Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin

http://psp.sagepub.com/

Having the Power to Forgive: When the Experience of Power Increases Interpersonal Forgiveness

Johan C. Karremans and Pamela K. Smith

Pers Soc Psychol Bull 2010 36: 1010

DOI: 10.1177/0146167210376761

The online version of this article can be found at:
http://psp.sagepub.com/content/36/8/1010

Published by:

http://www.sagepublications.com

On behalf of:

Society for Personality and Social Psychology

Additional services and information for *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* can be found at:

Email Alerts: http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://psp.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Citations: http://psp.sagepub.com/content/36/8/1010.refs.html

>> Version of Record - Aug 6, 2010

What is This?

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Article

Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin
36(8) 1010–1023
© 2010 by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc
Reprints and permission:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/0146167210376761
http://pspb.sagepub.com

Having the Power to Forgive: When the Experience of Power Increases Interpersonal Forgiveness

Johan C. Karremans[1] and Pamela K. Smith[2]

Abstract

The present research examined the association between power, defined in terms of experienced control over outcomes and resources in a relationship, and interpersonal forgiveness. Based on recent findings in the literature suggesting that power is associated with goal directedness, it was hypothesized that high levels of experienced power should facilitate forgiveness, in particular in relationships of strong commitment. The results of three studies, using both correlational and experimental designs, supported this prediction: Power was positively associated with forgiveness, but this effect was stronger in relationships of strong (rather than weak) commitment. This pattern of results was observed for both the inclination to forgive hypothetical offenses and actual forgiveness regarding a past offense. Study 3 provided some preliminary evidence for the role of rumination in the link between power and forgiveness. Implications of these findings for the literature on forgiveness and the literature on social power are discussed.

Keywords

forgiveness, power, relationship commitment, rumination

Received July 13, 2009; revision accepted January 11, 2010

Bob and Jessica have had a romantic relationship for several years. Both are generally satisfied with their relationship and strongly committed to maintaining it, but their friends sometimes joke that Bob clearly wears the pants in the relationship. That is, he makes most of the decisions for the couple, and Jessica's thinking and behavior seem to be heavily influenced by his wishes and desires. One evening when Bob and Jessica were at a bar with some friends, Jessica blurted out a rather embarrassing secret of Bob's, even though he had told her explicitly not to tell a soul. Their friends enjoyed hearing the secret and had a good laugh about it. Bob, however, found the whole situation far from amusing. In fact, he was very upset and offended by Jessica's inconsiderate act.

How is this story most likely to end? Will Bob reciprocate the hurt and take revenge on Jessica? Or will he be willing to forgive Jessica for what she did? The path Bob chooses is likely to have critical consequences for their relationship. Whereas responding to an offense in an eye-for-an-eye manner often leads to downward spirals of negativity in a relationship, responding in a generous, forgiving manner is likely to enhance both relationship satisfaction and stability (e.g., McCullough et al., 1998). Forgiveness, defined as an intrapersonal prosocial motivational change toward the offender (McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000), increases positive interactions between forgiver and offender after the offense occurs (e.g., Fincham & Beach, 2002; Karremans & Van Lange, 2004). In addition, forgiveness positively predicts the quality of marital relationships (Paleari, Regalia, & Fincham, 2005) and family functioning (Hoyt, Fincham, McCullough, Maio, & Davila, 2005; Maio, Thomas, Fincham, & Carnelley, 2008).

Would Bob's experience of power in the relationship make him more or less likely to forgive Jessica? Based on early social-psychological theory and research on power, one might assume that Bob's relatively high power in the relationship would lead him to take revenge on Jessica. People experiencing power have often been portrayed as aggressive and selfish people, illustrated by the oft-heard maxim "power corrupts" (Kipnis, 1972). However, the more recent literature suggests that power is associated with a proactive

[1]Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen, Netherlands
[2]University of California, San Diego, CA, USA

Corresponding Author:
Johan Karremans, Behavioural Science Institute, Department of Social Psychology, Radboud University Nijmegen, PO Box 9104, 6500 HE, Nijmegen, Netherlands
Email: j.karremans@psych.ru.nl

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

and goal-directed orientation (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003; Guinote, 2007; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). That is, experiencing power leads individuals to be more consistent and persistent in pursuing their goals, relative to lacking power (e.g., Smith, Jostmann, Galinsky, & van Dijk, 2008). Based on this literature, we argue that if Bob has strong communal goals with regard to the relationship, and if maintaining this relationship is a long-term goal for him, then his power should help him respond in line with these relationship goals and thus forgive Jessica. Specifically, we examine the prediction that power should increase a person's likelihood to forgive an offender, but this should particularly occur if the offended person is strongly committed to the relationship with the offender.

In line with the recent literature, we define power in terms of an individual's perceived ability to control outcomes and resources for oneself and others (e.g., Keltner et al., 2003). By definition, this kind of power is relational and is therefore often referred to as *social* power (Depret & Fiske, 1993; Overbeck & Park, 2001). Social power is commonly viewed as a structural feature of a relationship. For example, in the relationship between a manager and his or her subordinates, one person (the manager) has official control over everyone's resources and is in charge of the decisions being made. However, power can also be a psychological property of an individual, derived from this person's power-related experiences in relationships with others (e.g., Anderson & Galinsky, 2006; Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001; Galinsky et al., 2003). Thus, people who have many experiences in which they have the capacity to control others across a variety of relationships should develop a general sense of power (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006). A person who often experiences being capable of controlling a partner in a specific relationship should develop a strong sense of power in this relationship. In the present research we focus on the *experience* of power rather than power in absolute terms.

It is important to note that past research has sometimes viewed power in terms of a person's level of dependence on a relationship (e.g., French & Raven, 1959; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). According to this view, the partner who is most dependent on the relationship, for example as a result of a relative lack of alternatives (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978), is the person with less power in the relationship. In contrast, the partner who has relatively more alternatives is the person who is less dependent and thus more powerful. In the current research we do not focus on the effects of power as defined in terms of dependency and quality of alternatives. Instead, and in line with recent conceptualizations of power (e.g., Depret & Fiske, 1993; Keltner et al., 2003), we examine the effects of power based on a person's experienced ability to control decisions and outcomes in a relationship.

In recent years, considerable attention has been paid to the effects of this kind of experienced power. In line with Kipnis's (1972) early proposition that power corrupts, much of this research has emphasized the negative effects of power. For example, research suggests that powerful people tend to pay less attention to stereotype-inconsistent information about their subordinates and more attention to stereotype-consistent information (e.g., Fiske, 1993; Goodwin, Gubin, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2000). Moreover, high-power individuals are more likely to exhibit socially inappropriate behaviors, such as interrupting others in conversation, speaking out of turn, and being rude toward others, than low-power individuals (DePaulo & Friedman, 1998; for an overview, see Keltner et al., 2003). Powerful people also tend to be more aggressive, as indicated by an increased likelihood of offensive teasing, bullying, or even sexual harassment (Howard, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1986; Keltner, Capps, Kring, Young, & Heerey, 2001; Studd, 1996). Together, such findings paint a rather unflattering picture of powerful people, suggesting that they respond to others in a way that serves their self-interest, compared to less powerful people.

However, it would be dysfunctional for powerful people to always act in such an antisocial, self-serving manner. Managers would struggle to reach their goals (e.g., productivity, job satisfaction among workers), as successfully managing a team requires at least some degree of negotiation and cooperation with subordinates (cf. Overbeck & Park, 2001). The interpersonal relationships of people experiencing power would also be short-lived. After all, the maintenance and functioning of interpersonal relationships depend to a large extent on prorelationship motivation and behaviors (e.g., personal sacrifices) on the part of both relationship partners (e.g., Rusbult et al., 1991; Rusbult & Van Lange, 1996; Van Lange et al., 1997; Wieselquist, Rusbult, Foster, & Agnew, 1999).

Thus, those findings must tell only part of the story. Indeed, the experience of power is not always associated with selfish behavior (Chen et al., 2001; Galinsky et al., 2003). The issue then changes from *how* powerful people act to *when* they act in one particular way versus another. That is, when do powerful people act in a self-interested manner, and when do they act in a prosocial manner? The answer seems to lie in the idea that people who experience power, compared to less powerful people, are more *action-oriented* toward fulfilling their goals and desires (Chen et al., 2001; Galinsky et al., 2003; Guinote, 2007; Keltner et al., 2003). Indeed, high-power people are better at distinguishing between goal-relevant versus goal-irrelevant information, and they focus more on goal-relevant information, relative to low-power people (Smith & Trope, 2006). On the behavioral level, elevated power makes people more likely to act in line with their goals and to persist at them (Galinsky et al., 2003; Guinote, 2007; Smith et al., 2008). For example, participants who were primed with high power (compared to those primed with low power) were more likely to act against an annoying stimulus (i.e., a fan blowing directly on them) in

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

the environment (Galinsky et al., 2003), suggesting that power leads people to engage in actions that are likely to fulfill their goal (in this case, moving the fan).

Importantly, such findings also suggest that if an individual has a goal to act in an other- or relationship-oriented (i.e., prosocial) manner, experiencing high power should result in prosocial behavior. Indeed, research by Chen et al. (2001) demonstrated that individuals who are chronically motivated to respond to the needs and interests of others (i.e., communally oriented persons) are more likely to distribute rewards fairly when they are high in power compared to when they are low in power. Thus, these findings demonstrate that the experience of power is not necessarily related to self-interested goals but may also boost motivation and behavior in line with more communal and other-oriented goals, *if the person has these goals*.

Power, Forgiveness, and the Moderating Role of Relationship Commitment

In addition to chronic individual differences in the strength of particular goals, such as communal goals, an individual can have very different goals with respect to one relationship versus another. For example, relationships vary in the extent to which an individual has the goal to maintain that relationship. Specifically, a person who is strongly committed to his or her relationship with another person is, by definition, motivated to maintain this relationship and has a long-term orientation toward the relationship. Indeed, relationship commitment generally is conceptualized and measured in terms of intending to persist in, having a long-term orientation toward, and being psychologically attached to the relationship (Rusbult, Martz, & Agnew, 1998). Moreover, strong-commitment relationships are generally characterized by communal goals, in which individuals are primarily focused on responding to the needs and interests of the partner (Clark & Mills, 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982, 1994). In contrast, in low-commitment relationships individuals do not tend to have such other-oriented goals but primarily focus on their own personal needs, benefiting the other only after the other has benefited them.

Similar to the findings by Chen et al. (2001) showing that high (vs. low) experienced power led chronically communally oriented persons to focus more on their prosocial goals, a person experiencing power in a strong commitment relationship should be more strongly focused on the goal of maintaining that relationship and his or her communal goals in that relationship (i.e., concern for the partner). Based on this reasoning, we predict that in strong-commitment relationships, a person experiencing high (vs. low) power should become more strongly motivated and willing to forgive. After all, forgiveness is a way of fulfilling one's goal of maintaining a valued relationship, as well as one's communal goals in the relationship (McCullough, 2008). Indeed, research suggests that one of the main motivations underlying forgiveness is concern for the maintenance of the relationship (Zechmeister & Romero, 2002), and forgiveness is more likely to occur when an individual takes into account the interest of the partner and the relationship (Finkel, Rusbult, Hannon, Kumashiro, & Childs, 2002). In contrast, in weak-commitment relationships, forgiveness does not necessarily correspond with the relationship goals the person has in this relationship. Power should therefore have relatively little effect on a person's willingness to forgive low-commitment others.

To return to the incident described in the opening paragraph, as long as Bob is strongly committed to his relationship with Jessica, a very likely possibility after so many years together, we suspect that Bob's experienced power in this relationship would motivate him to forgive Jessica for her hurtful behavior. Aquino, Tripp, and Bies (2006) found some preliminary support for the idea that power increases forgiveness. These researchers found a positive correlation between power and forgiveness at the workplace, especially when perceptions of a procedural justice climate were high. However, this research did not (a) test causal relationships between power and forgiveness, (b) examine the role of power in forgiveness in close relationships, or (c) test the critical moderating role of relationship commitment. The present research addresses these issues.

Finally, in addition to these main issues, we will explore how high power might be related to forgiveness in strong-commitment relationships, thereby focusing on the role of rumination. Previous research has demonstrated that rumination is an important barrier to forgiveness: When thoughts about a past offense keep coming back, it is more difficult to forgive an offender (e.g., Kachadourian, Fincham, & Davila, 2005; McCullough, Bellah, Kilpatrick, & Johnson, 2001). Also, in line with the notion that powerful people are more goal oriented, it has been demonstrated that experienced power helps people suppress motivations and thoughts that obstruct a goal (Smith et al., 2008; Smith & Trope, 2006). This may imply that, consistent with the goal to move on with the relationship, the experience of power might facilitate the reduction of ruminative thoughts about the past offense, which in turn should increase forgiveness.

The Present Research

The previous analysis provides a framework for understanding when power should facilitate forgiveness. We conducted three studies to test the hypothesis that power should facilitate forgiveness when one is strongly (rather than weakly) committed to the offender. Studies 1 and 2 tested the role of power in a broad array of relationships, ranging from weakly committed relationships to strongly committed relationships. This allowed us to test our basic hypothesis that high power is associated with increased levels of forgiveness, particularly in relationships of strong (as compared to weak) commitment.

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Study 1 tested this hypothesis by measuring participants' level of forgiveness regarding a past offense, along with commitment and experienced power in the specific relationship. In Study 2 we examined the proposed causal direction (i.e., power increasing forgiveness in high-commitment relationships rather than forgiveness increasing one's sense of power) by orthogonally manipulating both commitment and power. Moreover, rather than focusing on the level of experienced power within the relationship with the offender, in Study 2 we examined a general sense of power. Finally, in Study 3 we looked only at relationships of strong commitment (i.e., romantic relationships) and explored the role of rumination in the link between power and forgiveness.

Study 1

Study 1 was an initial test of our hypothesis. After recalling a past offense, participants completed measures of relationship commitment, experienced power, and forgiveness. It was predicted that power would be positively associated with forgiveness to the extent that participants were more strongly committed to the offender.

Method

Participants. Two hundred and fourteen participants (64 men, 150 women, mean age = 22 years) took part in exchange for 2 euros.

Procedure. Participants completed the study on a computer in individual cubicles. First, participants were asked to recall an instance in the past 6 months when they felt hurt or offended by someone. They were asked to think of the most severe offense and to briefly write down what happened. Some examples of the offenses that participants recalled were: "During a 4-month stay abroad, one of my best friends never contacted me" or "My boss refused to give me a day off to pick up a friend from the airport." In 15.4% of the cases, the offending other was a romantic relationship partner, 40.2% were close friends, 4.2% were roommates, 2.3% were colleagues, 4.7% were fellow students, 14% were family members, and 19.2% were categorized as "other." After recalling and briefly writing about this instance, participants next completed the measures concerning the offense. Participants first indicated how long ago the incident took place and rated the severity of the offense on three items (e.g., "The offense was very severe"; $\alpha = .78$). *Level of forgiveness* regarding the offense was measured with the Dutch version of the Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations scale (TRIM; McCullough et al., 1998). This scale consists of three subscales, measuring *benevolence* toward the offender (e.g., "Even though his/her actions hurt me, I have goodwill for him/her"; four items; $\alpha = .86$), *revenge* motivation (e.g., "I want him/her to get what he/she deserves"; four items; $\alpha = .86$), and *avoidance* motivation (e.g., "I am avoiding him/her"; four items; $\alpha = .87$). For all measures, participants responded on 7-point scales, ranging from 1 = *completely disagree* to 7 = *completely agree*.

The relationship measures followed. Level of commitment to the offender was measured with eight items (e.g., "I feel emotionally attached to the other person," "I want to persist in this relationship"; $\alpha = .91$; Rusbult et al., 1998). Finally, participants rated their *sense of power* in the relationship with the Sense of Power scale (Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2005). On this eight-item measure, participants reported their beliefs about the amount of power they had in their relationship with the other person, focusing not on dependency but on the perceived ability to influence outcomes in the relationship (e.g., "In my relationship with the other, if I want to, I get to make the decisions" and "In my relationship with the other, I get the other person to do what I want"; $\alpha = .78$).

Results and Discussion

As can be seen in the correlations in Table 1, experienced power and the level of commitment to the offender were both positively associated with benevolence toward the offender and negatively associated with revenge and avoidance motivation toward the offender. Moreover, power and commitment were positively correlated. Severity of the offense and time since the offense occurred were negatively associated with forgiveness.

To test our hypothesis, we conducted regression analyses in which benevolence, revenge, and avoidance were regressed onto commitment, power, and their interaction, while controlling for severity and time since offense. There was a significant interaction between commitment and power on benevolence, $R^2 = .49$, $\beta = .10$, $t(213) = 2.02$, $p < .05$ (with significant main effects for severity, commitment, and power, all ps < .01), as well as a marginally significant interaction between commitment and power on avoidance motivation, $R^2 = .51$, $\beta = -.09$, $t(213) = -1.83$, $p < .07$ (with significant main effects for severity, time since offense, commitment, and power, all ps < .05). The interaction was, however, not significant for revenge motivation, $\beta = .02$, $t(213) = .36$, *ns* (in line with the correlation analyses, there were significant main effects of commitment and power, ps < .05, and a marginal effect of severity, $p = .052$).

Simple slope analyses revealed that for participants relatively high in commitment (1 *SD* above the mean), power was positively associated with benevolence, $\beta = .34$, $t(213) = 4.09$, $p < .001$, and power was negatively associated with avoidance, $\beta = -.27$, $t(213) = -3.32$, $p < .001$. For participants relatively low in commitment (1 *SD* below the mean), power was more weakly associated with benevolence, $\beta = .15$, $t(213) = 2.17$, $p < .05$, and was not significantly associated with avoidance, $\beta = -.10$, $t(213) = -1.48$, $p = .14$.

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Table 1. Correlations Between Severity, Time Since Offense (in Months), Commitment, Power, and the Three Components of Forgiveness: Benevolence, Revenge, and Avoidance, in Study 1

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Severity	5.30	1.30	—					
2. Time since offense	16.9	27.05	.17*	—				
3. Commitment	4.47	1.87	–.09	–.28**	—			
4. Power	4.30	0.99	–.15*	–.08	.47**	—		
5. Benevolence	4.68	1.65	–.33**	–.12	.60**	.48**	—	
6. Revenge	2.52	1.52	.17*	.05	–.28**	–.32**	–.43**	—
7. Avoidance	3.66	1.77	.37**	.11	–.61**	–.45**	–.74**	.42**

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

Study 2

Study 1 provided initial support for our hypothesis. Power was positively associated with forgiveness, but this association was moderated by relationship commitment: Power was more strongly associated with higher levels of forgiveness to the extent that participants felt more strongly committed to their partner (although this pattern of results was not obtained for revenge motivation). These findings were obtained regarding offenses that participants actually experienced in the recent past, providing strong external validity. However, one obvious limitation is the correlational nature of Study 1. Study 2 was designed to provide evidence for the causal direction of the power–forgiveness link. Here we experimentally examined whether the activation of power causes people to become more inclined to forgive others and whether this effect is most pronounced in relationships of strong rather than weak commitment. We manipulated power by means of an experiential priming procedure (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2003; Smith & Trope, 2006). We also manipulated level of commitment to the offender. After the power manipulation, participants indicated their willingness to forgive several hypothetical offenses. Some of these offenses were committed by a weak-commitment other, and other offenses by a strong-commitment other.

In addition, whereas Study 1 focused on the experience of power within the specific relationship with the offender, Study 2 extended these findings by examining the effects of a more general sense of power. A person may experience an elevated sense of power only in a specific interpersonal relationship or may instead have a generally elevated sense of power across many different relationships. Previous research has demonstrated that the experience of power in one relationship can influence feelings, cognition, and behavior in an unrelated context (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2003; Smith & Trope, 2006). For example, people who recall an instance in which they had power over others were more goal oriented in a completely different, power-irrelevant situation compared to people who recalled an instance in which someone else had power over them (Smith et al., 2008). In Study 2, we induced a general sense of low or high power and examined whether these different experiences of power affected individuals' inclinations to forgive various specific relationship partners to whom they were weakly versus strongly committed.

Method

Participants and design. Eighty-eight participants (14 men, 74 women; mean age = 21 years) took part in exchange for 2 euros. The study was a 2 (power prime: low vs. high) × 2 (commitment: weak vs. strong) mixed design, with power as a between-subjects factor and commitment as a within-subject factor.

Procedure. Participants completed the experiment on a computer in individual cubicles. Participants ostensibly participated in several short unrelated studies, which were actually the different tasks of this study. In the first task, power was manipulated using an experiential priming procedure (Galinsky et al., 2003). Half of the participants were asked to recall and write about a time when they had power over someone else (i.e., high-power condition), and the other half were asked to recall and write about a time when someone else had power over them (i.e., the low-power condition). In both conditions, power was defined as controlling the ability of another person to get something he or she wanted or being in a position to evaluate someone else, or both. This procedure has been shown to reliably manipulate a relatively high versus low sense of power and has effects similar to those of actually experiencing power (e.g., Anderson & Galinsky, 2006).

Past research suggests that mood does not account for the effects of this power manipulation, nor does the manipulation affect mood (e.g., Smith & Trope, 2006). Nonetheless, we wanted to be certain that the power manipulation did not affect participants' mood, so participants subsequently completed a single-item measure of their current mood state ("How

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

would you describe your mood at this moment?" 1 = *negative*, 7 = *positive*).

Next, participants' inclinations to forgive weak- versus strong-commitment others were measured using the Transgression Narrative Test of Forgiveness (TNTF; Berry, Worthington, Parro, O'Connor, & Wade, 2001). This measure of forgiveness originally consisted of five brief scenarios in which the protagonist behaves in a negative manner. For each scenario, the participant is asked to imagine that he or she is the victim of this behavior and to indicate to what extent he or she would be likely to forgive the protagonist (on 7-point scales, ranging from 1 = *would definitely not forgive* to 7 = *would definitely forgive*). For two reasons, we used only four of the original five scenarios in the current study. First, previous research in our lab has shown that one of the five scenarios of the Dutch translation of the TNTF significantly reduces the reliability of the scale (see also Karremans & Van Lange, 2005). Second, and most important, the remaining four scenarios perfectly fit the purpose of the current research. In two of these scenarios the protagonist is a strong-commitment other (i.e., a good friend), and in the other two scenarios the protagonist is a weak-commitment other (i.e., a fellow student you occasionally see, and a former high school classmate who was not part of your crowd). To increase the salience of these different levels of commitment, we adjusted the original scenarios by adding phrases such as "a friend *to whom you are strongly committed*"; "a fellow student *you do not really have a bond with and do not know very well*." In this way, we could be sure that participants actually perceived the protagonists in the weak- versus strong-commitment scenarios as individuals to whom they were weakly or strongly committed, respectively. The order of the scenarios was administered as in the original scale: first a scenario with a protagonist to whom one is weakly committed, followed by the two strong-commitment scenarios, and finally a weak-commitment scenario. The scores of the weak-commitment scenarios, $r(88) = .38$, $p < .001$, were averaged and the scores of the strong-commitment scenarios, $r(88) = .38$, $p < .001$, were averaged to create indices of the inclination to forgive weak-commitment others and the inclination to forgive strong-commitment others, respectively.

Results and Discussion

To test our hypothesis, a 2 (power prime: low vs. high) × 2 (commitment: weak vs. strong) mixed-model ANOVA was conducted on the forgiveness ratings, with the last factor as a within-subject variable. There was a main effect of commitment, $F(1, 86) = 96.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .53$: Participants were more inclined to forgive in the strong-commitment scenarios ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.28$) than in the weak-commitment scenarios ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 0.95$). There was also a main effect of power condition, $F(1, 86) = 4.14$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .05$. High-power participants ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.82$) overall displayed stronger inclinations to forgive compared to low-power participants ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.02$).

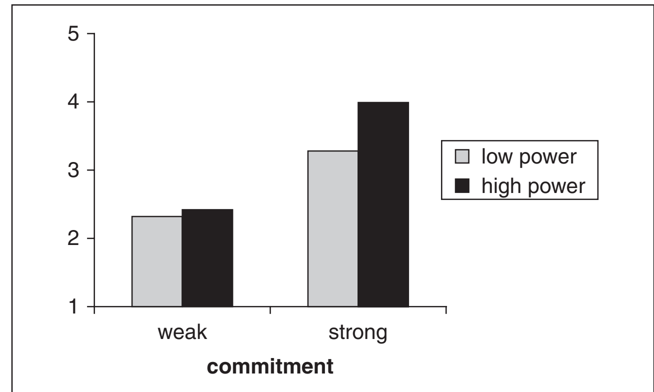

Figure 1. Level of forgiveness as a function of Commitment × Power, Study 2

However, these main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between commitment and power, $F(1, 86) = 5.72$, $p < .02$, $\eta^2 = .06$ (see Figure 1). In line with our main hypothesis, high-power participants ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.21$) were more inclined to forgive the strong commitment offenders than low-power participants ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.26$), $F(1, 86) = 7.23$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .08$. With the low-commitment scenarios, power condition did not significantly affect level of forgiveness, $F < 1$. Thus, priming high power caused stronger inclinations to forgive, but this effect was only significant with strong- (rather than weak-) commitment relationships.[1]

As in previous research, the power manipulation did not affect participants' general mood state, $F < 1$.

Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 provided consistent evidence for the moderation hypothesis. Having established that power affects forgiveness particularly in relationships of strong commitment, we now turn to the question of *how* power facilitates forgiveness in such relationships.

Not only should power act as a motivator to forgive highly committed relationship partners, but the experience of high power may also make a person more *capable* of forgiving in such relationships. Specifically, if powerful people are both more action oriented and better at focusing on the long-term goals they have with a relationship partner, they may also be better at letting go of negative thoughts concerning an offense. Such negative thoughts may interfere with both the long-term goal of maintaining the relationship and the willingness to forgive. Indeed, there is strong empirical evidence that rumination is an important barrier to forgiveness: As ruminative thoughts decrease, the level of forgiveness increases (e.g., Kachadourian et al., 2005; McCullough et al., 2001; Pronk, Karremans, Overbeek, Vermulst, & Wigboldus, 2010).

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

As the experience of power helps people focus on their goals and inhibit thoughts that may conflict with the goal (Smith et al., 2008; Smith & Trope, 2006), powerful people may be better able to inhibit ruminative thoughts that may hinder forgiving a strong commitment other. Put differently, a person's relatively high level of experienced power may facilitate forgiveness by reducing rumination about the past offense.

However, an interesting and additional possibility is that powerful people may forgive an offender *in order to* get rid of the ruminative thoughts that may hinder the goal to maintain a satisfying relationship. Indeed, it has been suggested that forgiveness and rumination may bidirectionally influence each other (e.g., McCullough et al., 2001). Forgiving an offender may in itself be an effective way to reduce hurtful memories of the past offense and may help people focus on their long-term goal of maintaining the relationship with the offender. Thus, whereas powerful people may be better able to reduce negative thoughts about the past event in order to forgive an offending partner, forgiving a close offending partner may also function as a way to get rid of these thoughts in a goal-directed way, namely, to move on with the relationship.

In Study 3 we focused only on relationships of strong commitment and explored the role of rumination and its link with power and forgiveness. We asked participants to recall an incident in which they felt offended or hurt by their current romantic partner, and we measured rumination and forgiveness regarding the offense. We predicted that power would be associated with higher levels of forgiveness. In addition, we tested two possible models, in which (a) the link between power and forgiveness would be mediated by reductions in rumination, and (b) the link between power and reductions in rumination would be mediated by higher levels of forgiveness.

Finally, an additional purpose of Study 3 was to address a potential limitation of Studies 1 and 2. It is possible that power is related to global levels of self-esteem, such that higher power is associated with higher self-esteem (e.g., Wojciszke & Struzynaska-Kujalowicz, 2007). People who feel that they are "in charge" may simply feel better about themselves, or vice versa. It may have been that a positive self-regard facilitated forgiveness in the previous studies. To address this alternative explanation, participants in this study also completed a measure of global self-esteem.

Method

Participants. Eighty students (7 male, 73 female; mean age = 21.2 years), all involved in a romantic relationship (average relationship duration 31 months) took part in the study and received 2 euros in exchange for participation.

Procedure. Participants completed all materials in individual cubicles on a computer. Only students who were in a romantic relationship for at least 3 months were invited to participate. First, participants were asked to think of their romantic partner. Participants completed the measure of relationship commitment as used in Study 1 ($\alpha = .88$). As anticipated, relationship commitment was very high ($M = 6.31$ on a 7-point scale, with little variance, $SD = 0.64$). Next, perceived power in the relationship was measured. This time we used a different measure of power, which was developed and validated by Wang, Wang, and Hsu (2007). The measure focuses on perceived power in romantic relationships, again assessing an individual's perceived ability to influence outcomes and resources in the relationship (six items; e.g., "I can persuade my partner not to do the things I don't want him/her to do" and "Even if I disagree with some things, my partner still does them according to his/her will" [reverse-scored]; $\alpha = .61$). In addition, global self-esteem was assessed with a single-item measure ("On the whole, I am satisfied with myself"). Robins, Hendin, and Trzesniewski (2001) demonstrated that such a single-item measure of self-esteem has strong convergent validity with more extensive measures of self-esteem (e.g., the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale).

After completing these initial questionnaires, participants were asked to think of, and briefly describe, an instance in the past 6 months in which they felt hurt or offended by their partner. Note that in this manner, an advantage of Study 3 (as compared to Study 1) is that the measures of commitment and power could not have been influenced by the recall of the offense. Perceived severity of the offense was measured (one item; "The offense was very severe"), and participants indicated when the offense occurred. Next, participants' level of rumination about the offense was measured with three items (e.g., "I regularly think back about the offense" and "Every now and then, the offense spontaneously comes to mind"; $\alpha = .87$). Finally, forgiveness was measured with the TRIM (benevolence, $\alpha = .77$; revenge, $\alpha = .73$; avoidance, $\alpha = .76$). For all measures, participants responded on 7-point scales, ranging from 1 = *completely disagree* to 7 = *completely agree*.

Results and Discussion

As shown in Table 2, and in line with our main hypothesis, power was positively associated with benevolence and negatively associated with avoidance and revenge. Time since the offense (measured in months) was significantly associated with revenge (but not avoidance or benevolence). Furthermore, and relevant to our hypothesis, perceived power in the relationship was negatively associated with rumination. Also, rumination was negatively associated with benevolence and positively associated with avoidance but was not significantly associated with revenge. Commitment was also negatively associated with rumination. Finally, global self-esteem was not correlated with power but was positively associated with benevolence and negatively associated with avoidance, revenge, and rumination.

To further explore the role of rumination, we first tested whether the association between power and benevolence and

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Table 2. Correlations Between Commitment, Severity, Time Since Offense (in Months), Power, and the Three Components of Forgiveness: Benevolence, Revenge, and Avoidance, in Study 3

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Severity	5.23	1.33	—							
2. Time since offense	9.73	12.32	.28**	—						
3. Commitment	6.31	0.64	.19*	.18						
4. Power	5.52	0.65	.25*	.06	.40**	—				
5. Benevolence	5.76	1.01	–.09	.02	.35*	.35**	—			
6. Revenge	1.51	0.58	–.01	–.24*	–.26**	–.23*	–.29**	—		
7. Avoidance	1.39	0.70	–.03	–.04	–.32**	–.43**	–.53**	.39**	—	
8. Rumination	2.76	1.60	.02	–.06	–.16*	–.29**	–.50**	.15	.57**	—
9. Self-esteem	5.73	1.29	.12	.27*	.16	.12	.30**	–.26**	–.27**	–.40**

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

avoidance was mediated by rumination (i.e., the power → rumination → forgiveness model; note that this model could not be tested for revenge, as revenge was not associated with rumination). Hence, benevolence and avoidance, each in turn, were regressed onto power while controlling for global self-esteem, relationship commitment, severity, and time since the offense (see Table 3). Importantly, power was significantly associated with benevolence and avoidance even after controlling for these variables. When rumination was entered into the equation, as can be seen in Table 3, the effect of power on benevolence was reduced to nonsignificance. A Sobel test revealed that this was a significant reduction, $z = 2.25$, $p < .05$. Also, the association between power and avoidance was reduced (but still remained significant) when rumination was entered into the equation. A Sobel test revealed that this reduction was significant, $z = –2.35$, $p < .05$. Thus, rumination fully mediated the association between power and benevolence and partially mediated the association between power and avoidance. Notably, a similar effect occurred for self-esteem, in that the association between self-esteem and benevolence and avoidance reduced to nonsignificance after controlling for rumination. However, the effects of power were independent of self-esteem.

Next, we tested the alternative power → forgiveness → rumination model. We regressed rumination onto power while controlling for severity, time since the offense, relationship commitment, and self-esteem (see Table 4). Power was significantly related to rumination. When we entered either benevolence (see Model 2 in Table 4), or avoidance (see Model 3 in Table 4) into the equation, in both cases the association between power and rumination reduced to nonsignificance. Sobel tests revealed that both benevolence, $z = –2.62$, $p < .05$, and avoidance, $z = –3.31$, $p < .01$, fully mediated the association between power and rumination.

The findings of Study 3 provided further evidence for the central hypothesis that in relationships of strong commitment—in this case, long-term romantic relationships—the experience of power is positively associated with forgiveness. Importantly, the results of Study 3 revealed that this effect could not be explained in terms of higher self-esteem being associated with higher power. Finally, Study 3 provided some preliminary insight into the role of (reductions in) rumination as a possible underlying mechanism for the positive link between power and forgiveness. At the same time, the findings of Study 3 provided evidence for an additional model, in which power facilitates forgiveness, which *in turn* could lead to less rumination about the offense.

General Discussion

The findings of three studies, using both experimental and survey methods, and different measures of both power and forgiveness, provided generally consistent and convergent evidence for our hypothesis that power is positively associated with forgiveness, but this association is stronger in relationships of strong commitment. Study 1 demonstrated this pattern of results in the context of real-life offenses that people had recently experienced. Study 2, in which both power and commitment were experimentally varied, gave evidence for the proposed causal nature of this relationship. Moreover, power facilitated forgiveness toward strong-commitment others irrespective of whether a general sense of power was primed (Study 2) or whether the sense of power with regard to the relationship with the offender was measured (Studies 1 and 3).

Why does power facilitate forgiveness in strong-commitment relationships? Galinsky et al. (2003) demonstrated that there is a strong link between power and action: Power makes people more likely to engage in actions that fulfill their goals and to suppress motivations and thoughts that obstruct a goal (Smith et al., 2008; Smith & Trope, 2006). We reasoned that high-power people may therefore be less likely to have the sort of ruminative thoughts about an offense that obstruct forgiveness (Kachadourian et al., 2005; McCullough et al., 2001; Paleari et al., 2005). The results of Study 3 provided preliminary evidence for this reasoning, showing that the association between power and forgiveness in close relationships was mediated by reductions in

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Table 3. Regression Analyses for Benevolence and Avoidance, in Study 3

	β	*t* value	R^2
Benevolence			
Model 1			
Severity	–.24	–2.16*	.30
Time since offense	–.05	–0.45	
Power	.32	2.78*	
Commitment	.17	1.47	
Self-esteem	.32	2.90*	
Model 2: Testing the power → rumination → benevolence model			
Severity	–.18	–1.73	.42
Time since offense	–.05	–0.47	
Power	.22	1.96[a]	
Commitment	.17	1.54	
Self-esteem	.20	1.84	
Rumination	–.38	–3.50**	
Avoidance			
Model 1			
Severity	–.13	1.05	.21
Time since offense	.05	0.29	
Power	–.29	–2.38*	
Commitment	–.16	–1.40	
Self-esteem	–.20	–1.96	
Model 2: Testing the power → rumination → avoidance model			
Severity	.04	0.36	.44
Time since offense	.03	0.32	
Power	–.14	–1.33[a]	
Commitment	–.15	–1.40	
Self-esteem	–.06	–0.53	
Rumination	.54	5.13**	

[a]Sobel tests revealed that the *t* values for the association between power and the criterion variable significantly decreased.
$*p < .05$. $**p < .01$.

rumination. Interestingly, Study 3 also provided evidence for an alternative (although not incompatible) model, namely, that power is associated with reductions in rumination through higher forgiveness. This finding speaks to a potentially important function of forgiveness for powerful people: Forgiving close others facilitates the reduction of negative thoughts about a past offense, which in turn could help powerful people focus on their long-term goal of maintaining the relationship. Given the correlational nature of Study 3, we should be careful in drawing definitive conclusions, and the role of rumination in the link between power and forgiveness should be further explored in future research.

Interestingly, the current findings are consistent with findings from primate research showing that high-ranking apes are generally the peacekeepers in a group and are more likely to reconcile after a conflict has occurred (De Waal, 2005). Granted, such reconciliation behavior is only an indication of forgiveness, as it is unclear whether apes indeed experience forgiveness in the psychological sense after being offended (De Waal & Pokorny, 2005). Nevertheless, such findings suggest that apart from a proximate social-psychological explanation in terms of better goal fulfillment, the effects of power on forgiveness may have an ultimate evolutionary basis. Powerful people (or other primates) often play a central role in the maintenance of groups, perhaps especially in times of the inevitable conflicts that occur between group members, including offenses aimed at the power holder. The experience of high power, and related feelings of responsibility for the welfare of the group, may have evolved in conjunction with the capacity to forgive others, especially close others. After all, forgiveness is a functional tool for maintaining close bonds, which ultimately increases an individual's and a group's chances of survival.

As briefly noted in the Introduction, our results are also in line with previous findings by Aquino et al. (2006). These researchers also found that power (operationalized as one's status within an organization) was positively associated with forgiveness. Interestingly, this association was only found when participants experienced a climate of high procedural justice in the organization. We suggest that their findings can

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Table 4. Regression Analyses for Rumination, in Study 3

	β	*t* value	R^2
Rumination			
Model 1			
Severity	.16	1.37	.19
Time since offense	.00	0.30	
Power	–.28	–2.23*	
Commitment	–.02	–0.12	
Self-esteem	–.33	–2.74*	
Model 2: Testing the power → benevolence → rumination model			
Severity	.06	0.52	.33
Time since offense	–.02	–0.16	
Power	–.14	–1.14[a]	
Commitment	.06	0.51	
Self-esteem	–.19	–1.60	
Benevolence	–.43	–3.50**	
Model 3: Testing the power → avoidance → rumination model			
Severity	.10	1.37	.43
Time since offense	–.02	–0.15	
Power	–.12	–1.07[a]	
Commitment	.07	0.65	
Self-esteem	–.20	–1.92	
Avoidance	.55	5.13**	

[a]Sobel tests revealed that the *t* values for the association between power and the criterion variable significantly decreased.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

also be interpreted as supporting our hypothesis that power only facilitates forgiveness when commitment is high. Procedural justice may have served as a proxy for participants' commitment to the organization. There is abundant evidence that procedural justice is strongly associated with workplace satisfaction and organizational commitment (for an overview, see, e.g., Tyler, 2001). Thus, people who experience an organizational climate of high procedural justice are more intrinsically motivated to continue their job and to stay in the organization. Indeed, one way to accomplish this goal and to maintain satisfactory relationships at the workplace is to be forgiving toward one's colleagues when conflicts arise (e.g., Aquino, Grover, Goldman, & Folger, 2003).

As noted, the present findings are consistent with recent suggestions made in the power literature that power is not necessarily related to selfish motivation and behavior (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2003; Keltner et al., 2003; Overbeck & Park, 2001). When it serves their goals, powerful people can actually act quite nicely toward others. For example, Chen et al. (2001) demonstrated that power priming led communally oriented persons to respond to the needs of others by distributing rewards equally between self and other. The present research extends and complements these findings in at least two important ways. First, the present research demonstrates that even in the wake of an offense, power appears to set relationship-oriented motivation into motion. In other words, even a threat to the self does not prevent powerful people from responding in a prorelationship manner, at least not when they are strongly committed to the relationship with the offending partner. Second, in Chen et al.'s research, the effects of power on prorelationship responses were modulated by personality differences (i.e., differences in communal vs. exchange orientation). By demonstrating the moderating role of commitment in the association between power and forgiveness, the present findings suggest that the effects of power on interpersonal motivation and behavior are shaped by the nature of the relationship between the power holder and the interaction partner. A very broad implication of the present research, therefore, is that the interpersonal effects of power can be better understood when taking into account the specific features of the relationship between power holder and interaction partner.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

To our knowledge, the present research is the first that has systematically examined the effects of power on forgiveness in the domain of interpersonal relationships. More broadly speaking, the present research demonstrates that the question of when and why people forgive their offenders can only be fully understood when relationship-relevant variables are taken into account. So far, this issue (with the exception of relationship commitment; e.g., Finkel et al., 2002; Karremans & Aarts, 2007) has received surprisingly little attention in the literature on forgiveness. Moreover, the present findings also make an important contribution to the literature on social

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

power by adding credence to the claim that power is not always associated with selfish motivation and behavior.

At the same time, we should acknowledge some limitations of the present research. First, the present research did not examine the temporal sequence of the principle variables of interest. That is, it is possible that, over time, the sense of power, commitment, and forgiveness mutually influence each other. For example, a high sense of power may increase commitment to a relationship, which in turn would influence forgiveness.[2] Low levels of forgiveness may result in weaker commitment (e.g., Karremans & Van Lange, 2008; McCullough et al., 1998), or low forgiveness may result in lower levels of power (cf. Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). Although we do not want to exclude the possibility of such links, as they are not incompatible with our results, Study 2 provides good evidence for our proposed direction of causality from power to forgiveness in strong-commitment relationships, as the study involved experimental manipulations of both power and commitment. Nevertheless, future research should examine other causal pathways, including reciprocal relations.

Second, although the findings were generally consistent across studies, the predicted effects were less clear for the revenge subscale. Although it is difficult to pin down why, one explanation might be a statistical floor effect, as overall revenge scores were fairly low (compared to avoidance and benevolence scores). The revenge subscale may therefore have been less sensitive to the combined variance in power and commitment. However, there may be theoretical reasons why the results were less clear for revenge motivation. For example, one may argue that benevolence motivation and approach motivation (i.e., the flip side of avoidance motivation) are both relatively action- and goal-oriented motivations, whereas reducing revenge motivation may result from a more unintentional and less goal-driven process. Hence, as power is associated with action orientation and goal directedness (Galinsky et al., 2003), power may especially affect benevolence and avoidance motivation. However, at this point this reasoning is speculative; future research should examine the robustness of the differential effect of experienced power on the subcomponents of forgiveness and examine possible explanations.

As discussed in the Introduction, the present research focused on power as a person's experienced ability to control decisions and resources rather than power as a person's level of dependence on a relationship. The fact that commitment positively correlated with experienced power in both Studies 1 and 3 strongly suggests that the sense of power in our research was indeed not experienced as dependence on a relationship (in which case commitment to a relationship would be negatively correlated with power; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Moreover, and in line with our conceptualization of experienced power, in Study 2 we showed that inducing the experience of non-relationship-specific power (i.e., recalling a situation in which one could control outcomes for self and other) was related to forgiving strong-commitment others. Nevertheless, in future research it would be interesting to see whether levels of power in terms of dependency on a relationship would affect forgiveness. The literature on the role of commitment in forgiveness already provides some insight into this question, as commitment to a relationship depends in part on a person's alternatives to the relationship (Rusbult, 1983). However, even though the link between commitment and forgiveness is well established (e.g., Finkel et al., 2002), the exact role of available alternatives, which is strongly related to a person's sense of dependency on the relationship, is less clear. It is very likely that this kind of power in a relationship is, unlike decisional power, negatively related to forgiveness. Thus, in addition to the role of power as the ability to control decisions in a relationship, future research should examine how forgiveness would be affected by power as the level of dependency on a relationship.

Another issue for future research concerns the possible role of entitlement and its link with power and forgiveness. Previous research suggests that high power is associated with entitlement. For example, a study by De Cremer and Van Dijk (2005) demonstrated that participants who were given the role of "leader" reported higher levels of entitlement (to take from a common source) as compared to "followers." In addition, research has demonstrated that high levels of entitlement are negatively related to forgiveness (Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell, & Finkel, 2004). Together, these findings suggest that through its association with entitlement, power might actually lead to lower levels of forgiveness—in contrast to what we find in the present research. It would therefore be interesting for future research to consider the role of entitlement in the link between power and forgiveness. We would expect that entitlement might indeed hinder forgiveness among powerful people, but only (or especially so) in low-commitment relationships. In contrast, based on the notion that power is associated with goal focus and action orientation, when a person is strongly committed to the goal of maintaining the relationship with an offender, power may actually help a person to put aside one's pride and entitlement to move on with the relationship. Indeed, Chen et al. (2001) showed that if it is consistent with their goals, powerful people may act in a less entitled way.

Conclusion

Power is inherently a social phenomenon, with its experience rooted in one's relationships with others. Thus, it is no surprise that people's level of power affects the way they relate to their relationship partners. The present research explored the question of how power affects the way people respond to offenses that occur in their relationships. Contrary to previous negative conceptualizations of power, we found that experienced power facilitates forgiveness when the victim is strongly committed to the relationship. Because forgiving or not forgiving

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

a relationship partner has serious implications for later satisfaction in that relationship, not to mention whether the relationship even exists in the future, these results have important applied as well as theoretical implications.

Acknowledgment

We thank Paul van Lange for his helpful comments on an earlier version of the manuscript.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research and/or authorship of this article: VENI Grant 451-04-104 from the Dutch Association of Scientific Research (NWO) awarded to the first author.

Notes

1. Additional analyses revealed that these effects occurred independent of scenario. First, an ANOVA with the forgiveness scores on the low-commitment scenarios (i.e., the first and fourth scenarios) as a within-subject variable and power as a between-subjects variable revealed that there was no effect of power, $F(1, 86) = .22$, *ns*, nor did power interact with scenario, $F(1, 86) = 1.03$, *ns*. Thus, power did not affect forgiveness on both low-commitment scenarios. Second, an ANOVA with the forgiveness scores on the strong-commitment scenarios (i.e., the second and third scenarios) as a within-subject variable and power condition as a between-subjects variable revealed only the predicted significant effect of power, $F(1, 86) = 7.23$, $p < 01$. The effect of power occurred independent of scenario, as the interaction between power condition and scenario was not significant, $F(1, 86) = 2.06$, *ns*. Indeed, for both strong-commitment scenarios, the high-power compared to the low-power condition was associated with higher average forgiveness scores (for the second scenario: $M = 3.88$ vs. $M = 2.91$; for the third scenario: $M = 4.09$ vs. $M = 3.64$).
2. Indeed, in Studies 1 and 3, these variables were significantly correlated. However, for each of these studies, when we regressed power and commitment stepwise onto each of the three forgiveness components, power was significantly associated with forgiveness, even when commitment was entered in the equation (see, e.g., Table 3).

References

Anderson, C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2006). Power, optimism, and risk-taking. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36,* 511-536.

Anderson, C., John, O. P., & Keltner, D. (2005). *The subjective sense of power: Structure and antecedents.* Unpublished manuscript.

Aquino, K., Grover, S. L., Goldman, B., & Folger, R. (2003). When push doesn't come to shove: Interpersonal forgiveness in workplace relationships. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 12,* 209-216.

Aquino K., Tripp T. M., & Bies, R. J. (2006). Getting even or moving on? Power, procedural justice, and types of offense as predictors of revenge, forgiveness, reconciliation, and avoidance in organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*, 653-658.

Bargh, J. A., Raymond, P., Pryor, J. B., & Strack, F. (1995). Attractiveness of the underling: An automatic power sex association and its consequences for sexual harassment and aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 768-781.

Berry, J. W., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Parrot, L., III, 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.

Chen, S., Lee-Chai, A. Y., & Bargh, J. A. (2001). Relationship orientation as a moderator of the effects of social power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80*, 173-187.

Clark, M. S., & Mills, J. (1979). Interpersonal attraction in exchange and communal relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*, 12-24.

De Cremer, D., & Van Dijk, E. (2005). When and why leaders put themselves first: leader behavior in resource allocations as a function of feeling entitled. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35*, 553-563.

DePaulo, B. M., & Friedman, H. S. (1998). Nonverbal communication. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 2, 4th ed., pp. 3-40). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Depret, E., & Fiske, S. T. (1993). Social cognition and power: Some cognitive consequences of social structure as a source of control deprivation. In G. Weary, F. Gleicher, & K. L. Marsh (Eds.), *Control motivation and social cognition* (pp. 176-202). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

De Waal, F. B. M. (2005). *Our inner ape*. New York, NY: Riverhead Books.

De Waal, F. B. M., & Pokorny, J. J. (2005). Primate conflict resolution and its relation to human forgiveness. In E. L. Worthington Jr. (Ed.), *Handbook of forgiveness* (pp. 17-32). New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge.

Exline, J. J., Baumeister, R. F., Bushman, B. J., Campbell, W. K., & Finkel, E. J. (2004). Too proud to let go: Narcissistic entitlement as a barrier to forgiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87,* 894-912.

Fincham, F. D., & Beach, S. R. H. (2002). Forgiveness in marriage: Implications for psychological aggression and constructive communication. *Personal Relationships, 9*, 239-251.

Finkel, E. J., Rusbult, C. E., Hannon, P. A., Kumashiro, M., & Childs, N. M. (2002). Dealing with betrayal in close relationships: Does commitment promote forgiveness? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 956-974.

Fiske, S. T. (1993). Controlling other people: The impact of power on stereotyping. *American Psychologist, 48*, 621-628.

French, J. R. P., Jr., & Raven, B. (1959). The bases of power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), *Studies of social power* (pp. 150-167). Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research.

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Galinsky, A. D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Magee, J. C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*, 453-466.

Goodwin, S. A., Gubin, A., Fiske, S. T., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2000). Power can bias impression processes: Stereotyping subordinates by default and by design. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 3*, 227-256.

Guinote, A. (2007). Power and goal pursuit. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33*, 1076-1087.

Howard, J. A., Blumstein, P., & Schwartz, P. (1986). Sex, power, and influence tactics in intimate relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51,* 102-109.

Hoyt, W. T., Fincham, F. D., McCullough, M. E., Maio, G., & Davila, J. (2005). Responses to interpersonal transgressions in families: Forgivingness, forgivability, and relationship specific effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89*, 375-394.

Kachadourian, L. K., Fincham, F. D., & Davila, J. (2005). Attitudinal ambivalence, rumination and forgiveness of partner transgressions in marriage. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31,* 334–342.

Karremans, J. C., & Aarts, H. (2007). The role of automaticity in forgiving close others. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43,* 902-917.

Karremans, J. C., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2004). Back to caring after being hurt: The role of forgiveness. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34*, 207-227.

Karremans, J. C., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2005). Does activating justice help or hurt in promoting forgiveness? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 41*, 290-297.

Karremans, J. C., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2008). The role of forgiveness in shifting from “me” to “we.” *Self and Identity, 7*, 75-88.

Kelley, H. H., & Thibaut, J. W. (1978). *Interpersonal relations: A theory of interdependence*. New York, NY: John Wiley.

Keltner, D., Capps, L. M., Kring, A. M., Young, R. C., & Heerey, E. A. (2001). Just teasing: A conceptual analysis and empirical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 127,* 229-248.

Keltner, D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Anderson, C. (2003). Power, approach, and inhibition. *Psychological Review, 110*, 265-284.

Kipnis, D. (1972). Does power corrupt? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 24*, 33-41.

Maio, G. R., Thomas, G., Fincham, F. D., & Carnelley, K. B. (2008). Unraveling the role of forgiveness in family relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*, 307-319.

McCullough, M. E. (2008). *Beyond revenge: The evolution of the forgiveness instinct*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

McCullough, M. E., Bellah, C. G., Kilpatrick, S. D., & Johnson, J. L. (2001). Vengefulness: Relationships with forgiveness, rumination, well-being, and the Big Five. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*, 601-610.

McCullough, M. E., Pargament, K. I., & Thoresen, C. E. (2000). The psychology of forgiveness: History, conceptual issues, and overview. In M. McCullough, K. Pargament, & C. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiving: Theory, research and practice* (pp. 1-14). New York, NY: Guilford.

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

Mills, J., & Clark, M. S. (1982). Communal and exchange relationships. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology* (pp. 121-144). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Mills, J., & Clark, M. S. (1994). Communal and exchange relationships: Controversies and research. In R. Erber & R. Gilmour (Eds.), *Theoretical frameworks for personal relationships* (pp. 29-42). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Overbeck, J. R., & Park, B. (2001). When power does not corrupt: Superior individuation processes among powerful perceivers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*, 549-565.

Paleari, F. G., Regalia, C., & Fincham, F. (2005). Marital quality, forgiveness, empathy, and rumination: A longitudinal analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 368-378.

Pronk, T. M., Karremans, J. C., Overbeek, G., Vermulst, A., & Wigboldus, D. (2010). What it takes to forgive: When and why executive functioning facilitates forgiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 98,* 119-131.

Robins, R. W., Hendin, H. M., & Trzesniewski, K. H. (2001). Measuring global self-esteem: Construct validation of a single-item measure and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*, 151-161.

Rusbult, C. E. (1983). A longitudinal test of the investment model: The development (and deterioration) of satisfaction and commitment in heterosexual involvements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*, 101-117.

Rusbult, C. E., Martz, J. M., & Agnew, C. R. (1998). The Investment Model scale: Measuring commitment level, satisfaction level, quality of alternatives, and investment size. *Personal Relationships, 5*, 357-391.

Rusbult, C. E., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (1996). Interdependence processes. In E. T. Higgins & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (pp. 564-596). New York, NY: Guilford.

Rusbult, C. E., Verette, J., Whitney, G. A., Slovik, L. F., & Lipkus, I. (1991). Accommodation processes in close relationships: Theory and preliminary empirical evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60*, 53-78.

Shnabel, N., & Nadler, A. (2008). A needs-based model of reconciliation: Satisfying the differential emotional needs of victim and perpetrator as a key to promoting reconciliation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94,* 116-132.

Smith, P. K., Jostmann, N. B., Galinsky, A. D., & van Dijk, W. W. (2008). Lacking power impairs executive functions. *Psychological Science, 19*, 441-447.

Smith, P. K., & Trope, Y. (2006). You focus on the forest when you’re in charge of the trees: Power priming and abstract information processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 578-596.

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012

Studd, M. V. (1996). Sexual harassment. In D. M. Buss & N. M. Malamuth (Eds.), *Sex, power, and conflict: Evolutionary and feminist perspectives* (pp. 54-89). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Tyler, T. R. (2001). *Social justice*. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Vol. 4. Intergroup processes* (pp. 344-366). Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell

Van Lange, P. A. M., Rusbult, C. E., Drigotas, S. M., Arriaga, X. B., Witcher, B. S., & Cox, C. L. (1997). Willingness to sacrifice in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72*, 1373-1395.

Wang, R. H., Wang, H. H., & Hsu, H. Y. (2007). A relationship power scale for female adolescents: Preliminary development and psychometric testing. *Public Health Nursing, 24,* 81-90.

Wieselquist, J., Rusbult, C. E., Foster, G. A., & Agnew, C. R. (1999). Commitment, pro-relationship behavior, and trust in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*, 942-966.

Wojciszke, B., & Struzynaska-Kujalowicz, A. (2007). Power influences self-esteem. *Social Cognition, 25*, 472-494.

Zechmeister, J. S., & Romero, C. (2002). Victim and offender accounts of interpersonal conflict: Autobiographical narratives of forgiveness and unforgiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 675-686.

Downloaded from psp.sagepub.com at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on July 10, 2012