Chapter 17 Forgiveness, Family Relationships and Health

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Family relationships play an integral role in the psychological and physical health 4 of family members, as well as the economic well-being of the family (see Beach & 5 Whisman, 2012; Fincham & Beach, 2010). Paradoxically it is in family relationships 6 that many of our important needs are met and yet some of our deepest hurts occur. 7 These hurts can be occasioned by a violation of an implicit or explicit relationship 8 norm, deceit, betrayal and so on. Although various options exist for dealing with 9 such hurts (e.g., withdrawal, denial, condoning, reframing the transgressions), over 10 the course of long-term relationships such as marriage they are unlikely to suffice. 11 Little surprise, then, that the well known journalist/humorist, Robert Quillen (2008, 12 p. 255), the Garrison Keillor of his day, wrote that "a happy marriage is the union 13 of two good forgivers."

What are the consequences of forgiving versus not forgiving in family relationships? To the extent that failure to forgive results in destructive conflict and/or 16
disruption of the family relationship, the results can be costly for those involved 17
in the transgression as well as other family members. For example, the deleterious 18
effect of marital discord on the psychological and physical health of spouses is well 19
documented (e.g., Kiecolt-Glaser et al., 2005; Whisman, 2007), as is the panoply of 20
effects it has on both child and adult offspring (e.g., Amato, 2010; Rhoades, 2008). 21

It is widely accepted that even though forgiveness (an intrapersonal process) 22 should not be confused with relationship reconciliation (a dyadic process), it 23 promotes prosocial motivational process that can lead to relationship repair and the 24 re-emergence of a healthy relationship. At a conceptual level then, it is apparent that 25

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forgiveness in family relationships can play a critical role in both the psychological 26 and physical health of family members. The present chapter examines whether this 27 is indeed the case.

Dimensions of Health

Psychological Health Even though there is a burgeoning literature on interventions 30 to promote forgiveness in marital and family contexts (see Worthington & Jennings, 31 2010), most of these interventions are primarily psycho-educational and not specif- 32 ically designed to deal with patient populations. Because certain conditions such 33 as depression and marital discord tend to be co-morbid, it is quite possible that 34 psychopathology may be present in distressed couples who seek such interventions. 35 However, forgiveness intervention research and work on forgiveness in families 36 more generally tends to focus on community samples and make use of dimensional 37 measures of symptoms (e.g., anger, depression).

Physical Health There is growing evidence from large, national probability sam- 39 ples as well as smaller scale studies that forgiving a transgressor is associated with 40 psychophysiological and psychoneuroimmunological processes, as well as self- 41 reported measures of health (e.g., Lawler-Row, Karremans, Scott, Edlis-Matityahou, 42 & Edwards, 2008; Worthington, Witvliet, Pietrini, & Miller, 2007). In fact, for- 43 giveness is associated with cardiac risk in both community and patient populations 44 (Friedberg, Sonia, & Srinivas, 2007; Toussaint & Cheadle, 2009). One study has 45 even shown that conditional forgiveness, forgiveness that depends on the post 46 transgression behavior of the transgressor, predicts mortality (Toussaint, Owen, & 47 Cheadle, 2012). In sum, failure to forgive unconditionally poses health risks and 48 appears to be life threatening.

In contrast to psychological health, relatively few studies on forgiveness and 50 family relationships include indices of physical health and research on patient 51 samples is conspicuous by its absence. In the absence of a body of research on 52 diagnosed psychological or physical disorders in the literature on forgiveness and 53 family relationships, caution should be used in generalizing observations made in 54 this chapter to clinical populations.

Dimensions of Forgiveness in Family Relationships

Although the conceptualization and measurement of forgiveness are discussed 57 elsewhere (see Chaps. 1 and 3), there are particular dimensions of forgiveness that 58 require mention in the context of family relationships. Forgiveness has been most 59 frequently characterized in terms of a motivational change in which resentment, 60 anger, retaliatory impulses, and so forth are overcome. But is this decrease in 61

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unforgiveness sufficient in the context of ongoing family relationships? It is a logical 62 error to infer the presence of the positive (e.g., health, forgiveness) from the absence 63 of the negative (e.g., illness, unforgiveness). Therefore, it bears noting that equally 64 fundamental to forgiveness is "an attitude of real goodwill towards the offender as a 65 person" (Holmgren, 1993), and this is especially relevant to ongoing relationships, 66 such as those that occur in a family. Although this benevolence dimension is not 67 entirely absent from general research on forgiveness (e.g., TRIM-18; McCullough, 68 Root, & Cohen, 2006), concerns about measuring forgiveness adequately in close 69 relationships has led to development of relationship specific measures (e.g., The 70 Marital Offence Forgiveness Scale; Paleari, Regalia, & Fincham, 2009). There is 71 even some evidence to show that positive and negative dimensions of forgiveness 72 have different correlates in family relationships. For example, unforgiveness but 73 not forgiveness, was associated with spousal aggression (Fincham & Beach, 2002) 74 and with partner reports of marital satisfaction (Paleari et al., 2009). Moreover, 75 wives' forgiveness predicted husbands' reports of conflict resolution 12 months later 76 whereas neither spouse's unforgiveness predicted later partner reports (Fincham, 77 Beach & Davila, 2007).

Forgiveness can also be conceptualized at different levels of specificity: as 79 a trait, as a tendency toward a specific relationship partner, and as an offense-80 specific response (see McCullough, Hoyt, & Rachal, 2000). Trait forgiveness, 81 or forgivingness, occurs across relationships, offenses and situations whereas the 82 tendency to forgive a particular relationship partner, sometimes referred to as dyadic 83 forgiveness (Finch am, Hall, & Beach, 2006), is the tendency to forgive him or her 84 across multiple offenses. Finally, offense-specific forgiveness is defined as a single 85 act of forgiveness for a specific offense within a particular interpersonal context. 86 Associations among these levels of forgiveness is modest at best (e.g., Allemand, 87 Amberg, Zimprich, & Fincham, 2007; Eaton, Struthers, & Santelli, 2006). In fact, 88 Paleari et al. (2009) found that both positive and negative dimensions of forgiveness 89 were more strongly related to relationship variables than to trait forgivingness, 90 arguing that "relational characteristics may be more important in understanding 91 forgiveness of interpersonal transgressions in close relationships than a global 92 disposition to forgive" (Paleari et al., 2009, p. 205).

It can thus be argued that forgiveness in families most likely serves a purpose that is linked to the nature and functioning of the family relationship involved. For example, the operation of forgiveness should depend greatly on whether it occurs between two spouses, a parent and a child, two similarly aged siblings, parent and adult offspring and so on because each involves different roles and serves different psychological needs. For example, an evolutionary perspective suggests that avoidance engendered by unforgiveness should lead to less parental care in the parent—child relationship, causing unforgiving parents to have a decreased chance of gene replication (Trivers, 1985). This reproductive disadvantage alone suggests that forgiveness is different in the parent—child relationship from forgiveness in 103 relationships between parents. Karremans and Van Lange (2009) have similarly argued, and provided supportive data, for the view that forgiveness becomes part of the mental representation of a relationship, and it follows that forgiveness may be

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represented differently in different relationships. Attempts to examine forgiveness 107 across different family relationships are limited but, as will be seen, they do support 108 the above argument. 109

Theoretical/Conceptual Models of the Forgiveness-Health **Connection in Families**

Conceptual work on the forgiveness-health connection specifically in the context of 112 families is lacking. This is hardly surprising given the relatively recent emergence of 113 focused research on the forgiveness-health connection more generally. Indeed, after 114 reviewing extant research relating to physical health, Harris and Thoresen (2005, 115 p. 331) concluded, "we can reasonably hypothesize, yet not conclude, that chronic 116 and intense unforgiveness are health risks." The need for conceptual development is 117 particularly acute as evidenced in reviews of relevant literature (e.g., Worthington, 118 Witvliet, Pietrini & Miller, 2007) where inferences made are sometimes quite 119 tenuous and conclusions drawn often lack theoretical integration.

The above observations underline the importance of work by Witvliet and 121 McCullough (2007) and McCullough, Root, Tabak, and Wityliet (2009) that 122 examines potential pathways by which forgiveness may influence health. This work 123 emphasizes the role of forgiveness in emotion regulation and the reduction of 124 negative coping behaviors (e.g., substance use) that influence health. It may well 125 be that the mechanism linking forgiveness and health is the stress response and 126 physiological evidence documents a clear link between forgiveness and indices 127 of stress (e.g., Lawler, Younger, Piferi, & Jones, 2000; McCullough et al., 2007; 128 Witvliet, Ludwig & Van Der Laan, 2001). Lacking in these analyses, though, is 129 consideration of how relationship functioning fits into the picture. Consider the 130 two patterns of physiological arousal that have been associated with long-term 131 health risk—sustained or chronic elevation of physiological processes and their 132 acute reactivity to situational stressors such as partner transgressions. Poor quality 133 relationships may make it harder to forgive the partner thereby facilitating chronic 134 physiological arousal. In a similar vein, poor quality marital relationships are 135 characterized by heightened reactivity to negative partner behavior (see Fincham, 136 2003). Indeed in low quality relationships merely imagining a typical interaction 137 with the partner increases stress hormone levels (Berry & Worthington, 2001). 138 In light of these observations, it is not surprising that poor marital quality is an 139 important prognosticator of the occurrence of the metabolic syndrome, a cluster of 140 risk factors for cardiovascular disease (Troxel, Matthews, Gallo, & Huller, 2005).

In short, a stress-and-coping framework wherein forgiveness ameliorates chronic 142 (and possibly acute) stress responses to a transgression is likely to be helpful in 143 understanding how forgiveness may impact health (see Worthington & Scherer, 144 2004). It is hypothesized that in such a framework the nature of the transgressorvictim relationship will be pivotal. Specifically, the nature of the relationship is 146

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hypothesized to moderate the link; there is likely to be a stronger relationship 147 between unforgiveness and health in lower quality relationships than high quality 148 ones. Whether the positive dimension of forgiveness will operate similarly is open 149 to question. Fincham (2000) points out that the behaviors associated with the 150 positive dimension of forgiveness do not have a unique topography and instead they 151 simply comprise anything that reflects "an attitude of real goodwill." In contrast, 152 unforgiveness is more readily identified as a cluster of negative emotions and 153 motivations that include vengeance, resentment, bitterness, anger, fear, avoidance 154 and rumination initiated by a transgression. It is little wonder, then, that it is unforgiveness that has typically been related to health outcomes.

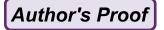
Empirical Evidence of Forgiveness and Health in Families

As noted, forgiveness can be distinguished from unforgiveness, and both are viewed 158 as important in ongoing relationships such as those found in families. It is posited 159 that forgiveness and reduced unforgiveness may both be related to health outcomes 160 indirectly by facilitating healthy relationships; however direct relationships to health 161 outcomes may also exist. Each of these possibilities is now considered.

Is Forgiveness Associated with Relationship Properties Known to Increase 163 **Health Risk?** Relationship quality is widely accepted as the final common pathway 164 that leads couples and families to seek help. Not surprisingly, it has been a focus 165 of research on forgiveness in family contexts. An association exists between both 166 forgiveness and unforgiveness and marital quality (see Fincham, 2010; Fincham et 167 al., 2006), with some indication of a more robust relationship for unforgiveness 168 (Gordon, Hughes, Tomcizk, Dixon & Litzinge, 2009). Longitudinal evidence 169 suggests that marital quality predicts later forgiveness and that forgiveness also 170 predicts later marital satisfaction (Fincham & Beach, 2007; Paleari et al., 2005). 171 Turning to mechanisms that might account for the association, Fincham et al. (2004) 172 suggested that unresolved transgressions may spill over into future conflicts and, in 173 turn, impede their resolution, thereby putting the couple at risk for developing the 174 negative cycle of interaction that characterizes distressed marriages. This would provide a mechanism that links forgiveness and relationship satisfaction and is further 176 supported by the finding that forgiveness predicts behavioral responses to partner 177 transgressions (Fincham, 2000). Indeed, unforgiveness predicts partner reported 178 acts of psychological aggression in marriage whereas forgiveness predicts partner 179 reports of constructive communication (Fincham & Beach, 2002). There is also 180 some evidence that trust mediates the forgiveness-marital satisfaction association 181 in the case of both positive and negative forgiveness dimensions (Gordon et al., 182

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¹Many studies do not use separate measures of forgiveness and unforgiveness. Instead, they use a single unidimensional measure that comprises both types of items. For ease of presentation the word forgiveness is used in describing results from these studies.



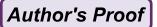
2009). Finally, Schumann (2012) provides evidence to suggest that partners with higher relationship satisfaction are more forgiving as they tend to view apologies offered by the transgressor as more sincere.

Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, and Hannon (2002) argue, however, that forgiveness in relationships is driven by the intent to persist in a relationship or commitment. They provide experimental data to support this view and there is no doubt a strong relationship between commitment and forgiveness (see Karremans & Van Lange, 189 2008). However, Tsang, McCullough, and Fincham (2006) offered longitudinal evidence that forgiveness also promotes increases in commitment. Braithwaite, 191 Selby, and Fincham (2011) specifically examined commitment and satisfaction together in examining the mechanism(s) linking forgiveness and relationship satisfaction. They found that conflict mediated the association between forgiveness and later relationship satisfaction independently of commitment and initial levels of relationship satisfaction. Their study also showed that behavioral regulation of relationship relevant behavior mediated the temporal association between forgiveness and relationship satisfaction.

In a similar vein, the quality of parent-child relationships was related to adolescent forgiving of parents, which, in turn, was associated with decreased parent-adolescent conflict (Paleari, Fincham, & Regalia, 2003). Maio, Thomas, 201 Fincham, and Carnelley (2008) showed that forgiveness in families is specifically 202 related to aspects of the relationship with the transgressor and not with other family 203 members. However, they did show that higher forgiveness among family members 204 correlated with a more positive experience of the family environment. Cross lagged 205 analyses of longitudinal data also showed that child and mother forgiveness of the 206 father predicted greater family expressiveness and less family conflict 12 months 207 later; whereas child and father forgiveness of the mother predicted later family 208 expressiveness and cohesiveness. Forgiveness of the child did not predict later 209 family functioning. Importantly, these family level variables did not predict later 210 forgiveness.

Hoyt, Fincham, McCullough, Maio, and Davila (2005) used the social relations 212 model to examine variation within families in who tends to forgive (forgivingness) 213 and who tends to be forgiven by others (forgivability). In doing so, they were able 214 to partition variance into actor, partner, and relationship effects. The constellation 215 of these effects varied across family relationships. However, relationship effects for 216 both forgivingness and forgivability were consistently predicted by the degree of 217 conflict present in the relationship. In a second study, they also found that trust 218 significantly predicted the variance in forgivingness attributable to the relationship 219 in the mother-father and mother-child relationships. Interestingly, relationship 220 closeness was unrelated to variance in forgivingness and forgivability uniquely 221 reflected in the relationship effects.

Finally, it has been found that in emerging adults forgiveness measures either 223 fully or partially mediated associations between both parent–child relationship 224 quality and interparental conflict and offspring psychological distress (Toussaint 225 & Jorgersen, 2008). Coop Gordon et al. (2009) also found effects involving 226



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interparental conflict in that husbands and wives' unforgiveness (but not forgiveness) 227 predicted 11–16 year olds reports of interparental conflict properties.

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It is possible to continue in this vein and document further aspects of rela- 229 tionships related to forgivingness (only Hoyt et al., 2005, studied forgivability). 230 However, there is no need to do so, as it is readily apparent that forgivingness 231 likely influences relationship health and vice versa. And relationships, especially 232 in the family, can impact mental and physical health. We can thus conclude that 233 forgiveness in family relationships is no doubt associated indirectly with health. 234 This leaves us with the question of whether there is a direct relationship between 235 forgiveness of family members and psychological and physical health.

Is There a Direct Association Between Forgiveness of Family Members 237 and Health? In regard to the question just posed, a particular problem arises 238 in relationship research, especially the marital research literature. This literature 239 is strewn with studies in which constructs merely act as proxies for relationship 240 quality, often giving rise to tautologies (see Fincham & Bradbury, 1987). As a 241 result, Fincham et al. (2004) proposed the surplus value test whereby it is necessary 242 to show that constructs do more than capture variance in commonly used measures 243 of relationship quality. Absent such a requirement, forgiveness may simply function 244 as a proxy index of relationship quality. They went on to show that forgiveness 245 did pass this test in their studies. The importance of this test is emphasized by a 246 finding obtained by Coop Gordon et al. (2009). They showed that both husband and 247 wife unforgiveness strongly predicted the parenting alliance between spouses but 248 that when marital satisfaction was added to the model the unforgiveness-parenting 249 alliance became nonsignificant (i.e., unforgiveness was acting as a proxy for marital 250 satisfaction in that particular link). However, forgiveness remained a significant 251 predictor of parenting alliance in the full model. So in terms of predicting parenting 252 alliance, unforgiveness did not pass the surplus value test but forgiveness did. 253 Unfortunately, the surplus value test is not routinely applied in marital and family 254 research.

A further problem in addressing our question stems from the fact that forgiveness 256 research in family contexts rarely sets out to investigate issues of health per se. 257 Nonetheless some data exist that are relevant to our question. As these data are 258 often collected in the context of other endeavors, such as developing a new measure 259 of forgiveness, they do not allow us to address the important question of whether 260 forgiveness is related to health outcomes net of the characteristics of the relationship 261 context in which it occurs. Most of the relevant data concern mental health but there 262 are a few studies that examine indices relevant to physical health. Each is briefly 263 reviewed.

More data exist on depressive symptoms and forgiveness in families than perhaps 265 any other variable. There is a robust inverse relationship between depressive 266 symptoms and forgiveness in marriage (e.g., Kachadourian, Fincham, & Davila, 267 2004). Paleari et al. (2009) showed that this association held for both unforgiveness 268 and forgiveness and for both husbands and wives. A similar forgiveness-depression 269 association was found with 12–16 year old children's forgiveness of a parent, but 270 not, as might be expected, for parent forgiveness of the child (Maio et al., 2008). 271 That may be because evolutionary considerations as well as social norms regarding 272 forgiveness of children, should lead to parents forgiving children regardless of 273 parents' depressive symptoms. 274

In many studies of forgiveness, trait level forgivingness is studied. However, 275 the evidence reviewed thus far suggests that general trait forgivingness ignores 276 the importance of relationship context for understanding forgiveness. This is true 277 for also understanding any health correlate and is supported by data reported by 278 Karremans, Van Lange, Ouwerkerk, and Kluwer (2003, Study 4). They found 279 that general forgiveness and partner forgiveness were only moderately correlated 280 and that for both men and women spouse-specific forgiveness was more strongly 281 correlated with a measure of life satisfaction than was general forgiveness. In a 282 sample of emerging adults who self-identified as Christian, Toussaint and Jorgersen 283 (2008) found that trait forgivingness as well as forgiveness of a wrong perpetrated 284 by the mother and one by the father were negatively related to an overall measure 285 of psychological distress. Although they did not test for differences involving 286 dyadic forgiveness versus trait forgiveness, tests conducted for this chapter using 287 the correlations they reported showed that they did not differ.

Finally, relevant evidence regarding psychological health is provided by a growing literature on forgiveness intervention studies (see Worthington & Jennings, 290 2010, for a review). In this literature, there is evidence to show that forgiveness interventions have led to decreased psychological symptoms and in some studies increased relationship satisfaction. Unfortunately, this literature includes numerous studies that use small sample sizes and are therefore underpowered. Nonetheless, 294 consistency with the findings reviewed earlier is worthy of note.

Data regarding physical health is limited to three studies. Berry and Worthington 296 (2001) found that a composite measure comprising forgiveness, unforgiveness and 297 trait anger that they labeled 'forgiving personality' was related to cortisol reactivity 298 to imagined interaction with the partner. However, this association was reduced 299 to a nonsignificant level when relationship quality was considered (the surplus 300 value test). Although forgiving personality was also related to a self-report measure 301 of physical health (SF-36 Health Survey), their findings must be viewed with 302 considerable caution as this study used an extreme groups design and there is no 303 indication that correlations were computed within groups and then averaged in 304 conducting the regression analyses reviewed here. Without computing correlations within extreme groups and then averaging them, the correlation found can be 306 spurious and simply reflect the sampling of extreme groups. It is thus possible 307 that the associations reported are an artifact of the design used. The remaining two 308 studies examine the marital and parent–child relationships, respectively.

Hannon, Finkel, Kumashiro, and Rusbult (2012) examined whether conciliatory 310 behavior—viewed as a proxy for forgiveness when displayed by the victim and 311 amends when displayed by the perpetrator—during discussion of an unresolved 312 marital transgression predicted blood pressure 40 min after the discussion. When 313 examining dyadic data it is important to recognize that the data provided by each 314 partner are not independent and therefore violate an important assumption of most 315

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statistical tests. As a result, specialized procedures have been developed that allow 316 actor (intrapersonal) and partner (interpersonal) effects to be computed. Hannon et 317 al. (2012) used one of these, the actor-partner interdependence model, to analyze 318 their data. They found that victim, but not perpetrator, conciliatory behavior was 319 inversely related to own and spouse's diastolic and systolic blood pressure. This 320 finding remained when both relationship commitment and trait forgivingness were 321 controlled and were altered only slightly when transgression severity and betrayal 322 resolution were also controlled. Two observations are relevant in evaluating these 323 findings. First, there is the question of whether the study measured something 324 different from positive and negative interaction behavior (both types were used to 325 assess conciliatory behavior) as there is a robust literature showing the link between 326 such behaviors and health outcomes. Second, the absence of a baseline measure 327 of blood pressure is problematic as are the nature of some of the tasks performed 328 in the 40 min after the discussion (e.g., ego-depletion task). Notwithstanding such concerns, the results of the study are intriguing.

Turning to the parent-child relationship, Lawler-Row, Hyatt-Edwards, Wuench, 331 and Karremans (2011) examined the relationships among attachment, forgiveness, 332 and health. Premised, in part, on the view that insecure attachment is associated 333 with stress and cardiovascular predictors of poorer health, these authors suggested 334 that, "... focusing on the role of forgiveness in maintaining meaningful and 335 satisfying relationships may prove to be a more fruitful explanatory concept than 336 anger for understanding the link between forgiveness and health" (p. 171). They showed that forgiveness was inversely related to self-reported health problems and 338 that forgiveness mediated the relation between insecure attachment and health. 339 Moreover, both state forgiveness and trait forgivingness were related to heart rate 340 and heart rate reactivity in response to and recovery from a stressor, a recalled hurt 341 by one or both parents. Systolic blood pressure similarly showed reactivity to stress 342 in that, for women but not men, a higher forgiveness group showed lower systolic 343 blood pressure than a lower forgiveness group. An important concern in evaluating 344 these findings is that they may be sample-specific given that groups were formed by 345 a median split (which arbitrarily defines "high" versus "low").

Limitations of Existing Work on Forgiveness in the Family Context and Health 347

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The modest size of the literature on forgiveness and families limits the conclusions 348 that can be drawn about forgiveness of family members and health. Most notable is 349 the paucity of research on health outcomes in a family context. Nonetheless, there is 350 strong evidence that forgiveness in families is associated with important relationship 351 characteristics. These characteristics (e.g., relationship quality, relationship conflict) 352 have, in turn, been shown to predict both psychological and physical health 353 outcomes. Consequently, we can infer that forgiveness is indirectly related to health 354 via its impact on relationships. But we also know that relationship quality predicts 355 later forgiveness and in this case, forgiveness might mediate the association between 356 relationships and health. This said, it is still important to emphasize that we are 357 making inferences here, albeit reasonable ones, and that these inferences need to be 358 the subject of research.

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More direct evidence comes from examining direct relationships between for- 360 giveness in family relationships and health. Here the evidence is somewhat scattered 361 in that few studies set out specifically to examine this relationship. The very 362 few studies that have done so represent a beginning but, as noted in describing 363 them, each is subject to important limitations. These include use of correlational 364 analyses in an extreme-groups design, use of median splits to form groups that 365 may render results sample specific, and failure to control important variables 366 that influence physiological functioning. For example, hemodynamic functioning 367 follows a circadian rhythm, yet none of the studies control for time of day in 368 data collection. Moreover, there is little evidence that forgiveness is related to 369 health outcomes independently of the quality of the relationship between the family member who perpetrates the wrong and the family member victim.

Conclusions Notwithstanding the above limitations, several reasonable conclu- 372 sions can be drawn. First, forgiveness of family members differs as a function of the 373 relationship involved. In particular, forgiveness in parent-child relationships is quite 374 different in that parent forgiveness of children has a strong evolutionary basis and 375 is socially normative. Second, forgiveness impacts and is impacted by the quality of 376 the relationship between the transgressor and victim, and it is well established that 377 the quality of family relationships is associated with health outcomes. Thus, it seems 378 that forgiveness, at a minimum, is indirectly related to health because of its impact 379 on characteristics of the relationship. Third, there is a direct association between 380 forgiveness of family members and psychological health, especially depressive 381 symptoms. Fourth, research on forgiveness of family members and physical health 382 is beginning, but it is too early to draw any conclusions in this regard. However, it 383 seems likely that forgiveness of family members is related to physiological indices 384 of stress.

Agenda for Future Research on Forgiveness in Families

It follows from the preceding observations that the first order of business for future 387 research is to explicitly set out to investigate health outcomes of forgiveness in 388 family relationships. In doing so, it is important for the field also to be cognizant 389 of potential adverse effects of forgiveness. McNulty (2010), for example, has found 390 that more forgiving spouses experienced stable or growing levels of psychological 391 and physical aggression over the first 5 years of marriage, whereas less forgiving 392 spouses experienced declines in partner transgression (see McNulty & Fincham, 393 2012, for further data and discussion). And, psychological and physical aggression 394 are linked to poorer health.

Also central to this new endeavor is the need to expand the focus beyond that of the victim and to gather data on health outcomes for perpetrators. Causing harm to 397 a family member has the potential to have a deleterious effect on the perpetrator and 398 points to the potential role of self-forgiveness in family relationships. The impor-

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tance of this topic is emphasized by a recent study that showed for both husbands 400 and wives, transgressors were more satisfied with their marriages to the extent 401 that they engaged in less self-unforgiveness and more self-forgiveness, whereas 402 victimized partners were more satisfied with the relationship when the offending 403 partner displayed less self-unforgiveness; more transgressor self-forgiveness was 404 unrelated to their perceived relationship quality (Pelucci, Regalia, Paleari, & 405 Fincham, in press).

Consideration of both self-forgiveness and forgiveness of the other in family 407 relationships highlights an important feature of family and, indeed, all ongoing 408 relationships. In such relationships partners tend to be, simultaneously or alterna- 409 tively, perpetrators and victims of transgressions. The imperfection of each partner 410 necessarily gives rise to a history of hurts in a relationship.

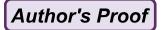
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This has several important implications for future research. First, and at the 412 most fundamental level, is the need for clarity on what is forgiven. It is possible 413 to consider forgiveness in regard to a hurtful relationship, as well as in regard to 414 specific hurts. Forgiveness of a hurtful relationship is likely what was at issue in 415 the finding that women at a domestic violence shelter who were more forgiving, 416 reported being more likely to return to their abusive partners (Gordon, Burton, & 417 Porter, 2004). It is hard to imagine anything but an inverse relationship between 418 forgiveness and future health in such circumstances. Second, relationship partners 419 are likely to develop a sense of how frequently they forgive their partner for 420 transgressions and how frequently their partner forgives them. This can lead to 421 feeling inequity, or imbalance (feeling underbenefited or overbenefited), when it 422 comes to forgiveness. In the only study investigating the consequences of imbalance 423 between giving and receiving forgiveness in marriage, it was found that among 424 wives inequity in marital forgiveness predicted a decrease in personal and relational 425 subjective well-being over a 6-month period (Paleari, Regalia, & Fincham, 2011). 426 Finally, such findings make clear that the history of forgiveness in the family 427 relationship studied is likely to be important for understanding the association 428 between forgiveness and health in that relationship.

Perhaps the most obvious need for future research is to study patient 430 populations—both those with acute physical disorders and those with intractable 431 disorders. This is critical for providing a more complete understanding of the 432 forgiveness-health association and opens up a number of new issues. For example, 433 does unforgiveness and with it potential rumination lead to poorer treatment 434 adherence, and under what conditions might it do so? Similarly, it is important 435 to document how forgiveness and unforgiveness with a family member, especially 436 one who assumes the role of care-giver impacts recovery from an illness and, where 437 recovery is not possible (e.g., spinal cord injury), adaptation to the health condition. 438 In these circumstances it is not only forgiveness by the patient but also by the caregiver that is likely to be important, especially when forgiveness is relevant to the 440 burden imposed by the illness.

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Implications for Health Enhancement, Medicine, Integrative Treatment

In considering the implications of forgiveness in families it behooves us to 444 remember that forgiveness is a motivated behavior. And like all motivated behavior 445 it can arise from good and bad motives. Thus forgiveness can be used strategically 446 to manipulate others, to put them down and so on. Under such circumstances for-447 giveness can be quite harmful. However, if the outward expressions of forgiveness 448 truly reflect internal motivations, it is safe to conclude that forgiveness plays an 449 important salutary role in amicable family relationships and that this role promotes 450 health both directly and indirectly by repairing the relationship. This is perhaps most 451 poignantly captured by the philosopher Boleyn-Fitzgerald's (2002) observation that 452 forgiveness is "arguably the most important virtue for controlling anger" (p. 483). 453 Acute anger can impact health, especially when accompanied by physical violence, 454 and the adverse impact of chronic anger on health is well known.

However, it is worth noting the qualifier "amicable" in the above statement. There 456 is now evidence that the impact of expressing forgiveness can be moderated by 457 context. As McNulty's (2008) work shows, expressing forgiveness in the context 458 of on-going conflictual relationships predicts lower satisfaction in newlyweds over 459 the first year of marriage and perhaps indirectly leads to poorer health. McFar- 460 land, Smith, Toussaint, and Thomas (2012) found that the relationship between 461 forgiveness and health was negative for people who lived in more dilapidated or 462 run-down conditions and positive for those who lived in more affluent conditions. 463 They concluded that "... forgiveness was beneficial in some settings but had a 464 deleterious impact in more noxious environments" (p. 66). Although the referent in 465 their case was neighborhoods, the conclusion is equally applicable to relationships. 466 Some relationships are simply not healthy and should be terminated. There is 467 nothing inconsistent in simultaneously ending such relationships and engaging in 468 forgiveness of the partner. Indeed, both ending the relationship and forgiving the 469 partner is likely to yield the best health outcome.

Assuming forgiveness is prudent and safe, it may be the preferred option and 471 one that promotes mental and physical health. In this case it is advantageous 472 to recognize that forgiveness is a process that takes time. It is not achieved 473 immediately, a circumstance that can lead to problems when the offending spouse 474 takes a partner's statement of forgiveness ("I forgive you") literally rather than 475 as a promissory note ("I am trying to forgive you"). Thus, when hurt feelings 476 regarding a transgression arise after a statement of forgiveness, the offending partner 477 may experience confusion or anger if he or she believes that the matter had been 478 previously resolved. The temptation to equate forgiveness with a specific act at 479 a specific point in time (usually now) is strong. Accordingly, both transgressor 480 and victim need to be mindful of the temporal dimension of forgiveness and that 481 resurfacing of feelings associated with the initial transgression at a later time is 482 normal and does not negate the forgiveness process.

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It remains to note again the growing literature on forgiveness interventions in 484 family contexts (Worthington & Jennings, 2010). Given the difficulty of doing 485 experimental work in this area, intervention studies have the potential to pro- 486 vide much needed information on mechanisms involved in forgiveness. To date, 487 however, this potential remains largely untapped because the dismantling of these 488 multicomponent interventions to determine the active ingredients for changing 489 forgiveness is notably absent. To realize more fully their potential to advance 490 understanding of forgiveness in family relationships and health, intervention studies, 491 like more general research, also need to include assessments of both relationship 492 characteristics relevant to health as well as measures of psychological and physical 493 health.

To conclude, forgiveness in the family context holds considerable potential 495 for understanding, and ultimately improving, both mental and physical health. 496 Whether this potential is realized will depend on the emergence of methodologically 497 sound, programmatic work linking forgiving in family relationships and health. The 498 observations offered in this chapter represent an attempt to shape a future in which 499 the above mentioned potential is realized.

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- AQ1. Please confirm the affiliation details.
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