Overcoming Interpersonal Offenses: Is Forgiveness the Only Way to Deal With Unforgiveness?

Nathaniel G. Wade and Everett L. Worthington Jr.

Almost everyone is unforgiving at times. Many people seek to deal with the revenge and avoidance of unforgiveness by forgiving. The authors explore potential predictors of unforgiveness and forgiveness for a specific offense in 91 undergraduates. Positive feelings of forgiveness were uniquely predicted by dispositional forgivingness and by the participants' deliberate attempt to forgive the offense. Different patterns of predictors suggest that unforgiveness and forgiveness are not necessarily reciprocally related. This implies that interventions might be developed to reduce unforgiveness without attempting to promote forgiveness. This may be crucial in situations where forgiveness is not desirable.

Many problems in living, both clinically severe and normal ones, have their roots in or are exacerbated by interpersonal offenses. Psychoeducational interventions have been successful in helping people overcome interpersonal transgressions (e.g., Ferch, 1998). Although typically implemented in group formats (e.g., Hebl & Enright, 1993; Luskin & Thoresen, 1998; McCullough, Worthington, & Rachal, 1997; Rye & Pargament, 2002; see Worthington, Sandage, & Berry, 2000, for a review), psychoeducational interventions to promote forgiveness have been effective for an array of problems and in a variety of situations. For example, psychoeducational interventions have promoted forgiveness with adolescents who have felt deprived of their parents' love (Al-Mabuk, Enright, & Cardis, 1995), men who were upset by their partners' choice to have an abortion (Coyle & Enright, 1997), partners wishing to enrich their marriage (Ripley & Worthington, in press), and older women struggling to overcome hurts in their life (Hebl & Enright, 1993). Psychoeducational interventions have also been useful in promoting forgiveness in groups of adults who report a diversity of offenses (McCullough et al., 1997; Rye & Pargament, 2002; Worthington, Kurusu, et al., 2000).

Although there is an increasing amount of literature on psychoeducational interventions to promote forgiveness, little is known about the characteristics of individuals who volunteer for psychoeducational interventions. It is not known, for example, how disturbed they are by the transgression; whether they hold little or much unforgiveness toward the offender; and whether they have tried previously to forgive, and, if so, whether they have been successful and to what degree.

Several variables are hypothesized to predict the degree of unforgiveness or forgiveness that an individual will experience in response to a hurt or offense. In a model of the processes of unforgiveness and forgiveness, Worthington and Wade (1999) identified several potential predictors and reviewed literature that supported their inclusion in the model. Dispositional traits, such as *religiosity* (McCullough et al., 1998; Worthington, Berry, & Parrott, 2001), *trait empathy* (Thoresen, Harris, & Luskin, 2000), *agreeableness* (McCullough & Worthington, 2000), and *dispositional forgivingness* (Berry & Worthington, 2001; Berry, Worthington, Parrott, O'Connor, & Wade, 2001), were theorized to relate to willingness to forgive transgressions across situations (Worthington & Wade, 1999). *Trait anger* (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell, & Crane, 1983), *shame-proneness* (Tangney, 1995), and *attachment style* were hypothesized to be related to degrees of unforgiveness and forgiveness of a specific transgression (for a review of literature and discussion of the model, see Worthington & Wade, 1999).

Contextual or situational aspects of an offense or hurt were also considered influential in the process of unforgiveness and forgiveness. Worthington and Wade (1999) identified the quality of the relationship before the offense, the severity of the offense, whether the offense had occurred in the past, and the victim's idiosyncratic reaction to being hurt as predictors. For example, an offense that was more severe was hypothesized to produce more feelings of unforgiveness, which would be more difficult to

forgive, than was a relatively minor offense (Baumeister, Exline, & Sommer, 1998; Exline & Baumeister, 2000).

Two other factors that might influence the process of unforgiveness and forgiveness are the offender's reaction after the offense (Baumeister et al., 1998; Worthington & Wade, 1999) and the amount of empathy that the victim feels for the offender (McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough et al., 1997). The offender's behaviors after the offense has occurred are potentially important predictors of how a victim will react. If offenders react with regret and remorse about their behaviors, it is hypothesized that victims will be more forgiving than if the offenders do not express regret and remorse. For example, when offenders are perceived as offering sincere and contrite apologies, victims are more willing to forgive them and to view them more favorably than when the apologies are perceived to be insincere and not contrite (Darby & Schlenker, 1982; McCullough et al., 1998; Ohbuchi, Kameda, & Agarie, 1989).

Apologies and other behaviors that communicate the offender's remorse over the situation are hypothesized to create an emotionally dissonant event in the victim (Worthington & Wade, 1999); that is, an offender's conciliatory and remorseful actions stimulate an emotion in the victim (e.g., sympathy, compassion, support, love) that is dissonant with the emotions that are associated with unforgiveness (e.g., bitterness, hatred). Furthermore, these positive emotions can lead to empathy for the offender, causing the victim to identify positively with the offender and possibly to understand the situations or experiences that led to the hurt or offense. Empathy is a crucial predictor of the degree of unforgiveness and forgiveness that a victim will have for an offender (Freedman, 2000; Malcolm & Greenberg, 2000; McCullough et al., 1997). Both applied research and basic research support the link between empathy and forgiveness. For example, interventions that have been successful in promoting victims' empathy for offenders have successfully helped these victims to forgive (McCullough & Worthington, 1995; McCullough et al., 1997). Likewise, with volunteers for research but who are not scheduled for participation in intervention research, empathy has been correlated with less unforgiveness (McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough et al., 1997).

From a counselor's perspective, a crucial question has not been addressed: What variables predict naturally occurring unforgiveness and forgiveness in individuals who are seeking psychoeducational interventions to help them forgive? Understanding what factors predict motivations of revenge and avoidance (i.e., unforgiveness) and feelings of forgiveness in individuals volunteering for a psychoeducational intervention can aid in the organization and implementation of these interventions.

Furthermore, most research has not distinguished between forgiveness and reduced unforgiveness. Instead, in much of the existing research, investigators have inferred the success of interventions to promote forgiveness by measuring residual unforgiveness (measured by the motivation to seek revenge against and to avoid an offender;

McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough et al., 1997). In one study that was a notable exception, the researchers measured both feelings of residual unforgiveness and self-rated forgiveness for an offense and examined predictors of each (McCullough et al., 1998). McCullough et al. (1998) found some differences in the patterns of the predictors; however, implications were not explored. Instead, the measurements were explained as providing different perspectives on the same phenomenon.

However, recent theoretical work has suggested an important conceptual difference between granting forgiveness and merely reducing unforgiveness (Worthington, 2000, 2001; Worthington & Wade, 1999). Worthington and Wade defined unforgiveness as the delayed emotions of resentment, hostility, hatred, bitterness, anger, and fear (in some combination) that arise after ruminating about a transgression. The negative aspects of these emotions often stimulate attempts to reduce unforgiveness. People may use many methods to reduce their unforgiveness (see Worthington, 2001). A few examples include obtaining successful revenge, denying the hurt, cognitive reframing that excuses or justifies the offender's actions, accepting the transgression, seeing legal justice done, receiving fair restitution, or forgiving (Worthington, 2000, 2001). Because unforgiveness can be decreased in numerous ways, unforgiveness can be reduced without forgiveness occurring. (An obvious illustration is that unforgiveness can be reduced by successful revenge, whereas, clearly, no forgiveness is experienced.) Even though unforgiveness and forgiveness are often intimately connected, they are theorized to contain distinct aspects and, therefore, they are not simply polar opposites. Forgiveness necessarily entails reduced unforgiveness, but reduced unforgiveness does not imply forgiveness. In light of this distinction, one would expect that the degree of current unforgiveness and the degree of current forgiveness would be differentially predicted by the variables in question.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We seek to address two sets of interrelated hypotheses. The first set involves the experiences of people who are having trouble forgiving an interpersonal offense. The second set addresses the conceptual differences between unforgiveness and forgiveness.

Set 1: Dealing With a Difficult Offense

Predictors of unforgiveness. We hypothesized that, because participants self-selected the offenses that they had had a difficult time forgiving, religious commitment and *trait forgivingness*, which describes one's general tendency across many situations and over time to respond to offenses in a forgiving manner, would not predict degrees of unforgiveness.

However, contextual variables, such as the severity of the offense, the closeness between the individuals before the offense, and the intensity of the initial emotional reaction,

were hypothesized to predict unforgiveness (a positive correlation). Contrition perceived in the offender was also expected to predict reductions in unforgiveness (negative correlation). It was also expected that empathy would be negatively related to unforgiveness.

Finally, we hypothesized that the degree to which an individual has tried to forgive would differentially predict unforgiveness and forgiveness. Making a serious attempt to forgive a particular hurt is only one strategy that might reduce unforgiveness. Therefore, even individuals who do not attempt to forgive may have found other effective ways of reducing unforgiveness. Thus, the degree to which volunteers for psychoeducation used this strategy was not expected to predict the degree of unforgiveness.

Predictors of forgiveness. We hypothesized a positive relationship between religious commitment and forgiveness and between trait forgivingness and forgiveness. We anticipated that individuals with higher religious commitment and trait forgivingness were more likely to forgive an offense, whereas individuals with lower religious commitment and trait forgivingness were thought likely to have low levels of forgiveness.

Contextual variables, such as the severity of the offense, the closeness of the individuals before the offense, and the intensity of the initial emotional reaction, were hypothesized to predict forgiveness. The more severe, close, or intense the contextual variable, the less forgiveness an individual was expected to experience (a negative correlation).

The amount of contrition that the victim perceived in the offender was hypothesized to predict more forgiveness (positive correlation). We hypothesized that empathy was positively related to the degree of forgiveness (McCullough et al., 1997).

Finally, attempting to forgive was expected to predict the forgiveness experienced (positive correlation), because the individuals who attempted forgiveness were expected to have been more likely to attain it.

Set 2: Relationship Between Unforgiveness and Forgiveness

We hypothesized that the individuals who wanted to forgive an offense and who were willing to participate in an intervention to promote forgiveness would have high degrees of unforgiveness and low levels of forgiveness. Furthermore, we anticipated that for individuals with low levels of forgiveness, there would be a large range in degrees of unforgiveness (from little to much desire for revenge or avoidance). In contrast, individuals with high levels of forgiveness would have a limited range of unforgiveness (all in the low range).

METHOD

Participants

Participants ($N = 91$) volunteered for a psychoeducational intervention to promote forgiveness for a transgression that they wanted to forgive. They volunteered if they (a) could identify a particular offense that they currently wanted to forgive and (b) had previously tried to forgive but had failed to achieve the desired level of forgiveness. Volunteers were undergraduate college students from introductory psychology classes at a large urban state university in the southeastern United States. Whereas we anticipated that restricting the sample to individuals who were unable to forgive would likely attenuate the range of variables and their predictive power by limiting participants to those with extant unforgiveness, such a population is highly relevant for counselors to study. Individuals who have tried to forgive, who want to forgive but who have been unable to forgive, and who are willing to invest their time in an intervention compose the target group for most psychoeducational forgiveness interventions.

All the participants completed a questionnaire packet (the contents of the packet are given later in this article) prior to enrolling in a specific workshop, but subsequent to volunteering for the workshops. However, the study on the intervention was interrupted when it was less than half complete because of the suspension of the human subjects charter at the university where the research was being conducted. The suspension was related to a university-wide restructuring of the human subjects committee, and all studies were discontinued until they could be reapproved. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the forgiveness intervention could, therefore, not be conducted with the present sample. However, the predictors of unforgiveness and forgiveness in volunteers, *prior to the forgiveness intervention*, were assessed.

A demographics data sheet was used to collect demographic and other pertinent information from the participants. Individuals provided information about their age, gender, ethnic group, and religious affiliation.

Participants ranged in age from 16 to 43 years ($M = 19.7$, $SD = 4.2$) and were mostly female (77%) and single (93%, married = 3%, not reported = 3%). Ethnically, the participants were Caucasian (55%), African American (26%), Latina/Latino (5%), Asian American (3%), and "other" (10%). Participants also represented a broad range of religious affiliations. Whereas the majority of participants were either Protestant (59%) or Roman Catholic (19%), 18% reported no religious affiliation, and the remaining participants (4%) reported various faith communities and traditions, including Bahai, Hindu, Judaism, Muslim, and Unitarian.

Participants recalled a specific incident when they had been hurt or offended by someone close to them (termed the *target offense*) and had tried unsuccessfully to forgive the perpetrator for the hurt or offense. The most frequent offenses were betrayal or sexual infidelity by romantic partners ($n = 27$) and betrayal by friends or family ($n = 24$). Public put-downs ($n = 10$); being stolen from ($n = 5$); not receiving support during a confrontation ($n = 4$); and miscellaneous other offenses ($n = 21$), including incidents such as being physically assaulted and being cheated, constituted the rest of the reported offenses. The time since the offenses had occurred varied ("years ago," $n = 51$; "months ago," $n = 31$; all other time frames, $n = 9$).

Criterion Variables: Unforgiveness and Forgiveness

The level of unforgiveness for the target offense was measured using the Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory (TRIM; McCullough et al., 1998). The TRIM has 12 items, which are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Five items measure the motivation to seek revenge against the offender, and 7 items measure the motivation to avoid the offender. Samples of the items are "I want to see him/her hurt and miserable" (revenge) and "I cut off the relationship with him/her" (avoidance). In a sample of 239 college students (McCullough et al., 1998), the mean score of the Revenge subscale was 8.7 (*SD* = 4.5), and the mean of the Avoidance subscale was 18.1 (*SD* = 8.4). Previous estimates for the internal consistency reliability for the overall scale have been high (Cronbach's alphas ranging from .83 to .94). The alpha for the TRIM in the current sample was .92.

Participants' self-rated forgiveness of the offender for the target offense was assessed using the Single-Item Forgiveness Scale developed by Berry et al. (2001). The Single-Item Forgiveness Scale is a visual analogue that consists of one statement that asks participants to rate the degree to which they have forgiven their offender for the target offense (Berry et al., 2001). Participants rate their forgiveness on a 5-point scale (0 = *no forgiveness* to 4 = *complete forgiveness*) that corresponds to 5 circles, with different amounts of shading to represent the different amounts of forgiveness. Similar single-item scales have been used frequently to measure forgiveness in other research (Boon & Sulsky, 1997; McCullough et al., 1998; Subkoviak et al., 1995; Weiner, Graham, Peter, & Zmuidinas, 1991).

Predictor Variables

Set A: Dispositional variables. The Religious Commitment Inventory–10 (RCI–10; Worthington et al., 2003) is a 10-item scale that measures an individual's commitment to his or her religion. Each item is rated using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *not at all true of me* to 5 = *totally true of me*. Sample items are "My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life" and "I often read books and magazines about my faith." In a standardization sample (*N* = 751), the mean for the RCI–10 was 23.1 (*SD* = 10.1). The RCI–10 has strong estimated internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .93). The RCI–10 has shown evidence of construct validity, being strongly correlated with other measures of religious commitment, beliefs, and spirituality (Worthington et al., 2003). For the current sample, the RCI–10 had a good estimated internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .95). Corrected item-total correlations ranged from .63 to .90.

Trait forgivingness, which describes one's general tendency across many situations and over time to respond to offenses in a forgiving manner, was measured with the Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF; Berry et al., 2001). The TNTF consists of five scenarios drawn

from social psychological research on transgressions. Each scenario is rated on a 5-point scale (from 1 = *definitely not forgive* to 5 = *definitely forgive*). The mean of the standardization sample (*N* = 467) was 14.6 (*SD* = 3.9). The TNTF has evidenced high item reliability through Rasch modeling (*R* ranges from .95 to .98). Estimates of internal consistency have also been adequate (Cronbach's alpha has ranged from .73 to .81). The 2-month test–retest reliability has been estimated at .69 (Berry et al., 2001). The TNTF has been found to be highly negatively correlated with trait anger, dispositional rumination (i.e., the tendency to ruminate across time and situations), and neuroticism, whereas the TNTF is positively correlated with agreeableness and trait empathy (Berry & Worthington, 2001; Berry et al., 2001). For the current sample, the TNTF had an estimated internal reliability of .75 (Cronbach's alpha).

Set B: Contextual variables. Relational closeness before the offense was measured with one question, "How close were you to the person before the offense?" Responses ranged on a 3-point scale from 1 = *not at all* to 3 = *very much*. The victim's perception of the severity of the target offense was assessed with one question, "How serious do you feel this offense was?" which used a 5-point scale from 1 = *not serious* to 5 = *very serious*. The perceived initial emotional reaction of the victim was measured by two questions. "How intense was this feeling [your very first reaction]?" was rated from 1 = *not very intense* to 4 = *very intense*. "How long did you feel the emotion?" was rated as 1 = *a few minutes*, 2 = *an hour*, 3 = *several hours*, and 4 = *a day or more*. All four items described in this paragraph were created for the present study.

Set C: Perceived contrition of the offender. The Scale of Offender Remorse, Regret, and Yearning for Forgiveness (SORRY–F), created for the present study because we were not aware of other measures of offender contrition, uses three statements: "He/She [the offender] asked for forgiveness," "He/She seemed genuinely sorry for what he/she did to upset me," and "He/She felt guilty about what he/she did." Each question was rated on a 3-point Likert scale from 1 = *not at all* to 3 = *very much*. The estimated internal reliability of the scale was .89 (Cronbach's alpha). Construct validity was suggested in the current sample. The SORRY–F was not significantly correlated with dispositional variables, such as participant's age, gender, religious commitment, or trait forgivingness, which is expected for a situational measure. However, it was associated with situational variables in the hypothesized direction. Greater offender contrition was related to greater current closeness with the offender and with a greater ability to put self "in the offender's shoes."

Set D: Empathy. Empathy for the offender was measured with Batson's 8-item Empathy Scale (Batson, Bolen, Cross, & Neuringer-Benfiel, 1986; Batson, O'Quin, Fultz, Vanderplas, & Isen, 1983), which measures current feelings toward the offender (postoffense). Eight affect words (e.g., *compassionate, moved*) were rated on a 6-point scale (ranging from *not at all* to *extremely*). Estimates of internal reliability for this scale

have ranged from .79 to .95. For the current sample, Cronbach's alpha estimated the internal reliability to be .88.

Set E: Forgiveness as a strategy to reduce unforgiveness. Participants rated "the degree you [have attempted to forgive the person] to deal with the above offense or hurt" on a 3-point scale from 1 = *not at all* to 3 = *very much*. Participants also rated the degree that they had used other strategies (e.g., sought justice, got even) to attempt to deal with the offense, but these other strategies were not analyzed in the current study.

RESULTS

Relationships Among the Variables

Descriptive statistics for the predictor and criterion variables were computed. Means and standard deviations are reported for each variable in Table 1. Correlations among the predictor and criterion variables were also computed (see Table 1). A modified Bonferroni of $p < .005$ was used to test the significance of the correlations to control for familywise error and to maintain an experiment-wise alpha level of .05. The TRIM and the one forgiveness question were significantly correlated with several of the predictor variables. The TRIM (higher scores indicating more unforgiveness) was negatively correlated with the SORRY–F, $r(88) = -.40$, $p < .001$; Batson's Empathy Scale, $r(88) = .52$, $p < .001$; and the degree an individual tried to forgive, $r(88) = -.47$, $p < .001$. The Single-Item Forgiveness Scale was positively correlated with Batson's Empathy Scale, $r(88) = .52$, $p < .001$, and with the degree an individual tried to forgive, $r(88) = .62$, $p < .001$. Several of the predictor variables were also correlated with each other (see Table 1).

Structure of Hierarchical Regression Analyses

On the basis of Worthington and Wade's (1999) hypotheses and specific empirical research, we removed the variance from dispositional variables at the first step of each regression. Set A included religious commitment (Gorsuch & Hao, 1992; McCullough & Worthington, 2000) and dispositional forgiveness (Berry & Worthington, 2001; Berry et al., 2001). At the second step, we investigated four contextual variables proximal to the time of the offense. These contextual variables were closeness with the offender before the offense (McCullough et al., 1998), seriousness of the offense, intensity of the initial reaction, and duration of the initial reaction (Worthington & Wade, 1999). At the third step, we investigated the degree of contrition the victim perceived in the offender postoffense (Weiner et al., 1991). At the fourth step, we investigated degree of empathy for the offender (McCullough et al., 1997). Finally, at the fifth step, we tested the degree to which the person intentionally attempted to forgive the offender. Our rationale for ordering the variables was the temporal order in which the predictors presumably developed. Dispositions long preexisted the transgression. The context more recently preexisted the transgression. Once the transgression occurred, the offender was assumed to react in some way (Step C), affecting empathy positively or negatively (Step D), and thus affecting an individual's deliberate attempt (or not) to forgive (Step E).

Predictors of Unforgiveness

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to determine the predictors of unforgiveness (see Table 2). The first

TABLE 1
Correlations Among the Predictor and Criterion Variables With Means and Standard Deviations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	M	SD
1. TRIM	—											32.6	12.1
2. Forgiveness	-.56*	—										1.7	1.3
3. RCI–10	-.05	.23	—									23.5	11.7
4. TNTF	-.21	.33*	.36*	—								13.9	4.0
5. Closeness before offense	-.11	.06	-.16	-.03	—							2.7	0.5
6. Seriousness of the offense	.10	-.20	.05	.08	.09	—						4.1	0.9
7. Duration of initial reaction	.17	-.13	.08	-.14	.12	.41*	—					3.4	0.7
8. Intensity of initial reaction	.08	-.14	.15	.20	.37*	.55*	.30*	—				3.8	0.7
9. SORRY–F	-.40*	.27	.15	.20	.20	.14	.05	.25	—			5.3	2.2
10. Empathy Scale	-.52*	.52*	.14	.24	.30	.01	.14	.18	.47*	—		17.5	10.0
11. Degree tried to forgive	-.47*	.62*	.14	.21	.18	-.05	-.14	-.03	.38*	.48*	—	1.7	0.6

Note. TRIM = Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory; Forgiveness = Single-Item Forgiveness Scale; RCI–10 = Religious Commitment Inventory–10; TNTF = Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness; SORRY–F = Scale of Offender Remorse, Regret, and Yearning for Forgiveness.
*$p < .005$.

TABLE 2

Results of a Hierarchical Multiple Regression With Predictors of Unforgiveness

Set and Variable	R^2	ΔR^2	F (for ΔR^2)	β[a]	t
Set A (Dispositional variables)	.04	.04	1.63		
RCI–10				.01	0.11
TNTF				−.20	−1.73
Set B (Contextual variables)	.09	.05	1.09		
Closeness before offense				−.21	−1.68
Seriousness of the offense				−.02	−0.11
Intensity of initial reaction				.20	0.56
Duration of initial reaction				.07	1.36
Set C	.26	.17	17.37***		
SORRY–F				−.43	−4.17***
Set D	.40	.14	18.40***		
Empathy Scale				−.46	−4.29***
Set E	.41	.01	1.67		
Degree tried to forgive				−.14	−1.29

Note. (*N* = 84, valid listwise) Criterion variable is unforgiveness as measured by the Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory (TRIM; 12-item composite scores). RCI–10 = Religious Commitment Inventory–10; TNTF = Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness; SORRY–F = Scale of Offender Remorse, Regret, and Yearning for Forgiveness.
[a]Standardized beta weights for the individual predictors.
***$p < .001$.

step of the regression analysis, which explored the effects of the dispositional variables of religious commitment and trait forgivingness on the levels of current unforgiveness, was not significant, $R^2 = .04$, $F(1, 82) = 1.63$, *ns.* The second step, contextual variables, also did not predict amounts of unforgiveness, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $F(4, 78) = 1.09$, *ns.* The addition of the third step, perception of the offender's contrition, predicted unforgiveness, $\Delta R^2 = .17$, $F(1, 77) = 17.37$, $p < .001$. Higher amounts of perceived contrition predicted lower amounts of unforgiveness toward the offender. At Step 4, empathy for the offender contributed a significant portion of explained variance to the model above and beyond the

steps that had been entered prior to it, $\Delta R^2 = .15$, $F(1, 76) = 18.40$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .464$, $t(77) = -4.29$, $p < .001$. Thus, higher empathy for the offender predicted less unforgiveness for the offender. Finally, the attempt to forgive did not increase the amount of variance explained by the model, $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 75) = 1.67$, *ns.* The overall model remained significant at this step, $R^2 = .41$, $F(9, 75) = 9.75$. $p < .001$.

Predictors of Forgiveness

A second hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to predict amounts of self-rated forgiveness (see Table 3). The predictor variables were entered into this regression as in

TABLE 3

Results of a Hierarchical Multiple Regression With Predictors of Forgiveness

Set and Variable	R^2	ΔR^2	F (for ΔR^2)	β[a]	t
Set A (Dispositional variables)	.14	.14	6.35**		
RCI–10				.17	1.59
TNTF				.27	2.51*
Set B (Contextual variables)	.21	.07	1.87		
Closeness before offense				.17	1.47
Seriousness of the offense				−.09	−0.70
Intensity of initial reaction				.04	0.36
Duration of initial reaction				−.25	−1.84
Set C	.27	.06	6.43**		
SORRY–F				.26	2.54**
Set D	.43	.16	19.90***		
Empathy Scale				.47	4.46***
Set E	.52	.09	14.13***		
Degree tried to forgive				.37	3.80***

Note. (*N* = 84, valid listwise) Criterion variable is forgiveness as measured by the one-item, self-report question. RCI–10 = Religious Commitment Inventory–10; TNTF = Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness; SORRY–F = Scale of Offender Remorse, Regret, and Yearning for Forgiveness.
[a]Standardized beta weights for the individual predictors.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

the previous regression that predicted amounts of unforgiveness. In contrast to the regression onto unforgiveness, dispositional variables predicted amounts of self-reported forgiveness, $R^2 = .14$, $F(2, 81) = 6.35$, $p < .01$. Trait forgivingness accounted for a significant portion of the unique variation in the amount of forgiveness for the target offense, $\beta = .274$, $t(74) = 2.52$, $p < .05$. At the second step, contextual variables did not predict forgiveness, $\Delta R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 77) = 1.87$, ns. Similar to the regression onto unforgiveness, perceived amount of offender contrition (Set C) predicted forgiveness, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $F(1, 76) = 6.43$, $p = .01$. Likewise, empathy for the offender (Set D) predicted forgiveness, $\Delta R^2 = .15$, $F(1, 75) = 19.90$, $p < .001$. In contrast to the regression onto unforgiveness, participants' reported degree of trying to forgive predicted forgiveness, $\Delta R^2 = .09$, $F(1, 74) = 14.13$, $p < .001$. Overall, the model was significant, $R^2 = .52$, $F(9, 74) = 7.43$, $p < .001$.

Relationship Between Unforgiveness and Forgiveness

In addition to understanding the prediction of unforgiveness and forgiveness in people who are dealing with a difficult offense that has been committed against them, another central point of the present article is to explore the subtle relationships between unforgiveness and forgiveness—not simply assuming them to be reciprocally related. The bivariate correlation between these variables was $r(88) = -.56$, $p < .001$. There is a substantial degree of overlap; however, one construct does not fully explain the other.

To shed more light on this relationship, we examined participants' levels of unforgiveness and forgiveness for the target offenses with a box plot (see Figure 1). Ranges in levels of unforgiveness were examined at each level of self-reported forgiveness. As expected, individuals who reported high amounts of forgiveness for the target offense (3 or 4; i.e., *complete* or *almost complete forgiveness*, respectively) have a small range of unforgiveness that is mostly concentrated in the lower end. People who have forgiven seem to report a small amount of unforgiveness, or limited desires to seek revenge against or to avoid their offenders.

However, at the lowest levels of forgiveness (1 and 2; i.e., *no* or *almost no forgiveness*, respectively) participants showed a wide range of unforgiveness. Thus, some participants who had not forgiven had high levels of unforgiveness. This group seems to fit the stereotype: If people feel that they have *not forgiven*, then they will have a high degree of *unforgiveness*. However, a substantial group of people who had not experienced forgiveness reported low levels of unforgiveness. Thus, this group had not achieved forgiveness, but they had reduced unforgiveness.

A Levine's Test for Equality of Variances was conducted to determine if the variation of the unforgiveness scores between the high-forgiveness group and the low-forgiveness group
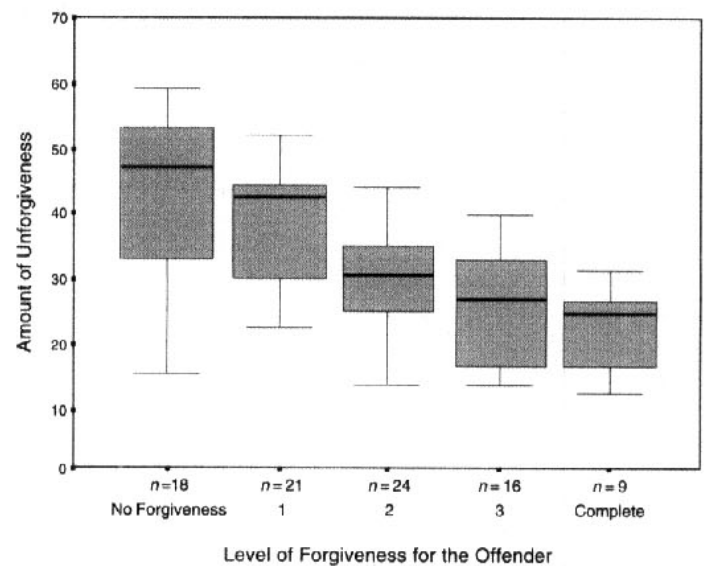

FIGURE 1

Ranges in the Amount of Unforgiveness at Each Level of Forgiveness

differed. This analysis indicated that the high-forgiveness group (i.e., individuals who reported *complete forgiveness* for the offense in question) had significantly less variation in their unforgiveness scores ($n = 25$, $M = 23.9$, $SD = 8.0$) than did the low-forgiveness group (individuals who reported *no forgiveness*; $n = 39$, $M = 39.6$, $SD = 11.8$), $F(1, 62) = 4.96$, $p = .03$.

Of particular note, the participants who reported no forgiveness for the target offense exhibited a full range of residual unforgiveness. Thus, some participants who had not experienced forgiveness had strong motivations of unforgiveness, whereas others had little unforgiveness. Conversely, participants who reported complete forgiveness had the smallest range in unforgiveness. Most in the latter category exhibited little unforgiveness.

DISCUSSION

When an individual volunteers to attend a psychoeducational intervention to promote forgiveness for a transgression that has been difficult to forgive, the counselor can expect that the degree of forgiveness granted will be negatively related to the unforgiveness still felt. Yet the two are not necessarily reciprocals of each other. If the only way to reduce unforgiveness were to forgive, clients and their counselors would be restricted. Some clients who are religiously committed value forgiveness only if an offender apologizes and seeks forgiveness, as is true for many adherents to Judaism (e.g., Dorff, 1998). These individuals might be forever mired in unforgiveness in cases when a transgressor has (a) died, (b) moved or lost contact, or (c) refused to seek forgiveness. Furthermore, clients who simply do not want to or who cannot

forgive might be self-sentenced to negative health consequences that might attend unforgiveness (Berry & Worthington, 2001; Thoresen et al., 2000; Witvliet, Ludwig, & Vander Laan, 2001). Furthermore, therapists and counselors who did not want to or were unable to promote forgiveness in a particular situation (e.g., situations in which forgiveness might trigger revictimization rather than healing) would be unable to help their clients.

Fortunately, this is not the case. Instead, many ways have been hypothesized to reduce unforgiveness (Worthington, 2001). However, little empirical research has been directed at distinguishing forgiveness from reduced unforgiveness (see Worthington & Wade, 1999). In the present study, we used a somewhat restricted sample—people who were seeking a psychoeducational intervention and wanted to forgive an offense—to study potential differences in reduced unforgiveness and forgiveness. The nature of the sample, with its restricted range, made it more difficult to detect differences that might exist across a more comprehensive sample that includes all types of reactions to offenses. Nevertheless, when we examined individuals who reported no forgiveness, we discovered a full range of unforgiveness. The evidence of the present study indicates that people could experience no forgiveness, yet at the same time have few negative motivations of unforgiveness. This suggests that they might, indeed, have reduced their unforgiveness by methods such as reframing the offense, seeking justice, or receiving restitution for transgressions as was theorized by Worthington and Wade (1999) and Worthington (2000). Our finding that the volunteers who reported already having achieved complete forgiveness generally felt little unforgiveness suggests that when people forgive, they do reduce unforgiveness (Worthington, 2000; Worthington & Wade, 1999).

We also found that the pattern of predictors of unforgiveness differed from the pattern for forgiveness, despite some similarities. In neither case did religious commitment predict the criterion variable (i.e., unforgiveness or forgiveness; cf. Gorsuch & Hao, 1992). This is in line with several other studies (see McCullough & Worthington, 2000, for a review). In neither case did contextual variables such as closeness before the offense (cf. Gottman, 1994; McCullough et al., 1998), seriousness of the offense, the victim's intensity of initial reaction to the offense, or duration of the initial reaction predict the criterion variable. There are several possible reasons why the contextual variables did not significantly predict either criterion variable. The measurement of these three variables (closeness before the offense, seriousness of the offense, and the victim's intensity of initial reaction) was conducted with unstandardized instruments, and a true effect might not have been found because the measures were inadequate. Alternatively, there might be little or no effect of these variables on unforgiveness and forgiveness (cf. McCullough et al., 1998).

Still other similarities in the predictors were found. For both unforgiveness and forgiveness, the victim's perception of the offenders' regret and remorse (e.g., Darby & Schlenker, 1982; Gonzales, Manning, & Haugen, 1992; Ohbuchi et al., 1989; Weiner et al., 1991) and feelings of empathy for the offender (McCullough et al., 1997) predicted the criterion variables. The strength of an offender's contrition and of a victim's feelings of empathy seem related to both reducing the motivations of unforgiveness and increasing positive feelings of forgiveness.

The differences in the prediction of unforgiveness and forgiveness were more instructive. Trait forgivingness—a cross-situational, enduring propensity to forgive (Berry et al., 2001)—was related to forgiveness of the target offense but not to unforgiveness. This again suggests that forgiveness is only one of many ways to reduce unforgiveness (Worthington & Wade, 1999). Individuals who are higher in trait forgivingness might be more likely to use forgiveness as a way to reduce or eliminate unforgiveness, whereas individuals who are lower in trait forgivingness might be using other strategies to deal with their unforgiveness. The degree of attempted forgiveness was related to forgiveness but not to unforgiveness, a finding that also supported this same notion.

Strengths and Limitations of Study

The current study extends the basic understanding of the factors that are involved in the amount of unforgiveness and forgiveness an individual experiences. In addition, this study reveals an important distinction between two crucial concepts in the forgiveness literature—unforgiveness and forgiveness. The use of multiple regression analyses, based on the existing theoretical structure outline by Worthington and Wade (1999), provides an excellent start for predicting the kinds of reactions that people will have to offenses in different situations.

Another strength of this study is the broad base it provides for further basic and applied research. Further research based on the current project might attempt to explore other salient predictors or to replicate the current findings with a broader sample of individuals (i.e., individuals who are at different places in the experience of a hurt). This study might also be extended into more applied settings. Examining the predictors of unforgiveness and forgiveness in clients who are in counseling and psychotherapy to deal with specific hurts is relevant. On a larger societal level, research might be conducted to determine the ways that cultures deal with traumatic events, for example, the types of predictors of positive feelings or negative motivations toward perpetrators of terrorism and large-scale violence.

One of the limitations of our study is the correlational nature of the data. The relationships and associations among the variables do not establish a definite causal link. Although theory that is corroborated by the current study supports potential causal relationships, this cannot be established with the present data.

Second, this study investigated individuals who were asked to participate if they wanted to forgive a specific offense. This circumscription potentially limited the types of individuals who completed the study. Individuals who forgive more easily or who respond with forgiveness more readily to some important variables (such as an offender's apology) may have self-selected out of the study. This would have limited the predictive power of the multiple regression analyses and limits the generalizability of the present results. In addition, the use of undergraduate students limits the generalizability of these results to counseling or psychotherapy clients. There may be important differences between the population represented by the current sample and the population of clients. Counselors should rely on their timing, tact, and sensitivity when helping their clients deal with troubling interpersonal offenses to avoid premature or inauthentic forgiveness and revictimization.

Finally, this study relies on self-report of unforgiveness and forgiveness that may be susceptible to social desirability biases. Some social desirability can be mitigated with scales that do not have strong face validity but do have adequate construct validity. The Single-Item Forgiveness Scale used to assess amounts of forgiveness may have had too much face validity that may have encouraged an inflation of levels due to social desirability. However, there is some evidence that forgiveness measures may not be systematically influenced by social desirability. In a recent questionnaire study of 324 undergraduate students, a measure of forgiveness of self and others (a dispositionally oriented scale) was not related to social desirability (Maltby, Macaskill, & Day, 2001). Still, the issue of social desirability in forgiveness research must be considered seriously.

Furthermore, the Single-Item Forgiveness Scale, in particular, may have some limited psychometric properties that could raise questions about the reliability and validity of our measurements. Because the theoretical distinction between unforgiveness and forgiveness is still so new, individual scales to measure these constructs separately are still in their infancy. With the creation of more precise measurement tools, the potentially useful distinctions between unforgiveness and forgiveness can be further explored and defined. When this increased precision has been achieved, therapeutic attempts to assist people who are dealing with difficult offenses can become more deliberate and precise.

Implications for Counseling

Some interventions to help people deal with the bitterness and hurt of an offense by promoting forgiveness have been put forth in the counseling and therapy literature (e.g., Enright, 1995; Ferch, 1998; McCullough & Worthington, 1995). These studies generally indicate that forgiveness interventions help people deal with the experience of unforgiveness. They tend to focus on the hurt of the offense and to provide time for the individual to share

reactions, thoughts, and feelings. Then, most interventions try to help the individual put the offense into perspective (objectify the offense and reduce feelings of unnecessary victimization), to see the offender's point of view (to mitigate the potentially limiting effects of the fundamental attribution error), and to recall times of being grateful for forgiveness from others. The conceptual distinction between reducing unforgiveness and achieving forgiveness is important for designing interventions as well as for furthering basic understanding.

Whereas most people do not like to experience unforgiveness and want to reduce it, clearly not everyone values forgiveness as a primary way to eliminate unforgiveness. There are situations in which clients may not want to or cannot pursue forgiveness. For example, some individuals have been hurt in such atrocious ways that attempting to feel positive emotions for the offender may be completely unrealistic, premature, and, in some cases, antitherapeutic (Davenport, 1991). Fortunately, as the present study suggests, the experience of unforgiveness can be mitigated without the attainment of forgiveness per se. On the basis of existing intervention literature, we have identified several ways that clinicians and researchers can help victims deal with transgressions other than by explicitly promoting forgiveness. These include helping individuals to (a) accept the hurt (Jacobson & Christensen, 1996), (b) reframe the events and circumstances around the offense (Flanigan, 1992), (c) seek justice (Zehr, 1995), (d) manage the stress related to the event (Humphrey, 1999), and (d) control the anger resulting from the offense (Deffenbacher, Thwaites, Wallace, & Oetting, 1994). We anticipate seeing more of these psychoeducational interventions used by counselors as a way to address unforgiveness by means other than forgiving. This will augment the continued use of psychoeducation and therapeutic techniques to promote forgiveness. When interventions focus more on reducing unforgiveness than on promoting forgiveness, the conceptual distinctions between the two take on added significance. Unforgiveness and forgiveness are related but are not always reciprocal concepts. They should be understood, measured, and investigated separately.

Different therapeutic and psychoeducational interventions might be appropriate, depending on the client's goals. Psychoeducators and counselors who encounter clients who wish to decrease their unforgiveness should clarify with clients whether their main objective is reducing unforgiveness or forgiving. This is perhaps the most important implication of this study. Interventions aimed at promoting forgiveness have tended to equate the reduction of unforgiveness with forgiveness. In many ways, this is not a conceptual concern, because successful forgiving necessarily reduces unforgiveness. However, because some clients do not embrace forgiveness for a variety of reasons, other interventions must be developed. Clarifying the distinctions between forgiving and reducing unforgiveness clears the way to develop and apply targeted interventions and to measure the results of the interventions more precisely.

REFERENCES

Al-Mabuk, R. H., Enright, R. D., & Cardis, P. A. (1995). Forgiveness education with love-deprived late adolescents. *Journal of Moral Education, 24,* 427–444.

Batson, C. D., Bolen, M. H., Cross, J. A., & Neuringer-Benfiel, H. E. (1986). Where is the altruism in the altruistic personality? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50,* 212–220.

Batson, C. D., O'Quin, K., Fultz, J., Vanderplas, M., & Isen, A. (1983). Self-reported distress and empathy and egoistic versus altruistic motivation for helping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45,* 706–718.

Baumeister, R. F., Exline, J. J., & Sommer, K. (1998). The victim role, grudge theory, and two dimensions of forgiveness. In E. L. Worthington, Jr. (Ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness: Psychological research and theological perspectives* (pp. 79–106). Radnor, PA: Templeton Foundation Press.

Berry, J. W., & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2001). Forgivingness, relationship quality, stress while imagining relational events, and physical and mental health. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 48,* 447–455.

Berry, J. W., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Parrott, L., O'Connor, L. E., & Wade, N. G. (2001). Dispositional forgivingness: Development and construct validity of the Transgression Narrative Test of Forgivingness (TNTF). *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27,* 1277–1290.

Boon, S. D., & Sulsky, L. M. (1997). Attributions of blame and forgiveness in romantic relationships: A policy-capturing approach. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 12,* 19–44.

Coyle, C. T., & Enright, R. D. (1997). Forgiveness intervention with post-abortion men. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 65,* 1042–1046.

Darby, B. W., & Schlenker, B. R. (1982). Children's reactions to apologies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 43,* 742–753.

Davenport, D. S. (1991). The function of anger and forgiveness: Guidelines for psychotherapy with victims. *Psychotherapy, 28,* 140–144.

Deffenbacher, J. L., Thwaites, G. A., Wallace, T. L., & Oetting, E. R. (1994). Social skills and cognitive-relaxation approaches to general anger reduction. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 41,* 386–396.

Dorff, E. N. (1998). The elements of forgiveness: A Jewish approach. In E. L. Worthington, Jr. (Ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness: Psychological research and theological perspectives* (pp. 29–55). Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press.

Enright, R. D. (1995). Counseling within the forgiveness triad: On forgiving, receiving forgiveness, and self-forgiveness. *Counseling and Values, 40,* 107–126.

Exline, J. J., & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). Expressing forgiveness and repentance: Benefits and barriers. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament, & C. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 133–155). New York: Guilford.

Ferch, S. (1998). Intentional forgiving as a counseling intervention. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 76,* 261–270.

Flanigan, B. (1992). *Forgiving the unforgivable: Overcoming the bitter legacy of intimate wounds.* New York: Macmillan.

Freedman, S. R. (2000). Creating an expanded view: How therapists can help their clients forgive. *Journal of Family Psychotherapy, 11,* 87–92.

Gonzales, M. H., Manning, D. J., & Haugen, J. A. (1992). Explaining our sins: Factors influencing offender accounts and anticipated victim responses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62,* 958–971.

Gorsuch, R. L., & Hao, J. Y. (1992). Forgiveness: An exploratory factor analysis and its relation to religious variables. *Review of Religious Research, 34,* 333–347.

Gottman, J. M. (1994). *What predicts divorce? The relationship between marital processes and marital outcomes.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hebl, J. H., & Enright, R. D. (1993). Forgiveness as a psychotherapeutic goal with elderly females. *Psychotherapy, 30,* 658–667.

Humphrey, C. W. (1999). *A stress management intervention with forgiveness as the goal.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Union Institute, Cincinnati, OH.

Jacobson, N. S., & Christensen, A. (1996). *Integrative couple therapy: Promoting acceptance and change.* New York: Norton.

Luskin, F., & Thoresen, C. (1998). *Effectiveness of forgiveness training on psychosocial factors in college-aged adults.* Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.

Malcolm, W. M., & Greenberg, L. S. (2000). Forgiveness as a process of change in individual psychotherapy. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament, & C. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 179–202). New York: Guilford Press.

Maltby, J., Macaskill, A., & Day, L. (2001). Failure to forgive self and others: A replication and extension of the relationship between forgiveness, personality, social desirability, and general health. *Personality and Individual Differences, 30,* 881–885.

McCullough, M. E., Rachal, K. C., Sandage, S. J., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Brown, S. W., & Hight, T. L. (1998). Interpersonal forgiveness in close relationships: II. Theoretical elaboration and measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75,* 1586–1603.

McCullough, M. E., & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (1995). Promoting forgiveness: A comparison of two brief psychoeducational group interventions with a waiting-list control. *Counseling and Values, 40,* 55–68.

McCullough, M. E., & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2000). Religion and the forgiving personality. *Journal of Personality, 67,* 1141–1164.

McCullough, M. E., Worthington, E. L., Jr., & Rachal, K. C. (1997). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73,* 321–336.

Ohbuchi, K., Kameda, M., & Agarie, N. (1989). Apology as aggression control: Its role in mediating appraisal of and response to harm. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56,* 219–227.

Ripley, J. S., & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (in press). Comparison of hope-focused communication and empathy-based forgiveness group interventions to promote marital enrichment. *Journal of Counseling & Development.*

Rye, M. S., & Pargament, K. I. (2002). Forgiveness and romantic relationships in college: Can it heal the wounded heart? *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 54,* 419–441.

Spielberger, C. D., Jacobs, G. A., Russell, S., & Crane, R. S. (1983). Assessment of anger: The State-Trait Anger Scale. In J. N. Butcher & C. D. Spielberger (Eds.), *Advances in personality assessment* (Vol. 2, pp. 161–189). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Subkoviak, M. J., Enright, R. D., Wu, C. R., Gassin, E. A., Freedman, S., Olson, L. M., et al. (1995). Measuring interpersonal forgiveness in late adolescence and middle adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence, 18,* 641–655.

Tangney, J. P. (1995). Shame and guilt in interpersonal relationships. In J. P. Tangney & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride* (pp. 114–142). New York: Guilford Press.

Thoresen, C. E., Harris, A. H. S., & Luskin, F. (2000). Forgiveness and health: An unanswered question. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament, & C. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 254–280). New York: Guilford Press.

Weiner, B., Graham, S., Peter, O., & Zmuidinas, M. (1991). Public confession and forgiveness. *Journal of Personality, 59,* 281–312.

Witvliet, C. V. O., Ludwig, T. E., & Vander Laan, K. L. (2001). Granting forgiveness or harboring grudges: Implications for emotion, physiology, and health. *Psychological Science, 121,* 117–123.

Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2000). Is there a place for forgiveness in the justice system? *Fordham Urban Law Journal, 27,* 1721–1734.

Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2001). Unforgiveness, forgiveness, and reconciliation in society. In R. G. Helmick & R. L. Petersen (Eds.), *Forgiveness and reconciliation: Religion, public policy, and conflict transformation* (pp. 161–182). Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press.

Worthington, E. L., Jr., Berry, J. W., & Parrott, L. (2001). Unforgiveness, forgiveness, religion, and health. In T. G. Plante & A. C. Sherman (Eds.), *Faith and health: Psychological perspectives* (pp. 107–138). New York: Guilford Press.

Worthington, E. L., Jr., Kurusu, T. A., Collins, W., Berry, J. W., Ripley, J. S., & Baier, S. B. (2000). Forgiving usually takes time: A lesson learned by studying interventions to promote forgiveness. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 28,* 3–20.

Worthington, E. L., Jr., Sandage, S. J., & Berry, J. W. (2000). Group interventions to promote forgiveness: What researchers and clinicians ought to know. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament, & C. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 228–253). New York: Guilford Press.

Worthington, E. L., Jr., & Wade, N. G. (1999). The social psychology of unforgiveness and forgiveness and implications for clinical practice. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 18,* 385–418.

Worthington, E. L., Jr., Wade, N. G., Hight, T. L., Ripley, J. S., McCullough, M. E., Berry, J. W., et al. (2003). The Religious Commitment Inventory-10: Development, refinement, and validation of a brief measure for research and counseling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 50,* 84–96.

Zehr, H. (1995). *Changing lenses: A new focus for crime and justice.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.