groups. The only noted exception to the reactive-proactive dimension relates to proactive forgiveness in religious communities. Truth, change, time, and apologies are common reactive agents in the review of the literature (Downie, 1965; Newberry, 2001 & 2004).

Table 6.3: Reactive Forgiveness and Gender, Race, and Religiosity with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Reactive Forgiveness	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/Disagree%
1 If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore.	3.89**	4.16	4.01	4.24	3.92	3.99
	75 / 12	80 / 8	79 / 10	86 / 8	73 / 12	80 / 9
2 The offender needs to say, "I'm sorry" before I can forgive them.	3.45	3.58	3.51	3.54	3.42	3.45
	59/25	65/24	62/23	64/27	61/29	57/24
3 I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them.	3.69	3.54	3.63	3.51	3.48	3.66
	64/16	64/25	64/19	64/27	60/25	66/17
4 The offender needs to say "I will not do it again" before I can forgive them.	2.99	2.90	3.02	2.92	2.98	2.86
	38/32	37/42	38/35	40/38	39/37	33/40
5 I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone.	3.38**	3.73	3.58	3.41	3.47	3.53
	51/22	69/16	61/18	59/25	54/19	60/22
6 I need time in order to forgive someone.	3.70**	4.01	3.87	3.70	3.81	3.91
	67/16	80/11	74/13	70/19	72/16	73/10
7 I need truth before I can forgive someone.	4.16	4.03	4.13*	3.75	3.93	4.08
	82/8	78/13	81/8	68/22	75/17	79/10
8 I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender.	3.42*	3.21	3.33	3.40	3.30	3.10
	51/18	47/26	48/20	52/22	50/25	36/24
9 I believe an offender needs to positively change in order to be forgiven.	3.49	3.30	3.38	3.37	3.36	3.28
	56/21	50/28	53/24	52/27	52/26	47/28
Scale mean of means	3.57	3.60	3.60	3.53	3.52	3.54

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Social motivators appear to play an important role in two key areas that relate to the discussion of social movements when thinking about reactive forgiveness. The first is the difference between males and females when it comes to healing; 7 in 10 females report a need to "heal" before forgiving, agreement in males was 1 in 2. This prompt presents the most difference between genders of the reactive prompts, and while the cause is unknown (is the explanation

stoicism and/or nurturing natures?) the outcome is potentially more important. Healing as a process step can be time consuming, and also potentially misunderstood. Those who do not need to heal to forgive may not understand the need of those who do. The #MeToo movement definitely prioritizes healing, and, it seems, have been successful doing so; trust, healing, and time have recognized reactive roles in all demographic categories.

The second detail relates to truth. There was two and a half times as much disagreement on a need for truth in forgiveness among black respondents (22%) as there was for white (8%). I would like to explore this nuance in greater detail in future research. My initial assumption was that the distinction must fall somewhere in forgiveness not necessitating truth. Subsequently it has occurred to me, there are people who do not believe truth is possible. They do not have trust of systems or perpetrators, and, as a result, they have given up on truth; can people who have given up on truth, or who do not have trust, forgive? Is it possible for a person to decide he/she wants the mental and physical health benefits of being forgiving when there is nothing about the event, individual, or structure that appears to morally justify the forgiveness? Martin Luther King Jr. presents such forgiveness on religious grounds, and, in this case, it seems trusting one's faith would be enough to make forgiveness possible.

6.4.4 Proactive Forgiveness

Religion is expected to be a strong motivator in proactive forgiveness. There is a considerable relationship between moral teaching, like forgiveness, and religion. Many of the stories that present challenging acts of forgiveness are motivated by faith. As the incorporation of such a faith increases the expectation is that religious individuals will look for ways to engage

in these moral acts, that they would understand their necessity, and that they would also get better at forgiven through its practice.

Table 6.4: Proactive Forgiveness and Gender, Race, and Religiosity with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Proactive Forgiveness	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/Disagree%
1 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship.	3.72	3.71	3.71	3.65	3.97**	3.56
	64/14	64/15	64/14	64/18	72/9	58/18
2 I usually work toward forgiving an offender.	3.58	3.72	3.63	3.76	3.93***	3.31
	57/15	64/11	59/13	64/11	72/8	47/20
3 Being forgiving is part of my identity.	3.53	3.55	3.48*	3.79	3.92***	3.12
	55/17	60/18	56/18	64/13	74/11	40/26
4 I believe forgiveness is an obligation.	2.71	2.48	2.52*	2.92	3.24***	2.05
	33/47	25/52	28/52	40/38	51/29	10/66
5 I believe forgiveness is a virtue.	3.97	3.85	3.86	4.05	4.40***	3.31
	76/7	70/11	71/7	78/14	87/2	52/19
Scale mean of means	3.50	3.45	3.44	3.63	3.88***	3.06

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Those who incorporated more religious practice into their daily lives were significantly more proactively forgiving ($p < .001$). The average mean score for high religiosity individuals was 3.88, while the low religiosity group scored 3.06, the largest difference in forgiveness type means between the measured social groups of this study. 3 out of 4 highly religious people see being forgiving as part of their identity compared with 4 out of 10 in the low religious group. 1 in 2 highly religious people see forgiveness as an obligation but only 1 in 10 from the low religious group do. This is indeed a high standard; in this view initially forgiveness is a good thing, then it is something one tries to do, next something they ought to do, and then, ultimately, it is a duty to

forgive. It takes charismatic leaders to preach this message and also a rigorous devotion to practice such a duty. The role of faith and religion in social movement has been discussed, the role of proactive forgiveness appears to be a learned behavior. Religion, however, is not the only explanation for proactive forgiveness; Forty-seven percent (47%) of the low religiosity respondents agreed that “they usually work toward forgiving an offender,” while only 20% disagreed.

6.4.5 Punitive Forgiveness

The idea that people can be forgiven when they have suffered enough was hard to operationalize. “I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them” functions as the definition of this concept. The other prompts, however, make reference to punishment, but it is not entirely clear that they relate to forgiveness much beyond the definitive prompt. That said, for the third of males and quarter of females who responded that they need to see offenders punished before they can forgive, the scale offers salient information about punishments. Telling the boss about a broken promise, hoping a bad driver gets a ticket, going to jail, and complaining about being pick-pocketed function in those punitive roles, and suggest a balance of roles in their service of justice.

Table 6.5: Punitive Forgiveness and Gender, Race, and Religiosity with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Punitive Forgiveness	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/ Disagree%
1 If a coworker does not follow through on	2.58	2.70	2.69	2.55	2.77	2.55

a promise you would make sure the boss knows.	18/48	23/45	22/48	25/49	23/41	17/52
2 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you hope they get a ticket.	3.56*	3.25	3.47	3.42	3.28	3.40
	56/19	45/29	53/23	49/21	46/26	48/29
3 If a stranger breaks into your house you want them to go to jail.	4.51*	4.32	4.44	4.42	4.49*	4.23
	87/3	83/7	87/5	81/5	86/4	80/9
4 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would complain about it for the rest of the trip.	2.67*	2.43	2.60	2.60	2.57	2.41
	30/46	20/58	28/50	22/58	26/48	23/60
5 I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them.	2.93**	2.56	2.72	2.76	2.59	2.86
	32/38	24/54	27/45	30/49	22/53	32/41
Scale mean of means	3.25**	3.04	3.18	3.14	3.13	3.09

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Males presenting as more punitive in forgiveness than females ($p<.01$) is consistent with noted features of masculinity. The retributive attitude is inspired at some level by a desire for self preservation, which affects both masculine and feminine gender roles, but has been played out in different ways according to cultural expectations and norms. While race and religion also provide different understandings for justice they presented no significant difference in punitive forgiveness scale means or most of the prompts, but gender presented significant differences in both areas (scale and all prompts but one). This provides more context to the idea that forgiveness and justice are mutually exclusive. There is commentary that suggests there is no role for forgiveness when someone has paid their price or settled their debt that may explain for some of this difference. In future research on punitive forgiveness and the relationship between punishment and forgiveness looking at these themes of “forgive and forget” and “forgive but

don't forget" might be helpful and I suspect that there would also be difference in preferences reflected by gender.

One of the surprises here is that race and religion did not present significant differences. Groups that were more forgiving, or that recognize an obligation to forgive, were expected to have different feelings and preferences about punitive aspects of forgiveness. Again, returning to the idea that forgiveness relates to a moral debt, if you forgive the debt, then, one would think, there is no price left to be repaid with punishment. I believe this suggests that a significant feature of an inter-relational definition of forgiveness is the recognition that the relationship between individuals is separate from the relationship between an event and the administration of justice. #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo movements may be well served to employ clear expressions of this by simultaneously working to get offenders fired and also encouraging forgiveness that will help everyone heal. When considering the actors involved with events of structural violence the opposite may also play out; #BlackLivesMatter may be well served to identify cases where officers can be forgiven for the violent outcomes of biased policies and practices while the policies and practices of the institution are fully condemned. The "following orders" defense may be worth considering, and so should "they weren't following policies" like presented in the case of officers involved in the shooting death of Ezell Ford (chap. 1).

6.4.6 Transactional Forgiveness

Transactional forgiveness is central to the interpersonal definition of forgiveness because it articulates the exchange that takes place between parties following a conflict or crisis, which is crucial in understanding a broad range of social interactions. The religious teachings on forgiveness (chap. 2), for example, provide guidance on what these recommended transactions

are, who should do them, and when they should take place. The scale developed appears to capture what is essential to the transactions in two ways. First there is the “appeal” aspect. The perpetrator needs to appeal to feelings and/or thoughts of a victim. In some contexts, this may function like an apology or a request. Second there is “penance,” self-punishment, which a perpetrator takes on—on their own. Males are assumed to have a more transactional social role, which is hypothesized to relate to more transactional forgiveness, in many cases the “transaction” for males appears to be affiliated with elements of punishment. The transactional component for females is likely more apologetic (which was not identified as a strong factor for this scale) than appellate.

Table 6.6: Transactional Forgiveness and Gender, Race, and Religiosity with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Transactional Forgiveness	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/Disagree%
1 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to the other person's feelings about you.	3.82	3.91	3.92	3.81	4.07***	3.55
	67/10	69/11	70/10	68/11	74/9	56/13
2 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to how the other person thinks about you as a person.	3.84	3.96	3.96	3.73	4.15***	3.62
	66/8	69/8	70/7	59/13	76/6	55/12
3 I believe forgiveness requires penance.	3.35***	2.88	3.08	3.40	3.46***	2.67
	48/19	32/33	38/26	52/22	53/19	22/38
Scale mean of means	3.67	3.58	3.65	3.65	3.89***	3.27

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

On the whole respondents tended toward agreement with transactional forgiveness. People, it seems, acknowledge a key to forgiveness is the wrongdoer’s acceptance of having done wrong.

With this acceptance an effort to change thoughts and feelings is implied. Specific transactions, like an apology or making repairs, however, may differ from group to group, but they are connected to this exchange—giving and/or taking—between victim and offender.

#BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo address a number of transaction, which, at times, are problematized by comparisons and negotiations. The narratives that oppose the movements refer to complaints “they’ll never be satisfied, always asking for more,” and “ruining good people’s lives.” The centrality of the transactional nature of the relationships is clear, but the hang up is in the transactional demand(s); the fundamental question of transactional forgiveness is “what do I need to do (penance) to get you to (appeal) think and feel differently about me?”

6.4.7 Other Forgiveness Types

The following 5 forgiveness types were reflected in a single prompt. Indeed the literature reviewed (chap. 2) presented more diversity of thoughts on the connections between forgiveness and emotions and than it identified connection between thinking about what happened. These findings are highly relevant in what they say about differences in forgiveness preferences between different demographic groups. Each of these types has been illuminated by a single prompt; a short questionnaire could provide an abundance of information about an individual’s preferences.

Table 6.7: Other Forgiveness Type and Gender, Race, and Religiosity with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

		Gender		Race		Religiosity	
		Male Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/Disagree%
Non-Transactional	If a friend disappoints	3.20*	3.44	3.32	3.27	3.35	3.23

Forgiveness	you, you want to be left alone?	42/26	60/24	50/26	51/22	52/24	48/29
Calculative Forgiveness	forgiveness is about changing how I think about what was done.	3.49	3.47	3.42**	3.84	3.50	3.29
		58/19	57/22	54/23	70/11	59/20	46/23
Pragmatic Forgiveness	I believe forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender.	3.63	3.51	3.53	3.76	3.92***	3.18
		60/13	58/19	57/16	64/14	71/6	46/27
Instantaneous Forgiveness	For me forgiveness happens all at once.	2.78***	2.32	2.45*	2.81	2.77**	2.27
		27/42	19/63	21/56	32/46	30/46	14/62
Incremental Forgiveness	For me forgiveness is a process that happens in steps.	3.86**	4.13	3.97	3.94	3.97	3.97
		70/12	80/7	73/10	75/14	73/11	74/6

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Non-transactional forgiveness is important in a number of different ways. For strategic purposes it suggests that victims and offenders do not need to interact in order for forgiveness to take place, and, in some cases separation of parties may even aid in the delivery of forgiveness. Transactions, for better and worse, place a burden on parties who desire forgiveness. A victim who wants to heal and move on may be left in a stasis for lack of a perpetrator, or an unwilling or unrepentant aggressor. Non-transactional forgiveness—being left alone—may present as the demand, “I never want to see you again” or “leave me alone,” the satisfaction of such a demand may remain unknown. Honoring a demand for non-contact, especially when permanent, can impact offending parties in differing ways. Those who understand non-transactional forgiveness

are likely to move on differently than those who are looking for a transaction to signify redemption or a release from moral debt.

Females have a stronger desire to be left alone in the context presented. A desire to be left alone when hurt by a friend does not necessarily translate to a desire to be “left alone” in all transgressions. More research should be done to examine whether or not this is a general parameter or relationship specific. Generalizing this finding, however, does appear to make sense when applied to the #MeToo movement’s success. The expression of victimization does allow victims to join the movement without a transactional relationship. The victimization is expressed without demands for proof or a requirement for an abuser (with exception of calls for naming and shaming previously discussed). My claim here is that it works because it corresponds to the underlying interests and needs of those harmed, but future research could examine whether victims identified with the release of anger or hatred, healing, or transformative catharsis through the act of saying, “it happened to me too.”

The statistic that six-in-ten females want to be left alone, does not immediately resonate with the #BlackLivesMatter movement in the same way it does with #MeToo. The protests frequently feature mother’s telling the stories of children who should still be alive, which appears contrary to a desire to be left alone. Have they found the context to be one that demands a transaction, or are they part of the four-in-ten, the unexamined minority; is it the truth that most mothers would prefer to be left alone while they grieve. If the latter is true, then a greater awareness of what is happening when mothers speak out is needed, because they are sacrificing their own needs for the good of the cause. If the former is true, then the movement appears to have done a good job of letting victim’s self identify their own needs. The transactional-non-transactional dimension could be a fluid one, and is something to develop in greater depth.

Response to “thinking differently about what was done” differed between the racial categories of black and white. Seven-in-ten black respondents agreed that they they need to think differently; this was the strongest level of agreement on measured categories for this prompt. Forgiveness is clearly an emotional event for most people, but this adds a cognitive element, which appears consistent with the transactional appeals mentioned above (6.4.5) which recognize a desire for people to think and feel differently. An expression, “I have made sense of what happened” could capture the calculative element in the way that “I am not upset about what happened” captures the emotional element. Satisfying one need may not necessarily satisfy the other.

What I’m curious about in thinking about structural violence and these two types is a question of whether one can stay angry and practice calculative forgiveness. It seems to me that structural violence creates persistent antagonisms, sometimes it may be latent and other times explicit, and staying angry can be exhausting and counterproductive. Imagine the person who stays angry about prejudicial profiling—all the time—the negative energy will sink into all other relationships.

Is calculative forgiveness the type of forgiveness employed to the person who is just doing their job (“not your fault”) at the same time that “doing their job” is nefariously biased and discriminatory? To essentially hate living in a biased place but have found ways to treat people as cogs in the system thereby not the emotional targets of the anger and rage? I do not know what sense to make of this difference, where does the cognitive difference come from, and I am only guessing that it is a survival skill or coping mechanism that can relate to structural violence in a way that is akin to separating the sin from the sinner. Or, conceived of differently, please revisit photo 1: KKK child and a black State Trooper meet each other in Gainesville. The

suggestion being made relates to how individuals respond to this image. Black Americans are likely to feel the anger and hatred from the the image of a 4 year-old in KKK robes differently than those who are not the targets of KKK hatred.

The cognitive component is also likely different (relating to the coping mechanism or survival skill). Feelings about an adult racist may not change when such a childhood photo surfaces, but thoughts about such an individual might. The adult may be thought to “have not had a choice” or “he was just raised this way” in a way that he is cognitively pardoned despite the continued emotional confrontation with anger. In another setting the photo may have a completely different impact. #BlackLivesMatter would certainly identify and react to information that an officer involved in a shooting was raised by racist parents very seriously, but they have a hard time convincing people of the same truth about the consequences of a racist society, or, more specifically, a racist institution.

The idea that forgiveness can bring about a positive change in an offender was captured in differences in religiosity. There appears to be something fundamental about faith having a connection (belief or otherwise) to trust that things will get better. There is a 25% differential in agreement, roughly three in four highly religious respondents agree forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender while one in two people from the low religiosity group do. Pragmatism would be a powerful motivator for forgiveness that parties and individuals can consider. Both #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo highlight desires for positive change and forgiveness can be clear about this relationship. The belief, however, has not been validated in this examination. I’m cautious to examine guarantees or expectations. Future research examining the success rate of “positive change in offenders” following acts of forgiveness.

On the whole participants disagree with the statement, “for me forgiveness happens all at once.” Each of the demographic categories had higher percentages that disagreed versus those who agreed. The highly religiosity group (30%) was twice as likely to agree with instantaneous forgiveness as low religiosity group (14%), which suggests that instantaneous forgiveness tends to be an act of faith. Chapter 2 presented a number of examples of these acts of forgiveness in response to heinous crimes, this is clearly not the common tendency but is also far from being an isolated anomaly. I would like to examine why the teaching of instantaneous forgiveness appears to be hard to practice.

About three in four respondents agree that “for me forgiveness is a process that happens in steps.” This includes a measurable difference in agreement levels between males (70%) and females (80%). This type had the strongest agreement of all the measured forgiveness types. I do not want to conclude that my results are broadly generalizable, and recommend future research to see more details about what increments are needed and where they are used. The indication is more than just a need for time (reported earlier), but a need for the completion of different tasks. To this end projects for reconciliation would be well served to provide the mechanisms for delivering on these different underlying interests and needs, which would require local knowledge. #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter are not explicitly incremental in nature, I would argue that #MeToo functions as a first step, and that the mission of “providing services to survivors” could move some victims to next steps. #BlackLivesMatter presents with multiple levels of strategy for inclusion and an ultimate goal of the liberation of all black lives.

Understanding the incremental nature of forgiveness also helps to explain the steps taken in responding to structural violence and engaging in struggle. Many of the needs are common, healing, time, and truth were among these, but overcoming anger and hatred, feeling differently,

and experiencing positive change were also. It seems that either those who are most committed to the movement are those who are able to forgive in the process or are those who have this need (even if they are not going to forgive). The other key here is that one should not say there has been forgiveness, because the violence is ongoing, but the incremental type offered suggests that there is room for partial forgiveness. This could be forgiving the officers but not the policies. It is a challenging struggle, but it seems clear—footage shows—and does not seem to matter; Wesley Lowery asks, “Police are still killing black people. Why isn’t it news anymore” (2018)? He offers several conclusions, one is that there are other distractions (like the Trump Presidency) and another is that survivors are moving to their regular lives and jobs (social movements take hard work and sacrifice that cannot be sustained permanently). Some have likely forgiven and others have likely given up. Deeper examination of the preferences may provide vital clues for the sustainability of social movements, particularly those addressing structural violence. The atrophy of membership in the movement, in these terms, could mean success or failure in meeting underlying interests and needs.

6.4.8 Hypothesis Testing—Correlations

Correlations were run to test hypotheses (17-24) between conflict modes, forgiveness self-assessments, forgivingness scores, religiosity and the developed forgiveness types. There were statistically significant ($p < .05$) correlations in forty-five of eighty relationships, many of which had not been hypothesized. This is used to provide construct validity that social factors and motivators influence forgiveness behaviors. The self-reported questions for “How Forgiving” were included as a check against social desirability, participant assessments of their own forgiveness appeared to match closely with their forgivingness scores from the TNTF (see

the two tables: Correlations between religiosity, self-reported scores of forgiveness, forgivingness, and conflict modes and forgiveness type).

Table 6.8: Correlations between religiosity, self-reported scores of forgiveness, forgivingness, and conflict modes and forgiveness

	Transactional	Non-Trans	Reactive	Proactive	Pragmatic
Religiosity	.318***	.045	-.076	.504***	.301***
How Forgiving	.099*	-.079	-.215***	.538***	.321***
Forgivingness	-.052	-.156**	-.461***	.513***	.211***
Avoid	.072	.275***	.081	.104*	.037
Compete	.229***	.046	.166**	-.042	-.014
Compromise	.136**	.007	.014	.325***	.187***
Accommodate	.193***	.054	.023	.361***	.223***
Collaborate	.099*	-.094	-.105*	.339***	.144**

Legend: Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Table 6.9: Correlations between religiosity, self-reported scores of forgiveness, forgivingness, and conflict modes and forgiveness type (continued)

	Punitive	Emotional	Calculative	Instant	Incremental
Religiosity	.003	.136***	.067	.196***	-.032
How Forgiving	-.250***	.138**	.071	.078	-.069
Forgivingness	-.458***	-.070	.100*	.082	-.126**
Avoid	.092	.131**	.120*	.137**	-.084
Compete	.275***	.099*	-.053	.116*	.077
Compromise	.107*	.227***	.074	.102*	.016
Accommodate	-.042	.251***	.085	.149**	-.025
Collaborate	-.184***	.180***	.032	.037	.022

Legend: Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Using r-values as a guide for the strength of relationship (Evans, 1996)⁸, most relationships were either “very weak” or “weak.” There were “moderate” relationships between proactive forgiveness and religiosity, how forgiving participants scored themselves, and forgivingness. There were “moderate” inverse relationships between both reactive forgiveness and punitive

⁸ For the behavioral sciences Evans (1996) suggested different ranges for the relative strength of relationships expressed in correlations. I found this scale most helpful for thinking about forgiveness. .00-.19, “very weak;” .20-.39 “weak;” .40-.59, “moderate;” .60-.79, “strong;” .80-1.0 “very strong.”

forgiveness. This is not to be confused with the statistical significance of these correlations, twenty-six were significant at the $p < .001$ threshold. This was consistent, on the whole, with the expectation that there are many different factors in predicting or accounting for attitudes and behaviors for forgiveness, but that single variables rarely show strong predictive value in forgiveness outcomes. Religion increases the ability to instantly forgive, this makes sense because the forgiveness is for spiritual reasons, which already exist. Religion is also related to transactions and proactive forgiveness, which is also what would be expected for ritualized behaviors and the practice of virtue.

Correlations were also run to examine conflict management styles against TNTF prompts, sixteen of twenty-five correlations showed significance; additionally, all five conflict management styles had a significant correlation with the total score from the TNTF, providing evidence that there is a relationship between conflict management style and forgiveness. Correlations between religiosity (CRS score) and TNTF were also statistically significant for each prompt and the total score. This also provides strong evidence to support the hypothesis that people who are more religious are more forgiving, though, again, the relationships are “weak” or “very weak.”

Table 6.10: Correlations between Conflict Modes and Religiosity and Forgivingness Prompts and Total Score

	Prompt 1	Prompt 2	Prompt 3	Prompt 4	Prompt 5	Total Score
Avoid	.103*	.068	.091	.068	.018	.099*
Accommodate	.092	.033	.174***	.101*	.132**	.145**
Compete	-.146**	-.157**	-.201***	-.092	-.065	-.185***
Compromise	.174***	.077	.173***	.171***	.143***	.200***
Collaborate	.135**	.107*	.143**	.231***	.142**	.207***
Religiosity	.280***	.129**	.181***	.198***	.187**	.268***

Legend: Values in bold show significance: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

The hypotheses on conflict styles were based upon what they indicate about levels of assertiveness and cooperativeness. Preferences for “compromise” and “collaborate” balance between assertiveness and cooperativeness and were expected to relate most strongly with forgivingness. Those with strong preferences for “compete” were expected to be less forgiving, since forgiveness puts the other over the self. Indeed “compromise” and “collaborate” both had “weak” relationships with forgivingness (similar to religiosity) and “compete” had a “very weak” inverse relationship with forgivingness.

This means that leaders who are competitive are less likely to be forgiving, and those who are equipped for making compromises and acting in collaboration are better disposed to forgive. It provides clear process information. But this information relates to individuals as well, not just on the trait, but the type of forgiveness. Practitioners attempting to facilitate pragmatic, proactive, or transactional forgiveness will engage in a process strategically different from reactive or non-transactional forgiveness.

Both conflict management styles and religion are offered as learned behaviors and both present reason to believe that people can be taught to be more forgiving. Forgiveness, however, may be a side-effect from the general disposition in a more direct way. Collaboration—working with others—does appear to imply an ability to overlook or move past the mistakes of others, whereas, it is not just an unwillingness to forgive, but a desire for “punishment” that is showcased in competitive individuals. Tit-for-tat is clearly more reflective of assertiveness than forgiveness is. The surprise here is that “accommodation”—cooperativeness—did not present with the strongest relationship to forgivingness, balancing between self and other was most reflective of the trait of being forgiving. Perhaps accommodation is not positively correlated with forgiving because it is too giving and not respecting the self enough in the process.

6.5 Application of Findings to Social Movements

The model presented for responding to crisis/conflict is well suited for evaluation of social movements. Social movements function as resources. The rapidity, robustness, and redundancy of social movements would all be expected to have significant impacts on outcomes. The introduction (chap. 1.0) presented cases for the purposes of comparison. The 2014 death of Ezell Ford did not result in charges being filed against the police officers responsible for his death. This event did not have the same outcome that the 1992 acquittal of the officers charged with the 1991 beating of Rodney King had. Despite evidence (presented in chap. 1) suggesting that Los Angeles is ripe for another dramatic event of public outrage and civil disturbance, the presence of an effective Black Lives Matter movement appears to have channeled the outrage away from violent responses.

This makes a strong case for the importance of social motivators. From a policy standpoint the costs of Black Lives Matter protests significantly pale in comparison to the death, injury, and damage of riots, even when demands for body cameras and sensitivity trainings have associated costs; the cost differences are scaled—ounces of prevention versus tons of the cure. The most significant problem, however, is that changing inputs of structural violence which are embedded in cultural practices and norms is extremely difficult as cultures and social groups can be highly resistant to change, if open to change at all.

Description of protest in these terms provides limited utility for explicit discussion of forgiveness. Black Lives Matter protests are clearly not presented as acts of forgiveness, in fact they present as the opposite—critical insistence that what happened (truth) be acknowledged and that changes in behavior be made are key BLM demands. The key here is not in the protest, it is in the demands and their relationship to the key social motivators identified in these findings; by

vocalizing demands for, and sometimes receiving, truth and acknowledgement of harm and wrongdoing protests may facilitate forgiveness, or partial forgiveness, without necessarily intending to. The satisfaction of Black Lives Matter protest demands directly relates to the declared needs for forgiveness for large parts of the population, as evidenced by responses to prompts on truth, acknowledgement of harm, healing, etc. Not all protests will function the same way, but the underlying interests and needs of outraged populations are important; conversely responses of “all lives matter” or “blue lives matter” would be likely to antagonize protestors through the lack of acknowledgement of harm and wrongdoing.

Black populations in the U.S. present as having stronger feelings of forgiveness as an obligation⁹. Meeting needs for acknowledgement and change would be expected to have positive outcomes, whether or not improved relations are definitive acts of forgiveness. The suggestion being made is that the protests engage with the same underlying interests, and, without intending to, they may be diffusing anger and hatred in ways that may not be acts for forgiveness but are still a kind of reconciliation. Alternatively, where one thinks of incremental forgiveness, partial forgiveness may be, or mean, the difference between engaging in violent retaliation and civil resistance or protest.

The findings on race and religiosity provide good evidence that religion is successfully teaching forgiveness. Dogma was presented in a causal role to forgiveness as a learned behavior. The African American community in the United States has not accidentally stumbled upon moral practices in forgiveness and nonviolence. Modern conditions of racial hatred and the violence of white supremacy have historical roots, so do the strategies and systems of resistance and

⁹ For the prompt: “I believe forgiveness is an obligation” 40% of black respondents agreed and 38% disagreed, the is was significantly ($p < .05$) more agreement than 28% of white respondents agreeing and 52% disagreeing.

struggle. Violence targeting minorities (including primarily black groups) is routinely met with forgiveness and love. The findings help to explain why these strategies are successful, and sections 6.6 and 6.7 go into great detail on what these preferences can explain about the efficacy of #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter.

6.6 Application of Findings to the #MeToo movement

A summary of the #MeToo movement was provided in chapter 5. This focused on outlining the personal orientation to direct and structural violence in terms of direct and indirect violence (the harms) and direct and indirect victims. These themes are supplemented with an examination of social motivators. The analysis of data provides information on variables as they relate to necessary and sufficient conditions for forgiving. Some focus on healing, others on justice, and while great variation in preferences has been presented there are key trends and relationships between different motivators.

6.6.1 Naming and Shaming vs. Support for Survivors

There are several prominent differences between “Me Too” and #MeToo. The former is the campaign established by Tarana Burke in 2006 that centered on supporting victims. The hashtag, however, focuses on raising awareness and, at times, aims to change the culture through “naming” (Jaffe, p. 81) and “shaming” (Jaffe, p. 85). Sarah Jaffe observes, “One of the things that it has seemed hardest for the opponents or even just the confused sideline-sitters to grasp is that people are not calling for perpetrators to go to jail” and she continues, “In fact, the thing I have heard the most from survivors (and we are all survivors, aren’t we, that was the point of saying “me too”) is that they want acknowledgment of what happened” (p. 82). The

acknowledgement and healing relate to the emotional and reactive types, which both correlate with the competitive conflict management style. This overlap creates a natural intersection for this debate, the emotion and reaction relate to both the underlying interest of healing and winning.

There are clear findings on the differences in preferences between males and females in terms of acknowledgement of harm, punishment, and healing, which support divergent responses. Regarding “punishment (exp. prompt 2)” males were split 32%/38% agree-disagree, females lean away from a need for punishment 24%/54% agree-disagree. In terms of “acknowledging of hurt (exp. prompt 5)” and “healing (exp. prompt 7),” females have a clear preference not equally shared by males. Female agreement-disagreement for acknowledging the hurt was 68%/ 21% while males were 52%/25%, and females agreed with healing 69%/16% while males scored 51%/22%. Nearly 3 times as many females agreed with needs for acknowledgement and healing as did those who needed punishment. Simultaneously males had a stronger preference to punishment compared with females, but their responses still indicated a preference for acknowledgement and healing. The need for acknowledgement provides a good indicator for why such a simple movement could spread its message so rapidly. The movement echoes the preference of the majority of females, which makes sense since the movement is a response to violence that mostly targets women.

The observation that males are not getting it is also reflected, to some degree, in the preferences for naming and shaming. But this claim is also problematized by other expressed contextual details. On the one hand there is clearly a segment of the population that holds a strong identification with the role of punishment, on the other there is a lack of belief in victims and their allegations; there has been no measure of the overlap between these groups, but it is

conceivable that the people whose personal needs are best satisfied through punishment also may not believe the claims of others, which would further reduce the audience for that message.

Section 6.5.2 goes into greater detail about how masculinity and toxic masculinity form and impact responses to structural violence in important ways. This study has not operationalized masculinity or toxic masculinity but the claims appear consistent with other work that has done so. In particular masculinity and toxic masculinity are expressed in aggressive and competitive behaviors. One motivator in conflict (outline in chap. 2) is power. The expression of gender roles showcases masculine and feminine traits that are incentivized.

6.6.2 Masculinity, Toxic Masculinity, and other structures...

Liz Plank's upcoming⁹⁰ book "For The Love of Men: A New Vision for Mindful Masculinity" researches toxic masculinity—a challenging paradox: masculine behavior is rewarded and also the cause of significant amounts of suffering. She cites troubling empirical evidence and studies: 99% of school shooters are male; men in fraternities are 300% more likely to commit rape; women serving in uniform have a higher likelihood of being assaulted by a fellow soldier than to be killed by enemy fire⁹¹. The implication here is that #MeToo is clearly not isolated; one might even find "masculinity" and possibly "toxic masculinity" in preferences for forgiveness.

⁹⁰ Scheduled release 9/10/19, St. Martin's Press.

⁹¹ See book description at:

<https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250196255?fbclid=IwAR03GVOLsO3YE6I98ffafFsHbLpQrGV6kdhuFOsZ40HtCdOWcaOpt0UBmYs> retrieved on 3/12/19.

Donald Trump's recorded conversation provides a great example. He brags about aggressively pursuing women:⁵²

Yeah, that's her. With the gold. I better use some Tic Tacs just in case I start kissing her. You know, I'm automatically attracted to beautiful — I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it. You can do anything (2005).

He eventually culminates with the expression of assault: "Grab 'em by the pussy. You can do anything." Trump's hyper-competitive behavior has been encouraged, and rewarded. In the 2016 Presidential election it appears Hillary Clinton was punished more severely for her husband's infidelity than her opponent was for his own. Trump's own narrative is a legitimate challenge; he presents a narrative of assault that he is proud of. Some offenders show no remorse, others suggest differing notions of the victim having wanted the assault, or having asked for it⁵³. 6.6.1 (p. 182) refers to naming and shaming offenders, but what difference does that make when there is no shame?

Males had clear preferences for "punishment" and "penance" in comparison with females but many examples showcase challenges with justice for victims. Some of the "punishment" narratives present a belief or hope that there will be a deterrent effect, but tragically the

⁵² Words from a 2005 recording, the full transcript is available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/us/donald-trump-tape-transcript.html> retrieved on 3/12/19.

⁵³ Professor Lynn Philips addresses a number of these phrases while presenting on a range of issues from consent and power to choice and violence in her documentary, "Flirting With Danger" (2012). There are powerful messages of these conflicting narratives, which showcase the injustice and structural violence which rest at the center of the #MeToo crisis, and I believe it is worth noting, and I believe a deeper examination would show that while males tend towards support of acknowledging the problem they appear less sympathetic to specific allegations.

unforgiving presentation frequently turns to ideas, expression and/or execution of sexual violence against offenders. The New York Times piece, in the midst of the #MeToo movement, “The Rape Jokes We Still Laugh At” (July 9, 2018), reminds us of the open acceptance of punchlines of sexual assault in prison. It is an absolute contradiction; of the person going to jail there is nothing moral about quips “don’t drop the soap” or “hope you enjoy your time with Bubba.” The idea, however, captures something about culture, and differences highlighted in this culture. While males were more likely to see a need for punishment in order to forgive than females were, more respondents in both groups disagreed: 32%/38% of males and 24%/54% of females. Punitive forgiveness had a more pronounced correlation to competitiveness—a trait commonly considered masculine—if future research shows that increases in masculinity correlate to decreases in forgivingness I would not be surprised to see evidence that the unapologetic tend toward toxic masculinity.

If masculinity and femininity play out differently in forgiveness roles, this could appear to some to perpetrate gender based violence. Females acting according to constructs which cause them to appear to condone behaviors, or blame themselves is already common, from the documentary “Flirting With Danger” (2012):

“[Interviewee]: There's always this idea, you know, in a lot of girls' heads – I mean, in the back of their minds – that they don't want to say ‘no’ because they don't want someone to keep going if they do so it's better to say ‘yes’ than to say ‘no’ and be ignored. Does that make sense, you know?”

Males, on the other hand, have a narrative of masculinity promoting things like conquest over intimacy. The fear with toxic-masculinity is that it is an exaggeration of these behaviors. As such a personality rises in power, and there are clear issues with gender and masculinity in positions

of power, the potential for leaders of state who never say sorry increases. Failure or unwillingness to acknowledge mistakes and make repairs from a position of leadership can damage important relationships and limit the benefits enumerated in chapter 2. Unapologetic leadership could increase risks of war if and when non-violent options for resolution are ignored.

This analysis supplements the findings in chapter 5. Chapter 5 presented personal satisfactions like “truth” which were promoted by #MeToo, and, I argued, were a highly effective strategy. I believe showcasing truth has value as a social motivator, it raises awareness and reduces the burden of the stigma of victimization. The findings presented in chapter 6 relate to the group as a whole. While some individuals will have their own specific needs, prioritization of support for the survivor appeared to be supported by participant responses to “healing” in all demographic groups. Based upon scholarship provided in chapter 2, this is also presented in a wide range of international contexts (Danso, 2017). Truth in some contexts may be a factor of social cohesion, these findings presented relative agreement between forgiveness and social harmony, see the following table 6.11:

Table 6.11: Gender, Race, and Religiosity and Group Harmony

	Male	Female	White	Black	High Religiosity	Low Religiosity
	Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Mean Agree%/ Disagree%
22. I believe forgiveness is more about group harmony than an individual.	3.13	3.01	3.08	2.97	3.20*	2.83
	41/28	35/35	39/32	35/37	41/30	31/38

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

I do not evaluate the efficacy of naming and shaming; there are cultural/social cues suggesting there are clear positive benefits of shame in some settings, but in other case shame plays a limited role in producing positive behavioral outcomes. Highly religious people, those who have high levels of religion in their daily lives, may be the most likely to submissively react

to shame. This study provides empirical evidence that Tarana Burke’s primary motivation, in 2006, for “Me Too” continues to offer strategic advantage: when considered in terms of healing and benefitting survivors, finding out an individual’s preferences could provide a strong indicator on regarding underlying interests and needs. Future research could examine the influence of the experience of trauma and violence on preferences for forgiveness.

Given the ubiquitous nature of structural violence on demographic populations general and targeted knowledge about those populations should be helpful when thinking about predictions and management of outcomes. For example, identification of differences in preferences for cognitive components, like “forgiveness is about changing how I think about what was done,” or emotional components, like “forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone,” can reflect clear preferences for process design. See the following table 6.12:

Table 6.12: Gender, Race, and Religiosity and “think” and “feel”

	Male	Female	White	Black	High Religiosity	Low Religiosity
	Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Mean Agree%/Disagree%
forgiveness is about changing how I think about what was done.	3.49	3.47	3.42**	3.84	3.50	3.29
	58/19	57/22	54/23	70/11	59/20	46/23
forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.	3.34	3.38	3.32	3.32	3.48*	3.20
	50/20	52/23	49/23	54/22	53/18	47/27

Legend: Mean; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

6.7 Application of Findings to #BlackLivesMatter

A summary of the #BlackLivesMatter movement was provided in chapter 5. This focused on truth telling, anger and hatred, change of heart, and healing and reparations. I will build on

these themes with a look at social motivators. The analysis of data provides information on variables as they relate this movement's impact(s) on individual's forgiveness. Some individuals focus on healing, others on justice, and, just like with the #MeToo analysis, the great variation in preferences is impacted by social motivators. One of the significant debates the #BlackLivesMatter movement faces is about the movement's strategy(ies). Section 6.6.1 (p. 182) addresses how the findings presented here can help us to understand the protests from a deeper critical perspective—the role of forgiveness in the historical struggle of African Americans and their fight against white supremacy. Section 6.6.2 (p.184) takes a focused look at how these findings on forgiveness relate to an obligation to forgive.

I had not initially considered the question of race and forgiveness to be one embedded with religion, but it is. The measurement of religiosity, which showcases the role of religion in a respondent's daily life, in this study echoes the larger trend measured in the U.S. The findings for the Pew Research Center's 2014 Religious Landscape Study⁵⁴ identify the same trend reported here. David Masci explains:

[r]eligion, particularly Christianity, has played an outsize role in African American history. While most Africans brought to the New World to be slaves were not Christians when they arrived, many of them and their descendants embraced Christianity, finding comfort in the Biblical message of spiritual equality and deliverance. In post-Civil War America, a burgeoning black church played a key role strengthening African American communities and in providing key support to the civil rights movement (para. 1, 2018).

⁵⁴ Pew Research Center's 2014 Religious Landscape Study can be reviewed here: <http://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/racial-and-ethnic-composition/> retrieved on March 15, 2019.

The 2014 survey of 35,000 Americans found, “three-quarters of black Americans say religion is very important in their lives, compared with smaller shares of whites (49%) and Hispanics (59%); African Americans also are more likely to attend services at least once a week and to pray regularly. Black Americans (83%) are more likely to say they believe in God with absolute certainty than whites (61%) and Latinos (59%)” (Masci, 2018, para. 4). Indeed, there is a difference in the influence of religiosity on forgiveness type when compared between White ($n=282$) and Black ($n=83$) respondents:

Table 6.13: Correlations of religiosity and Forgiveness Type by Race

	Instant	Pragmatic	Calculative	Non-Trans	Trans
CRS Score Black	.090	.361**	.123	.146	.220*
White	.205**	.284***	.051	.062	.366***

Legend: Values in bold show significance: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Table 6.14: Correlations of Religiosity and Forgiveness Type by Race (continued)

	Punitive	Proactive	React	Emotional	Incremental
CRS Score Black	-.113	.561***	-.272*	.012	.128
White	.076	.488***	.004	.152*	-.053

Legend: Values in bold show significance: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

There are probably more factors to explain this trend than just finding comfort in the bible and its messages of equality. It could very well account for survival. Belief in God could provide the reason to live in otherwise adversarial conditions. Viktor Frankl survived Nazi concentration camps—he lived to tell his story—he quotes Nietzsche’s words in his narrative *Man’s Search for Meaning* (2006), “He who has a *why* to live for can bear with almost any *how*.” The struggle and sacrifice are ubiquitous in the analysis of the fight for civil rights. The Montgomery bus boycotts, for example, required 381 days of carpools and alternate travel arrangements, which had significant costs (both physical and monetary).

Religious influence likely had other significant impacts in African American communities. For example, the Center for Disease Control reports that black males are twice as likely as white males to die of firearm related deaths, I would imagine that church—finding God—would reduce one’s likelihood of being involved in a violent street gang. Finding meaning helps, as Calvin Warren (2015) argues, African Americans to find hope in the face of black nihilism: “Thus, nonviolence is a misnomer, or somewhat of a ruse. Black-sacrifice is necessary to achieve the American dream and its promise of coherence, progress, and equality” (p. 217). I will not pretend to know how much meaning is required to make the sacrifices required in continuing the struggle for equality, but I believe a fair extrapolation has been made. The conclusion (chap. 7) will hopefully tighten up the strengths and weaknesses threaded throughout this discussion.

6.8 Conclusion

There are noteworthy features of social motivators relating to forgiveness and unforgiveness. They relate in different ways to individual outcomes in crisis and conflict. There is reason to think, however, that the sum total of healing, anger and hatred, and punitive needs can have profound consequences. #BlackLivesMatter protests may have filled gaps in underlying interests and needs, which, left unmet, could have precipitated or catalyzed into violent civil disturbances. There may be reason to examine more about how protests can simulate or stimulate forgiveness if these observations about overcoming or redirecting anger and hatred are accurate. This appears to validate the initial intuition that forgiveness should be considered in all conflicts where one or more parties feel victimized (Gould, 2008).

Attention to the causes of harm appears to have value because it can relate to both healing and change. Racial and sexual violence are at least partially caused by cultural and/or social structures. Toxic masculinity and rape culture are a factor in the allegations that #MeToo is responding and reacting to. Institutionalized racism and long histories of violent inequality are the prerequisite crimes to the police brutality that #BlackLivesMatter is in response to. In some ways it is the structure that people must overcome, not individuals. Discriminatory practices in policy, and prejudicial attitudes in cultures that are cause and/or contribute to damages. When people feel terrorized in their homes, neighborhood, or skin the anger and pain are very real, but there might not be a specific target. It is the entire accumulation of cultural and societal wrongs and the resulting dysfunction and vulnerability that must be addressed.

Chapter 7: Conclusion—Toward Positive Relations and Peaceful Communities

A broad range of conflicts and contexts have been presented in this research. Despite the truth that concepts and strategies for addressing modern challenges have continued to improve the unfortunate reality is that there are many critical unresolved problems threatening broad populations, which remain unresolved with no end in sight⁵⁵. New approaches and ways of thinking will hopefully emerge as answers to intractable conflicts; opportunities for conflict resolution and reconciliation have been examined in this dissertation. The success in achieving durable peace may be predicated upon the presence of forgiveness from those individuals or groups who have suffered. Violence clearly threatens peace, both in its direct and structural forms, but forgiving direct and structural violence can be a difficult, seemingly impossible, task. This dissertation was motivated by a need to understand differences in who, what, when, where, why, and how individuals forgive. There are clear differences in preferences for forgiveness and these preferences provide helpful guidance for thinking about responses to conflict.

This chapter reviews dominant themes developed in this project. The discussion is first framed in terms of conflict resolution and Martin Luther King Jr.'s pronouncements for

⁵⁵ There is debate about whether or not things are more peaceful in modern times. I will ignore whether or not the number of combat deaths per capita adequately measures peace and assert that famines like the one in Yemen (likely to exceed 13 or 14 million, according to the UN, starved to death) due to the war are clear evidence of an ongoing problem. For more see: *Senate fails to override President Trump's veto of Yemen war measure to end U.S. role* <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2019/05/02/senate-fails-override-president-trumps-veto-bill-end-u-s-role-yemen-military-support-saudi-arabia/3641777002/> retrieved on May 4, 2019.

forgiveness, which capture the positive potential of improved relationships through mutually satisfying resolutions. This is followed by a return to his question, “Where do we go from here?” and a look at the obligation to forgive and confront injustice. This framing is followed by an examination of the key findings, the limitations of these findings, and recommendations for policy and future research. The main conclusions to the research questions are that personality and social motivators both have important influences on individuals’ preferences for forgiveness. Application of these findings to social movements that respond to structural violence is presented as evidence of the value of the innovation provided in this theoretical work.

7.1 Framing Martin Luther King Jr.’s Words for Conflict Resolution

I do not want to abbreviate the importance of Martin Luther King Jr.’s work and thinking in informing my own thought. I carry the same question he asked in my title out of respect and to pay homage to his work and the vital importance—the urgency—for which he presented social injustice. In some ways the work presented fails; it asks questions about personal preference, what would **I** do?, how do I think **I** would respond?, etc. when the big question is about us—where do **we** go from here? I do believe that part of processing the answer requires acknowledging and understanding the variation first and that is what this research offers. Understanding the variation in forgiveness, the different practices and experiences of individuals is crucial. It is easy to see how groups with moral leaders like Dr. King internalize, process, and respond to conflicts differently.

King defined forgiveness as the “weapon against social evil,” “a pardon and fresh start,” “another chance at a new beginning,” “forgiveness is a process of life and the Christian weapon

of social redemption,” and lastly, “This is the solution of the race problem.”⁵⁶ This is the cause for the effect I presented in the preface; acts of love and forgiveness were what helped me to see my own internalized racism, sexism, and homophobia, not shame or condemnation. The fundamental question lies more in understanding how people forgive. How do we forgive injustice?

In the U.S. black people get up every morning confronted by a society that treats them unequally; women face a similar story and struggle against victimization and injustice. These are among the moral questions of our times, but the answer is not to bury our heads in the sand. “There are the sins of neglect. It is not alone the things that we do, but the things we have left undone that haunt us—the letters we did not write, the words we did not speak, the opportunity we did not take”⁵⁷. It is clear that King sees no excuse for failure to confront injustice.

The examination of social motivators has provided empirical evidence for understanding the efficacy of social movements. This systematic analysis suggests that forgiveness can be a key variable in relationship outcomes following crisis and conflict. Direct and structural violence have both been considered in this analysis. Chapter 5 assessed the role of personality in the articulation of variation in preferences for forgiveness and chapter 6 enriched the discussion by incorporating social dimensions. These relationships cannot be understated—it is not just a matter of living in a world full of injustices, but of finding ways to deescalate violent conflict and find peaceful solutions for problems involving unforgivable enemies and inhumanly cruel histories. Who can I forgive? Who can we forgive? Where do we go from here?

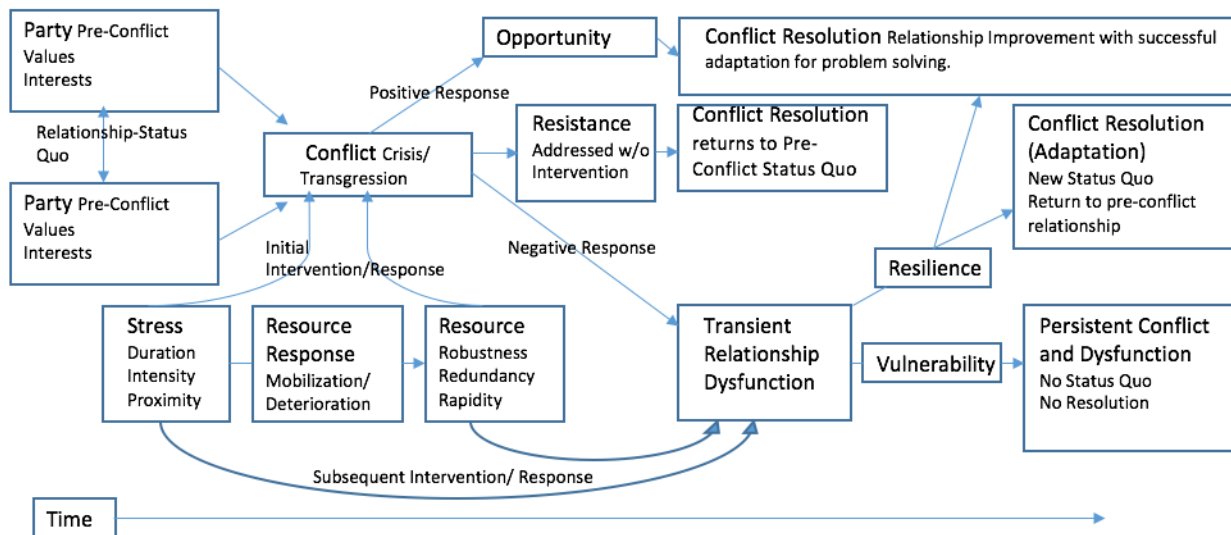
⁵⁶ The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project. “The Meaning of Forgiveness,” 1948-1954, ADf CSKC Sermon file, folder 16, “Meaning of Forgiveness” / “Questions Easter Answers”. Retrieved from: http://okra.stanford.edu/transcription/document_images/Vol06Scans/1948-1954TheMeaningofForgiveness.pdf on March 15, 2019.

⁵⁷ More from Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “The Meaning of Forgiveness,” here he specifically references Matthew 25:14-30. He continues, “How often Jesus stressed this sin. What was wrong with that one talent man who buried his talent. What did he do? That was the trouble—he did nothing; he missed his chance.”

In the final assessment I would like to balance against the chaos that communities can fall into as a result of dysfunction with the positive potential—opportunity—that is presented in successful conflict resolution. The social movements that have been examined are not responding to conflicts, #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo are not responses to isolated events, they are interventions to address structural violence which produces persistent dysfunction and vulnerability. Their goals involve changing the status quo, causing adaptation, and achieving resilience or opportunity in successful resolution. In Figure: 7.1, presented below, “positive response” leading to “opportunity” and “conflict resolution” defined as relationship improvement with successful adaptation for problem solving is a meaningful addition and reminder.

Figure 7.1: Conflict Resolution—Opportunity/Resistance/Resilience/Vulnerability

Detailed Conflict Opportunity/Resistance/Resilience/Vulnerability Figure



Conflict and crisis can be opportunities for improvement to relationships and cooperative problem solving, just like they can start a chain of events leading to undesirable outcomes in vulnerability and dysfunction. This is not to say that we can forgive our way past grave injustices, but it is a *resource* with the power to augment life-or-death outcomes.

This research enhances this understanding by presenting greater empirical detail about how forgiveness and social movement can create change and positive outcomes. Unmanaged conflicts need different solutions and interventions as they proceed to more serious dysfunction and vulnerability. The strategies being employed in the social movements reflect adaptation, but, as will be discussed in the main findings in 7.4, not all strategies generate the expected outcomes. Some interventions will generate resilience and positive outcomes, but some will exaggerate the problems. The interpersonal definition expresses forgiveness in terms of relationships, a key to making this work is understanding that each party may have a unique understanding of what forgiveness means. The goal is the generation of a framework for the generation of strategic outcomes, understanding forgiveness in contexts where parties have been harmed should provide great utility for this purpose.

7.2 Where do we go from here?

One of Martin Luther King Jr.'s most affective messages was his "I have a dream" (1963a) speech. His push for equality and civil rights is an expression of this and I believe the findings of truth, healing, and change of heart (presented in 5.4.2.2.1-5) strike to the very personal nature of individuals' hopes and goals for the future. It is why parents from all social classes will admit that they would walk thousands of miles to provide better lives for their children. It is why the outrage over child abuse is so palpable and why their innocence is so precious. He clearly identified that the challenge to the success of one black child was the challenge to all beautiful black children. We see this developed in context.

“American Dream” (1965) is a sermon that runs in parallel with the successes of the #BlackLivesMatter movement. It is absolutely crucial to understand the formation of the foundation of nonviolence; he preaches:

“And I would like to say to you this morning what I’ve tried to say all over this nation, what I believe firmly: that in seeking to make the dream a reality we must use and adopt a proper method. I’m more convinced than ever before that violence is impractical and immoral . . . we need not hate; we need not use violence. We can stand up against our most violent opponent and say: we will match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering.”

The dream was clear, it resonated, he knew that, but it was not a matter of changing individuals, but of creating change in groups and structures. His message continued:

“We will meet your physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will and we will still love you . . . we will go to those jails and transform them from dungeons of shame to havens of freedom and human dignity. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities after night and drag us out on some wayside road and beat us and leave us half dead, and as difficult as it is, we will still love you. . . . [T]hreaten our children and bomb our churches, and as difficult as it is, we will still love you.”

He studied Gandhi, he knew satyagraha—soul force—and he was committed. Serious terrorism, the Ku Klux Klan—at their worst—and yet, he still encouraged: “we will still love you.” This is the love supreme captured in Jesus’ message, this is the quintessence of forgiveness, “as difficult as it is, we will still love you.” He concludes:

“But be assured that we will ride you down by our capacity to suffer. One day we will win our freedom, but we will not only win it for ourselves, we will so appeal to your

hearts and conscience that we will win you in the process. And our victory will be double.”

Every measure of the pronouncement is “we.”

#BlackLivesMatter is a continuation of this struggle, and a commitment to nonviolence serves BLM well. Responses in all demographic categories recognized both fairness and frustration, and I believe it is not just an appreciation but a requirement. #BlackLivesMatter loses traction every time there are allegations that police officers are being threatened by the group, that violence is being celebrated, or that traffic is being obstructed with the sole objective of inconveniencing drivers. It can be justified, the arguments are made, but for better and worse, the method has a clear impact on the outcome.

Rolling Stone magazine describes “shutting things down” in a piece called “A Year Inside the Black Lives Matter Movement: How America’s new generation of civil rights activists is mobilizing in the age of Trump” (Touré, 2017) (quoting Aaron Goggans):

“A core BLM tactic has been highway shutdowns. It’s been used in Oakland, L.A., Denver, Dallas, Chicago, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Toronto and many other cities. ‘The strategic reason,’ Goggans says, ‘is you have to make the gears of the machine stop working.’ He references the civil rights legend Bayard Rustin, who spoke of ‘angelic troublemakers’ who are needed to make the system unworkable, to make the gears of the machine stop. ‘The only weapon we have is our bodies,’ Rustin famously said. ‘And we need to tuck them in places so wheels don’t turn.’ What Rustin and Goggans are talking about is civil disobedience aimed at halting the flow of capitalism. The idea is that if protesters can slow the basic functioning of the capitalist system, even for a short time,

then the system will be incentivized to negotiate with protesters in hopes of getting back to full-speed capitalism as quickly as possible.”

The analysis offered may be accurate in terms of capitalism and providing incentive for negotiating with protestors. But these findings appear to show distinct collateral damage in terms of gaining sympathy from the public. The sympathy people have, at least in some cases, appears to be overcome/replaced/usurped by predictably negative reactions to what they observe as unfair inconvenience in their own daily routines. Those who do not harbor sympathy for the Black Lives Matter message, alternatively, appear to use the “shut it down” strategy as proof that the movement should be condemned.

“Shutting it down,” in these terms, appears to be an effort to escalate conflict to the point of dysfunction and vulnerability. It follows from the logic that when things get bad enough they will be fixed, the strategy forces a hand at adaptation—to change the unjust status quo—and there are examples where this is successful. I do not mean to imply the strategy never succeeds, but I find no clear evidence that angry responses (like blocking traffic) have ever presented positive outcomes, though I do suggest, in chapter 1, that channeling outrage and anger through #BlackLivesMatter protests may have prevented riots.

7.3 An obligation to forgive—a requirement to confront injustice

51% of the highly religious respondents agreed that forgiveness is an obligation. More research should be conducted to identify the promotion of an obligation to forgive. Compared with 74% who saw forgiveness as part of their identity and 87% who see forgiveness as a virtue the number seems low. People who think of themselves as forgiving people and people who see forgiveness as something good to do (virtue) are not necessarily seeing forgiveness as an

obligation. Why is that? It could be that the language creates distance, the thought “forgiveness is a duty” is clearly debatable. Seeing forgiveness as something people are bound to do could be one of the easier measurements of inputs to crisis and conflict in making predictions on outcomes. “I tend to forgive, I’m a forgiving person” (identity) and “I think forgiveness is something good to do” (virtue) provide clear information, but “I think we are obligated to forgive” (obligation) is likely the measurement that will provide the most information for calculations on outcomes from serious injustice and intractable conflicts.

Only one in two of the most religious respondents understood forgiveness this way. This may reflect different teachings on forgiveness in different churches, denominations, and faiths. It is clear that there is a relationship between being more religious and being more forgiving, and devotion like Martin Luther King Jr. taught appears to be somewhat uncommon. It would be easy to hypothesize that Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are successful where societies agree with “I see forgiveness as an obligation.” It seems clear that there is a relationship between this view and a moral obligation to confront injustice. The Christian experience of African Americans, exemplified by MLK’s words, clearly shows this relationship; forgiveness is common, profound, and vital to the pursuit of equality.

The clear opposing trend is that those who are less religious are more invested in a forgiveness process centered on feelings and the justification for forgiveness. The underlying interests and needs are likely similar, people would like to see positive change and experience the respect and dignity they are due. The suggestion here is that social motivators (when available) may provide a better general indicator of forgiveness outcomes for thinking about structural violence. There is an asymmetry in knowledge on addressing structural violence; for example, identifying that something is wrong—that things are unfair—is generally easier than

figuring out how to rectify the problem. In terms of forgiveness, people who identify needs in sincere apology, personal healing, punishment, and to feel differently before they forgive (prompts low religiosity respondents had higher scores on than high religiosity respondents did) are likely to be more challenged with forgiving structural violence, because it is harder to focus on a perpetrator. Who gets to be the spokesperson for racism? Or for police brutality like #BlackLivesMatter is responding to? What does healing or punishment for centuries of oppression look like?

One could more easily decide to forgive (or not) any of the individuals involved in the examples provided. The individuals named in the cases of sexual assault or police brutality, can be punished, named and shamed, or asked to apologize, but it is not clear that the outcome for the individual(s) reflect on the larger structures at all. A group of high school boys rated their female classmates on looks, and, as the Washington Post reports, “The girls fought back” (Schmidt, 2019). Unfortunately, such listing and objectification is quite common, as is the initial response of the school; they punished a single student—the one who started the list—with a single day of in school suspension. Empowered by the #MeToo movement, according to Schmidt, the young women returned to challenge the administration: “We want to know what the school is doing to ensure our safety and security. We should be able to learn in an environment without the constant presence of objectification and misogyny.” The implication of the story is more directly of the success of organizing and exposing truth, but I think forgiveness also plays a role.

The young man, after being confronted, appears to have had his mind changed by the truth shared with him:

“When you have a culture where it’s just normal to talk about that, I guess making a list about it doesn’t seem like such a terrible thing to do, because you’re just used to discussing it. I recognize that I’m in a position in this world generally where I have privilege. I’m a white guy at a very rich high school. It’s easy for me to lose sight of the consequences of my actions and kind of feel like I’m above something. [...] It’s just a different time and things really do need to change. This memory is not going to leave me anytime soon” (Schmidt, 2019).

He is reported to have joined discussions of how to prevent this from happening again. The embrace presents some level of forgiveness, and the question is on whether or not acts of forgiveness are more likely to generate positive movement. Unfortunately, however, some religious communities do not appear to have forgiven their way to positive changes in offenders, they have enabled them instead (Pease, 2018). If truth can transform an offender and make an ally, then there is a strong argument for forgiveness, but not all offenders see the light.

The #MeToo movement has debated over its goals. The alignment of the group’s actions towards naming and shaming of perpetrators or support for the survivors reflect these goals. These findings showcase that #MeToo’s success was largely facilitated by the need for truth. A focus on helping victims heal is in significantly better alignment, and it is likely to deliver better outcomes. The findings help us to understand who desires naming and shaming, and why; it is not an unreasonable reaction to the outrage over injustice, it just does not present the same strategic value. Truth and healing are nearly universal interests, movements, like #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter, have broad appeal and efficacy when they educate, empower, and advocate on these points.

Patriarchy, rape culture, and other structures are bigger than the #MeToo movement, and it is hard to critically examine sexual violence without an exploration of these other contextual dimensions that manifest as illustrations of structural violence. At some level #MeToo's importance is that it can be extrapolated to other and larger issues of gender based violence. At another level this misses the point—it is like arguments condemning violence against women that encourage: *she's someone's daughter, mother, sister...* Women have worth in and of themselves, the #MeToo movement is not important because it can help with understanding something else. This discussion sheds light on the embedded dilemma in creating moral value for all women.

There are clear issues in women's experiences of equality. Sexual violence highlights the systematic nature—the structures—which are complicit in women's traumas. The following example presents multiple layers of direct and structural violence involved in addressing sexual assault. In 2009 in Wayne County Michigan 11,341 rape kits were discovered in a warehouse. They had piled up exposing gross administrative, cultural, financial, and human resources failures within the bigger picture of failure to take sexual assault seriously. The allegations had not been prioritized, investigated, followed-up on, or even documented.

When the rape kits were finally discovered and taken seriously the difference was immediately apparent. After taking over in 2009, Wayne County Prosecutor Kym Worthy reported that in eight years of processing the backlog she had 127 convictions won, 1,947 cases investigated, 817 serial rapists identified (Kaffer, 2017). The first offense is the assault, but the failure to receive basic judicial dignity is a second victimization, or re-victimization, and it is a serious problem. Wayne County Michigan is any-town USA, "In the U.S., one in three women and one in six men experienced some form of contact sexual violence in their lifetime" (Smith, et

al, 2017) so this is not an entirely isolated example. The debate is in answering: where do we go from here?

Those who see the lack of justice—there was not even an investigation—as a revictimization of those who’ve been traumatized are divided in their responses; some want to focus on helping victims while others are focused on identifying alternative means for punishing offenders. As the example above presents, there is need for both care and justice, but choosing a strategy, in some ways, means more than prioritizing—it can mean doing one and not the other—acting on principles of retributive justice may be prohibitive in making real changes to relationships. Acting according to principles of relational justice (Danso, 2017) may create real changes to relationships without any real punishments. Retributive justice may generalize better to direct violence, and relational justice may generalize better to structural violence, and the involvement of forgiveness in either process would also relate to different underlying interests and needs.

7.4 Key Findings

The main findings of this dissertation are about the roles of personality and social motivators on preferences for forgiveness. Ten forgiveness types have been presented and measurements were constructed to gauge preference levels in respondents. The typology presents strong support for an inter-relational definition of forgiveness. It is the empirical validation of theory on dimensions of forgiveness offered in prior scholarship by Robert Gould (2008) and Paul Newberry (2003), which can provide crucial information on individual and group behaviors during conflict. This shift, to an inter-relational definition, incorporates a much broader look at victimization by broadening the scope of the damage and harm of direct and structural violence

and examining the impact of damage and harm on relationships. The types also present different potentials for what partial forgiveness may be or mean for thinking about responses to conflict.

The main research questions are answered.

1. What is the variation in preferences for forgiveness?
2. Are there distinct forgiveness types represented by these preferences?
3. What personal and social influences impact preferences for forgiveness in individuals?

Chapter 5 finds that personality has a strong impact on preferences for forgiveness. There were 14 statistically significant correlations between personality and forgiveness type^s. They present clear differences in the way personality influences preferences in forgiveness. Introverted and extroverted orientations to the world reflect different needs in transactions, time, and proactivity, which offer immediate utility for thinking about conflict processes. Telling an introvert “I’m sorry, and I would like to talk about it now” while they are processing in self-reflection, clearly misses the point and could make things worse. Insisting, “lets talk this through” amounts to putting your needs first. Extroverts tendency toward transactional and proactive forgiveness, on the other hand, suggest an immediate appreciation for such an appeal. The potential for misalignment is real, and the value of educating people on how to forgive is significant. When asking for forgiveness, or giving forgiveness whose needs are being met?

^s This includes the following positive correlations: Extroversion and Transactional Forgiveness; Introversion and Non-transactional Forgiveness; Sensing and Reactive Forgiveness; Intuition and Proactive Forgiveness; Extroversion and Proactive Forgiveness; Feeling and Proactive Forgiveness; Extroversion and Pragmatic Forgiveness; Intuition and Pragmatic Forgiveness; Feeling and Pragmatic Forgiveness; Sensing and Punitive Forgiveness; Thinking and Punitive Forgiveness; Intuition and Emotional Forgiveness; Feeling and Emotional Forgiveness; and Extroversion and Instantaneous Forgiveness. An individual’s “orientation to the world” (Extroversion/Introversion), “process information” (Sensing/Intuition), and “decisions” (Thinking/Feeling) were all correlated with one or more of the developed forgiveness scales. An individual’s “structure” (Judging/Perceiving) did not correlate with any of the developed types.

Processing information through sense and intuition translated directly toward an individual's preference for proactive vs reactive forgiveness. Intuitive people were more proactive and had a greater identification with forgiving identities, reflecting fewer needs for forgiving—if any at all. Sensing people were more reactive—they will forgive when a need has been met—and forgive after ____; forgiveness could require the apology, “I’m sorry,” the promise, “I will not do it again,” or seeing change in the offender (or all of the above). Decisions made through thinking and feeling also play a clear part in preferences. Feelers showed more agreement for all of the emotional forgiveness prompts, reflecting needs for redress of emotional hurts and the need to overcome one's own in emotions in order to forgive. It is not just a matter of differences in forgiveness behaviors, it is the demonstration of differences in predictable ways, which have the potential for changing outcomes. Forgiveness should be an opportunity for healing and reconciliation, but the wrong approach could backfire or fail to deliver intended results. These forgiveness types provide a means for strategizing about inter-relational forgiveness that matches the personalities of individuals in conflict.

Chapter 6 presented the role of social forces on forgiveness; the influence of gender, race, religion, and conflict styles all had significant influences on preferences for forgiveness⁹. Males and females differed in five of the developed types. Males scored higher for punitive forgiveness than females and females scored higher for emotional forgiveness than males did. This can help

⁹ Gender, race, and religiosity presented difference for the forgiveness types. Male and Female respondents scored differently in: Emotional, Punitive, Non-Transactional, Instantaneous, and Incremental Forgiveness types. Black and White respondents scored differently in: Calculative and Instantaneous Forgiveness types. High and Low Religiosity respondents scored differently in: Emotional, Proactive, Transactional, Pragmatic, and Instantaneous Forgiveness types. The five conflict management types had 27 correlations out of a possible 50 relationships with the ten forgiveness types. Religion also explained for a difference in forgivingness scores, respondents with higher levels of religiosity scored higher on the TNTF on average than the low religiosity group did.

for thinking about conflicts between individuals, but also for identifying differences in social movements. Social movements are likely to employ strategies that relate to underlying interests and needs of those in the movement, but this can be challenging when some want to address feelings while others want to address punishment. #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter represent different cross-sections. #MeToo reflects high levels of agreement with emotional forgiveness, addressing and acknowledging hurts, punitive processes—due process—are unlikely to expedite that satisfaction.

#BlackLivesMatter, on the other hand, reflects the interests and needs of the black community. Black respondents scored higher for the calculative forgiveness type than other demographic categories, 10+% more agreement than other measured demographic categories. This reflects “thinking differently about what was done” as opposed to “feeling differently,” which is reflected in the focus on changing policies, exposing wrongdoing, punishing offenders, and getting offenders fired. The naming and shaming that does not work for #MeToo is effective for addressing anti-black discrimination. Shaming people (usually white people) for policing black people for committing the crime of being black has been ubiquitous in recent years. BBQ Becky called the cops on black people for having a BBQ in the park, Permit Patty called the cops on a black girl for selling water without a permit, using the pool while black, babysitting while black, sitting at Starbucks while black, etc. have all generated viral stories.

The exposure appears to reflect several underlying needs. Thinking differently, in these cases, tend to have more to do with raising awareness. Individuals may be unlikely to regularly share the daily occurrences of racism, because they are afraid of being dismissed or accused of lying, but they are motivated within the movement (just like with #MeToo) to echo that this happens all the time. But, it proceeds to the deeper problem of police brutality. It is not merely

an inconvenience to have the cops called over a BBQ—it is a potential death sentence. Shame and punishment in this iteration are the representation of changed thinking. The inter-relational forgiveness types pick up on these distinctions and nuances in ways that help to articulate meaning and explain difference in ways that explain strategic success and failure.

This calculative type may also explain why blocking freeways and other efforts to cause inconvenience have strategically been employed with negative results. The calculation presents that the delay should be experienced cognitively as a chance to reflect on the inconvenience of injustice. The logic that those who experience or witness injustice will be more open to addressing injustice is strong in the civil rights movement. But, it fails when the protest confronts and exposes emotional-type individuals in experiences where they experience harm. MLK orchestrated harm, but it was taken on the self and those in the group, the cognitive component was not challenged, and so it raised consciousness. Those in the traffic jam are less likely to be reflective, because they are angry.

The ten types function as empirical tools for strategizing about conflict resolution and social movements in all cases where one or more parties have been harmed. They can help explain why processes work and also why intended outcomes were not achieved. We can see utility in thinking about personality or social motivators in identifying predictive value for individual or group conflict. There is variation in preferences for forgiveness and unforgiveness. Understanding the variation according to different types has clear utility.

7.5 Implications for Theory

This work puts forward an inter-personal definition of forgiveness as well as a means for conceptualizing the forgiveness of structural violence. Forgiveness is defined with a typology of

ten types. Preferences in forgiveness are influenced by both personal and social forces. These preferences and types have been meaningfully applied to two social movements that respond to structural violence in ways that provide meaningful evaluative feedback regarding both successful strategizing and the calculation of success. The evaluation successfully responded to both race and gender based structural violence and is expected to offer equally meaningful analysis when applied to other circumstances confronting structural violence or conflicts where one or more parties have been harmed.

7.6 Limitations

There are a number of areas where the scope of the study was limited and could be expanded upon. Some of these happened for methodological reasons, there are always more questions to ask, but keeping the survey to a reasonable length was a priority. I would like to cover some of these methodological limitations. Other limitations occurred as a result of the sampling for the study, and I also like to address some of these sampling limitations. This study was intended to be a beginning in an iterative theory building process, it cast a broad net at ten forgiveness types, with a hope of making four or five meaningful types and a need for future development.

The use of a survey was chosen because the primary goal of the study was the development of measures for forgiveness types and testing them in a generalizable manner. This meant collecting a large amount of general information from a larger sample, but was also inherently limited in the depth of the qualitative information provided. One of the known limitations in the study was the potential for social desirability bias. In pretesting this became a focus in improving the survey design. Extra questions were developed in an effort to make better

sense of the difference between an individual's interest in being perceived as being forgiving and actually being forgiving. In the final analysis social desirability may have played less of a role than self awareness, feedback from participants indicated that some of the questions were difficult because they were not really sure what they did and/or because they did not always do the same things. Surveys capture general information, but the depth of types needs more detailing. What are the increments used in incremental forgiveness, or the transactions of transactional forgiveness? The details of the forgiveness types presented need more depth, which could be achieved through interviews or written responses.

The emotional nature of forgiveness seems evident from participant responses. It may be a mistake to make emotional forgiveness a type as opposed to recognizing that all forgiveness has a tendency to engage with different feelings and emotions, which can distract from other details found in the prompts. That females express a significantly stronger desire to receive apologies from spouses who've said hurtful things than males do may be more significant than the scale. The prompt says something fundamental about hurts, how we respond to them, and expectations of others. The scale does not identify which emotions are at play and addressing anger would likely be different than addressing sorrow.

In the effort to avoid the potential for social desirability some behaviors may have been conflated with forgiveness. The implicit forgiveness prompts do not make explicit mention of forgiveness but were identified in the literature and examples to suggest varying degrees of forgiveness or unforgiveness. "Be left alone," for example, presents as non-transactional while "talk about it" presents as transactional, I believe they would function better turned into explicit prompts: "When I'm hurt I want to be left alone until I forgive the person," or "When I'm hurt I want to talk about it so that I can forgive the person."

On the whole the forgiveness types were clear, but operationalizing them was challenging. While “forgiveness happens in steps” was an accurate representation of incremental forgiveness, factor analysis did not identify increments with a strong association. The same was true for other types as well, “see offenders punished [...] before I can forgive them” was definitive of punitive forgiveness, but “make sure the boss knows” and “hope they get a ticket” may not be the best indicators of forgiveness but just the punitive component. “I could forgive a driver for cutting me off, after they get a ticket,” or “I could forgive a coworker, after telling the boss” would probably be better prompts, because they directly connect the desire with the outcome of forgiveness and it is reasonable to assume some people’s desires for offenders to be punished have nothing to do with forgiveness at all.

The sampling for this study was university students at Kennesaw State University in Georgia and Portland State University in Oregon. The sampled populations did not produce enough respondents of varying religious traditions to make comparisons between different faiths or denominations, future research with greater religious diversity would aid in the ability of making claims about the relationships between forgiveness and religion. The ages of respondents were also fairly limited, this study could not make any claims about relationships between age and forgiveness. While there was good balance between males and females, the respondents were overwhelmingly white. This sample had enough black respondents to make a suitable comparison, but future research including greater diversity would allow for comparisons across more racial and cultural lines. The sample does a great job of reflecting millennial preferences, which relate to a large part of the demographic of both the #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter movements. Future research with larger age ranges could provide more detailed analysis about past movements, and why older individuals choose to participate (or not) with these movements.

7.6.1 Philosophical Limitations

As expressed upfront, there are some challenges with the methodology employed in this study. It is important to recognize that philosophically there is a challenge with the application of the findings. There is a fundamental assumption that carries over from the literature review, it suggests that while there are challenges with forgiveness, it is a fundamentally virtuous practice. This does not recognize the incidence of two other reasonable positions, which might not be generally not true, but seem very reasonable in some cases. Those who are hard-hearted and absolutely unforgiving, and obsequious forgivers who are dangerously over-forgiving.

7.6.1.1 *The Hard-Hearted Individual*, is a person who has endured too much abuse or trauma to forgive. Such a person may be confused of being over-reacting, but, from a defense stand point, is just erring on the side of caution. This survey does not capture any aspect of justification for unforgiveness or a risk factor for potential negative outcomes for forgiveness. But in a cycle of domestic violence, for example, forgiveness could present as an element of persistent dysfunction as opposed to an adaptation for improved relations. There are reasonable considerations (covered in chap. 2), which applied to some victims, do appear to suggest there are cases when forgiveness might be not virtuous but a mistake. Those who have learned these lessons from negative experiences, like routine (possibly daily) encounters of prejudice, may be quite justified in the grudges they hold, these concerns are not measured, and are also left out of the discussion. When applied to structural violence, then, forgiveness may be counterproductive is such a person's assessment, because the only goal should be pursuing justice. Forgiveness, or a lack thereof, for the hard-hearted is unlikely to provide a good indication of vulnerability, resistance, resilience, or opportunity. This study does not identify those who are stingy with

forgiveness in this way, or what the possible causes or outcomes for an unforgiving disposition to forgiveness.

7.6.1.2 *The Obsequious Forgiver*, is a person who forgives too easily. This situation is also likely to miss important details in pursuing justice, because the victim appears to condone the mistreatment. Change may not be inspired by this process, and forgiveness may not signal adaptation in response dysfunction, but, instead, forgiveness may be embedded in the cycle of dysfunction. Such servile forgiveness may actually be antithetical to resolution; the forgiveness could prevent legitimate efforts to engage with parties' positions. Fear, trauma, and abuse could also potentially explain how an individual could end up in this situation. Domestic violence, for example, sometimes features some element of forgiveness, where the person promises to change, is forgiven, but never follows through. This study also did not provide any mechanism for identifying those who forgive too easily.

7.7 Recommendations for Policy and Future Research

Future analysis could be well served to look at the impacts of political speech. Returning to the discussion on immigration and refugees (chap. 1) is a good case for consideration. Take the following two remarks for example:

“I am convinced that, handled properly, today’s great task presented by the influx and integration of so many people is an opportunity for tomorrow.”

German Chancellor Angela Merkel

“We do not know who these people are, what their plans are, how they wish to maintain their own ideals, and we do not know if they will respect our culture and laws. This is an unregulated, uncontrolled process, the definition of which is invasion.”

Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Both quotes retrieved from “Refugees, Religion, and Resistance: A European Mass Migration Crisis Simulation,” found at: <http://www.trendsglobal.org/crisissimulation/> retrieved on: 2/18/19.

Viktor Orban's reaction is more likely to develop into dysfunction; Angela Merkel's response could lead to opportunity. Whether the words of Prime Minister Viktor Orban are unsympathetic or unforgiving is not the full question, because they are words that will likely lead to actions. Could such declarations contribute to the development of predictive tools? What about speech acts which are delivered after a time? Dealing with the influx of refugees as an opportunity increases the chances of collaborative problem solving—maximizing outcomes of interests for self and other—responding in an adversarial role is unlikely to help achieve win-win solutions.

In 1998 Bill Clinton visited Rwanda and acknowledged that the United States had failed in preventing the genocide four years earlier. It has famously been called the “Clinton Apology” but he never utters the words, “I’m sorry.” Does it work because he details specific mistakes, which culminated in the tragic loss of human life, or is it missing a vital piece? It does seem that acknowledgement and validation are important pieces to the puzzle of reconciling the relationship, but what difference do they make? Should the focus really remain on the Hutus and Tutsis, where forgiveness is the only viable option? Lederach (1995) presents the dilemma clearly: you cannot put half of the country in jail while the other half heals. Rwanda has managed to heal, and the forgiveness (gacaca) that has made this durable peace is remarkable; many countries engaged in civil conflicts and war end up reengaging in violence. The reintegration has been a tremendous success, all those who were jailed (except those who received life sentences) have returned to the communities where they lived, but also, in many cases, committed heinous acts. Or, in other conflicts, displaced populations will likely need to heal from painful pasts in order to successfully integrate into new communities.

The great struggle in making recommendations about where to go with forgiveness is this dilemma. Forgiveness presents tremendous opportunity—post-genocide Rwanda is proof of this—and forgiveness is sacrifice—Martin Luther King Jr. makes it clear “Do to us what you will and we will still love you.” I do not want to encourage that those who’ve been victimized need to find new inspiration for making greater sacrifices and I don’t want to find better ways for perpetrators to get away with it, but I do want people to move past anger and hatred which causes people to return to cycles of destructive conflict and violence and reinforces prejudicial structures. There is a fine line, and I think future research examining inter-relational forgiveness is necessary for repairing damaged relationships, but also truly understanding durable peace—how can we cultivate true forgiveness?

As a matter of policy there are many clear recommendations. First is that leaders should make better efforts to apologize, period. There are numerous examples of competitive and coercive behaviors in leadership, and analysis shows an inverse relationship between competitiveness and forgiveness. This does not serve public good or statecraft well, forgiveness, even with the costs of repairing damages and whatever atonement may entail, presents as a cheap alternative to violent conflict and war. The words “made a mistake” and “sorry” followed by “make this right” need to be incorporated into policy debates and positions; Mayor Eric Garcetti’s acknowledgement, “Ezell’s life mattered.” followed by efforts for change—to make things right—may have prevented a riot (Gumbel, 2015).

Second, greater investment into the mechanisms of forgiveness and reconciliations needs to be made. The first priority here is that programs and processes need to allow enough time for healing. The questions from most policy positions, I imagine, are “how much reconciliation can we get for (insert dollar amount)?” or “how quickly can we achieve reconciliation?” which are

understandable in eras of limited budgets and fiscal conservatism. There needs to be a commitment to giving processes the time needed—people need time—and it does not appear that there is any substitute for it.

This investment needs to be ideological as well as financial in many cases. In chap. 2 retributive, restorative, and transitional justice were introduced with the challenge that there are serious dilemmas in prosecuting crimes. The selection process of determining and justifying prosecutions is daunting (Danso, 2017; Perry & Sayndee, 2015) and in case of prolonged violent conflict enforcing all laws is impossible (Lederach, 1997). The expectation in conflict is not reconciliation it is the administration of justice—respondents, in all demographics, overwhelmingly (over 90% agreement) report that if someone breaks into their home they want their stuff back and they want the person to go to jail.

Truth and Reconciliation are antithetical to due process—the truth needed for healing may require amnesty—truth might be a victim’s need but is rarely the perpetrators prerogative, what you say can be used against you. Choosing forgiveness will sometimes mean not pursuing justice, I believe this cost should not be ignored though it may come with strategic advantage. Research on what makes for the best opportunities for reconciliation would be helpful, and I believe the types identified in the research can help in that project.

Section 6.6.1 provides analysis of methods of resistance and struggle. Struggle and sacrifice are presented as superior to reactionary anger. King took advantage of sympathy and wanted to highlight suffering and injustice that would shock the conscience of observers. We have evidence here describing some of what makes that work. But, there is also some exposing of what closes sympathy gaps. The racist conditions that cause declarations like “Black Lives Matter” to be necessary also influence the narratives of the discussion. The haters are not held to

the same rules. This asymmetry is hard to make sense of, it seems people are quick to accept false equivalence, and the following example is intended to showcase this problem.

Rolling Stone magazine described events in Charlottesville Virginia (Touré, 2017) (quoting David Straughn):

“As the white-supremacist rally was ending that Saturday afternoon in Charlottesville, Straughn was in the crowd, walking with a large band of counterprotesters. ‘We thought the day was won,’ he says. ‘We went to march down Water Street, chanting, ‘Whose streets? Our streets!’ We thought there was complete victory. It was a beautiful moment.’ For several blocks, he marched alongside a white woman he didn’t know. He says he respected her for being out there, and as they walked he began to feel close to her. He didn’t know until later that her name was Heather Heyer. ‘Then,’ he says, ‘we turned left onto Fourth Street and that’s when the terrorist attack happened.’ A gray Dodge Challenger came racing through the crowd, crashing into dozens of people. ‘I was a foot away from Heather when she was hit,’ he says quietly. ‘I saw people in the air, and then I saw a car with a bashed windshield right in front of me. I looked down and saw Heather bleeding from the leg. I saw her eyes fluttering. I saw her eyes roll to the back of her head, and I saw the life pass from her body. For five or six seconds, I forgot how to scream, and then I screamed, ‘Medic!’ as loud as I’ve ever screamed in my life.’”

The events were graphic, violent, and widely broadcast, but they were also interrupted and then subjected to debate. President Trump famously responded, “I think there is blame on both sides,” in a message that also included, “You had some very bad people in that group ... But you also had people that were very fine people, on both sides” (Klein, 2018).

Future research could explore this asymmetrical forgiveness or sympathy. Why is “they were bad too” sufficient for defending white supremacists but not BLM protestors blocking traffic? Why are #MeToo activists’ allegations of assault denied on the basis of political narratives? Do questions of forgiveness necessarily need to be consistent with political positioning? Future research could also look at the timing, strength, and number of protests presented as key factors in stress and tension reduction, to determine the role or likelihood that #BlackLivesMatter or #MeToo prevented a more pronounced/violent reaction from being sparked. What is it about some movements that makes them successful whereas other fail to gain traction?

Choosing cases and timing are identified foci in social movements. For example, 15-year-old Claudette Colvin refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus on March 2, 1955, 9 months before Rosa Parks, but the movement was not ready yet⁶¹. Rosa Parks made for an opportune case, in the words of Martin Luther King Jr. “I’m happy since it had to happen, it happened to a person that nobody can call a disturbing factor in the community. Mrs. Parks is a fine Christian person, unassuming, and yet there is integrity and character there. And just because she refused to get up, she was arrested⁶².”

⁶¹ There was considerable debate regarding the Montgomery Bus Boycott when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat as well. Some said the timing was not right, and others said they should start small—not have to get off the the bus when moving to the back, etc.—but in the end, they voted and decided to go with the boycott.

⁶² Speaking at the Holt Street Baptist Church in Montgomery on December 5, 1955.

Why do the resistance narratives require “perfect victims”⁶³ in order to showcase injustice? For example the false rape narrative⁶⁴, some people are quick to believe that survivors are liars out for revenge, they view attackers as the real victims; the real impact of this unsubstantiated narrative—the truth is that very few false claims are made—is not that jails are filling up with men convicted of assaults that they did not commit, the real impact is that sexual assault is extremely underreported worldwide. It is not clear how to correct the false narrative—it is timeless—but it is also unclear how we forgive ignorance? False narratives have real negative consequences, many people carry their scars in silence, but others are dead and in no position to argue against the victim blaming. Can #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter correct the narratives? Can they do it without forgiveness?

7.8 Conclusion

My colloquial expression of forgiving structural violence is one of existential resistance. It is situated at the intersection of injustice and growth. It is a simultaneous acknowledgement that “I (we) deserve better” and also “I (we) refuse to be defined by this.” Martin Luther King Jr.’s question “where do we go from here” is vitally important and he sees two choices: community or chaos (1968). He is completely aware of the persistence of racism, particularly in

⁶³ “Perfect victims” are mentioned in a number of different ways in the literature covered in this chapter. It is most explicitly presented by Wayne County Prosecutor Kym Worthy (Kaffer, 2017) when she explains how backlogs of rape kits originate, she describes the hesitance many prosecutors have with going to trial with imperfect victims. Prostitutes, African American women, and people who’ve consumed alcohol, she says, are significantly less likely to have justice served.

⁶⁴ Scholarship shows that between 2-10% of sexual assaults are false claims (Lonsway, Archambault, & Lisak, 2009; Lisak et al., 2010; Heenan & Murray 2006) but those numbers are also impacted by practices of law enforcement agencies, who are sometimes motivated to call cases “unfounded” in order to “reduce workload (Rumney, 2006), which begs the question, “False reports of sexual assault are rare, but why is there so little reliable data about them” (Moon, 2018)?

the South, and he describes a moral devotion and strength that must be utilized in order to overcome the oppression. King does not explicitly state forgiveness, like Gandhi, the nonviolence is presented in pragmatic terms. I think forgiveness is the means to this end— forgiveness is the mechanism for dismantling the structures of violence, without being distracted by anger toward those acting in accordance to the institutions. It is not the refusal to get angry but the encouragement to love the offender that begs the question of forgiveness. When he says “bomb our churches [...] we will still love you” (1965) I believe this love is the ultimate act of forgiveness.

The theory chapters paid great attention to the relationships between forgiveness and peace, conflict, and justice. Emerging scholarship and trends showcase this promise; my colleague Kwaku Danso’s (2017) development of relational justice, for example, addresses important questions and the need for innovation. “How can post-conflict states and societies overcome wartime injustices perpetrated against civilian populations? How should they deal with wartime atrocities? Should they pursue peace, or should they pursue justice? Should they grant amnesty or should they seek punishment” (Danso, p. 70)? Danso observes that “[t]he prioritization of the justice of retribution often leads to peace and justice being cast into binary frames of mutual exclusivity” (p. 71). He continues, “relational justice extends beyond the idea of redressing specific wrongful conduct to a justice form that focuses more broadly on ‘the goal of promoting and sustaining just relations’ (Llewellyn, 2012, p. 293). Not an ad hoc event, a relational justice standpoint offers a broader alternative way of thinking about justice that gives priority to the restoration of fractured relations as well as the long-term never ending process of interaction moving towards ‘positive peace’ (Galtung, 1969). Moreover, relational justice perceives peace and justice not as competing principles or needs, but as ‘two sides of the same

coin” (p. 89). As the field moves from retributive to restorative and transitional (and possibly relational) justice, as showcased here, the identification of forgiveness types like those identified in this study can play an important role.

Forgiveness has always been about responses to transgressions. Frequently to fill in where justice processes have been inadequate. Sometimes, and for some groups more than others, justice functions as a form of violence (like the failures presented as examples). Responses to the prompt on “truth” beg the question of how many African Americans believe that “truth” exists. The system, it seems, has never worked for African Americans, and it has rarely (if ever) been honest. But, as new solutions are presented, like movements to new systems, like relational justice, and as we acknowledge new relations and interconnectedness, we may move away from some of these oppressive structures. Relational justice might require inter-relational forgiveness in order to achieve successful adaptation. There are many reasons to conceptualize forgiveness differently, and the benefits for thinking about and responding to conflicts and ongoing struggles are very promising.

#BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo successfully respond to oppressive structures by meeting the needs of people who need help in their contexts and by addressing their underlying interests. The success that has been presented showcases rich connections to the forgiveness types that have been presented, but the success is incomplete. The conditions of gender based oppression and sexual violence have not gone away, nor has racial discrimination and prejudice against black lives. The movements are reaching people through the promotion of truth. The truth gains sympathy and allies as it uncovers and exposes injustice. This slow change is produced with forgiveness, not a retributive or vengeful attitude, and sacrifice.

The desire for social change is no different, in some ways, from the desire to forgive. The emotional forgiveness type, for example, showcases emotions, which an individual may not be able to control, needing to be resolved in order to forgive. There are not guarantees that a desire to address injustice will actually result in change. Anger about police brutality or gender based violence is likely to persist as long as the structures promoting the violence remain, what then?

Martin Luther King Jr. meditated on questions just like this while sitting in a Birmingham Jail cell in August of 1963. He wrote of two specific complaints:

“I MUST make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens Councillor or the Ku Klux Klanner but the **white moderate who is more devoted to order than to justice**; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; **who constantly says, ‘I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action’**; who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time; and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a ‘more convenient season.’ Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection” (1963b, para. 19) [emphasis added].

I cannot help but see echoes of disagreement with methods reported in this dissertation (like blocking traffic) and recognize the frustration King is pronouncing. The so-called moderate, supporting the structure, is the first one to receive forgiveness (I think) in the effort to recruit

allies and encourage cooperation. King's religiosity aids his ability to express proactive and pragmatic forgiveness, and he does express it: "I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it" (para. 25).

King's second great disappointment was with the church and its leadership. "LET me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been disappointed with the white church and its leadership." (para. 26). He enumerates the challenges, hypocrisy, and moral failings from faith he knows should act to confront injustice. This frustration runs deeper than a commitment to order that trumps justice, it culminates in serious condemnation, "But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I meet young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust" (para. 33). Before concluding, again with reflections of a forgiving open-hand, "If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me" (para. 39).

This dissertation provides empirical evidence to support these observations of forgiveness. We need to understand that forgiveness relates to relationships, and an inter-relational definition has been provided and defined with a typology of ten types. Forgiveness can be used strategically—for positive outcomes—independently of justice and injustice. In fact, forgiveness may be directly responsible for bringing about positive outcomes including justice, though it is not guaranteed or easy. People will forgive differently, there is clear evidence that personality explains for differences in preferences for forgiveness. There is also clear evidence that social motivators influence individuals' preferences for forgiveness. These preferences and types provide a foundation for understanding forgiveness of structural violence and, by extension, a means for assessing the efficacy of social movements like #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo.

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Appendix

A.1 Study 17-164 Questionnaire

Study 17-164: The Role of Personal and Social Factors in Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Forgiveness

The Centrality of Religiosity Scale (CRS) (Stefan Huber, Odilo W. Huber) questions.

[Stefan, H., & Huber, O. (2012). *The Centrality of Religion Scale*; Religions, 3, pp. 710-724.]

Q3 How often do you think about religious issues?

Q4 To what extent do you believe that God or something divine exists?

Q5 How often do you take part in religious services?

Q6 How often do you pray?

Q7 How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine intervenes in your life?

Q8 How interested are you in learning more about religious topics?

Q9 To what extent do you believe in an afterlife—e.g. immortality of the soul, resurrection of the dead or reincarnation?

Q10 How important is it to take part in religious services?

Q11 How important is personal prayer for you?

Q12 How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine want to communicate or to reveal something to you?

How Forgiving. Developed Questions.

Q13 In your opinion how forgiving do you think you are?

Q151 How forgiving do you want to be?

Q150 How forgiving do you want other people to be?

Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF; Berry et al., 2001) prompts.

[Berry, J., Worthington, E., Parrott, L., O'Connor, L., and Wade, N. (2001). *Dispositional*

Forgiveness: Development and Construct Validity of the Transgression Narrative Test

Q14 Someone you occasionally see in a class has a paper due at the end of the week. You have already completed the paper for the class and this person says he or she is under a lot of time pressure and asks you to lend him or her your paper for some ideas. You agree, and this person simply retypes the paper and hands it in. The professor recognizes the paper, calls both of you to her office, scolds you, and says you are lucky she doesn't put you both on academic probation. Imagine yourself in such a situation and mark how likely you are to forgive the person who borrowed your paper.

Q15 A fairly close friend tells you that he or she needs some extra money for an upcoming holiday. You know a married couple who needs a babysitter for their 3-year-old for a couple of nights and you recommend your friend. Your friend is grateful and takes the job. On the first night, the child gets out of bed and, while your 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 you. Imagine yourself in such a situation and mark how likely you are to forgive your friend.

Q16 A friend offers to drop off a job application for you at the post office by the deadline for submission. A week later, you get a letter from the potential employer saying that your application could not be considered because it was postmarked after the deadline and they had a very strict policy about this. Your friend said that he or she met an old friend, went to lunch, and lost track of time. When he or she remembered the package, it was close to closing time at the post office and he or she would have to have rushed frantically to get there; he or she decided that deadlines usually aren't that strictly enforced so he or she waited until the next morning to deliver the package. Imagine yourself in such a situation and mark how likely you are to forgive your friend for not delivering the application on time.

Q17 You just started a new job and it turns out that a classmate from high school works there, too. You think this is great; now you don't feel like such a stranger. Even though the classmate wasn't part of your crowd, there's at least a face you recognize. You two hit it off right away and talk about old times. A few weeks later, you are having lunch in the cafeteria and you overhear several of your coworkers, who do not realize you are nearby, talking about you and laughing; one even sounds snide and hostile toward you. You discover that your old classmate has told them about something you did back in school that you are deeply ashamed of and did not want anyone to know about. Imagine yourself in such a situation and mark how likely you are to forgive your old classmate for telling others your secret.

Q18 A distant cousin you haven't seen since childhood calls you one day and asks if he can stay with you while he looks for work and an apartment. You say it will be fine. He asks you to pick him up from the bus station that night and you do so. Your cousin is just like you fondly remember him; you reminisce for several hours. The next morning you give him some advice on job and apartment hunting in the area, then you go about your own business. That night you

come home and witness an angry argument in front of your residence between your cousin and a neighbor. Your cousin is obviously very drunk, cursing, and out of control. You ask what's happening and without really taking the time to recognize you, your cousin throws a bottle at you, cutting the side of your head. The police arrive and, with some scuffling, take your cousin away and take you to the emergency room where you have stitches put on your cut. The next afternoon, your cousin calls from the police station. He says he is really sorry about the whole scene and that it was not like him but he was upset about being turned down for three jobs that day. Imagine yourself in such a situation and mark how likely you are to forgive your cousin.

[Developed by Laven]

Thinking of the five examples you responded to (the two friends, the classmate, the coworker, and the cousin) give more general answers to the following questions.

Q109 In general, how difficult is it for you to forgive someone?

Q108 In general, how important is it to forgive someone?

Q110 In general, how do you think you compare with other people on questions of forgiveness?

You are _____.

Q111 In general, how forgiving do you want other people to think you are?

Q107 In general, how forgiving do you think other people think you are?

Q19 Look at each prompt and assign a value to reflect your agreement with the statement.

Implicit Forgiveness Traits. [Developed by Laven]

Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

If a friend disappoints you, you want to talk about it?

Q135 If a friend disappoints you, you want to be left alone?

Q20 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship.

Q136 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would make sure the boss knows.

Q21 If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would immediately throw it away.

Q137 If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would wait to see if they notice and throw it away on their own before you throw it away yourself.

Q22 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you hope they get a ticket.

Q138 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you look for a reason they have swerved.

Q23 When someone cuts in line in front of you, tell them where the back of the line is.

Q139 When someone cuts in line in front of you you say, "I was here first."

Q24 If a stranger breaks into your house you want them to go to jail.

Q140 If a stranger breaks into your house you want your stuff back.

Q25 If a parent disrespects you during an argument you make sure to bring up the disrespect.

Q141 If a parent disrespects you during an argument you stick to the disagreement.

Q26 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology.

Q142 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an explanation.

Q27 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would not let it bother you, try to focus on positives instead.

Q143 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would complain about it for the rest of the trip.

Q28 If a coworker steals your idea you would like them to make it up to you.

Q144 If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore.

- Q29 If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up.
- Q145 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.
- Q30 If you accidentally break something that belongs to someone else you focus on reimbursing the cost.
- Q146 If you accidentally break something that belongs to someone else you focus on replacing the item.
- Q31 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake.
- Q147 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would offer an explanation of what went wrong.
- Q148 You reschedule missed appointments as quickly as possible.
- Q33 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to the other person's feelings about you.
- Q149 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to how the other person thinks about you as a person.

Personality Type Indicator questions.

[Questions retrieved from:

<https://www.mtso.edu/site/assets/files/1136/keirse-temperament-character-intelligence.pdf>

February 3, 2017.]

Q34 At a party do you:

- Interact with many, including strangers (1)
- Interact with a few, known to you (2)

Q35 Are you more:

- Realistic than speculative (1)
- Speculative than realistic (2)

Q36 Is it worse to:

- Have your “head in the clouds” (1)
- Be “in a rut” (2)

Q37 Are you more impressed by:

- Principles (1)
- Emotions (2)

Q38 Are more drawn toward the:

- Convincing (1)
- Touching (2)

Q39 Do you prefer to work:

- To deadlines (1)
- Just “whenever” (2)

Q40 Do you tend to choose:

- Rather carefully (1)
- Somewhat impulsively (2)

Q41 At parties do you:

- Stay late, with increasing energy (1)
- Leave early with decreased energy (2)

Q42 Are you more attracted to:

- Sensible people (1)
- Imaginative people (2)

Q43 Are you more interested in:

- What is actual (1)
- What is possible (2)

Q44 In judging others are you more swayed by:

- Laws than circumstances (1)
- Circumstances than laws (2)

Q45 In approaching others is your inclination to be somewhat:

- Objective (1)
- Personal (2)

Q46 Are you more:

- Punctual (1)
- Leisurely (2)

Q47 Does it bother you more having things:

- Incomplete (1)
- Completed (2)

Q48 In your social groups do you:

- Keep abreast of other's happenings (1)
- Get behind on the news (2)

Q49 In doing ordinary things are you more likely to:

- Do it the usual way (1)
- Do it your own way (2)

Q50 Writers should:

- "Say what they mean and mean what they say" (1)
- Express things more by use of analogy (2)

Q51 Which appeals to you more:

- Consistency of thought (1)
- Harmonious human relationships (2)

Q52 Are you more comfortable in making:

- Logical judgments (1)
- Value judgments (2)

Q53 Do you want things:

- Settled and decided (1)
- Unsettled and undecided (2)

Q54 Would you say you are more:

- Serious and determined (1)
- Easy-going (2)

Q55 Before making a phone call do you:

- Rarely question that it will all be said (1)
- Rehearse what you'll say (2)

Q56 Facts:

- "Speak for themselves" (1)
- Illustrate principles (2)

Q57 Are visionaries:

- somewhat annoying (1)
- rather fascinating (2)

Q58 Are you more often:

- a cool-headed person (2)
- a warm-hearted person (3)

Q59 Is it worse to be:

- unjust (1)
- merciless (2)

Q60 Should one usually let events occur:

- by careful selection and choice (1)
- randomly and by chance (2)

Q61 Do you feel better about:

- having purchased (1)
- having the option to buy (2)

Conflict Management Styles Assessment questions.

(Source: Reginald (Reg) Adkins, PhD, Elemental Truths

<http://elementaltruths.blogspot.com/2006/11/conflict-management-quiz.html>)

[Adkins, R. (2006). Elemental Truths (Conflict Management Styles Assessment),

Retrieved from: <http://elementaltruths.blogspot.com/2006/11/conflict-management-quiz.html> Feb. 2017, no longer available.]

Each statement below provides a strategy for dealing with a conflict. Rate each statement on a scale of how likely you are to use this strategy, from “Always” to “Never” identify the answer you believe best fits you. Be sure to answer the questions indicating how you would behave rather than how you think you behave.

Q157 I explore issues with others so as to find solutions that meet everyone’s needs.

Q158 I try to negotiate and adopt a give-and-take approach to problem situations.

Q159 I try to meet the expectations of others.

Q160 I would argue my case and insist on the merits of my point of view.

Q161 When there is a disagreement, I gather as much information as I can and keep the lines of communication open.

Q162 When I find myself in an argument, I usually say very little and try to leave as soon as possible.

Q163 I try to see conflicts from both sides. What do I need? What does the other person need? What are the issues involved?

Q164 I prefer to compromise when solving problems and just move on.

Q165 I find conflicts challenging and exhilarating; I enjoy the battle of wits that usually follows.

Q166 Being at odds with other people makes me feel uncomfortable and anxious.

Q167 I try to accommodate the wishes of my friends and family.

Q168 I can figure out what needs to be done and I am usually right.

Q169 To break deadlocks, I would meet people halfway.

Q170 I may not get what I want but it’s a small price to pay for keeping the peace.

Q171 I avoid hard feelings by keeping my disagreements with others to myself.

Explicit Forgiveness Prompts. [Developed by Laven]

Look at each prompt and assign a value to reflect your agreement with the statement. Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Q113 The offender needs to say, “I’m sorry” before I can forgive them.

Q115 I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them.

Q117 I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them.

Q119 The offender needs to say “I will not do it again” before I can forgive them.

Q121 I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone.

Q123 An apology needs to be sincere before I can forgive someone.

Q125 I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone.

Q127 I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them.

Q129 I need time in order to forgive someone.

- Q131 I need closure before I can forgive someone.
- Q133 I need truth before I can forgive someone.
- Q135 The offender needs to make repairs or restitution before I can forgive them.
- Q137 For me forgiveness happens all at once.
- Q139 For me forgiveness is a process that happens in steps.
- Q141 I usually work toward forgiving an offender.
- Q143 I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender.
- Q145 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I think about what someone has done.
- Q147 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.
- Q149 Being forgiving is part of my identity.
- Q151 I believe forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender.
- Q134 I believe an offender needs to positively change in order to be forgiven.
- Q153 I believe forgiveness is more about group harmony than an individual.
- Q133 I believe forgiveness is an obligation.
- Q152 I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance.
- Q153 I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred.
- Q154 I believe forgiveness is a religious responsibility.
- Q155 I believe forgiveness is a virtue.
- Q156 I believe forgiveness requires penance.

Demographic questions.

- Q94 What is your year of birth? (please enter the 4 digit year or 0000 if you prefer not to answer)
- Q95 What is your sex?
- Q96 How would you classify yourself? Choose one or more group that you identify with (if other, please fill in):
- Q97 Would you describe yourself as religious?
- Q98 Do you identify with a specific church? If yes, please provide the name.
- Q99 Do you identify with a specific religious group? If yes, please identify which.
- Q157 Do you identify with a specific religious denomination?
- Q102 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
- Q103 Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated or never married?
- Q104 Are you currently a graduate student, undergraduate student, neither, or prefer not to answer?
- Q105 What school do you attend?
- Q106 What is your major or course of study?

A.2 Study 17-164 Questionnaire Coding

Study 17-164: The Role of Personal and Social Factors in Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Forgiveness

Excel Coding for questionnaire:

Consent: 1 yes, 2 no.

The Centrality of Religiosity Scale (CRS) (Stefan Huber, Odilo W. Huber) questions.

Religions 2012, 3, 710–724

CRS1-10

Objective frequencies of prayer (personal and obligatory) and meditation

Several times a day and Once a day, 5; More than once a week, 4; Once a week or One or three times a month, 3; A few times a year or Less often, 2; Never, 1.

Objective frequencies of participation in religious services

More than once a week or Once a week, 5; One or three times a month, 4; A few times a year, 3; Less often, 2; Never, 1.

Very much so, 5; Quite a bit so, 4; Moderately, 3; Not very much, 2; Not at all, 1.

Q3 How often do you think about religious issues? CRS1

Q4 To what extent do you believe that God or something divine exists? CRS2

Q5 How often do you take part in religious services? CRS3

Q6 How often do you pray? CRS4

Q7 How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine intervenes in your life? CRS5

Q8 How interested are you in learning more about religious topics? CRS6

Q9 To what extent do you believe in an afterlife—e.g. immortality of the soul, resurrection of the dead or reincarnation? CRS7

Q10 How important is it to take part in religious services? CRS8

Q11 How important is personal prayer for you? CRS9

Forgiveness Follow-up FFU

Thinking of the five examples you responded to (the two friends, the classmate, the coworker, and the cousin) give more general answers to the following questions.

FFU1

Q109 In general, how difficult is it for you to forgive someone?

Very difficult,5; s Diff, 4; Not Diff or Easy, 3; S Easy, 2; Very Easy, 1.

FFU2

Q108 In general, how important is it to forgive someone?

Very Important, 5; s Imp, 4; Not Imp or unImp, 3; s UnImp ,2; Very UnImp,1.

FFU3

Q110 In general, how do you think you compare with other people on questions of forgiveness?

You are _____.

Much more F, 5; More F, 4; Right in the middle, 3; Less F, 2; Much L F, 1.

FFU4

Q111 In general, how forgiving do you want other people to think you are?

Very F, 5; F, 4; Somewhat F, 3; UnF, 2; Very UnF, 1.

FFU5

Q107 In general, how forgiving do you think other people think you are?

Very F,5; F, 4; Somewhat F, 3; UnF, 2; Very UnF, 1.

Implicit, Forgiveness Traits FT1-29

Strongly agree, 5; agree,4; Neither Agree or Disagree, 3; Disagree, 2; Strongly Disagree, 1.

Q1 If a friend disappoints you, you want to talk about it?

Q2 If a friend disappoints you, you want to be left alone?

Q3 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship.

Q4 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would make sure the boss knows.

Q5 If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would immediately throw it away.

Q6 If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would wait to see if they notice and throw it away on their own before you throw it away yourself.

Q7 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you hope they get a ticket.

Q8 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you look for a reason they have swerved.

Q9 When someone cuts in line in front of you, tell them where the back of the line is.

Q10 When someone cuts in line in front of you you say, "I was here first."

Q11 If a stranger breaks into your house you want them to go to jail.

Q12 If a stranger breaks into your house you want your stuff back.

Q13 If a parent disrespects you during an argument you make sure to bring up the disrespect.

Q14 If a parent disrespects you during an argument you stick to the disagreement.

- Q15 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology.
- Q16 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an explanation.
- Q17 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would not let it bother you, try to focus on positives instead.
- Q18 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would complain about it for the rest of the trip.
- Q19 If a coworker steals your idea you would like them to make it up to you.
- Q20 If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore.
- Q21 If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up.
- Q22 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.
- Q23 If you accidentally break something that belongs to someone else you focus on reimbursing the cost.
- Q24 If you accidentally break something that belongs to someone else you focus on replacing the item.
- Q25 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake.
- Q26 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would offer an explanation of what went wrong.
- Q27 You reschedule missed appointments as quickly as possible.
- Q28 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to the other person's feelings about you.
- Q29 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to how the other person thinks about you as a person.

Personality Type Indicator questions.

E—Extrovert

I—Introvert

S—Sensing

N—Intuition

T—Thinking

F—Feeling

J—Judging

P—Perceiving

Q34 At a party do you:

- Interact with many, including strangers (1) E
- Interact with a few, known to you (2) I

Q35 Are you more:

- Realistic than speculative (1) S
- Speculative than realistic (2) N

Q36 Is it worse to:

- Have your “head in the clouds” (1) S
- Be “in a rut” (2) N

Q37 Are you more impressed by:

- Principles (1) T
- Emotions (2) F

Q38 Are more drawn toward the:

- Convincing (1) T
- Touching (2) F

Q39 Do you prefer to work:

- To deadlines (1) J
- Just “whenever” (2) P

Q40 Do you tend to choose:

- Rather carefully (1) J
- Somewhat impulsively (2) P

Q41 At parties do you:

- Stay late, with increasing energy (1) E
- Leave early with decreased energy (2) I

Q42 Are you more attracted to:

- Sensible people (1) S
- Imaginative people (2) N

Q43 Are you more interested in:

- What is actual (1) S
- What is possible (2) N

Q44 In judging others are you more swayed by:

- Laws than circumstances (1) T
- Circumstances than laws (2) F

Q45 In approaching others is your inclination to be somewhat:

- Objective (1) T
- Personal (2) F

Q46 Are you more:

- Punctual (1) J
- Leisurely (2) P

Q47 Does it bother you more having things:

- Incomplete (1) J
- Completed (2) P

Q48 In your social groups do you:

- Keep abreast of other’s happenings (1) E

- Get behind on the news (2) I

Q49 In doing ordinary things are you more likely to:

- Do it the usual way (1) S
- Do it your own way (2) N

Q50 Writers should:

- “Say what they mean and mean what they say” (1) S
- Express things more by use of analogy (2) N

Q51 Which appeals to you more:

- Consistency of thought (1) T
- Harmonious human relationships (2) F

Q52 Are you more comfortable in making:

- Logical judgments (1) T
- Value judgments (2) F

Q53 Do you want things:

- Settled and decided (1) J
- Unsettled and undecided (2) P

Q54 Would you say you are more:

- Serious and determined (1) J
- Easy-going (2) P

Q55 Before making a phone call do you:

- Rarely question that it will all be said (1) E
- Rehearse what you’ll say (2) I

Q56 Facts:

- “Speak for themselves” (1) S
- Illustrate principles (2) N

Q57 Are visionaries:

- somewhat annoying (1) S
- rather fascinating (2) N

Q58 Are you more often:

- a cool-headed person (1) T
- a warm-hearted person (2) F

Q59 Is it worse to be:

- unjust (1) T
- merciless (2) F

Q60 Should one usually let events occur:
o by careful selection and choice (1) J
randomly and by chance (2) P

Q61 Do you feel better about:
o having purchased (1) J
o having the option to buy (2) P

Conflict Management Styles Assessment questions.

(Source: Reginald (Reg) Adkins, PhD, Elemental Truths

<http://elementaltruths.blogspot.com/2006/11/conflict-management-quiz.html>)

Each statement below provides a strategy for dealing with a conflict. Rate each statement on a scale of how likely you are to use this strategy, from “Always” to “Never” identify the answer you believe best fits you. Be sure to answer the questions indicating how you would behave rather than how you think you behave.

Collaborating, 1,5, 7; Competing, 4, 9, 12; Avoiding, 6, 10, 15; Accommodating, 3, 11, 14;
Compromising, 2, 8, 13.

Q157 I explore issues with others so as to find solutions that meet everyone’s needs.
(Collaborating)

Q158 I try to negotiate and adopt a give-and-take approach to problem situations. (Compromising)

Q159 I try to meet the expectations of others. (Accommodating)

Q160 I would argue my case and insist on the merits of my point of view. (Competing)

Q161 When there is a disagreement, I gather as much information as I can and keep the lines of communication open. (Collaborating)

Q162 When I find myself in an argument, I usually say very little and try to leave as soon as possible. (Avoiding)

Q163 I try to see conflicts from both sides. What do I need? What does the other person need? What are the issues involved? (Collaborating)

Q164 I prefer to compromise when solving problems and just move on. (Compromising)

Q165 I find conflicts challenging and exhilarating; I enjoy the battle of wits that usually follows. (Competing)

Q166 Being at odds with other people makes me feel uncomfortable and anxious. (Avoiding)

Q167 I try to accommodate the wishes of my friends and family. (Accommodating)

Q168 I can figure out what needs to be done and I am usually right. (Competing)

Q169 To break deadlocks, I would meet people halfway. (Compromising)

Q170 I may not get what I want but it’s a small price to pay for keeping the peace. (Accommodating)

Q171 I avoid hard feelings by keeping my disagreements with others to myself. (Avoiding)

Explicit. Forgiveness Behaviors FP1-28

Look at each prompt and assign a value to reflect your agreement with the statement. Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Explicit Forgiveness Prompts (FP)

- Q1 The offender needs to say, "I'm sorry" before I can forgive them.
- Q2 I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them.
- Q3 I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them.
- Q4 The offender needs to say "I will not do it again" before I can forgive them.
- Q5 I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone.
- Q6 An apology needs to be sincere before I can forgive someone.
- Q7 I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone.
- Q8 I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them.
- Q9 I need time in order to forgive someone.
- Q10 I need closure before I can forgive someone.
- Q11 I need truth before I can forgive someone.
- Q12 The offender needs to make repairs or restitution before I can forgive them.
- Q13 For me forgiveness happens all at once.
- Q14 For me forgiveness is a process that happens in steps.
- Q15 I usually work toward forgiving an offender.
- Q16 I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender.
- Q17 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I think about what someone has done.
- Q18 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.
- Q19 Being forgiving is part of my identity.
- Q20 I believe forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender.
- Q21 I believe an offender needs to positively change in order to be forgiven.
- Q22 I believe forgiveness is more about group harmony than an individual.
- Q23 I believe forgiveness is an obligation.
- Q24 I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance.
- Q25 I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred.
- Q26 I believe forgiveness is a religious responsibility.
- Q27 I believe forgiveness is a virtue.
- Q28 I believe forgiveness requires penance.

Demographic questions. DEM1-12

- Q94 What is your year of birth? (please enter the 4 digit year or 0000 if you prefer not to answer)
- Q95 What is your sex?
- Q96 How would you classify yourself? Choose one or more group that you identify with (if other, please fill in):
- Q97 Would you describe yourself as religious?

- Q98 Do you identify with a specific church? If yes, please provide the name.
 Q99 Do you identify with a specific religious group? If yes, please identify which.
 Q157 Do you identify with a specific religious denomination?
 Q102 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
 Q103 Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated or never married?
 Q104 Are you currently a graduate student, undergraduate student, neither, or prefer not to answer?
 Q105 What school do you attend?
 Q106 What is your major or course of study?

A.3 Tables for Forgiveness and Personality

Significant Differences for Explicit Forgiveness Prompt by Personality Type, below:

Table A.3.1: Statistically Significant Means Differences for Implicit Forgiveness Prompt by Personality Type

	E	I	S	N	T	F	J	P
1. If a friend disappoints you, you want to talk about it	4.19*	3.93	3.93	4.19*	3.94	4.18*		
2. If a friend disappoints you, you want to be left alone	3.09	3.38*						
3. If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship	3.90***	3.50			3.60	3.84*		
4. If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would make sure the boss knows			2.77*	2.53				
5. If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would immediately throw it away			3.70	4.06**	3.69	4.18***		
6. If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would wait to see if they notice and throw it away on their own before you throw it away yourself					3.21**	2.82		
7. When a driver cuts you off in traffic you hope they get a ticket			3.61***	3.14	3.65***	3.21		
8. When a driver cuts you off in traffic you look for a reason they have swerved			3.27	3.58*				
9. When someone cuts in line in front of you, tell them where the back of the line is					3.62*	3.32		
10. When someone cuts in line in front of you you say, "I was here first."					3.09*	2.78		

11. If a stranger breaks into your house you want them to go to jail			4.50**	4.24				
15. If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology.					4.02	4.38***		
16. If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an explanation					4.30	4.52**		
17. If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would not let it bother you, try to focus on positives instead			3.04	3.48***	3.04	3.33*	3.13	3.56**
18. If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would complain about it for the rest of the trip	2.34	2.73**	2.86***	2.29	2.70**	2.38		
20. If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore.	3.96	4.22*					3.96	4.22***
21. If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up					4.09	4.32*		
22. If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it					4.11	4.43**		
23. If you accidentally break something that belongs to someone else you focus on reimbursing the cost.			4.21	4.48**				
25. If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake					4.18	4.41*		
27. You reschedule missed appointments as quickly as possible					4.06*	3.82	4.13***	3.41
28. If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to the other person's feelings about you	3.21*	2.81						
29. If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to how the other person thinks about you as a person	3.28*	2.81						

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p \leq .001$. Prompts 12, 13, 14, 19, 24, and 26 had no significant findings.

Table A.3.2: Statistically Significant Means Differences for Explicit Forgiveness Prompt by Personality Type

	E	I	S	N	T	F	J	P
1. The offender needs to say, "I'm sorry" before I can forgive them			3.78***	3.25				
2. I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them			3.04***	2.44	2.97***	2.48		
3. I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them			3.79***	3.50				
4. The offender needs to say "I will not do it again" before I can forgive them			3.22**	2.78				
5. I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone					3.39	3.69*		

7. I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone	3.43	3.76*			3.44	3.68*		
9. I need time in order to forgive someone	3.68	4.05**						
11. I need truth before I can forgive someone			4.21*	3.96				
13. For me forgiveness happens all at once	2.74**	2.32						
15. I usually work toward forgiving an offender			3.44	3.81**	3.47	3.79**		
19. Being forgiving is part of my identity	3.67*	3.39	3.30	3.78***	3.25	3.75***		
20. I believe forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender	3.71**	3.34			3.38	3.70**		
22. I believe forgiveness is more about group harmony than an individual							2.94	3.48***
23. I believe forgiveness is an obligation	2.79**	2.33						
24. I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance					3.60	4.08***		
25. I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred			3.34	3.63*	3.97	4.36***		
26. I believe forgiveness is a religious responsibility	3.21*	2.81						
27. I believe forgiveness is a virtue			4.04	4.32*	3.77	4.01*		
28. I believe forgiveness requires penance	3.28***	2.81	3.23*	2.94				

Note: * p < .05; ** p < .01, *** p ≤ .001. Prompts 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 21 had no significant findings.

Master tables A.3.3: Statistically Significant Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Emotional Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology.	4.15	4.26	4.23	4.19	4.02***	4.38	4.22	4.24
	1.04	1.00	.96	1.00	1.05	.92	1.00	.98
2 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an explanation.	74.6/7.9	80.7/7.0	79/ 5.8	78.6/ 6.4	70.5/ 8.7	86.5/ 5.9	79.3/ 7.1	78.8/ 6.1
	4.42	4.47	4.34	4.47	4.30**	4.52	4.43	4.42
3 If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up.	.81	.70	.80	.75	.84	.71	.81	.77
	86.3/13.8	91.5/8.5	86.1/2.2	89.8/ 2.7	83.5/ 3.3	93.5/ 2.9	89.1/ 4.1	86.4/ 1.5
4 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.	4.17	4.13	4.18	4.23	4.09*	4.32	4.15	4.09
	1.09	1.00	.91	1.03	1.04	.97	1.05	1.06
4 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.	76.2/8.0	78.3/10.2	75.1/4.4	83.4/ 8.1	75.8/ 9.3	84.6/ 6.5	76.7/ 8.9	80.3/ 9.1
	4.23	4.18	4.15	4.30	4.11**	4.43	4.25	4.20
4 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it.	1.05	1.11	.98	1.11	1.08	.95	1.01	1.15
	79.3/7.9	78.3/11.6	76.1/8.7	82.4/ 4.8	77/ 10.9	85.3/ 5.3	80.6/ 7.8	79.8/ 9.1

5 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake.	4.31 1.02	4.28 .94	4.20 .98	4.40 .95	4.18* 1.01	4.41 .95	4.32 .97	4.21 1.05
	82.5/ 7.9	82.9/ 6.2	72.4/ 5.8	86.1/ 5.3	78.1/ 7.7	85.3/ 5.3	83.3/ 6.5	78.8/ 7.6
6 I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone.	3.41 1.37	3.68 1.15	3.60 1.26	3.53 1.31	3.39 1.27	3.69 1.25	3.43 1.35	3.65 1.22
	58/ 26.6	66.7/ 23.2	61.6/ 21	62.6/ 23	54.6/ 23.5	68.6/ 18.9	59.2/ 26.2	58.5/ 18.5
7 I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them.	3.14 1.22	3.33 1.16	3.30 1.13	3.29 1.18	3.26 1.18	3.38 1.12	3.23 1.22	3.33 1.04
	41.3/ 30.7	48.1/ 24	45.7/ 22.5	49.7/ 24.6	45.4/ 25.1	49.4/ 21.8	48/ 27.6	42.4/ 21.2
8 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone.	3.42 1.05	3.34 1.07	3.38 1.04	3.38 1.12	3.29 1.14	3.49 1.05	3.36 1.10	3.41 1.16
	53.5/ 19.3	50.8/ 22.7	48.2/ 17.5	52.9/ 22.5	51.4/ 22.7	53.6/ 20.1	51.4/ 21.2	53/ 24.2
9 I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance.	3.78 1.26	3.96 1.13	3.69* 1.20	3.99 1.22	3.60*** 1.29	4.08 1.09	3.79 1.21	3.98 1.16
	63.8/ 18.6	74.4/ 14	65.2/19	70.6/ 13.4	58.2/ 22	79.1/ 11.2	65.4/ 16.4	75.8/ 16.7
10 I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred.	4.15 1.05	4.18 .94	4.04* .985	4.32 .985	3.97*** 1.05	4.36 .88	4.15 .99	4.24 .99
	84.6/ 9.6	85.9/ 7.8	81.9/ 8.7	87.2/ 7.5	79.1/ 9.3	89.9/ 5.9	84/ 7.5	87.9/ 9.1

Legend: Mean; Std Dev.; %agree/%disagree. Values in bold show significance: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p ≤.001.

Master table A.3.4: Statistically Significant Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Reactive Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore.	3.96*	4.22*	4.07	4.01	4.04	4.06	4.02	4.02
	73/ 14.3	86.8/ 3.9	77.5/ 10.1	78.1/ 9.6	77.6/ 10.4	78.2/ 9.4	77.2/ 11.2	75.8/ 7.6
2 The offender needs to say, "I'm sorry" before I can forgive them.	3.40	3.60	3.78***	3.25	3.56	3.37	3.45	3.56
	56.6/ 29.1	66.7/ 21.7	70.3/ 18.1	53.5/ 30.5	62.8/ 21.9	57.1/ 30	60.5/ 27.6	60.6/ 19.7
3 I need to see that offenders have a change of heart before I can forgive them.	3.54	3.62	3.79	3.50	3.71	3.53	3.53	3.65
	59.8/ 22.8	66.7/ 13.2	67.4/ 15.2	62.6/ 24.1	65.6/ 16.4	62.4/ 22.4	60.5/ 23.1	62.1/ 19.7
4 The offender needs to say "I will not do it again" before I can forgive them.	2.89	2.90	3.22**	2.78	3.04	2.91	2.87	3.15
	37/ 39.2	34.9/ 41.9	47.8/ 30.4	32.1/ 42.8	38.3/ 33.3	37.6/ 40	35.7/ 41.5	40.9/ 27.3

5 I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone.	3.43**	3.76	3.54	3.60	3.44*	3.68	3.55	3.67
	55/ 21.7	67.4/ 14.7	58.7/ 20.3	62.6/ 18.2	55.2/ 23.5	64.1/ 15.3	60.2/ 20.7	60.6/ 13.6
6 I need time in order to forgive someone.	3.68**	4.05	3.83	3.92	3.81	3.91	3.85	3.77
	65.6/ 18	82.9/ 8.5	70.3/ 13	77/ 13.4	71.6/ 15.3	75.3/ 12.9	74.1/ 14.6	71.2/ 19.7
7 I need truth before I can forgive someone.	4.00	4.14	4.21*	3.96	4.13	4.04	4.04	4.12
	77.2/ 11.6	82.2/ 10.9	81.2/ 8	76.5/ 13.9	79.2/ 8.7	79.4/ 11.2	77.6/ 12.2	80.3/ 7.6
8 I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender.	3.39	3.22	3.31	3.28	3.33	3.27	3.22	3.45
	52.9/ 20.6	44.2/ 25.6	47.1/ 18.1	48.1/ 24.6	49.7/ 21.3	45.9/ 23.5	44.2/ 25.2	53/ 21.2
9 I believe an offender needs to positively change in order to be forgiven.	3.39	3.22	3.48	3.27	3.47	3.29	3.33	3.48
	53.4/ 25.4	47.3/ 29.5	53.6/ 18.8	52.4/ 30.5	55.2/ 19.7	50.6/ 30.6	49.7/ 26.9	62.1/ 27.3

Master table A.3.5: Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Proactive Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship.	3.90***	3.50	3.64	3.81	3.60*	3.84*	3.78	3.62
	72.5/ 10.1	54.3/ 21.7	63/ 18.8	66.8/ 11.2	59.6/ 19.1	68.8/ 11.2	66.3/ 13.6	60.6/ 15.2
2 I usually work toward forgiving an offender.	3.75	3.53	3.44**	3.81	3.47**	3.79	3.60	3.77
	60.8/ 9	58.1/ 18.6	50/ 17.4	67.9/ 11.2	51.4/ 16.4	67.6/ 11.8	58.5/ 14.6	66.7/ 12.1
3 Being forgiving is part of my identity.	3.67	3.39	3.30***	3.78	3.25***	3.75	3.52	3.70
	63.5/ 15.3	48.1/ 19.4	47.8/ 27.5	66.3/ 8	43.7/ 24.6	68.2/ 12.4	55.4/ 19	69.7/ 13.6
4 I believe forgiveness is an obligation.	2.79**	2.33	2.50	2.65	2.47	2.66	2.52	2.59
	32.8/ 40.7	22.5/ 62	27.5/ 50.7	31.6/ 48.7	25.1/ 53	32.9/ 46.5	26.5/ 51.4	30.3/ 50
5 I believe forgiveness is a virtue.	3.94	3.91	3.74*	4.00	3.77*	4.01	3.89	4.06
	74.1/ 9	72.9/ 8.5	65.2/ 12.3	77/ 8	67.8/ 10.9	75.3/ 8.8	69.7/ 8.8	84.8/ 7.6

Master table A.3.6: Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Punitive Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise you would make sure the boss knows.	2.62	2.65	2.77*	2.53	2.70	2.54	2.70	2.59
	22.2/ 49.2	21.7/ 45	22.5/ 39.9	17.1/ 49.2	22.4/ 44.8	18.2/ 51.8	22.8/ 44.2	24.2/ 48.5
2 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you hope they get a ticket.	3.35	3.47	3.61***	3.14	3.65***	3.21	3.42	3.24
	47.6/ 25.9	53.5/ 22.5	55.8/ 21	41.2/ 29.9	58.5/ 15.3	44.7/ 35.5	49.3/ 24.1	45.5/ 33.3
3 If a stranger breaks into your house you want them to go to jail.	4.46	4.28	4.50**	4.24	4.45	4.30	4.482	4.44
	85.2/ 4.8	81.4/ 6.2	87.7/ 3.6	79.1/ 6.4	87.4/ 5.5	81.2/ 5.9	85/ 5.4	86.4/ 4.5
4 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would complain about it for the rest of the trip.	2.34**	2.73	2.86***	2.29	2.70**	2.38	2.57	2.36
	19/58.7	29.5/45.7	36.2/ 39.1	16/ 62.6	31.1/ 42.6	17.1/ 61.2	26.2/ 52	15.2/ 56.1
5 I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them.	2.69	2.63	3.04***	2.44	2.97***	2.48	2.77	2.58
	29.6/ 47.1	23.3/ 51.2	38.4/ 39.1	18.7/ 52.9	32.8/ 37.	20.6/ 53.3	30.6/ 46.9	21.2/ 47

Master table A.3.7: Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

Transactional Forgiveness	Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
	Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
1 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it,	4.02	3.69	3.95	3.83	3.80	3.90	3.87	3.76

you would try to appeal to the other person's feelings about you.	73/ 7.4	63.6/ 16.3	74.6/ 8	64.2/ 12.3	66.1/ 10.9	68.8/ 10.6	68/ 11.6	63.6/ 12.1
2 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to how the other person thinks about you as a person.	4.04	3.75	3.97	3.82	3.87	3.99	3.91	3.91
	73/ 6.9	61.2/ 11.6	71/ 7.2	63.1/ 9.6	66.1/ 7.7	70/ 7.6	68/ 9.5	66.7/ 6.1
3 I believe forgiveness requires penance.	3.28***	2.81	3.23*	2.94	3.22	3.01	3.06	3.17
	43.9/ 23.3	27.9/ 34.1	40.6/ 20.3	35.3/ 32.6	42.6/ 20.2	37.6/ 32.4	36.4/ 27.2	48.5/ 25.8

Master table A.3.8: Forgiveness type and Personality type with prompts showing % agreement and disagreement

		Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
		Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
Non-Transactional Forgiveness	1 If a friend disappoints you, you want to be left alone?	3.09*	3.38	3.46	3.30	3.33	3.28	3.28	3.30
		42.3/ 30.7	55.8/ 26.4	52.2/ 19.6	52.4/ 24.6	49.2/ 23	52.9/ 25.9	50.3/ 27.2	54.5/ 27.3
Calculative Forgiveness	1 forgiveness is about changing how I think about what was done.	3.45	3.50	3.41	3.56	3.44	3.50	3.47	3.55
		58.7/ 22.8	56.6/ 20.9	55.1/ 22.5	59.4/ 18.2	53/ 21.3	57.6/ 20	56.5/ 20.7	62.1/ 18.6
Pragmatic Forgiveness	1 I believe forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender.	3.71**	3.34	3.34	3.63	3.38**	3.70	3.54	3.55
		63.5/ 13.2	51.2/ 24	52.2/ 23.2	59.4/ 13.4	49.7/ 19.1	65.6/ 14.7	56.8/ 16.7	60.6/ 19.7
Instantaneous Forgiveness	1 For me forgiveness happens all at once.	2.74	2.32	2.64	2.42	2.63	2.43	2.51	2.65
		28.6/ 46	17.1/ 61.2	28.3/ 50.7	19.3/ 57.2	25.7/ 48.6	21.2/ 59.4	22.4/ 54.1	27.3/ 53
Incremental Forgiveness	1 For me forgiveness	3.95	4.05	4.02	4.03	3.92	4.11	4.01	3.86

	is a process that happens in steps.	70.9/ 8.5	78.3/ 12.4	74.6/ 8.7	76.5/ 9.1	71/ 10.4	79.4/ 6.5	73.8/ 9.5	72.7/ 13.6
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Master Table A.3.9: Forgiveness type and Personality type

		Orientation to World		Process Information		Decisions		Structure	
		Extrovert	Introvert	Sensing	Intuition	Thinking	Feeling	Judging	Perceiving
Emotional Forgiveness	1	4.15	4.26	4.23	4.19	4.02***	4.38	4.22	4.24
	2	4.42	4.47	4.34	4.47	4.30**	4.52	4.43	4.42
	3	4.17	4.13	4.18	4.23	4.09*	4.32	4.15	4.09
	4	4.23	4.18	4.15	4.30	4.11**	4.43	4.25	4.20
	5	4.31	4.28	4.20	4.40	4.18*	4.41	4.32	4.21
	6	3.41	3.68	3.60	3.53	3.39	3.69	3.43	3.65
	7	3.14	3.33	3.30	3.29	3.26	3.38	3.23	3.33
	8	3.42	3.34	3.38	3.38	3.29	3.49	3.36	3.41
	9	3.78	3.96	3.69*	3.99	3.60***	4.08	3.79	3.98
	10	4.15	4.18	4.04*	4.32	3.97***	4.36	4.15	4.24
Reactive Forgiveness	1	3.96*	4.22*	4.07	4.01	4.04	4.06	4.02	4.02
	2	3.40	3.60	3.78***	3.25	3.56	3.37	3.45	3.56
	3	3.54	3.62	3.79	3.50	3.71	3.53	3.53	3.65
	4	2.89	2.90	3.22**	2.78	3.04	2.91	2.87	3.15
	5	3.43**	3.76	3.54	3.60	3.44*	3.68	3.55	3.67
	6	3.68**	4.05	3.83	3.92	3.81	3.91	3.85	3.77
	7	4.00	4.14	4.21*	3.96	4.13	4.04	4.04	4.12
	8	3.39	3.22	3.31	3.28	3.33	3.27	3.22	3.45
	9	3.39	3.22	3.48	3.27	3.47	3.29	3.33	3.48
Proactive Forgiveness	1	3.90***	3.50	3.64	3.81	3.60*	3.84*	3.78	3.62
	2	3.75	3.53	3.44**	3.81	3.47**	3.79	3.60	3.77
	3	3.67	3.39	3.30***	3.78	3.25***	3.75	3.52	3.70
	4	2.79**	2.33	2.50	2.65	2.47	2.66	2.52	2.59
	5	3.94	3.91	3.74*	4.00	3.77*	4.01	3.89	4.06
Punitive Forgiveness	1	2.62	2.65	2.77*	2.53	2.70	2.54	2.70	2.59
	2	3.35	3.47	3.61***	3.14	3.65***	3.21	3.42	3.24
	3	4.46	4.28	4.50**	4.24	4.45	4.30	4.42	4.44
	4	2.34**	2.73	2.86***	2.29	2.70**	2.38	2.57	2.36
	5	2.69	2.63	3.04***	2.44	2.97***	2.48	2.77	2.58
Transactional Forgiveness	1	4.02	3.69	3.95	3.83	3.80	3.90	3.87	3.76
	2	4.04	3.75	3.97	3.82	3.87	3.99	3.91	3.91
	3	3.28***	2.81	3.23*	2.94	3.22	3.01	3.06	3.17
Non-Transactional Forgiveness	1	3.09*	3.38	3.46	3.30	3.33	3.28	3.28	3.30
Calculative Forgiveness	1	3.45	3.50	3.41	3.56	3.44	3.50	3.47	3.55
Pragmatic Forgiveness	1	3.71**	3.34	3.34	3.63	3.38**	3.70	3.54	3.55
Instantaneous Forgiveness	1	2.74	2.32	2.64	2.42	2.63	2.43	2.51	2.65
Incremental	1	3.95	4.05	4.02	4.03	3.92	4.11	4.01	3.86

Forgiveness									
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Table A.3.10: Cronbach’s Alpha for Forgiveness Scales

Forgiveness Type Scales	Cronbach’s Alpha Scores
Emotional Forgiveness	.623
Reactive Forgiveness	.797
Proactive Forgiveness	.630
Punitive Forgiveness	.607
Transactional Forgiveness	.625

Table A.3.11: Pearson Correlations for Personality Scores and Forgiveness Scales

	Trans	Non-Trans	React	Proact	Pragmat	Punitive	Emo.	Calc.	Instant	Incr.
Extrovert	.176***	-.122*	-.077	.183***	.160**	-.052	-.070	.000	.154**	-.053
Introvert	-.176** *	.122*	.077	-.183** *	-.160**	.052	.070	.000	-.154* *	.053
Sensing	.081	.036	.121*	-.197** *	-.113*	.260***	-.094	-.068	.037	.008
Intuition	-.076	-.031	-.114*	.191***	.113*	-.257** *	.099*	.069	-.037	-.006
Thinking	.006	.001	.045	-.212** *	-.152**	.236***	-.267** *	[<i>-.059</i>]	.074	-.084
Feeling	-.004	.000	-.039	.212***	.154**	-.231** *	.269***	.059	-.074	.090
Judging	-.016	-.009	-.036	-.068	-.075	[<i>.095</i>]	.008	-.019	[<i>-.047</i>]	.055
Perceiv ing	.016	.009	.039	.072	[<i>.079</i>]	-.094	-.005	.023	.046	[<i>-.052</i>]

All positive relationships with significance are shown in **bold**. Hypothesized relationships are *italicized*, and hypothesized relationships not supported (p<.05) are marked with []. * p<.05, ** p<.01, and ***p<.001.

A.4 Tables Forgiveness and Social Motivators

Table A.4.1: Statistically Significant Mean Implicit Forgiveness Scores and % agreement/disagreement by Gender, Race, and Religiosity for prompts with statistical significance

	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/Disagree%
2 If a friend disappoints you, you want to be left alone	3.20* 42.4 / 26.3	3.44 59.8 / 23.7	3.32 50.4 / 26.1	3.27 50.8 / 22.2	3.35 52.3 / 23.6	3.23 47.7 / 29.1
3 If a coworker does not follow through on a promise	3.72 63.6 / 14.1	3.71 64.3 / 14.7	3.71 64.1 / 14.4	3.65 63.5 / 17.5	3.97** 72.3 / 9.2	3.56 58.3 / 17.9

you would try to find a way to improve your working relationship						
5 If your neighbor leaves trash in your yard you would immediately throw it away	3.82 67.2 / 12.6	3.97 73.2 / 15.2	4.04** 75.7 / 11.3	3.53 55.6 / 22.2	4.03** 73.3 / 13.3	3.67 64.2 / 15.9
6 An apology needs to be sincere before I can forgive some	3.21* 48 / 33.3	2.95 41.5 / 46.4	2.93* 39.4 / 45.1	3.32 52.4 / 31.7	2.95 42.1 / 41.5	3.12 45.7 / 39.1
7 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you hope they get a ticket	3.56* 55.6 / 18.6	3.25 44.6 / 29	3.47 52.5 / 23.2	3.42 49.2 / 20.6	3.28 46.2 / 25.6	3.40 48.3 / 28.5
8 When a driver cuts you off in traffic you look for a reason they have swerved	3.52 57.1 / 17.2	3.35 54.9 / 33	3.57** 58.8 / 22.5	3.11 47.6 / 31.7	3.53 59 / 25.1	3.35 55 / 26.5
9 When someone cuts in line in front of you, tell them where the back of the line is.	3.78*** 65.7 / 15.7	3.34 52.7 / 29	3.50 57.4 / 23.9	3.65 61.9 / 20.6	3.37 51.3 / 25.6	3.58 60.9 / 22/5
10 When someone cuts in line in front of you you say, "I was here first"	3.10** 44.4 / 34.8	2.75 33.9 / 44.5	2.78* 33.8 / 44.7	3.25 55.6 / 31.7	2.85 37.9 / 42.6	2.90 38.4 / 43.7
11 If a stranger breaks into your house you want them to go to jail	4.51* 86.9 / 2.5	4.32 83.0 / 7.1	4.44 86.6 / 4.9	4.42 81 / 4.8	4.49* 86.2 / 4.1	4.23 80.1 / 9.3
12 If a stranger breaks into your house you want your stuff back	4.80 94.9 / .5	4.74 96 / 1.3	4.81* 96.5 / .7	4.63 92.1 / 4.8	4.70* 93.8 / 1/5	4.86 96.7 / .7
15 If your spouse says something mean to you, you want an apology	3.86*** 64.6 / 9.6	4.50 89.7 / 5.4	4.20 79.6 / 6.7	4.08 74.6 / 12.7	4.20 78.5 / 8.2	4.14 76.8 / 7.9
16 I usually wait until the time is right to forgive an offender	4.22*** 83.3 / 4.5	4.58 92 / 2.2	4.45 88.7 / 2.1	4.24 82.5 / 6.3	4.43 87.2 / 3.1	4.40 87.4 / 2.6
17 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would not let it bother you, try to focus on positives instead	3.05** 43.4 / 39.9	3.39 55.8 / 25.4	3.15 47.2 / 34.9	3.15 46 / 33.3	3.23 48.7 / 32.3	3.14 48.3 / 36.4
18 If you are pick-pocketed while on vacation you would complain about it for the rest of the trip	2.67* 29.8 / 45.5	2.43 19.6 / 57.6	2.60 27.5 / 50.4	2.60 22.2 / 57.6	2.57 25.6 / 47.7	2.41 22.5 / 59.6
20 If your coworker steals your idea you won't trust them anymore	3.89** 74.7 / 12.1	4.16 79.9 / 7.6	4.01 78.5 / 9.9	4.24 85.7 / 7.9	3.92 72.8 / 11.8	3.99 80.1 / 9.3
21 If you forget your friend's birthday you will ask them how you can make it up	3.99** 71.2 / 8.6	4.33 83.9 / 7.6	4.20 79.2 / 8.8	4.15 79.4 / 9.5	4.25 80.5 / 7.7	4.03 73.5 / 9.9
22 If you forget your friend's birthday you will tell them how bad you feel about forgetting it	4.06*** 75.3 / 10.1	4.42 84.8 / 5.8	4.27 80.3 / 6.7	4.33 87.3 / 7.9	4.43** 85.1 / 5.6	4.01 73.5 / 11.9

24 If you accidentally break something that belongs to someone else you focus on replacing the item	4.30** 84.8 / 4	4.52 90.6 / 1.8	4.43 88.4 / 2.5	4.41 88.9 / 4.8	4.52** 89.7 / 2.1	4.26 84.1 / 4
25 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would let the other driver know how bad you feel about the mistake	4.13** 77.3 / 9.1	4.42 87.1 / 4.9	4.32 84.2 / 6.3	4.27 84.1 / 7.9	4.50** 88.7 / 5.6	4.19 80.1 / 7.9
26 If you are at fault in a minor traffic accident you would offer an explanation of what went wrong	4.08 77.3 / 9.1	4.21 80.8 / 5.4	4.20 82.4 / 4.9	4.19 77.8 / 7.9	4.31** 82.1 / 5.1	3.98 76.2 / 10.6
28 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to the other person's feelings about you	3.82 67.2 / 10.1	3.91 69.2 / 11.2	3.92 70.1 / 9.5	3.81 68.3 / 11.1	4.07*** 74.4 / 9.2	3.55 55.6 / 13.2
29 If you get caught lying, and you are sorry about it, you would try to appeal to how the other person thinks about you as a person	3.84 65.7 / 8.1	3.96 68.8 / 8	3.96 70.1 / 7	3.73 58.7 / 12.7	4.15*** 76.4 / 5.6	3.62 55 / 11.9

Table A.4.2: Mean Explicit Forgiveness Scores and % agreement/disagreement by Gender, Race, and Religiosity for prompts with statistical significance

	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	Male Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/ Disagree%
2 I need to see offenders punished for what they do before I can forgive them	2.93** 31.8 / 37.9	2.56 24.1 / 53.6	2.72 27.1 / 45.4	2.76 30.2 / 49.2	2.59 22.4 / 52.7	2.86 32 / 40.8
5 I need the way I hurt to be acknowledged before I can forgive someone	3.34* 51.5 / 24.7	3.66 68.3 / 21	3.58 62.7 / 20.4	3.33 54 / 28.6	3.48 61.2 / 26.1	3.58 63.2 / 18.4
7 I need to heal from the transgression before I can forgive someone	3.38** 50.5 / 22.2	3.73 68.8 / 16.1	3.58 60.9 / 18	3.41 58.7 / 25.4	3.47 53.9 / 18.8	3.53 60 / 22.4
8 I need to feel differently about an offender before I can forgive them	3.27 44.9 / 23.2	3.29 48.2 / 26.3	3.29 47.5 / 23.2	3.10 38.1 / 34.9	3.12* 41.8 / 31.5	3.41 53.6 / 20
9 I need time in order to forgive someone	3.70** 67.2 / 16.7	4.01 79.9 / 11.2	3.87 73.9 / 12.7	3.70 69.8 / 19	3.81 72.1 / 16.4	3.91 72.8 / 9.6
11 I need truth before I can forgive someone	4.16 81.8 / 7.6	4.03 77.7 / 12.5	4.13* 81.3 / 8.1	3.75 68.3 / 22.2	3.93 74.5 / 17	4.08 79.2 / 9.6
13 For me forgiveness happens all at once.	2.78*** 27.3 / 42.4	2.32 18.8 / 63.4	2.45* 20.8 / 56	2.81 31.7 / 46	2.77** 29.7 / 45.5	2.27 14.4 / 61.6
14 For me forgiveness is a process that happens in steps	3.86** 70.2 / 11.6	4.13 79.5 / 6.7	3.97 73.2 / 9.5	3.94 74.6 / 14.3	3.97 73.3 / 10.9	3.97 74.4 / 6.4

15 I usually work toward forgiving an offender	3.58 56.6 / 15.2	3.72 63.8 / 10.7	3.63 58.5 / 13	3.76 63.5 / 11.1	3.93*** 72.1 / 7.9	3.31 47.2 / 20
17 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I think about what someone has done	3.49 57.6 / 19.2	3.47 56.7 / 22.3	3.42** 54.2 / 22.9	3.84 69.8 / 11.1	3.50 58.8 / 20	3.29 46.4 / 23.2
18 For me forgiveness is fundamentally about changing how I feel about someone	3.34 50 / 20.2	3.38 52.2 / 23.2	3.32 48.9 / 22.5	3.32 54 / 22.2	3.48* 53.3 / 17.6	3.20 47.2 / 27.2
19 Being forgiving is part of my identity	3.53 55.1 / 16.7	3.55 59.8 / 17.9	3.48* 56 / 18.3	3.79 63.5 / 12.7	3.92*** 73.9 / 10.9	3.12 40 / 25.6
20 I believe forgiveness brings about a positive change in an offender	3.63 60.1 / 12.6	3.51 58 / 18.8	3.53 57 / 15.8	3.76 63.5 / 14.3	3.92*** 70.9 / 5.5	3.18 45.6 / 27.2
22 I believe forgiveness is more about group harmony than an individual	3.13 41.4 / 28.3	3.01 34.8 / 35.3	3.08 38.7 / 31.7	2.97 34.9 / 36.5	3.20* 40.6 / 29.7	2.83 31.2 / 37.6
23 I believe forgiveness is an obligation	2.71 33.3 / 46.5	2.48 25.4 / 51.8	2.52* 27.5 / 52.1	2.92 39.7 / 38.1	3.24*** 50.9 / 29.1	2.05 10.4 / 66.4
24 I believe that forgiveness means I do not want revenge or vengeance	3.76 65.2 / 17.7	3.90 68.8 / 14.3	3.80 66.5 / 16.5	3.82 68.3 / 22.2	4.02** 72.1 / 12.1	3.62 58.4 / 22.4
25 I believe that forgiveness means overcoming anger or hatred	4.01 79.3 / 10.1	4.29 88.4 / 6.3	4.14 84.5 / 6.7	4.05 77.8 / 17.5	4.39*** 90.3 / 5.5	3.93 76.8 / 12
26 I believe forgiveness is a religious responsibility	3.19 49 / 30.8	2.90 38.4 / 45.1	2.96** 40.1 / 40.5	3.52 60.3 / 27	4.21*** 78.8 / 8.5	1.80 11.2 / 72
27 I believe forgiveness is a virtue	3.97 75.8 / 6.6	3.85 69.6 / 11.2	3.86 71.1 / 7.4	4.05 77.8 / 14.3	4.40*** 87.3 / 2.4	3.31 52 / 19.2
28 I believe forgiveness requires penance	3.35*** 47.5 / 19.2	2.88 32.1 / 33	3.08 38.4 / 26.4	3.40 52.4 / 22.2	3.46*** 52.7 / 18.8	2.67 22.4 / 37.6

Master Table A.4.3: Mean Implicit Forgiveness Scores and % agreement/disagreement by Gender, Race, and Religiosity

	Gender		Race		Religiosity		Mean Score Std. Dev. %/%
	Male Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	
1	4.05 81.3 / 6.1	4.05 77.7 / 10.3	4.04 80.3 / 8.1	3.92 71.4 / 12.7	4.18 81.5 / 5.1	3.92 77.5 / 11.9	4.07 .950 78.9/8
2	3.20* 42.4 / 26.3	3.44 59.8 / 23.7	3.32 50.4 / 26.1	3.27 50.8 / 22.2	3.35 52.3 / 23.6	3.23 47.7 / 29.1	3.31 1.192 50.3/25.3
3	3.72 63.6 / 14.1	3.71 64.3 / 14.7	3.71 64.1 / 14.4	3.65 63.5 / 17.5	3.97** 72.3 / 9.2	3.56 58.3 / 17.9	3.72 1.056 63.7/14.3
4	2.58 17.7 / 47.5	2.70 23.2 / 44.6	2.69 21.5 / 44.7	2.55 25.4 / 49.2	2.77 23.1 / 41	2.55 16.6 / 51.7	2.65 1.062 20.5/45.3

5	3.82 67.2 / 12.6	3.97 73.2 / 15.2	4.04** 75.7 / 11.3	3.53 55.6 / 22.2	4.03** 73.3 / 13.3	3.67 64.2 / 15.9	3.91 1.111 69.9/13.6
6	3.21* 48 / 33.3	2.95 41.5 / 46.4	2.93* 39.4 / 45.1	3.32 52.4 / 31.7	2.95 42.1 / 41.5	3.12 45.7 / 39.1	3.06 1.377 43.9/40.2
7	3.56* 55.6 / 18.6	3.25 44.6 / 29	3.47 52.5 / 23.2	3.42 49.2 / 20.6	3.28 46.2 / 25.6	3.40 48.3 / 28.5	3.38 1.252 49/24.6
8	3.52 57.1 / 17.2	3.35 54.9 / 33	3.57** 58.8 / 22.5	3.11 47.6/ 31.7	3.53 59 / 25.1	3.35 55 / 26.5	3.43 1.184 55.4/25.5
9	3.78*** 65.7 / 15.7	3.34 52.7 / 29	3.50 57.4 / 23.9	3.65 61.9 / 20.6	3.37 51.3 / 25.6	3.58 60.9 / 22/5	3.53 1.323 57.7/23.3
10	3.10** 44.4 / 34.8	2.75 33.9 / 44.5	2.78* 33.8 / 44.7	3.25 55.6 / 31.7	2.85 37.9 / 42.6	2.90 38.4 / 43.7	2.90 1.357 38.2/41.4
11	4.51* 86.9 / 2.5	4.32 83.0 / 7.1	4.44 86.6 / 4.9	4.42 81 / 4.8	4.49* 86.2 / 4.1	4.23 80.1 / 9.3	4.39 .905 83.4/5.3
12	4.80 94.9 / .5	4.74 96 / 1.3	4.81* 96.5 / .7	4.63 92.1 / 4.8	4.70* 93.8 / 1/5	4.86 96.7 / .7	4.76 .573 94/1.1
13	3.59 59.1 / 20.2	3.62 61.2 / 19.2	3.70 64.8 / 16.5	3.56 57.1 / 22.2	3.55 60 / 17.9	3.62 57.6 / 23.2	3.59 1.206 59.1/19.8
14	3.40 51 / 19.7	3.35 47.8 / 17.9	3.45 53.2 / 16.9	3.30 44.4 / 20.6	3.32 45.1 / 21	3.46 57 / 15.9	3.37 1.062 48.7/18.9
15	3.86*** 64.6 / 9.6	4.50 89.7 / 5.4	4.20 79.6 / 6.7	4.08 74.6 / 12.7	4.20 78.5 / 8.2	4.14 76.8 / 7.9	4.19 1.025 76.8/7.6
16	4.22*** 83.3 / 4.5	4.58 92 / 2.2	4.45 88.7 / 2.1	4.24 82.5 / 6.3	4.43 87.2 / 3.1	4.40 87.4 / 2.6	4.41 .791 86.9/3.2
17	3.05** 43.4 / 39.9	3.39 55.8 / 25.4	3.15 47.2 / 34.9	3.15 46 / 33.3	3.23 48.7 / 32.3	3.14 48.3 / 36.4	3.23 1.235 49.2/32.2
18	2.67* 29.8 / 45.5	2.43 19.6 / 57.6	2.60 27.5 / 50.4	2.60 22.2 / 57.6	2.57 25.6 / 47.7	2.41 22.5 / 59.6	2.54 1.165 23.9/51.5
19	3.78 68.2 / 12.6	3.69 61.6/ 15.6	3.75 65.1 / 13.7	3.62 61.9 / 19	3.78 64.1 / 15.4	3.67 63.6 / 15.2	3.73 1.126 63.4/14.3
20	3.89** 74.7 / 12.1	4.16 79.9 / 7.6	4.01 78.5 / 9.9	4.24 85.7 / 7.9	3.92 72.8 / 11.8	3.99 80.1 / 9.3	4.03 .990 76.3/10.1
21	3.99** 71.2 / 8.6	4.33 83.9 / 7.6	4.20 79.2 / 8.8	4.15 79.4 / 9.5	4.25 80.5 / 7.7	4.03 73.5 / 9.9	4.17 1.023 76.8/8

22	4.06*** 75.3 / 10.1	4.42 84.8 / 5.8	4.27 80.3 / 6.7	4.33 87.3 / 7.9	4.43** 85.1 / 5.6	4.01 73.5 / 11.9	4.23 1.043 78.9/8.3
23	4.35 85.4 / 3	4.41 87.5 / 3.6	4.37 85.2 / 2.8	4.53 92.1 / 3.2	4.37 85.1 / 3.6	4.28 87.4 / 2	4.38 .822 86.7/3.3
24	4.30** 84.8 / 4	4.52 90.6 / 1.8	4.43 88.4 / 2.5	4.41 88.9 / 4.8	4.52** 89.7 / 2.1	4.26 84.1 / 4	4.42 .773 86.9/2.8
25	4.13** 77.3 / 9.1	4.42 87.1 / 4.9	4.32 84.2 / 6.3	4.27 84.1 / 7.9	4.50** 88.7 / 5.6	4.19 80.1 / 7.9	4.29 .983 81.6/6.7
26	4.08 77.3 / 9.1	4.21 80.8 / 5.4	4.20 82.4 / 4.9	4.19 77.8 / 7.9	4.31** 82.1 / 5.1	3.98 76.2 / 10.6	4.14 .993 78.2/7.1
27	3.97 72.7 / 12.1	3.94 71 / 17	3.87 69.7 / 15.5	4.06 73 / 14.3	3.94 69.2 / 17.4	4.01 74.2 / 12.6	3.95 1.132 70.8/14.7
28	3.82 67.2 / 10.1	3.91 69.2 / 11.2	3.92 70.1 / 9.5	3.81 68.3 / 11.1	4.07*** 74.4 / 9.2	3.55 55.6 / 13.2	3.86 1.077 67.4/10.6
29	3.84 65.7 / 8.1	3.96 68.8 / 8	3.96 70.1 / 7	3.73 58.7 / 12.7	4.15*** 76.4 / 5.6	3.62 55 / 11.9	3.91 1.029 66.7/8

Master Table A.4.4: Mean Explicit Forgiveness Scores and % agreement/disagreement by Gender, Race, and Religiosity

	Gender		Race		Religiosity		Mean Std. Dev. %/ % Agree%/ Disagree%
	Male Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Female Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	White Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Black Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	High Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	Low Mean Agree%/ Disagree%	
1	3.45 59.1 / 25.3	3.58 64.7 / 23.7	3.51 62 / 22.9	3.54 63.5 / 27	3.42 60.6 / 29.1	3.45 56.8 / 24	3.50 1.279
2	2.93** 31.8 / 37.9	2.56 24.1 / 53.6	2.72 27.1 / 45.4	2.76 30.2 / 49.2	2.59 22.4 / 52.7	2.86 32 / 40.8	2.73 1.234
3	3.69 63.6 / 15.7	3.54 63.8 / 25	3.63 64.1 / 18.7	3.51 63.5 / 27	3.48 59.4 / 24.8	3.66 66.4 / 16.8	3.60 1.240
4	2.99 37.9 / 32.8	2.90 36.6 / 42	3.02 38 / 34.9	2.92 39.7 / 38.1	2.98 38.8 / 37	2.86 32.8 / 39.2	2.94 1.243
5	3.34* 51.5 / 24.7	3.66 68.3 / 21	3.58 62.7 / 20.4	3.33 54 / 28.6	3.48 61.2 / 26.1	3.58 63.2 / 18.4	3.50 1.289
6	3.77 67.2 / 17.7	3.84 72.3 / 18.8	3.81 70.4 / 17.3	3.71 66.7 / 23.8	3.65 67.3 / 24.2	3.86 71.2 / 16	3.79 1.283

7	3.38** 50.5 / 22.2	3.73 68.8 / 16.1	3.58 60.9 / 18	3.41 58.7 / 25.4	3.47 53.9 / 18.8	3.53 60 / 22.4	3.56 1.144
8	3.27 44.9 / 23.2	3.29 48.2 / 26.3	3.29 47.5 / 23.2	3.10 38.1 / 34.9	3.12* 41.8 / 31.5	3.41 53.6 / 20	3.27 1.168
9	3.70** 67.2 / 16.7	4.01 79.9 / 11.2	3.87 73.9 / 12.7	3.70 69.8 / 19	3.81 72.1 / 16.4	3.91 72.8 / 9.6	3.87 1.060
10	3.45 53.5 / 19.2	3.58 60.3 / 21.9	3.52 57.4 / 19.7	3.30 49.2 / 28.6	3.47 57.6 / 23	3.53 52 / 21.6	3.51 1.180
11	4.16 81.8 / 7.6	4.03 77.7 / 12.5	4.13* 81.3 / 8.1	3.75 68.3 / 22.2	3.93 74.5 / 17	4.08 79.2 / 9.6	4.07 1.104
12	3.31 49 / 23.2	3.18 46.4 / 32.1	3.24 47.2 / 26.8	3.30 52.4 / 30.2	3.18 46.1 / 30.3	3.12 43.2 / 31.2	3.23 1.233
13	2.78*** 27.3 / 42.4	2.32 18.8 / 63.4	2.45* 20.8 / 56	2.81 31.7 / 46	2.77** 29.7 / 45.5	2.27 14.4 / 61.6	2.53 1.211
14	3.86** 70.2 / 11.6	4.13 79.5 / 6.7	3.97 73.2 / 9.5	3.94 74.6 / 14.3	3.97 73.3 / 10.9	3.97 74.4 / 6.4	4.01 .991
15	3.58 56.6 / 15.2	3.72 63.8 / 10.7	3.63 58.5 / 13	3.76 63.5 / 11.1	3.93*** 72.1 / 7.9	3.31 47.2 / 20	3.64 1.039
16	3.42* 51 / 18.2	3.21 44.6 / 25.9	3.33 47.9 / 20.1	3.40 52.4 / 22.2	3.30 49.7 / 24.8	3.10 36 / 24	3.30 1.085
17	3.49 57.6 / 19.2	3.47 56.7 / 22.3	3.42** 54.2 / 22.9	3.84 69.8 / 11.1	3.50 58.8 / 20	3.29 46.4 / 23.2	3.49 1.150
18	3.34 50 / 20.2	3.38 52.2 / 23.2	3.32 48.9 / 22.5	3.32 54 / 22.2	3.48* 53.3 / 17.6	3.20 47.2 / 27.2	3.36 1.097
19	3.53 55.1 / 16.7	3.55 59.8 / 17.9	3.48* 56 / 18.3	3.79 63.5 / 12.7	3.92*** 73.9 / 10.9	3.12 40 / 25.6	3.55 1.107
20	3.63 60.1 / 12.6	3.51 58 / 18.8	3.53 57 / 15.8	3.76 63.5 / 14.3	3.92*** 70.9 / 5.5	3.18 45.6 / 27.2	3.56 1.068
21	3.49 56.1 / 20.7	3.30 50 / 27.7	3.38 52.8 / 23.9	3.37 52.4 / 27	3.36 52.1 / 25.5	3.28 47.2 / 28	3.38 1.226
22	3.13 41.4 / 28.3	3.01 34.8 / 35.3	3.08 38.7 / 31.7	2.97 34.9 / 36.5	3.20* 40.6 / 29.7	2.83 31.2 / 37.6	3.06 1.202

23	2.71 33.3 / 46.5	2.48 25.4 / 51.8	2.52* 27.5 / 52.1	2.92 39.7 / 38.1	3.24*** 50.9 / 29.1	2.05 10.4 / 66.4	2.58 1.343
24	3.76 65.2 / 17.7	3.90 68.8 / 14.3	3.80 66.5 / 16.5	3.82 68.3 / 22.2	4.02** 72.1 / 12.1	3.62 58.4 / 22.4	3.83 1.198
25	4.01 79.3 / 10.1	4.29 88.4 / 6.3	4.14 84.5 / 6.7	4.05 77.8 / 17.5	4.39*** 90.3 / 5.5	3.93 76.8 / 12	4.17 .981
26	3.19 49 / 30.8	2.90 38.4 / 45.1	2.96** 40.1 / 40.5	3.52 60.3 / 27	4.21*** 78.8 / 8.5	1.80 11.2 / 72	3.02 1.541
27	3.97 75.8 / 6.6	3.85 69.6 / 11.2	3.86 71.1 / 7.4	4.05 77.8 / 14.3	4.40*** 87.3 / 2.4	3.31 52 / 19.2	3.90 1.044
28	3.35*** 47.5 / 19.2	2.88 32.1 / 33	3.08 38.4 / 26.4	3.40 52.4 / 22.2	3.46*** 52.7 / 18.8	2.67 22.4 / 37.6	3.10 1.205

A.4.5 Explicit Forgiveness Prompts and Religiosity Extremes

	Religiosity	
	High >40 CRS Mean Agree% / Disagree %	Low < 20 CRS Mean Agree% / Disagree %
1	3.34* 56.9 / 30.9	3.73 65.3 / 13.3
2	2.50* 20.3 / 56.9	2.93 32 / 38.7
3	3.37* 56.9 / 26.8	3.77 70.7 / 14.7
4	2.92 36.6 / 39.8	3.08 40 / 33.3
5	3.49 62.6 / 25.2	3.65 65.3 / 17.3
6	3.51** 62.6 / 26.8	4.05 78.7 / 13.3
7	3.38 51.2 / 20.3	3.53 58.7 / 20
8	3.06* 41.5 / 33.3	3.51 58.7 / 20
9	3.82 72.4 / 14.6	3.85 69.3 / 12
10	3.46 58.5 / 21.1	3.29 42.7 / 25.3
11	3.93 75.6 / 17.1	4.25 84 / 8

12	3.12 45.5 / 33.3	3.12 42.7 / 30.7	
13	2.71*** 28.5 / 47.2	2.08 9.3 / 66.7	
14	3.93 71.5 / 10.6	4.05 77.3 / 5.3	
15	3.93*** 73.2 / 8.9	3.20 44 / 28	
16	3.22 47.2 / 26	3.03 33.3 / 25.3	
17	3.51 60.2 / 21.1	3.19 42.7 / 26.7	
18	3.48 53.7 / 17.9	3.26 50.7 / 25.3	
19	4.02*** 80.5 / 8.9	2.87 30.7 / 36	
20	3.99*** 73.2 / 4.9	3.03 37.3 / 32	
21	3.30 49.6 / 27.6	3.31 46.7 / 28	
22	3.17 39 / 30.1	2.83 30.7 / 37.3	
23	3.35*** 54.5 / 26	1.79 6.7 / 77.3	
24	4.08* 74 / 10.6	3.67 61.3 / 22.7	
25	4.40*** 90.2 / 5.7	3.82 74.7 / 14.7	
26	4.33*** 82.9 / 6.5	1.61 6.7 / 77.3	
27	4.44*** 88.6 / 2.4	3.12 44 / 25.3	
28	3.50*** 55.3 / 19.5	2.52 17.3 / 42.7	

Table A.4.6: Correlations between religiosity, self-reported scores of forgiveness, forgivingness, and conflict modes and forgiveness type

	Transactional	Non-Trans	Reactive	Proactive	Pragmatic
Religiosity	.318***	.045	-.076	.504***	.301***
How Forgiving	.099*	-.079	-.215***	.538***	.321***
Forgivingness	-.052	-.156**	-.461***	.513***	.211***
Avoid	.072	.275***	.081	.104*	.037

Compete	.229***	.046	.166**	-.042	-.014
Compromise	.136**	.007	.014	.325***	.187***
Accommodate	.193***	.054	.023	.361***	.223***
Collaborate	.099*	-.094	-.105*	.339***	.144**

Table A.4.7: Correlations between religiosity, self-reported scores of forgiveness, forgivingness, and conflict modes and forgiveness type

	Punitive	Emotional	Calculative	Instant	Incremental
Religiosity	.003	.136***	.067	.196***	-.032
How Forgiving	-.250***	.138**	.071	.078	-.069
Forgivingness	-.458***	-.070	.100*	.082	-.126**
Avoid	.092	.131**	.120*	.137**	-.084
Compete	.275***	.099*	-.053	.116*	.077
Compromise	.107*	.227***	.074	.102*	.016
Accommodate	-.042	.251***	.085	.149**	-.025
Collaborate	-.184***	.180***	.032	.037	.022

Table A.4.8: Mean Forgivingness Scores by gender, race, and religiosity

	Gender		Race		Religiosity	
	White	Black	Male	Female	High	Low
Prompt 1	2.81	3.11	2.91	2.82	3.21***	2.54
Prompt 2	3.27	3.46	3.16*	3.38	3.49	3.28
Prompt 3	3.22	3.37	3.21	3.25	3.46**	3.07
Prompt 4	2.86	2.87	2.95	2.79	3.13**	2.69
Prompt 5	3.49	3.73	3.54	3.52	3.76**	3.36
Forgivingness Score	15.64	16.79	15.76	15.76	17.03***	14.94

Table A.4.9: Correlations between Conflict Modes and Religiosity and Forgivingness Prompts and Total Score

	Prompt 1	Prompt 2	Prompt 3	Prompt 4	Prompt 5	Total Score
Avoid	.103*	.068	.091	.068	.018	.099*
Accommodate	.092	.033	.174***	.101*	.132**	.145**
Compete	-.146**	-.157**	-.201***	-.092	-.065	-.185***
Compromise	.174***	.077	.173***	.171***	.143***	.200***
Collaborate	.135**	.107*	.143**	.231***	.142**	.207***
Religiosity	.280***	.129**	.181***	.198***	.187**	.268***

Appendix B—Pretest Questions:

Demographic Questions—standard questions

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. What is your ethnicity?
4. Are you religious?
 - a. Do you identify with a specific church or denomination?
 - b. How long have you been a member of that church or denomination?
5. Are you a student?
 - a. What school do you attend?
 - b. What is your major or course of study?
6. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
7. What is your occupation or future field of work?
8. What is your marital status?

Centrality of Religion Scale

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ISSN 2077-1444

www.mdpi.com/journal/religions

Article

The Centrality of Religiosity Scale (CRS)

Stefan Huber 1,* and Odilo W. Huber 2

1. How often do you think about religious issues?
2. To what extent do you believe that God or something divine exists?
3. How often do you take part in religious services?
4. How often do you pray?
5. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine intervenes in your life?
6. How interested are you in learning more about religious topics?
7. To what extent do you believe in an afterlife—e.g. immortality of the soul, resurrection of the dead or reincarnation?
8. How important is it to take part in religious services?
9. How important is personal prayer for you?
10. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine want to communicate or to reveal something to you?

11. How often do you keep yourself informed about religious questions through radio, television, internet, newspapers, or books?
12. In your opinion how probable is it that a higher power really exists?
13. How important is it for you to be connected to a religious community?
14. How often do you pray spontaneously when inspired by daily situations?
15. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine is present?

[Dimension:

Intellect—Questions 1, 6, and 11

Ideology—Questions 2, 7, and 12

Public Practice—Questions 3, 8, 13

Private Practice—Questions 4, 9, 14

Experience—Questions 5, 10, 15

Scoring:

Objective frequencies of participation in religious services

- a) More than once a week (5)
- b) Once a week (5)
- c) One or three times a month (4)
- d) A few times a year (3)
- e) Less often (2)
- f) Never (1)

Objective frequencies of prayer (personal and obligatory) and meditation

- a) Several times a day (5)
- b) Once a day (5)
- c) More than once a week (4)
- d) Once a week (3)
- e) One or three times a month (3)
- f) A few times a year (2)
- g) Less often (2)
- h) Never (1)]

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator questions:

“The identification of basic preferences of each of the four dichotomies:

Favorite world: Do you prefer to focus on the outer world or on your own inner world? This is called Extraversion (E) or Introversion (I).

Information: Do you prefer to focus on the basic information you take in or do you prefer to interpret and add meaning? This is called Sensing (S) or Intuition (N).

Decisions: When making decisions, do you prefer to first look at logic and consistency or first look at the people and special circumstances? This is called Thinking (T) or Feeling (F).

Structure: In dealing with the outside world, do you prefer to get things decided or do you prefer to stay open to new information and options? This is called Judging (J) or Perceiving (P)” (myersbriggs.org).

Type Indicator Test

1. Do you like your room to be primarily:

- (a) a private sanctuary
- (b) an organized work area
- (c) a place to entertain friends

2. Do you tend to base your decisions on:

- (a) experience
- (b) emotions
- (c) hunches and instincts

3. Are you more uncomfortable with:

- (a) making decisions
- (b) breaking rules
- (c) making rules

4. Do you feel uncomfortable with:

- (a) unfinished business
- (b) having to finish a work in progress
- (c) working on a project alone

5. Do you have:

- (a) an organised perspective on life
- (b) a broad perspective on life (you are part of a wider picture)
- (c) a deep perspective on life (you look beneath the surface of what goes on)

6. do you tend to think about:

- (a) possibilities
- (b) actualities
- (c) aspects of your life

7. After watching a film, do you prefer to:

- (a) discuss the film critically
- (b) discuss what you enjoyed about the film
- (c) imagine what could have happened after the film

8. When working on a project, is it most important that you:

- (a) work hard

- (b) finish the work before it's due
- (c) hold back finishing to ensure you have the all facts.

9. When you are depressed or upset, do you:

- (a) spend some time by yourself
- (b) distract yourself by helping others
- (c) go out and see some friends

10. Do you value your:

- (a) common sense
- (b) imagination
- (c) decisiveness

11. If you are in charge of a group, would you:

- (a) be firm, but fair
- (b) be uncomfortable
- (c) be persuasive

12. If you are romantically interested in someone, do you:

- (a) seek some kind of resolution
- (b) see what happens
- (c) fantasise about what could happen, however unrealistic

13. At a party do you:

- (a) interact with many people and enjoy it
- (b) leave early if you aren't enjoying it
- (c) observe what happens with interest

14. On TV do you watch primarily:

- (a) soaps and dramas
- (b) science fiction (e.g. 'X Files', 'Star Trek')
- (c) nothing in particular - you prefer to go out

15. Do you believe in:

- (a) the facts
- (b) justice
- (c) being humane

16. Do you prefer:

- (a) being in full control of your life
- (b) enjoy doing lots of different social activities
- (c) let life happen - go with the flow

17. Would you prefer to have:

- (a) many friends
- (b) a few, close friends

(c) opportunities to help your friends

18. Do you like your house to be full of:

- (a) options - a variety of things to choose from
- (b) useful things
- (c) interesting and imaginative things

19. Is your room usually:

- (a) scrupulously tidy
- (b) comfortably anarchic (you know where everything is)
- (c) practically arranged

20. When looking at a piece of art, do you generally:

- (a) just like or dislike it without reasons
- (b) look at it as possible inspiration
- (c) assess it

21. Are you interested in:

- (a) what happens around you
- (b) your reactions to what happens around you
- (c) the possibilities offered by what happens around you

22. When thinking about the future, do you:

- (a) prefer not to plan ahead
- (b) think what could realistically happen
- (c) speculate as to what could possibly happen

23. When one of your friends is upset, do you:

- (a) offer sympathy
- (b) offer objective advice
- (c) offer a plan of action

24. If something needs doing (a report; the washing up) do you prefer to:

- (a) have a system for dealing with it
- (b) do it as soon as possible
- (c) do it when it has to be done (not at all, if possible)

25. In your spare time, do you like to:

- (a) conserve your energy for when you need it
- (b) read books or watch films
- (c) be physically active

26. Do you think of yourself as:

- (a) practical
- (b) ingenious
- (c) decisive

27. Do you think people would accuse you of:

- (a) being closed off
- (b) being too ruled by your principles
- (c) being swayed by your values

28. Would you like your friends to see you as:

- (a) devoted
- (b) flexible
- (c) helpful at organizing things

29. Do you think your friends see you as:

- (a) sociable
- (b) down-to-earth
- (c) someone who knows when not to interfere

30. Do you live in:

- (a) the present - what is in your life
- (b) the future - what could be in your life
- (c) the past - what was in your life

31. Do you like to be able to:

- (a) help your friends
- (b) understand your friends
- (c) have fun times with your friends

32. Is your usual strategy:

- (a) plan ahead
- (b) analyse and implement
- (c) adapt as you go

Dispositional Forgivingness: Development and Construct Validity of the Transgression Narrative Test of Forgivingness (TNTF)

doi: 10.1177/01461672012710004

Pers Soc Psychol Bull October 2001 vol. 27 no. 10 1277-1290

Transgression Narrative Test of Forgivingness (TNTF)

Below are a number of situations in which people might find themselves. People respond in different ways to these situations in terms of what things they will forgive. We would like you to read each situation and imagine it has happened to you. Then we would like you to use the scale below to indicate how you think you would respond to the situation:

- 1 = definitely not forgive,
- 2 = not likely to forgive,
- 3 = just as likely to forgive as not,
- 4 = likely to forgive, and
- 5 = definitely forgive.

3. Even though his/her actions hurt me, I have goodwill for him/her.
4. I wish that something bad would happen to him/her.
5. I am living as if he/she doesn't exist, isn't around.
6. I want us to bury the hatchet and move forward with our relationship.
7. I don't trust him/her.
8. Despite what he/she did, I want us to have a positive relationship again.
9. I want him/her to get what he/she deserves.
10. I am finding it difficult to act warmly toward him/her.
11. I am avoiding him/her.
12. Although he/she hurt me, I am putting the hurts aside so we can resume our relationship.
13. I'm going to get even.
14. I have given up my hurt and resentment.
15. I cut off the relationship with him/her.
16. I have released my anger so I can work on restoring our relationship to health.
17. I want to see him/her hurt and miserable.
18. I withdraw from him/her.

[Scoring Instructions

Avoidance Motivations:

Add up the scores for items 2, 5, 7, 10, 11, 15, and 18

Revenge Motivations:

Add up the scores for items 1, 4, 9, 13, and 17

Benevolence Motivations

Add up the scores for items 3, 6, 8, 12, 14, and 16]

Citation:

McCullough, M. E., Root, L. M., & Cohen, A. D. (2006). Writing about the personal benefits of a transgression facilitates forgiveness. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 74*, 887-897.

Forgiveness Type Indicator:

[Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5]

For the following questions, please indicate your thoughts and feelings about the role of these features in relationship to your ability to forgive. Next to each item, mark the number that best corresponds with your current thoughts and feelings. Imagining that someone you know has harmed you—something forgivable but that has caused strain to the relationship—would the following lead to your forgiveness?

1. Public apology—the person openly declares “I’m sorry”
2. Punishment—the person is paying a price for what happened
3. Change of heart in the offender—you can see that the person is different
4. Promise it will not happen again
5. Acknowledgement of harm caused to you
6. Sincere apology—you trust the person’s regret
7. Healing—you are no longer negatively impacted by what happened
8. Change of heart in the victim—you are now different
9. Time to process what has happened
10. Closure—you feel at peace with what happened
11. Understanding/making sense of what happened—your questions about what happened and why it happened have all been answered
12. The damage has been repaired
13. Renewed hope—you feel good about the world again
14. Old times sake—you decide you have too much history with the person and don’t want to be upset with them anymore
15. Suffered enough—the person feels really bad about what happened and you think they should be able to move on
16. The right thing to do—you calculate more benefit from forgiving the person
17. Earned it—the harm has been made up for in other ways
18. Release the anger—you are tired of feeling angry
19. Your Identity—you want to maintain your forgiving nature
20. Second chance...—you make a conscious decision that the person should get a second chance

21. Harmony—the group you are in asks you to forgive the person because it is causing disharmony

[Strongly, Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 5]

For the following questions, please indicate your thoughts and feelings about the role of these features in relationship to your need for forgiveness. Next to each item, mark the number that best corresponds with your current thoughts and feelings. Imagining that someone you know has been harmed by you—you've done something wrong which is generally forgivable but which you know was wrong and that has caused strain to the relationship—would the following apply to your appeals for forgiveness?

1. Public apology—you openly declare “I’m sorry”
2. Punishment—you have paid a price for what happened
3. Change of heart in the offender—you have changed from the person who did the wrong
4. Promise it will not happen again
5. Acknowledgement of the harm you caused
6. Sincere apology—you genuinely express regret with what you have done
7. Healing—you see the person you have harmed is better now
8. Change of heart in the victim—you see the person you harmed feels different
9. Time to process what has happened
10. Closure—you try to give the person peace with what happened
11. Understanding/making sense of what happened—you offer to answer all the questions about what happened and why you did it honestly
12. You repair or offer to repair the damage you caused
13. Renewed hope—you believe the person you harmed feels good about the world again
14. Old times sake—you remind the person you harmed about all of the good history you have
15. Suffered enough—you will feel terrible about what happened until you are forgiven, punishing yourself as long as you have to
16. The right thing to do—appeal that forgiveness will help everyone
17. Earned it—identify things you have done to mitigate the damage you caused
18. Release the anger—let the person be as angry at you as they need to be for as long as they need to
19. Your Identity—appeal to the person’s forgiving nature
20. Second chance...—ask to be given a second chance
21. Harmony—ask to be forgiven for the sake of the group

Appendix C.1: ONLINE SURVEY CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Study: Study 17-164: The Role of Personal and Social Factors in Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Forgiveness

Researcher's Contact Information: Melvin (Wim) Laven, +1-678-577-0170, and wim.laven@kennesaw.edu . Supervised by Dr. Volker Franke, Tel. 470-578-2931, Fax 470-578-9152, vfranke@kennesaw.edu .

Introduction

You are being invited to take part in a research study for a doctoral dissertation in International Conflict Management conducted by Melvin Laven of Kennesaw State University under the supervision of Dr. Volker Franke. Before you decide to participate in this study, you should read this form and ask questions about anything that you do not understand.

Description of Project

The purpose of the study is to examine attitudes and behaviors related to forgiveness by identifying factors that explain why it is possible for some people to forgive while others cannot and to address larger questions about how different people conceptualize forgiveness and apologies.

Explanation of Procedures

You will respond to a series of statements and questions about preferences, attitudes, and how you imagine you would react to several hypothetical scenarios.

Time Required

It is estimated that the survey will take approximately 30-45 minutes.

Risks or Discomforts

There are no known risks, discomforts, or stresses anticipated because of taking part in this study that are elevated beyond the discomfort or stress of normal survey or test taking, while extremely unlikely, it is possible that one or more of the questions could cause discomfort or “triggering.” If you do feel triggered please feel free to move past the question or discontinue participation.

Benefits

This study has the potential to identify key factors in the forgiveness process, which may help your organization understand and improve the quality and effectiveness of teaching materials. This study also has the potential for changing the way we address forgiveness and reconciliation in a whole spectrum of conflicts from minor interpersonal events to long protracted wars.

Compensation

No compensation is being offered for participation in this survey with the exception of some students who may receive extra credit from instructor(s) for their participation.

Confidentiality

The results of this participation will be anonymous. Responses will be anonymous and no identifying information will be collected or stored in any way. All associated electronic data will be stored on the researcher's computer requiring keyword access to both the computer and the documents. Physical data will be stored in a locked file in the researcher's office. Any potentially identifying information will not be stored with the corresponding data. Data collected online will be handled in an anonymous manner and Internet Protocol addresses **WILL NOT** be collected by the survey program.

Inclusion Criteria for Participation

Participants in the study must be 18+ years of age.

Use of Online Survey

Data collected online will be handled in an anonymous manner and Internet Protocol addresses **WILL NOT** be collected by the survey program.

Research at Kennesaw State University that involves human participants is carried out under the oversight of an Institutional Review Board. Questions or problems regarding these activities should be addressed to the Institutional Review Board, Kennesaw State University, 585 Cobb Avenue, KH3403, Kennesaw, GA 30144-5591, (470) 578-2268.

PLEASE PRINT A COPY OF THIS CONSENT DOCUMENT FOR YOUR RECORDS, OR IF YOU DO NOT HAVE PRINT CAPABILITIES, YOU MAY CONTACT THE RESEARCHER TO OBTAIN A COPY

I agree and give my consent to participate in this research project. I understand that participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty.

I do not agree to participate and will be excluded from the remainder of the questions.

C.2: Sample Advertisement sent to instructors

Participation in this research project offers the unique opportunity of doing an assessment on how parishioners are incorporating teachings on forgiveness into their daily lives and to ask other questions the church has; this project may offer many insights about moral lessons. Simply put: it can provide the church with data on how well their parishioners are absorbing the church's message.

What makes it possible for some to forgive while others cannot forgive those who've caused suffering? Facing evil and responding to moral transgressions are not easy tasks, but they are everyday realities and can push our minds to their limits. At its worst forgiveness involves coming to terms with unspeakable suffering, followed by a need for healing— which seems impossible— and, yet, some can do it while others cannot. This research will examine forgiveness by looking at the influence personal and social forces have on individuals' forgiveness attitudes and behaviors. It notes that different personality traits can drive attitudes and behaviors in response to those who have committed wrongs. It also notes that there are social dimensions, which influence attitudes and behaviors.

“What is forgiveness?” is the personal question being examined and answers vary between people. People practice this in different ways and they overcome their feelings of anger, resentment and revenge for different spiritual, cognitive, and emotional reasons. Religious influence is expected to provide an external explanation—a motivation— for such a process; it helps us to better answer questions about who and how people forgive and why some people are forgiving while others are not and in answering questions about whether or not forgiveness can be learned or taught and the efficacy of different forgiveness processes.

C.3 Permission to use photograph

Sat 4/6, 2:48 PM

You have permission to use this photo in your dissertation and presentations about your research.

The Times
gainesvilletimes.com
Honestly local.

Shannon Casas

Editor in Chief

770-718-3417

scasas@gainesvilletimes.com

P.O. Box 838 | 345 Green St. NW
Gainesville, GA 30503

Fri 4/5, 1:19 PM

Shannon,

Thanks for making yourself available for the conversation earlier today.

I'm soliciting permission to use the photograph: Untitled photo (by Todd Robertson) of Josh, a small child in a KKK outfit during a Klan rally in Gainesville, which was first published in the Gainesville Times, Sept. 6, 1992.

The photo I'm referencing can be found here: <https://www.gainesvilletimes.com/news/trooper-photographer-reflect-on-iconic-photo/>

I'm asking for permission to use it in my dissertation and for the purposes of presenting the findings of my research.

Thank you,

Wim Laven

Instructor of Political Science and International Affairs

Please see my op-eds syndicated by PeaceVoice:

<http://www.peacevoice.info/category/wim-laven/>

C.4 IRB Approvals Kennesaw State University and Portland State University



The University Office of Research Institutional Review Board

Review the IRB website for information about what type of IRB review applies to your study (<http://research.kennesaw.edu/irb/about/review-classifications.php>)

Review type:

Check here for a Request for Exemption

Check here for an Expedited Review [IRB Reviewers may recommend a Full Board Review]

Status of Primary Investigator:

Faculty

Staff

Student

Students as the Primary Investigator (PI) and their Faculty Advisors

Students (graduate and undergraduate) must have a faculty advisor complete the last page of this form and submit all documents from the faculty advisor's KSU email address. Students must also use their KSU email address in all IRB correspondence.

By submitting this form, you agree that you have read [KSU's Federal-wide Assurance of Compliance](#) and agree to provide for the protection of the rights and welfare of your research participants as outlined in the Assurance. You also agree to submit any significant changes in the procedures of your project to the IRB for prior approval and agree to report to the IRB any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to subjects or others.

Title of Research

Study 17-164: Forgiveness, Personality and Religion

Start Date is date of IRB approval Proposed start date: 11/13/16

***The official start date for research is the date the IRB approval letter is issued. Research activities may not begin prior to final IRB approval. Studies should be submitted well in advance of the proposed start date to allow for processing, review, and approval. If you have not received a letter from the IRB in 10 business days of submission, please call or email requesting status update.**

Is your research being funded in any way? Yes* No

*Where is the funding coming from? [Name of Federal Agency/Foundation/Department]

--

Primary Investigator

Name:

Melvin Willem Laven (Wim)

Department:

International Conflict Management
--

Telephone:

Email:

678-577-0170	mlaven@kennesaw.edu
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FOR RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY STUDENTS AS THE PRIMARY INVESTIGATOR, GO TO THE LAST PAGE OF THE APPLICATION FORM TO ENTER REQUIRED FACULTY ADVISOR INFORMATION.

Co-Investigator(s) who are faculty, staff, or students at KSU

Name: Email:	___ Faculty ___ Staff ___ Student
Name: Email:	___ Faculty ___ Staff ___ Student
Name: Email:	___ Faculty ___ Staff ___ Student
Additional Names (include status and email):	

Co-Investigator(s) who are NOT employees or students at KSU: Please submit your human participants training certificate with application materials.

Name: Email: Home Institution:
Name: Email: Home Institution:
Additional Names (include email and home institution):

ALL researchers listed on this application MUST have completed CITI training BEFORE an IRB Approval will be provided.

Visit <http://research.kennesaw.edu/irb/citi-training.php> for additional information about CITI training, how to choose the right course, and how to create a profile. ALL KSU faculty/staff/students MUST use their KSU provided email address on all correspondence.

NOTE: It is each researcher's responsibility to ensure that the CITI Certificate does not expire during the course of the approved study. Failure to maintain a current certificate will invalidate your approval. Please use your KSU email address on your CITI profile and make sure your profile name matches the one provided above.

Does your research involve minors? ___ Yes _XX_ No

See item number 5 below for parental consent and minor assent information. See <http://research.kennesaw.edu/irb/consent-templates.php> for forms and information.

Will this research involve COLLABORATION with ANOTHER INSTITUTION?

___ Yes _XX_ No, go to question 1

If yes, provide the name of the Institution _____

Has the other Institution conducted an IRB review of the study?

___ No ___ Yes – Send that review with this approval form to the KSU IRB.

1. Prior Research

Have you submitted research on this topic to the KSU IRB previously? ___ Yes* _XX_ No

*If yes, list the date, title, name of investigator, and study number:

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See <http://research.kennesaw.edu/irb/application-tips.php> for detailed explanations of questions 2-8. Provide complete sentences with sufficient information for an IRB review.

2. Description of Research

a. Purpose of and anticipated findings for this study:

This dissertation examines forgiveness by looking at the influence personal and social forces have on individuals' forgiveness attitudes and behaviors. It notes that different personality traits and social dimensions can drive attitudes and behaviors in response to those who have committed wrongs. The purpose of this research is to more clearly identify factors that explain why it is possible for some people to forgive while others cannot.

b. Nature of data to be collected (interview (includes focus groups), online or hardcopy survey, observations, experimental procedures, etc.):

Participants will report about their attitudes and behaviors in response to questions about preferences and how they imagine they would react to hypothetical scenarios. This will be achieved through survey questionnaires (online and hardcopy will both be made available) and short interviews (either in person or on the telephone). (See sample questions in Appendix A, attached.)

- c. Data collection procedures: (include information on how consent will be obtained, how links will be provided, where interviews will be conducted, audio or video taping, etc.). Note: student email addresses are FERPA protected. Student email addresses, grades, or work cannot be collected without student consent and IRB approval.

Collected from conducting semi-structured interviews and through a review of participant responses on psycho-social personality measurements.

Interviews and surveys will include consent forms/cover letters (See Appendix B, attached.) these include descriptions of benefits, risks, consent, and the following statement of understanding: "Statement of Understanding

The purpose of this research has been explained and my participation is voluntary. I have the right to stop participation at any time without penalty. I understand that the research has no known risks, and I will not be identified. By completing this interview, I am agreeing to participate in this research project."

Interviews will be conducted with participant comfort and confidentiality of statements in mind. Efforts will be made to identify comfortable and confidential rooms for interviews at each of the churches and campuses participating in this study, and it is likely the participants will be able to offer the use of their offices.

For phone interviews I will read the interview cover letter including the statement of understanding and I will disclose that I will mail or email the cover letter to any participant upon request.

- d. Survey instruments to be used (pre-/post-tests, interview and focus group questionnaires, online surveys, standardized assessments etc.). Attach all survey instruments with your application document):

Surveys to include questions from: Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness, Religious Commitment Scale, and Forgiveness Type Indicator Questions (Attached in Appendix A). Interviews with semi-structured questions asking for more detailed responses to the survey questions, and to gain greater insight into participation and teaching within congregations and classroom.

- e. Method of selection/recruitment of participants:

Refer to the [KSU Mass Email policy](#) on the use emails to faculty/staff. For student recruitment via email, please also follow these [mandatory instructions](#). ALL recruitment materials (flyers, emails, posters, etc.) MUST include your IRB Approval Study # and a statement that your study has been reviewed and approved by KSU's IRB.

Participant selection is based in part upon preliminary discussions with religious leaders and members of church congregations.

Initial contacts have been made and access has been granted with Portland State University, College Mennonites, Goshen College, and other institutions have expressed interest. Participating church congregations do so based upon both mutual interest in

forgiveness and an interest in the results of the study. Participation is voluntary and all members (of age) are welcome to participate. Non-church participants will self-select based upon interest and advertisement in University courses and survey lists.

I have either identified instructors willing to ask students to participate, or found an apparatus in which students are asked to participate in surveys through their campus' psychology department at participating institutions. I fully expect students to self-select based upon instructor encouragement, extra-credit (where it is offered), or interest in the name of the study.

Kennesaw State University's Psychology department uses the SONA Research Experience system to process the empirical experience of students taking PSYC 1101.

f. Participant age range: 18+ years old Number: estimated 625 total participants

Sex: Males Females or XX Both

g. Incentives, follow-ups, compensation to be used: (e.g., Gift cards, course credit, etc.). Please visit [HERE](#) on our website for guidelines on participant incentive payments.

No direct incentive is offered to participants involved in this research. Indirect incentive is offered in that the data collected may help churches better understand (and potentially reach) their congregations. Some students may receive extra credit from their instructors for participating, Consent and Benefits are fully expressed in the Consent Form (see attached Appendix B).

3. Risks

Describe in detail any psychological, social, legal, economic, or physical risk that might occur to participants. *Note that all research may entail some level of risk, though perhaps minimal.*

According to the federal regulations at [§46.102\(i\)](#), *minimal risk* means that the probability **and** magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.

 XXX There is minimal risk (if selected, must be reflected within consent documents)

 There is more than minimal risk (requires full explanation below and in consent documents)

Anticipated risks include (if selected, specific potential risks must be incorporated into the consent documents):

Anticipated risks are extremely minimal. Some participants may experience mild levels of stress or anxiety as though taking a test. Additionally, while extremely unlikely, it is possible that one or more of the questions could cause discomfort or "triggering." A review of literature on the tests/questions presents no concerns. The research methods will not cause physical discomfort to participants. The survey will be completed at a location and time of the participants choosing (either online or printed). Any interview portion will take place with the comfort of the participant (or by telephone or email if preferred by the participant), convenience, and confidentiality in mind.

The questions are not designed to trigger a participant's past experiences or to stimulate any trauma. Specific questions are hypothetical and involve fairly minor transgressions and questions have been chosen to minimize any potential anxiety or discomfort.

More specifically, student participants are selected from psychology classes where participation in surveys is a normal, expected, and naturally occurring part of the curriculum. Congregational participation is also made with groups whom have indicated previous participation in surveys and/or other research projects.

If more than minimal risk is anticipated, describe your method for handling risk.

No more than minimal risk is anticipated.

4. Benefits

Federal Guidelines and University policy require that risks from participation be outweighed by potential benefits to participants and/or humankind in general.

- a. Identify potential benefits to participants resulting from this research (It is possible that there are no direct benefits or *possible* specific benefits, either must be reflected in the consent documents):

This study has the potential to identify key factors in the forgiveness process, these findings may directly relate to one or more question an organization they are a part of is interested in, and it may relate directly to teaching materials they are exposed to.

- b. Identify benefits to humankind in general resulting from this research. While there may be no potential benefits to participants there must be some benefit to humankind in order to receive IRB approval. Please include these benefits in the consent documents:

This study also has the potential for changing the way we address forgiveness and reconciliation in a whole spectrum of conflicts from minor interpersonal events to long protracted wars.

5. Informed Consent

All studies of human participants must include informed consent (see IRB approved [templates](#)). Consent may require a signature or may simply require that participants be informed. Minor participants must receive an assent form in conjunction with parental consent (see IRB approved [templates](#)). If deception is necessary, please justify and describe, and submit debriefing procedures.

What is the consent process to be followed in this study? Submit your consent form(s) with the application as a separate document(s).

Statement of Understanding

The purpose of this research has been explained and my participation is voluntary. I have the right to stop participation at any time without penalty. I understand that the research has no known risks, and I will not be identified. By completing this survey, I am agreeing to participate in this research project.

6. Online Surveys

Will you use an online survey to obtain data from human participants in this study?
Check all that apply.

No. If no, skip to Question 7 below.

Yes, I will use an online survey to obtain data in this study. If yes:

- a. How will **online data** be collected and handled? Select one and add the chosen statement to your consent document.

Data collected online will be handled in an anonymous manner and Internet Protocol addresses **WILL NOT** be collected by the survey program.

Data collected online will be handled in a confidential manner (identifiers will be used), but Internet Protocol addresses **WILL NOT** be collected by the survey program.

Data collected online will be handled in a confidential manner and Internet Protocol addresses **WILL** be collected by the survey program.

- b. Include an “I agree to participate” **and** an “I do not agree to participate” answer at the bottom of your consent document. Program the “I do not agree to participate” statement to exclude the participant from answering the remainder of the survey questions (this is accomplished through "question logic" in Survey Monkey or “skip logic” in Qualtrics).

Ensure that the online consent document is the first page the participant sees after clicking on the link to your online survey.

Although you may construct your own consent document, see the IRB approved Online Survey Cover Letter template (<http://research.kennesaw.edu/irb/consent-templates.php>), which contains all of the required **elements of informed consent** that must be addressed within any online consent document.

7. Vulnerable Participants

Will minors or other vulnerable participants (e.g., prisoners, pregnant women, those with intellectual disabilities) be included in this research? NO.

__Yes. Outline procedures to be used in obtaining the agreement ([parental consent, assent or guardian consent](#)) for vulnerable participants. Describe plans for obtaining consent of the parent, guardian, or authorized representative of these participants. For research conducted within the researcher's own classroom, describe plans for having someone other than the researcher obtain consent/assent so as to reduce the perception of coercion.

XX No. All studies excluding minors as participants should include language within the consent document stating that only participants aged 18 and over may participate in the study.

8. Future Risks

How are participants protected from the potentially harmful future use of the data collected in this research?

- a. Describe measures planned to ensure anonymity or confidentiality. Studies can only be considered completely anonymous if no identifying information is collected; therefore, a cover letter must be used in place of a signed consent form.

Only basic demographic questions will be asked, and not revealing information should be collected. The survey portion of the research will be completely confidential, responses will be anonymous and no identifying information will be collected or stored in any way. The same will be true of interview procedures. Participants will be given the choice of completion of interview questions in person or by phone and at a location that provides confidentiality. All associated electronic data will be stored on the researcher's computer requiring keyword access to both the computer and the documents. Physical data will be stored in a locked file in the researcher's office. Any potentially identifying information will not be stored with the corresponding data.

- b. Describe methods for storing data while study is underway. Personal laptops are not considered secure.

Data will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the researchers office and/or behind password protected firewalls on the researchers computer. Any identifying participant information will not be stored in the same location as the data relating to the participants.

- c. List dates and plans for storing and/or destroying data and media once study is completed. Please note that all final records relating to conducted research, including signed consent documents, must be retained for at least three years following completion of the research and must be accessible for inspection by authorized representatives as needed.

There are no plans for the destruction of the data, it is anticipated that the information collected will continue to be used in future research and/or data sets. After the minimum three year period if the data/ data sets are no longer able to provide utility data will be scrubbed from hard drives and all documents will be shredded.

- d. If digital audio, video, or other electronic data are to be used, when will they be destroyed?

9. Illegal Activities

Will collected data relate to any illegal activities? __Yes* _XX_No

This includes asking about illegal activities from participants or surveys containing any reference to illegal activities (e.g., questions requesting information about witnessing illegal behaviors that others have engaged in, minors drinking or using drugs, or any illegal drug use or violence of any nature that would result in legal action).

*If yes, please explain.

Is my Study Ready for Review?

Every research protocol, consent document, and survey instrument approved by the IRB is designated as an official institutional document; therefore, study documents must be as complete as possible. Research proposals containing spelling or grammatical errors, missing required elements of informed consent (within consent or assent documents), not addressing all questions within this form, or missing required documents will be classified as incomplete.

All studies classified as incomplete may be administratively rejected and returned to the researcher and/or faculty advisor without further processing.

If you are a non-KSU researcher wishing to recruit participants from the KSU campus, please follow these instructions: <http://research.kennesaw.edu/irb/about/external-international-research.php>

Student researchers make sure that your faculty advisor completes the following page and sends all study related material from their KSU email address to irb@kennesaw.edu. Failure to follow this procedure will result in a significant delay in the approval process.

RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE STUDENTS AS PRIMARY INVESTIGATORS

All undergraduate and graduate students who will be acting as the Primary Investigator must be under the direct supervision of a faculty advisor. The faculty advisor must review the IRB application materials and agrees to supervise the student's proposed human subject research project by completion and submission of this routing sheet.

All application materials must be submitted by the faculty advisor from their KSU email address to irb@kennesaw.edu. Students may not submit their materials to the IRB for the first review; however, subsequent revisions can be sent directly to irb@kennesaw.edu with a cc to your advisor and MUST come from your KSU provided email account.

FOR RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY STUDENTS OR NON-FACULTY STAFF. This study, if approved, will be under the direct supervision of the following faculty advisor who is a member of the KSU faculty:

Faculty Advisor

Name:

Dr. Volker Franke

Department:

Political Science & International Affairs

Email:

470-578-2931

Phone:

vfranke@kennesaw.edu

By checking the items below and submitting all materials from your KSU email, the faculty advisor for this project attests the following:

I have personally reviewed each of my student's IRB application documents (approval request, exemption request, informed consent documents, child assent documents, survey instruments, etc.) for completeness, and all documents pertaining to the conduct of this study are enclosed (consents, assents, questionnaires, surveys, assessments, etc.)

I have completed the Social/Behavioral Research course (Biomedical version only for medical/biological human studies) CITI training course in the ethics of human subject research within the past three years as have all researchers named within this application.

I approve this research and agree to supervise the student(s) as the study is conducted.

Date: ___ October 17, 2016 _____

Shannon Roth <shannon.roth@pdx.edu>

Thu 3/9/2017, 6:10 PM

Hello Wim,

Thank you for sending these materials over for our review. We have gone ahead and saved these documents in our files, in case we have any students/staff/faculty who reach out with questions about your project.

Also, while your project will not require PSU IRB review and approval in order to recruit potential participants at PSU, you will want to ensure you have permission from faculty and/or departments on the PSU campus prior to coordinating recruitment from individual PSU classes.

Let us know if you have any further questions related to IRB review at PSU, and good luck with your research!

Cheers,
Shannon

Shannon S. Roth
Assistant Director, Research Integrity
Office of Research & Strategic Partnerships
Portland State University

(503) 725-4288

shannon.roth@pdx.edu