

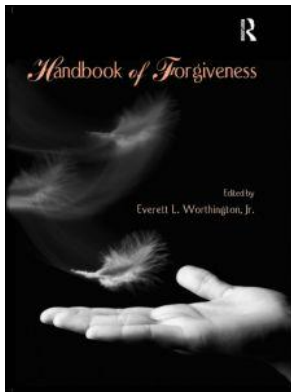
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Handbook of Forgiveness

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Initial Questions About the Art and Science of Forgiving

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Chapter One

Initial Questions About the Art and Science of Forgiving

Everett L. Worthington, Jr.

Forgiveness is both an art and a science. As an art, it deals with the fundamental questions of our age. It describes how we deal with transgressions and offenses personally and socially. It touches our mental health and well-being. It reaches into our relationships. It colors transactions within society and affects intergroup relations. The art of forgiving revolves around personal experience. Case studies as well as examples from our own and other people's lives teach us about forgiving.

Forgiveness also is now a science. Does that sound strange? A century ago, medicine was more art than science. Visionary philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, on the advice of his financial advisor, Frederick T. Gates, asked whether the healing arts could be studied scientifically and whether Rockefeller could make the most impact philanthropically by funding the art of healing or the scientific study of healing. Fortunately for all of us, Rockefeller invested in medical science. A century later, science has armed practitioners of the art of physical healing with research-revealed tools beyond the wildest dreams of the physician in 1900.

In 1970, virtually no one had studied forgiveness scientifically. Forgiveness was seen as within the domain of religion, and (despite William James and early flirtation between psychology and religion) science was uneasy with religion. Only a few intrepid social scientists conducted isolated studies related to forgiving.

Scientific study of forgiveness began in earnest only in the mid-1980s and has accelerated since that time. It started in the therapeutic community after the publication of a trade book, *Forgive and Forget: Healing the Hurts We Don't Deserve*, by Lewis Smedes (1984). Ironically, Smedes was neither clinician nor scientist. He was a theologian. Yet he started a movement within therapy and science that revolved around the idea that forgiveness can benefit a person's mental health and well-being. That message resonated with therapists, who began to write about how to promote forgiveness in healing for problems in anger, lack of hope, depression, and trauma. In addition, couples counseling and family therapy were natural laboratories for observing the harm of unforgiveness and the healing benefits of forgiveness.

It wasn't long before clinical scientists began to create (and study) interventions to promote forgiveness. Developmental psychologists such as forgiveness studies pioneer Robert Enright began to research how children's reasoning about forgiveness developed. Personality psychologists began to study who did or didn't forgive. Social psychologists examined how forgiveness showed up or didn't in daily social interactions. Health psychologists began to study whether and how forgiveness might affect physical health. In another irony, the study of the relationship between forgiveness and religion lagged the study of forgiveness in nonreligious contexts.

In the mid-1980s, when most people thought about forgiveness, they associated it with religion. Even if people were not religious, common culture had imported the term *forgiveness* from religious usage. So forgiveness had a religious overtone to it, even though both religious and nonreligious people used the word. As society became more postmodern and multicultural, though, forgiveness broke free of the confines of religious communities and even religious connotation. Forgiveness has broadly penetrated popular culture. Tim McGraw, country music superstar, in singing about how he would live if he knew he were dying, said, "I loved deeper and I spoke sweeter. And I gave forgiveness I'd been denying" (McGraw, 2004) Forgiveness has received a lot of public attention.

As more attention has been paid to the study of forgiveness—both in popular culture and in science—more questions have arisen about what it is, how it develops, whether it is always beneficial, whether it can be iatrogenic, and how we might help people forgive if they wish to forgive. As some questions have been answered, new questions have arisen. The depth of our lack of understanding of what forgiveness is and what its limits are has become more obvious.

THE ART OF FORGIVENESS

In 1983 in Texas, Karla Fay Tucker participated in the brutal pickaxe murder of Deborah Thornton and Jerry Lynn Dean. Tucker was apprehended, tried, convicted of capital murder, and sentenced to die by lethal injection, which she did on February 3, 1998. Her case received national attention, however, because of subsequent developments. Then-Governor George W. Bush was a contender for the White House, heightening public interests. Also, Tucker underwent a profound conversion to Christianity while she was incarcerated. To add to the mix, the brother of Deborah Thornton, Ron Carlson, contacted Tucker in prison and asked to meet with her to convey to her that he had forgiven her for the murder. Their meeting resulted in Tucker's expression of remorse, Carlson's granting of forgiveness, and an unlikely friendship. At the execution, Tucker asked Carlson to witness from the side reserved for her supporters. That created a conflict within the Carlson family. On which side would Carlson sit—Tucker's side or his sister's?

The case of Karla Fay Tucker raises many issues of the practicalities of forgiving and not forgiving. For example, when Tucker converted to Christianity, most of the

people who knew her testified that she almost certainly was no longer a danger to society. This raised several questions.

1. Should Governor Bush commute her death sentence to life in prison?
2. Does a personal change of heart absolve people from criminal conviction?
3. Was the brutal pickaxe murder simply too heinous to be forgiven by society?
4. Was it too heinous to be forgiven by individuals?

Ron Carlson and Deborah's brother, Tony, disagreed about whether to forgive Tucker. Did Tucker's request for support from Ron Carlson inflict yet another wound to the family she had already harmed? Is there a difference between (a) societal forgiveness or justice, (b) dyadic interaction, and (c) personal forgiveness?

Crimes are presumably against society, not merely against individual members of society. Thus, even if the victims had unanimously agreed to forgive Karla Fay Tucker and to intercede on her behalf with Governor George W. Bush, we can see that the art of forgiving is a messy business.

Possibilities of forgiveness, justice, and their intersection raise numerous questions about ethics and morals. The implications extend through individual lives to their family relationships, work productivity, communities, states, and nations. The practice of forgiveness is an art. Art is creative yet messy—like an artist in a painter's oil-smearred smock. We often see science as pristine in a white lab coat. But is the science of forgiveness any more clear than the art of forgiveness?

THE SCIENCE OF FORGIVENESS

Many questions have been raised and remain unanswered by scientific efforts to study forgiveness. I organize these into eight major questions. In this *Handbook of Forgiveness*, I invited scholars to summarize their areas of expertise. As you read these accounts, I hope you'll discover answers to the eight major questions. Even more, I hope that these scientific reviews reveal additional questions that need to be answered as the science of forgiveness develops. These eight questions might provide your road map for navigating the *Handbook*.

Question 1: What Is Forgiveness?

Definitions are the fountainhead of knowledge. Definitions set the pathway through the processes of forgiveness. Definitions provide a framework for explaining why and how a phenomenon happens. Definitions guide interventionists to develop protocols to help people forgive. Definitions aid therapists in developing healing methods and attitudes. It is not surprising that the major issue characterizing this new science of forgiveness has been how forgiveness ought to be defined.

Enright has written extensively in the early years of the science of forgiveness. The crux of forgiveness for Enright is its complexity as an integration of behavior, cognition, and affect (see Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000). He advocates replacing negative thinking, action, and feelings with more positive thinking, action, and feelings. He understands forgiveness as a process. Whereas Enright has proposed a process model of forgiveness, that is an intervention model. No scientific evidence suggests that people always move through the 20 steps in his process model (see chapter 24 by Freedman and colleagues) in naturally occurring settings. Nevertheless, his model forms a heuristic hypothesis about the natural occurrence of forgiveness.

McCullough and various collaborators have suggested that forgiveness is a redirection of motivations. They have defined forgiveness as a redirection in negative motivations, which is also accompanied by more conciliatory motivations toward the transgressor. McCullough and his colleagues have shown how such motivations can change (McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003) and be measured (see chapter 7 by McCullough and Root) over time. Fincham, who has co-authored with McCullough, also champions a motivational view. Working with couples, Fincham and his colleagues (see chapter 13) emphasize a two-component nature of forgiving—reducing negative motivations and increasing positive ones.

Worthington and his colleagues worked closely with McCullough, especially in the early to mid-1990s. McCullough's group and Worthington's group still share an emphasis on the importance of the emotion-motivation connection. Worthington (2003) has described forgiveness as being of two types (see Exline, Worthington, Hill, & McCullough, 2003; Worthington & Scherer, 2004). Decisional forgiveness involves a change in a person's behavioral intentions (hence a change in motivation) toward a transgressor. Emotional forgiveness (Worthington, 2003; Worthington & Wade, 1999; Wade & Worthington, 2003) is a replacement of negative, unforgiving emotions with positive, other-oriented emotions. At first, the positive emotions neutralize some negative emotions, resulting in a decrease in negative emotions. However, once the negative emotion is substantially eliminated, positive emotions can be built. Malcolm, Warwar, and Greenberg (see chapter 23), drawing on attachment theory and emotion-focused therapy, also emphasize emotional transformation that occurs when people forgive.

DiBlasio (1998) has defined forgiveness as a change in willpower to release the person from malevolent behavior toward an offender. DiBlasio calls forgiveness "decision-based forgiveness" (1998, p. 77). DiBlasio wrote with Worthington (see Worthington & DiBlasio, 1990) in the early years of forgiveness studies. Their collaboration undoubtedly affected Worthington's concept of decisional forgiveness.

Cognitive definitions of forgiveness have been well represented. Thompson and her colleagues (2005), Flanigan (1994), Gordon et al. (see chapter 25), and Luskin (2002) advocate cognitive views of forgiveness.

Forgiveness occurs in an interpersonal context. Some theoreticians (Augsburger, 1996), clinicians (Hargrave & Sells, 1997), and basic scientists (Baumeister, Exline, & Sommer, 1998; Exline & Baumeister, 2000; Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, & Hannon, 2002) have emphasized the interpersonal aspects of forgiving. Whereas no one questions

the importance of the interpersonal context in which forgiveness might occur, definitional squabbles concern whether the communication of forgiveness or talk and behavior about transgressions should be included within the definition or treated as a separate interpersonal process.

Researchers have often investigated a single aspect of forgiveness at one time, even if they believe forgiveness to be multifaceted. They isolate aspects to study them. However, most interventionists include cognitive, behavioral, affective, and often interpersonal change in their interventions, regardless of which element they believe to be most likely to cause changes. They seek to maximize client change by opening many possible avenues of change.

McCullough, Pargament, and Thoresen (2000) discerned from the chapters in their edited book that investigators had a common core of beliefs about forgiveness. Forgiveness involved prosocial change in people's experiences after a transgression. Their common-core approach was analogous to a shotgun. The next step in scientific progress will be to move beyond the shotgun to the rifle. Investigators must discern a more nuanced understanding of under which circumstances which types of definitions are most accurate and perhaps most useful. Read as a detective for definitions.

Question 2: How Should Forgiveness Best Be Measured?

When forgiveness began to be studied in the late 1980s and early 1990s, few instruments were available to measure it. Typically, nonstandardized questionnaires were used. Early instruments that adduced data to support reliability and validity were rare. Hargrave and Sells (1997) developed a family-oriented measure of forgiveness. Subkoviak et al.'s (1995) measure of forgiveness evolved into the Enright Forgiveness Inventory (see also Al-Mabuk, Enright, & Cardis, 1995). Wade (1989) developed a 90-item measure for her dissertation. Her instrument was refined into two shortened subscales and occasionally a third subscale by McCullough and his colleagues (1998) to become the Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations (TRIM) inventory. In later years, Wade's instrument was published in its entirety with some psychometric support in the *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* (Brown, Gorsuch, Rosik, & Ridley, 2001). After 1998, numerous other instruments have been developed to measure forgiveness of transgressions, dispositional forgiveness, and forgiveness of self. Keep an eye out for the variety of measures described by investigators—including a few novel approaches presented for the first time in print within the following pages.

Read as a concerned critic of measures. Are measurements assumed to be valid? Have investigators attempted to triangulate the participants' experiences subsequent to transgressions by measuring other nonforgiveness variables? Have investigators drawn conclusions with circumspection appropriate to the soundness of their methods of assessment?

Question 3: How and for Whom Is Interpersonal Forgiveness Related to Religion?

Merely because scientific methods have been brought to bear in the study of interpersonal forgiveness does not mean that forgiveness is dissociated from all religion. For centuries, forgiveness has been associated with the major religions (Rye et al., 2000) and most centrally with Christianity (Marty, 1998). Christianity has formed much of the backdrop of contemporary U.S. culture, even though most commentators now consider the United States to be a pluralistically religious culture. Thus, forgiveness cannot be considered as completely devoid of religious associations—at least not without detaching it from the experience of most clients and research participants. Because culture has changed, though, religion is not the center of forgiveness, and vice versa, for all (or perhaps most). Social scientists then must investigate how religion and forgiveness do and don't intersect, for whom, and under what conditions.

As you read the subsequent chapters, you might ask yourself whether the writers' conceptualizations will fit well with a religiously diverse society, clientele, or research population. Read with social savvy. Has forgiveness been gutted of religion? How are the highly religious, moderately religious, nominally religious, nonreligious, and irreligious likely to respond to a writer's conceptualization of forgiveness?

Question 4: How Does Forgiveness Affect the Participants in the Forgiveness Process?

Forgiveness involves a transgressor, a victim, sometimes either an involved or an impartial observer, and sometimes wider elements in society. Each is affected differently and experiences different intrapsychic and interpersonal events.

The transgressor may experience guilt, shame, or self-condemnation at having transgressed. Usually, the transgressor must respond to an accusation. He or she might apologize or offer restitution, might be repentant, or might merely express remorse and contrition but continue to inflict transgressions. Some transgressors may be truly guilty as accused; others may be falsely accused or accused of being more unfeeling or harsh than they intended. Some may be narcissistic. Others may be anti-social or manipulative. Still others may be more empathic. Some may be given to self-forgiveness—some to honest self-forgiveness after accepting responsibility and trying to make amends but others simply dodging guilt by letting themselves off scot-free. Still others might stew in their guilt, unable to forgive themselves. Once the victim has forgiven, the transgressor must consider a response—both intrapsychically and interpersonally. Can forgiveness be accepted? The transgressor's experiences, thus, are complex and are intertwined with the experiences and responses of the victim.

The victim, on the other hand, experiences the damage from the transgression and he or she suffers. How the victim perceives the transgression, though, is affected by his or her self-involvement. Victims, for instance, tend to overlook transgressors' attempts to make amends or to discount the costs of apologizing. Victims respond in

anger, fear, and resentment. Victims and transgressors talk about the transgressions. Based on interpersonal interactions, victims might approach the offender or might not. Personality attributes of the victims are related to how they deal with forgiveness. They may be vengeful, repressive, fearful, or communicative. Many victims ruminate about wounds they have experienced. The content and intrusiveness of the rumination affects how victims respond.

Offenders and victims (and observers) may be dispositionally oriented toward different ways of acting. They might have a strong justice motive (Lerner, 1980). If justice is not quickly forthcoming, victims might respond by being dispositionally unforgiving, which could manifest as resentful grudge holding or as vengeance. People can deal indirectly with injustice by deflecting it through accepting, excusing, justifying, or even exonerating the offender and offense. With effort, some victims can deal with injustice through forbearance, suppression of feelings, or deciding to forgive. Some might also experience transformative forgiveness. Some people may have more of a forgiving or vengeful personality disposition. A number of personal characteristics are related to such dispositions.

Similarly, offenders are likely influenced by their personalities. They may be guilt prone or shame prone; narcissistic; empathic; preoccupied with saving face; prideful; and characterized by low self-esteem, fragile high self-esteem, or stable high self-esteem.

Forgiveness can also involve others (Helmick & Peterson, 2001). Relatives and neighbors of victims or perpetrators are often touched by transgressions. Crimes affect society and result in laws and rules that govern social interactions. Tribes or other subgroups can be affected. Religious or ethnic conflict can involve the entire social fabric of a country or can extend across national boundaries.

Clearly, forgiveness is highly complex (a) intrapersonally, (b) interpersonally within a dyad, and (c) interpersonally within the societal and political context. Each investigator can tackle only a limited piece of the complex process. You must thus read as a sensitive synthesizer of the forgiveness process.

Question 5: What Are the Benefits of Forgiveness?

The potential benefits of forgiveness are putatively localized in four areas: physical, mental, relational, and spiritual health. Forgiveness might affect people's physical health. Unforgiveness is stressful and makes people feel hostile toward transgressors (Witvliet, Ludwig, & Vander Laan, 2001). A frequently unforgiving person might experience disorders of the cardiovascular or immune system. If we extend the findings from related literatures—such as studies of stress and Type A hostility—we might assume that unforgiveness has a negative impact on physical health. Toussaint, Williams, Musick, and Everson (2001) published results from a national survey suggesting that in elderly people, forgiveness was associated with fewer negative health symptoms. The anticipation is that physical health will be negatively affected if people are chronically unforgiving and positively affected if they practice regular forgiveness.

However, disturbing questions remain. How much (if any) is the impact of unforgiveness (and forgiveness) on physical health? How much unforgiveness is necessary to create a measurable impact? Is forgiveness important at all?

Forgiveness and unforgiveness might also affect mental health and well-being. At a minimum, it seems obvious that people who are unforgiving experience more anger and depression. Much of the research on forgiveness and mental health outcomes has been done in interventions studies, which do not necessarily reveal whether unforgiveness or forgiveness might be related to mental health in naturally occurring situations. However, as with physical health, questions remain. How much effect is actually due to forgiving? Could the same benefits accrue if a person obtained revenge or observed civil or criminal justice? Are benefits transitory or lasting? What mechanisms link forgiveness to mental health outcomes and to enhanced well-being? Are there negative effects?

On the surface, forgiveness seems logically to be related to relational health. Beneath the surface, however, the picture is fuzzy. Mere unforgiveness or forgiveness, as experienced internally, might not be related to whether partners in a dyad reconcile with each other. Baumeister et al. (1998) described hollow forgiveness, a forgiveness granted verbally but not experienced psychologically; and silent forgiveness, a forgiveness experienced but never communicated. There can be a disconnect between experience and expression of forgiveness. Yet even if experience and expression are congruent in the victim, that does not guarantee relational harmony. Members of a dyad might perceive events differently, make different attributions of causality, desire different actions, and generally pursue different agendas. The partners interact. Their communication, as well as their pretransgression relationship, ought to be expected to affect whether forgiveness and reconciliation occur. Forgiveness or unforgiveness might be related to better or worse relational health. The fact is that many relationship variables intrude in that relationship.

Forgiveness might be associated with improved spiritual health. As mentioned in Question 3, forgiveness has long been associated with religious experiences. It has particularly been associated with divine forgiveness within a Christian framework and with return to God's path or to *teshuvah* in a Jewish worldview. However, granting, experiencing, and expressing forgiveness might (or might not) produce more peaceful, harmonious points of view, even for those who are not religious. Thus, a boost to nonreligious spirituality may be one benefit of forgiveness.

Optimistic claims of potential benefits of forgiving, without the contamination of much data, have characterized the early years of forgiveness research. However, what do the data say? It is now time to read this literature as a serious skeptic of the putative benefits. The results of that reading could affect the entire field. If benefits can be unambiguously established, there will likely be future governmental funding by some of the Institutes in the National Institutes of Health.

Question 6: What Are the Costs, Limits, and Iatrogenic Effects of Forgiveness?

Much of the research has been done by researchers who assumed that forgiveness, for the most part, is mostly beneficial. However, almost all scientific accounts—in contrast to many mass-market and media accounts—admit that forgiveness can clearly be costly for individuals to undertake. People who forgive often think they are giving up rights to retaliate, even the score, or seek legitimate justice. Thus, significant costs can be incurred by people who express forgiveness.

In addition, there may be limits to what people can forgive. Some people argue that almost any act can be forgiven. Others suggest that forgiveness is limited by the attitude of the transgressor. When transgressors won't take responsibility for their actions or when they continue to perpetrate harmful acts, many people would argue that forgiveness should not be granted.

There might be cases where forgiveness harms individuals. If a person assumes that forgiveness is called for and that person forgives, then as a consequence places himself or herself in danger, some argue that forgiveness has thus had an iatrogenic effect. Others argue that this is a misunderstanding of forgiveness. They say that the person has confused reconciliation and forgiving. Might there be cases in which forgiveness itself is harmful? Might it erode the strength of the justice motive or weaken the resolve to hold a perpetrator accountable? Might forgiving weaken a person's power base or self-esteem? Might it encourage a perpetrator to take advantage?

Have scientists explored the iatrogenic effects of forgiveness? Have studies been undertaken to see whether such harm is actually caused? Instead of reading as a forgiveness advocate, read as a dedicated detractor. Paradoxically, a strong sense of the science of forgiveness can occur only if we define the boundaries sharply.

Question 7: Are There Effective Interventions to Promote Forgiveness Among Families and Larger Social or Societal Units?

In the early history of forgiveness studies, interventionists led the way. Enright was at the forefront of developing such interventions (see chapter 24 by Freedman et al.). He has targeted elderly people (Hebl & Enright, 1993), victims of incest (Freedman & Enright, 1996), and men whose partners had abortions (Coyle & Enright, 1997). On the other hand, Worthington and his group developed psychoeducational interventions to promote forgiveness in groups not aimed at forgiving specific types of transgressions. People were admitted to groups if they experienced *any* transgression they wished to forgive. Both targeted and untargeted interventions to promote forgiveness are useful for different purposes.

Since the early programs, interventionists have developed more interventions to promote forgiveness (see chapter 26 by Wade, Worthington, and Meyer for a meta-analysis).

Are group interventions effective? If so, why? What are the active ingredients of the interventions? Are any particularly effective? If so, with whom and under what conditions?

Few if any interventions have examined forgiveness within the context of a relationship. In troubled couples, families, workplaces, and communities, forgiveness must be contextualized within relationships and within communities. As you read the chapters, try to discern which interventions can be tailored and applied to contexts from couples to communities.

Of great interest also are interventions to promote forgiveness and reconciliation at the societal level. Few researchers have studied societal interventions empirically (see Chapman & Spong, 2003; chapter 28 by Cairns et al.; chapter 27 by Staub; and even chapter 2 by de Waal & Pokorny with primate societies).

Many questions remain about interventions. Are they efficacious? Have controlled studies established evidence-based interventions? On another level, are the interventions effective if applied, not in the carefully controlled clinical trial (called an *efficacy study*), but rather in homes, counseling agencies, community programs, churches, and societies (called *effectiveness studies*)? As you read the following chapters, read as a critical consumer of claims about interventions and their usefulness.

Question 8: Is There a Future for Forgiveness Studies?

There is a fragile future for the scientific study of forgiveness. If new researchers are not drawn into studying forgiveness, there is no future. New investigators depend on mentoring by senior scholars and identification with other areas of psychology. First, mentors must train and attract younger scholars. Perhaps the grant funding achieved by some senior scientists was the prime motivator in attracting some laboratories to the study of forgiveness. When money runs out, those investigators might lose their interest. On the other hand, if young researchers have been attracted to study forgiveness because of the mentoring of the senior investigators, that bodes well for the future of forgiveness studies.

Second, can forgiveness studies be considered part of the larger movement, such as positive psychology? To the extent that forgiveness is commonly accepted as a part of positive psychology, researchers who study positive psychology might include additional variables aimed at forgiveness and its effects. However, if forgiveness studies are isolated within a small subarea, such studies might continue but probably won't expand.

Will funding be forthcoming from philanthropists, foundations, and federal funding sources to support the study of forgiveness? The answer to this question depends on (a) the critical mass of researchers who study forgiveness, (b) whether forgiveness can make a positive impact on physical health, mental health, or relationships that is in line with governmental funding priorities, and (c) whether we can identify weaknesses scientifically and then deal with them. Federal funding depends on mature research programs. Pilot studies are typically required, which (in federal-funding terms) require a quarter or half million dollars to complete. At the present time, are

there enough good research track records explicitly involving forgiveness to break into the federal funding arena? Will an Institute pick up forgiveness as an important priority? As you read the following chapters, look for areas that are beginning to approach a critical mass of literature in potentially fundable areas. Read as a future funding recipient.

YOUR PERSPECTIVE AS YOU READ THE FOLLOWING REVIEW CHAPTERS

I have asked experts in their respective areas to write chapters befitting a handbook. As much as possible, we tried to hold to a common structure. Authors begin by defining forgiveness as they understand it.

I asked each author to review the extant research and theory within his or her domain of expertise. As you read, look for areas that are maturing and those still in their infancy. Look for what has been done, what has been found, and what has not yet been studied.

I also asked each author to suggest a research agenda for his, her, or their area, based on the just-completed review. You will encounter hundreds of research topics suggested by these experts. I have suggested eight mindsets you might adopt as you read the following chapters. You can read

- as a detective for definitions
- as a concerned critic of measures
- with social savvy about religious roots
- as a sensitive synthesizer of the forgiveness process
- as a serious skeptic about putative benefits
- as a critical consumer of claims about interventions
- as a dedicated detractor who looks for limits of forgiveness
- as a future funding recipient.

You might be coming to the book as a clinician looking for practical tips, a scientist just beginning a research career, a seasoned scientist with credentials in some other field, or an experienced forgiveness researcher. The field is wide open for new investigators studying new topics. It is open to practitioners applying scientific insights in new ways. You can contribute to the growth of the science of forgiveness studies and its application.

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