

Abstract

Expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness is often promoted as a beneficial response for victims. In the present research we argue that withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness can also be beneficial to victims by stimulating subsequent transgressor compliance – a response that is valuable in restoring the victim’s needs for control. Based on deterrence theory, we argue that a victim’s withheld (vs. expressed) forgiveness promotes transgressor compliance when the victim has low power, relative to the transgressor. This is because withheld (vs. expressed) forgiveness from a low-power victim elicits transgressor fear. On the other hand, because people are fearful of high-power actors, high-power victims can expect high levels of compliance from a transgressor, regardless of whether they express forgiveness or not. A critical incidents survey (Study 1) and an autobiographic recall study (Study 2) among employees, as well as a laboratory experiment among business students (Study 3) support these predictions. These studies are among the first to reveal that withholding forgiveness can be beneficial for low-power victims in a hierarchical context – ironically, a context in which offering forgiveness is often expected.

*Keywords:* Power, hierarchy, forgiveness, compliance, fear, deterrence theory

When expressing forgiveness backfires in the workplace: Victim power moderates the effect of expressing forgiveness on transgressor compliance

“Fear preserves you by a dread of punishment which never fails.”

Niccolo Machiavelli

It is inevitable that the interdependent nature of workplace relationships sometimes leads to transgressions among organization members. These workplace transgressions can easily develop into full-blown conflicts, undermining the performance of the organization and the wellbeing of its members (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). To reduce these detrimental consequences of transgressions, organization scholars often suggest that victims should express forgiveness because it benefits the victim and the relationship (Aquino, Grover, Goldman, & Folger, 2003; Cameron & Caza, 2002; Cox, Bennett, Tripp, & Aquino, 2012; Kurzynski, 1998; Fehr & Gelfand, 2012; Kurzynski, 1998; Mok & De Cremer, 2015). In support of this claim, studies addressing interpersonal consequences of expressed forgiveness show that expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness can lead to transgressor responses that are valued by victims: expressing forgiveness makes it less likely that transgressors repeat the transgression (Wallace, Exline, & Baumeister, 2008) and it can stimulate transgressor apologies and prosocial actions towards the victim (Hannon, Rusbult, Finkel, & Kamashiro, 2010; Kelln & Ellard, 1999; Leunissen, De Cremer, & Reinders Folmer, 2012; Mooney, Strelan, & McKee, 2015; Struthers, Eaton, Shirvani, Georghiou, & Edell, 2008).

In contrast to this prior work, we argue that under certain conditions, withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness may also be effective in promoting transgressor responses that are valuable to victims. According to the needs-based model of reconciliation, the primary needs that are thwarted for victims in the wake of a transgression are their needs for control (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). Compliance - a typical repair behavior exhibited by transgressors

in the aftermath of a transgression - is defined as “an acquiescent response to a request” (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004, p. 592; Carlsmith & Gross, 1969; Cialdini, Darby, & Vincent, 1973; Riordan, Dunaway, Haa, James, & Kruge, 1984; Silverman, Rivera, & Tedeschi, 1979; see Boster, Cruz, Manata, DeAngelis, & Zhuang, 2016 for a recent review). Compliance can satisfy victims’ needs for control because by exhibiting compliance, transgressors return the control to the hands of victims. Indeed, receiving compliance from others is a well-established indicator signaling one has gained control (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Given that transgressor compliance is valuable for victims, we examine when and why forgiveness fails to promote such a behavior.

We build on deterrence theory (Andenaes, 1971; Beccaria, 1963; Gibbs, 1968, 1975; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; see Nagin, 2013 for a review) to argue that expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness can result in less transgressor compliance. Deterrence theory offers a theoretical framework to analyze how to prevent or control behaviors of others. As we argue later on in more detail, this theory suggests that fear of punishment and retaliation is an effective mechanism to deter others and elicit cooperative behaviors (Andenaes, 1971; Beccaria, 1963; Gibbs, 1968, 1975; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; Nagin, 2013). Furthermore, deterrence theory suggests that the effectiveness of fear of punishment and retaliation depends on the severity and the certainty of punishment. Building on this, we argue that the victim’s power, relative to that of the transgressor, moderates the effect of forgiveness on transgressor compliance. To delineate the specific mechanism underlying the effect of expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness on transgressor compliance, as moderated by the victim’s power, we focus on a primary concern of transgressors underlying compliance – fear of retaliation and punishment, as a mediating variable. Figure 1 visually depicts our model.

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### **Deterrence Theory and Transgressor Compliance**

Central to the needs-based model of reconciliation is that transgressions are harmful because they thwart psychological needs of victims. Specifically, a transgression threatens victims' sense of control in the relationship, thus making them feel powerless (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, Carmi, 2009; see Adams, 2016 for a recent review). Transgressors can restore victim control by acknowledging that they owe a "debt" that only the victim can cancel (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2009; Adams, 2016). Although transgressors' apologies and compensations can acknowledge such a "debt", transgressor compliance as an acquiescent response to a request is arguably also a clear indicator for admission of the "debt". This is because "action speaks louder than words" (Carlisle et al., 2012). In fact, showing compliance behaviors by transgressor is often considered to go beyond simple apologies and compensations by more clearly acknowledging the "debt" (Kelln & Ellard, 1999). Indeed, it is well-established that receiving compliance from others indicates one has gained or regained interpersonal control (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). As indirect empirical support for our argument, studies have shown that victims are more likely to reconcile with transgressors high on agreeableness; a trait that produces compliant behavior (Tabak, McCullough, Luna, Bono, & Berry, 2012).

Deterrence theory explains how compliance can be facilitated (Andenaes, 1971; Beccaria, 1963; Gibbs, 1968, 1975; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; Nagin, 2013). The theory is one of the most prominent frameworks used in criminological literatures and has been used by organization scholars to explain how workplace deviance and unethical behaviors can be controlled (Carlsmith, Darley, & Robinson, 2002; Crockett, Ozdemir, & Fehr, 2014; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; Kaptein, 2011; Kwok, Au, & Ho, 2005; Nagin & Pogarsky, 2003; Sekerka, Comer, & Godwin, 2014; Verboon & van Dijke, 2011). Deterrence theory proposes that fear of punishment and retaliation is an effective mechanism in making individuals

comply with norms and refrain from engaging in illicit acts. This is because individuals are motivated to stay in a pleasurable state and avoid the pains associated with such punishment (Higgins, 1997, 1998). Indeed, fear of punishment and retaliation is regarded as a prominent emotion that guides individuals' compliance, cooperation, and ethical behaviors (Teper, Zhong, & Inzlicht, 2015).

Building on deterrence theory, we argue that fear of punishment and retaliation is a relevant antecedent of transgressor compliance. Indeed, in the aftermath of a transgression, a potent emotion experienced by a transgressor is fear of punishment and retaliation (Dorff, 1998; Exline, Deshea, & Holeman, 2007; Witvliet, Ludwig, & Bauer, 2002). Fear is defined as a negative emotion caused by potential threats, whether physical or psychological (Kish-Gephart, Detert, Trevino, & Edmondson, 2009). Given that a transgression causes harm to the victim, the transgressor may experience fear of punishment or retaliation from the victim after having committed a transgression (Dorff, 1998; Exline et al., 2007; Witvliet et al., 2002). As a result, the transgressor may become compliant with the victim. Previous studies have established the link between fear and compliance (Kish-Gephart et al., 2009; Lerner & Keltner, 2001; Nembhard & Edmondson, 2006). In a recent meta-analysis involving 187 effect sizes, fear of punishment was found to have a strong positive effect on cooperation ( $d = .70$ ; Balliet, Mulder, & Van Lange, 2011). Thus, when facing potential punishment or retaliation from the victim, the transgressor may become compliant to avoid potential harmful outcomes.

Forgiveness is defined as a victim's "individual, prosocial change toward a perceived transgressor that is situated within a specific interpersonal context" (McCullough, Root, Tabak, & Witvliet, 2009, p. 9). When forgiveness is expressed to the transgressor, it becomes an interpersonal gesture (Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, & Hannon, 2002; Adams, Zou, Inesi, & Pillutla, 2015). Because the victim's intrapersonal experience of forgiveness is often

unobservable to the transgressor, it is unlikely that experienced intrapersonal forgiveness influences transgressors' behaviors (Adams et al., 2015). Thus, in this paper, we focus on the interpersonal aspect of forgiveness – expressed forgiveness. Compared to withholding forgiveness, which implies that there might be potential harm to the transgressor (Baumeister, Exline, & Sommer, 1998; Wenzel & Okimoto, 2010), expressed forgiveness may relieve such fear because it signifies that the victim will not seek revenge or punishment (Exline, Worthington, Hill, & McCullough, 2003). Indeed, a study on transgressors' emotions in response to expressed forgiveness shows that when transgressors imagined receiving forgiveness from the victim, transgressors' fear dropped significantly compared to those who imagine the victim withholding forgiveness (Witvliet et al., 2002). Thus, expressed forgiveness as a prosocial victim response may decrease transgressors' fear. Given that transgressors' fear of retaliation and punishment leads to compliance, when such fear is relieved by forgiveness, it stands to reason that transgressors will become less compliant with victims after having been forgiven.

However, deterrence theory suggests that the effectiveness of deterrence of punishment and retaliation is dependent on two important factors: the severity and certainty of the punishment (Andenaes, 1971; Beccaria, 1963; Gibbs, 1968, 1975; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; Nagin, 2013). In other words transgressors will be deterred and compliant only when punishment and retaliation for an illicit act is certain and severe. In the workplace, it is obvious that power position of the punisher shapes the severity and certainty of punishment and retaliation. Thus, whether or not forgiveness alleviates transgressor fear should be contingent on the victim's power relative to the transgressor. In the following section, we elaborate on how the victim's relative power may form a boundary condition to the effect of expressed forgiveness on transgressor fear and compliance.

### **The Moderating Role of Victim Relative Power**

Power is defined as asymmetric control over valued resources (Fiske, 1993; French & Raven, 1959; Galinsky, Jordan, & Sivanathan, 2008). In organizations, power is for an important part (although not only) granted by hierarchical position. Hierarchical differentiations prescribe high-power actors the ability to influence employees' outcomes through punishment or rewards (Cummins, 2005; Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Morrison & Rothman, 2009; Van Dijke, De Cremer, & Mayer, 2010). Thus, power is an important source of fear of punishment (Kish-Gephart et al., 2009; French & Raven, 1959).

Given that low-power victims do not have the ability to punish high-power transgressors, high-power transgressors are usually not fearful of low-power actors. But when a low-power victim withholds forgiveness, this response is likely to be intimidating to the high-power actor, compared to the low-power victim expressing forgiveness because it signals that the low-power victim refuses to "give in" and may want to harm the transgressor. Indeed, studies have shown that when subordinates were mistreated by their supervisors, they tend to engage in supervisor-directed deviance in order to harm their supervisors (Dupré & Barling, 2006; Inness, Barling, & Turner, 2005; Mitchell & Ambrose 2007; Tepper et al. 2009; Thau & Mitchell, 2010). Specifically, given their low power position, low-power victims tend to engage in covert type of deviant behaviors such as gossiping to damage supervisors' moral reputation (Archer & Coyne 2005; Decoster, Camps, Stouten, Vandevyvere, & Tripp, 2013). Indeed, gossiping is viewed as an efficient tool of punishment in order to constrain transgressions (Beersma & Van Kleef, 2011). Given that supervisors are concerned about their moral reputation (Fehr, Yam, & Dang, 2015), they may feel fearful of low-power victims when they withhold forgiveness. As a result, a high-power transgressor may respond with a compliant gesture to avoid potential punishment. However, when a low-power victim expresses forgiveness – signaling that there is no potential punishment – the high-power transgressor's fear of punishment is likely reduced, making him/her less likely to

be compliant. Thus, for low-power victims, compared to withholding forgiveness, expressing forgiveness may decrease transgressor fear and, consequently, transgressor compliance. However, for high-power victims, whether they express or withhold forgiveness does not diminish or increase such fear because high-power actors always retain the ability to punish due to their high power positions. Arguably, low-power transgressors are therefore always fearful and compliant in the aftermath of transgressions. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

*H1: A victim's power, relative to the transgressor, moderates the effect of expressed (vs. withheld) forgiveness on transgressor compliance, such that expressing forgiveness decreases transgressor compliance when the victim has relatively low power.*

As argued earlier, we expect that forgiveness from low-power victims is relatively unlikely to invite transgressor compliance, as their forgiveness alleviates fear of punishment and retaliation. Hence, we expect that the moderating effect of victim power on the relationship between expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness on transgressor compliance is mediated by fear of punishment and retaliation. This argument culminates in our second hypothesis:

*H2: A victim's relative power moderates the effect of expressed (vs. withheld) forgiveness on transgressor fear following a transgression, such that expressing forgiveness decreases transgressor fear when the victim has relatively low power.*

*H3: Transgressor fear mediates the interactive effect of a victim's relative power and expressed (vs. withheld) forgiveness on transgressor compliance.*

### **The Present Research**

We tested our hypotheses in three studies. Given that we focus on transgressors' feelings and responses to forgiveness (vs. unforgiveness), we conducted studies that focus on the transgressors' perspective. We designed Studies 1 and 2 to be able to draw conclusions high in ecological validity by conducting surveys among employees working in a variety of



different organizations. We used the critical incidents technique (Study 1) and the autobiographic recall method (Study 2) to elicit a salient experience in which respondents had transgressed against a colleague (Aquino, Tripp, & Bies, 2001; 2006; Flanagan, 1954; Wallace et al., 2008). Specifically, in Study 1, we asked participants to recall a workplace transgression they had committed against a colleague. We then measured victims' relative power (low vs. equal vs. high), responses to the transgression (expressing vs. withholding forgiveness), and transgressor compliance to test the hypothesized moderation model (H1). By allowing participants to recall any workplace transgressions that may come to mind, we ensured the ecological validity of our findings. However, the design of Study 1 is essentially a cross-sectional design, which does not allow for drawing conclusions high in internal validity. In Study 2, we asked participants to recall an incident in which victim power and victim responses were specified. We then measured transgressor fear and compliance to test the hypothesized moderated mediation model (H1 to H3). To maximize internal validity, in Study 3, we tested our hypotheses among business students in a laboratory experiment using an in-basket test (see Hoogervorst, De Cremer, & Van Dijke, 2013, for a similar procedure). We assigned participants randomly to one of four experimental conditions that resulted from orthogonally manipulating the victim's relative power (high vs. low) and responses (expressing vs. withholding forgiveness). We then measured transgressor fear and compliance to test the hypothesized moderated mediation model (H1 to H3). This methodological diversity allows our studies to complement each other and reinforces confidence in our findings (Campbell & Fiske, 1959).

Scholars often distinguish personal power from position power (Yukl & Falbe, 1991). Although these two types of power sources are not mutually exclusive, they are distinct in that they come from different sources. Personal power comes from expertise, persuasiveness, reference, and charisma while position power comes from legitimacy, reward, coerciveness,

and information. Across the three studies, we operationalized power as position power for two reasons: first, position power is in line with the definition of power as asymmetric control over valuable resources (Fiske, 1993; French & Raven, 1959; Galinsky et al., 2008). In organizations, hierarchical positions are the formal structures that are likely to determine asymmetric control over resources (Etzioni, 1961). Second, position power is one of the most salient bases of power in organizations (Aiello, Pratto, & Pierro, 2013; Judge & Martocchio, 1995; Podsakoff, 1982). Thus, across the three studies, we operationalized the victim's relative power as the hierarchical position of the victim relative to the transgressor (see Anderson & Brown, 2010; Aquino et al., 2001; 2006; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003; Magee & Galinsky, 2008 for a similar procedure). We operationalized forgiveness as an interpersonal expression and contrasted it with a commonly used comparison condition in the forgiveness literature – withheld forgiveness (see e.g., Adams et al., 2015; Wallace et al., 2008; Witvliet et al., 2002). We measured transgressor fear and compliance with the victim with established scales (Gudjonsson, 1989; Watson & Clark, 1994; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

### Study 1

#### Method

**Participants and design.** We recruited one hundred and ten employees (65.8 % male) with an average age of 33.46 years ( $SD = 11.71$ ) from Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT). Studies evaluating the validity of AMT show that the data obtained are as reliable as those obtained from traditional methods (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). AMT is therefore commonly used to collect data about experiences of employees in their organizations (e.g., Cryder, Loewenstein, & Scheines, 2013; Uhlmann, Heaphy, Ashford, Zhei, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013). Based on criteria explained below (see: procedure), we included in our data analyses 102 participants (63.7% male) with an average age of 33.96 years ( $SD = 12.39$ ) and an

average organizational tenure of 5.41 years ( $SD = 6.09$ ). Their average work experience was 10.73 years ( $SD = 11$ ). Of these respondents, 17.6% were Caucasian, 78.4% were Asian, 2.9% were African American, and 1.0% were Hispanic/Latino. In terms of hierarchical position, 43.1% were line managers/supervisors and 56.9% had a non-management function. The design involved an assessment of the victim's hierarchical power, relative to the transgressor (low vs. equal vs. high) and the victim's response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness).

**Procedure.** We conducted the study online. We used a critical incident technique to elicit salient experiences of workplace transgressions (Aquino et al., 2006; Karremans & Smith, 2010). Specifically, we asked participants to respond to the following question:

*Please recall a specific incident that happened in the last six months, where you did something that offended, harmed or hurt somebody in the company. If you have not offended another person within the last six months, think about the last time you offended someone in your current company.*

Two independent coders evaluated whether participants recalled a workplace transgression or not. We excluded eight participants from the analysis. Four respondents failed to recall any transgression, and four others recalled an incident that had occurred outside the workplace.

**Measures.** Given that no validated scale exists to measure interpersonal compliance, we measured *transgressor compliance* with the victim with a 12-item scale based on the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale (Gudjonsson, 1989). This scale was originally devised in a criminological context. We modified the scale such that the items referred to transgressor compliance in the relationship with the victim. The items were introduced as follows: "Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements regarding your future interaction with this person." Participants responded on a seven-point scale (1 = *strongly*

*disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). Sample items are “I would easily give in to him/her if I were pressured” and “I would try hard to do what he/she expects from me.” We averaged these items into a reliable compliance scale (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .81$ ).

We measured *victim power* with an instrument taken from Aquino et al. (2006). To capture the objective relative power between the victim and the transgressor, respondents were asked to indicate whether the person whom they offended was their “subordinate,” their “supervisor,” a “manager,” an “administrator,” a “peer” or “other.” Employees who reported their victim’s hierarchical position as “other” were asked to specify their relationship with this person. Consistent with Aquino et al. (2006), we combined supervisor, manager, and administrator into a high-power victim category, coded as +1. We coded subordinate as -1 to represent the low-power victim category. We coded peer as 0 to represent the equal power victim category. We classified respondents who indicated “other” ( $N = 6$ ) into one of these three categories on the basis of their specified relationship with the victim<sup>1</sup>. The use of one-item measures such as the Aquino measure is well-established in previous studies (e.g., Aquino et al., 2001; 2006; Lammers, Stoker, & Stapel, 2010; Sherman et al., 2012).

We measured *victim response* by asking respondents to indicate whether the victim had expressed forgiveness by responding with *yes* or *no*.

We controlled for the transgressor’s *organization tenure*, *guilt*, and the *perceived severity* of the transgression because these three variables are theoretically related to the predictor variable – victim power – as well as the criterion variable – transgressor compliance. First, organization tenure has been shown to strongly relate to power in organizations (Zajac & Westphal, 1996) and also to employees’ socially oriented behaviors (Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; see Ng & Feldman, 2010 for a review). Longer tenured employees often have more resources, such as expert power (Zajac & Westphal, 1996). Longer tenured employees may

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<sup>1</sup> Without including these six respondents, the results of the focal two-way interaction remained similar to those presented in the main text,  $F(2, 87) = 2.77, p = .07, \eta^2 = .06$ .

also dedicate more resources to solving interpersonal conflict (Ng & Feldman, 2010), making it likely that organization tenure influences employee compliance. We thus measured respondents' organization tenure as the number of years that respondents worked for their organization. Second, guilt has been shown to strongly relate to power (Berdahl & Martorana, 2006) and to transgressor responses (Adams et al., 2015). Transgressors are likely to feel more guilt towards high-power victims (Berdahl & Martorana, 2006). Furthermore, guilt influences transgressor responses such that if the transgressor failed to recognize the transgression, an expression of forgiveness may decrease transgressor compliance (Adams et al., 2015). We thus measured guilt of the transgressor (see Exline et al., 2003, for a review) by asking to what extent participants agreed with the statement "I am guilty" (adapted from Kelln & Ellard, 1999). Finally, *perceived severity* of a transgression is related to power (Fragale, Rosen, Xu, & Merideth, 2009) and may influence transgressor responses (Aquino et al., 2001; Adams et al., 2015). We therefore asked participants to indicate whether "The transgression was severe" (adapted from Aquino et al., 2001).

#### **Data Analysis Strategy**

We designed Study 1 to test whether the victim's relative power (low vs. equal vs. high) moderates the effect of the victim's response (expressing vs. withheld forgiveness) on transgressor compliance (H1). The predictor variables: victim relative power and victim response were categorical variables. The control variables are continuous variables: transgression severity, guilt of the transgressor, and organization tenure. The criterion variable transgressor compliance was a continuous variable. Therefore, we tested H1 using analysis of covariance (ANCOVA).

#### **Results**

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the study variables are displayed in Table 1.

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**Hypothesis test.** To test H1, we conducted a Victim Power (low vs. equal vs. high) x Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANCOVA with perceived severity of the transgression, feeling of guilt, and organization tenure as covariates on the compliance scale. This analysis revealed that feeling of guilt predicted a higher level of transgressor compliance ( $F(2, 93) = 13.86, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$ ). Organization tenure predicted a lower level of transgressor compliance ( $F(2, 93) = 4.55, p = .04, \eta^2 = .05$ ). The effect of perceived severity of the transgression was not significant ( $F(2, 93) = .07, p = .79, \eta^2 = .00$ ). The main effects of victim power ( $F(2, 93) = 2.06, p = .13, \eta^2 = .04$ ) and victim expressed forgiveness were not significant ( $F(1, 93) = .09, p = .77, \eta^2 = .00$ ). Importantly, the anticipated effect of the two-way interaction was significant ( $F(2, 93) = 3.37, p = .04, \eta^2 = .07$ ). Figure 2 visually depicts the interaction.

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Subsequent simple effects tests revealed that among low-power victims, expressing forgiveness reduced compliance ( $M = 3.48, SD = 1.13$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 3.87, SD = 1.4$ ),  $F(1, 93) = 3.85, p = .05, \eta^2 = .04$ . Among high-power victims, expressing forgiveness did not affect compliance ( $M = 4.56, SD = .84$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 4.16, SD = .81$ ),  $F(1, 93) = 2.23, p = .14, \eta^2 = .02$ . Similarly, among peer victims, expressing forgiveness did not affect compliance ( $M = 4.37, SD = 1.03$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 4.07, SD = .78$ ),  $F(1, 93) = .89, p = .35, \eta^2 = .01$ .

From a different vantage point, victim power influenced transgressor compliance with victims who expressed forgiveness,  $F(2, 93) = 10.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$ . Specifically, forgiveness expressed by a low-power victim led to lower compliance ( $M = 3.48, SD = 1.13$ )

than forgiveness expressed by a high-power victim ( $M = 4.56, SD = .84, p < .001$ ) or forgiveness expressed by an equal power victim ( $M = 4.36, SD = 1.07, p < .01$ ). Forgiveness was equally effective in stimulating compliance when it came from a high-power victim ( $M = 4.56, SD = .84$ ) or an equal-power victim ( $M = 4.36, SD = 1.07, p = .36$ ). Furthermore, victim power did not influence compliance when a victim withheld forgiveness,  $F(2, 93) = .14, p = .87, \eta^2 = .00$ . Thus, results partially support H1 such that transgressor compliance was

particularly low when low power victims expressed forgiveness.

### Discussion

In showing that low- (but not high- or equal-) power victims' expressed (vs. withheld) forgiveness decreases transgressor compliance, the results of Study 1 partially support H1. However, not finding a difference in the strength of the effect of forgiveness (vs. unforgiveness) on transgressor compliance between the high- and equal power victims does not support our argument leading up to H1. This means that support for H1 is only partial in Study 1. We return to this issue in the general discussion. For high power victims and equal power victims, expressing or withholding forgiveness did not influence transgressor compliance. As we argued, for high power victims, whether they express or withhold forgiveness does not diminish or increase transgressor fear because high power actors always retain the ability to punish due to their high power positions. As a result, low power transgressors are always fearful and compliant in the aftermath of transgressions. For equal power victims, being cooperative and compliant with co-workers are workplace norm (De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001; Den Hartog, De Hoogh, & Keegan, 2007). Thus, whether they express forgiveness or withhold forgiveness does not influence transgressor compliance.

The strength of this Study 1 is that it ensured ecological validity by allowing participants to recall any recent workplace transgression that may come to mind. However, this design also involves two limitations: First, it is essentially a correlational design, which

does not allow for drawing causal conclusions. Second, although we used a well-established measure of the victim's power, relative to the transgressor (Aquino et al., 2001; 2006), the fact that it is a 1-item measure may raise concerns about measurement validity.

## Study 2

We designed Study 2 to address the limitations inherent to the design of Study 1. Specifically, in Study 2 we used an established autobiographic recall procedure (Galinsky et al., 2003; Karremans & Smith, 2010; Wallace et al., 2008) in which victim power and victim response were specified. Given that Study 1 showed that low victim power makes forgiveness ineffective in promoting transgressor compliance compared to equal and high power victims, in Study 2 we focused on low versus high victim power. Furthermore, in Study 2, we zoomed in on the process that explains *why* victim power moderates the effect of forgiveness on compliance. We thus measured transgressor fear and tested the complete moderated mediation model depicted in Figure 1 (H2 and H3). Finally, although relative power is a defining feature of relationships in the workplace, another relationship feature – relationship commitment - may also define work relationships. This variable may not only correlate with the independent variables (victim power and victim response to the transgressions, see Finkel et al., 2002; Karremans & Smith, 2010) but it also shapes transgressor fear and compliance (Karremans & Smith, 2010; Rusbult, Martz, & Agnew, 1998). We therefore tested whether our hypothesized moderated mediation model remained significant after controlling for the role of relationship commitment.

### Method

**Participants and design.** We recruited one hundred and forty-four employees (47.2 % male) with an average age of 36.01 years ( $SD = 11.62$ ) from AMT. Based on the criteria explained below (see: Procedure), we excluded 41 participants. Thus, we included in our final



data analysis 103 participants (50.5% male) with an average age of 36.79 years ( $SD = 11.76$ ) and an average organizational tenure of 6.52 years ( $SD = 6.43$ ). Of these respondents, 75.7 % were Caucasian, 6.8% were Asian, 10.7% were African American, 4.9% were Hispanic/Latino, 2% indicated other. In terms of hierarchical position, 47.6% were line managers/supervisors and 52.4% had a non-management function. We assigned participants randomly to one of four recall conditions that resulted from orthogonally introducing victim power (high vs. low) and victim response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness).

**Procedure.** We conducted the study online. We used an established autobiographic recall procedure to elicit salient experiences of workplace transgressions (Galinsky et al., 2003; Karremans & Smith, 2010; Wallace et al., 2008). We asked participants to recall and describe a specific incident that happened in the last six months, where they did something that offended, harmed or hurt somebody with whom they were in a hierarchical relationship in the company. We asked a first group of 25% of the participants to describe an incident where the victim had power over them and after the transgression this person had expressed forgiveness. We asked a second group of 25% of the participants to describe an incident where the victim had power over them and after the transgression this person had withheld forgiveness. We asked the third group of 25% of the participants to describe an incident where they had power over the victim and after the transgression this person had expressed forgiveness. We asked the fourth group of 25% of participants to describe an incident where they had power over the victim and after the transgression this person had withheld forgiveness. (based on Wallace et al., 2008; see also Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Karremans & Smith, 2010; Strelan & Sutton, 2011 for similar approaches). Participants were given the following definition of power (Galinsky et al., 2003): *“By power, we mean a situation in which someone has control over your ability to get something you want, or is in a position to*

evaluate you (/a situation in which you control the ability of another person to get something they want, or are in a position to evaluate those individuals.)” Participants were also given the following definition of forgiveness (McCullough et al., 2009; Baumeister et al., 1998; Adams et al., 2015): “By forgiveness, we mean this person either offered an explicit verbal statement or exhibited behaviors indicating that he/she does not have any negative emotions towards you and he/she will not cause you any harm.”

**Measures.** Except when indicated otherwise, participants responded on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*). To check if participants followed instructions and recalled the correct incident in terms of *victim responses* and *victim power*, we asked participants to indicate whether “The person has forgiven the transgression.” (taken from Adams et al., 2015; Wallace et al., 2008) and to what extent “this person has a great deal of power in our relationship in the company” (taken from Galinsky et al., 2003).

As in Study 1, we measured transgressor *compliance* with the modified GCS (Gudjonsson, 1989). We averaged the items into a reliable compliance scale (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .87$ ). We measured *fear* with the 2-item fear scale developed by Watson et al. (1988). We specified items to the current situation. Items are “I feel scared by this person’s response” and “I feel afraid of this person’s response” We averaged the items into a reliable fear scale (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .81$ ).

Consistent with Study 1, we measured perceived transgression *severity*, *guilt* of the transgressor, and *organization tenure* as control variables. Furthermore, we measured relationship commitment with an established 8-item scale (Rusbult et al., 1998). Sample items include: “I am committed to maintaining my relationship with this person” and “I want our work relationship to last for a very long time” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .84$ ).

### **Data Analysis Strategy**

We designed Study 2 to test whether the victim’s relative power (low vs. high)

moderates the effect of the victim's response (expressing vs. withheld forgiveness) on transgressor compliance (H1) and on transgressor fear (H2). Furthermore, we wanted to test the full moderated mediation model (H3). The independent variables – victim relative power and victim response – were categorical variables. The control variables – transgression severity, guilt of the transgressor, relationship commitment, and organization tenure – are continuous variables. The dependent variable transgressor compliance and the mediator variable transgressor fear are continuous variables. Therefore, we tested H1 and H2 using ANCOVA. To test for moderated mediation, scholars recommend directly testing the significance of the mediated effect, conditional upon the moderator (e.g., Edwards & Lambert, 2007; Preacher & Hayes, 2008; Hayes, 2013). Accordingly, we used Hayes' PROCESS macro to test for moderated mediation as specified by H3 (model 8, 5,000 bootstrap resamples). PROCESS calculates bootstrap confidence intervals (CIs) for the indirect effect of victim response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) on transgressor compliance via transgressor fear, conditional upon victim power (low vs. high).

## Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the variables included in the study are displayed in Table 2.

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**Incidents check.** To check whether participants recalled the correct incident in terms of *victim responses* and *victim power*, we conducted a Victim Power (low vs. high) × Victim Response (expressing vs. withholding forgiveness) ANOVA on the victim power check. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of victim power ( $F(1, 99) = 42.36, p < .001, \eta^2 = .30$ ). Participants in the high-power victim condition perceived the victim as having more power ( $M = 4.98, SD = 1.29$ ) than participants in the low-power victim condition ( $M = 2.96,$

$SD = 1.72$ ). The effect of victim response ( $F(1, 99) = .03, p = .86, \eta^2 = .00$ ) and the interaction between victim power and victim response were not significant ( $F(1, 99) = .32, p = .57, \eta^2 = .00$ ).

A Victim Power (low vs. high)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing vs. withholding forgiveness) ANOVA on the victim response check revealed a significant main effect of victim response ( $F(1, 99) = 163.98, p < .001, \eta^2 = .62$ ). Participants in the expressing forgiveness condition indicated a higher level of forgiveness ( $M = 6.08, SD = .93$ ) than those in the withholding forgiveness condition ( $M = 2.75, SD = 1.66$ ). The effect of victim power ( $F(1, 99) = 1.53, p = .22, \eta^2 = .02$ ) and the interaction between victim power and victim response were not significant ( $F(1, 99) = .03, p = .86, \eta^2 = .00$ ).

**Confirmatory factor analysis.** We conducted Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) to determine whether transgressor fear and compliance represent distinct constructs (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Bandalos & Finney, 2001). We first estimated a model with two latent variables (transgressor fear and compliance). This model showed sufficient fit ( $\chi^2 = 143.66, df = 73; CFI = .91; RMSEA = .10; SRMR = .07$ ) and all items loaded significantly on their intended factor. We also fit a 1-factor model in which all items loaded onto one latent variable. The fit of this model clearly was insufficient ( $\chi^2 = 357.08, df = 74; CFI = .76; RMSEA = .16; SRMR = .09$ ), and significantly inferior to that of the 2-factor model,  $\chi^2(1) = 213.42, p < .001$ . Thus, the unique constructs of transgressor fear and compliance were operationalized with distinct scales.

**Hypothesis test.** A Victim Power (low vs. high)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANCOVA with guilt, perceived severity of the transgression, organization tenure, and relationship commitment as covariates on the compliance scale revealed that the effects of guilt ( $F(1, 95) = 1.18, p = .28, \eta^2 = .01$ ), perceived severity of the transgression ( $F(1, 95) = .00, p = .99, \eta^2 = .00$ ), organization tenure

( $F(1, 95) = .25, p = .62, \eta^2 = .00$ ), and relationship commitment ( $F(1, 95) = .72, p = .40, \eta^2 = .01$ ) were not significant. The main effect of victim power was significant ( $F(1, 95) = 31.22, p < .001, \eta^2 = .25$ ). High-power victims received a higher level of transgressor compliance ( $M = 4.33, SD = .85$ ) compared to low-power victims ( $M = 3.22, SD = .99$ ). The main effect of victim response was not significant ( $F(1, 95) = .01, p = .93, \eta^2 = .00$ ). Importantly, the effect of victim power was qualified by a significant interaction effect of victim power and response, ( $F(1, 95) = 12.50, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$ ). Figure 3 visually represents this interaction.

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 Insert Figure 3  
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Consistent with Study 1, simple effects tests showed that among low-power victims, expressing forgiveness decreased compliance ( $M = 2.99, SD = .96$ ), compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 3.58, SD = .96$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 6.34, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$ . However, in this study, we found that among high-power victims, expressing forgiveness led to higher compliance ( $M = 4.63, SD = .75$ ), compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 3.98, SD = .85$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 5.89, p = .02, \eta^2 = .06$ .

From a different vantage point, forgiveness from a low-power victim led to lower compliance ( $M = 2.99, SD = .96$ ) than forgiveness from a high-power victim ( $M = 4.63, SD = .75$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 49.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$ . When a victim withheld forgiveness, there was no significant difference in compliance between low-power victims ( $M = 3.58, SD = .96$ ) and high-power victims ( $M = 3.98, SD = .85$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 1.76, p = .19, \eta^2 = .02$ . Thus, consistent with Study 1, we found that transgressor compliance was particularly low when low-power victims expressed forgiveness. Thus, our results partially support H1.

We further proposed that transgressors would comply less with low-power victims who expressed forgiveness because expressed forgiveness alleviates fear when it is

communicated by a low power victim (H2). To test this hypothesis, we first conducted a Victim Power (low vs. high)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANCOVA with guilt, perceived severity of the transgression, organization tenure, and relationship commitment as covariates on transgressor fear. This analysis revealed that perceived severity increased transgressor fear, ( $F(1, 95) = 10.07, p < .01, \eta^2 = .10$ ). The effects of guilt ( $F(1, 95) = 1.28, p = .26, \eta^2 = .01$ ), organization tenure ( $F(1, 95) = .18, p = .67, \eta^2 = .00$ ), and relationship commitment ( $F(1, 95) = 3.20, p = .08, \eta^2 = .03$ ) were not significant. The main effect of victim response was significant ( $F(1, 95) = 5.49, p = .02, \eta^2 = .06$ ). Withholding forgiveness led to a higher level of transgressor compliance ( $M = 3.26, SD = 1.40$ ) compared to expressing forgiveness ( $M = 2.43, SD = 1.46$ ). The main effect of victim power was also significant, ( $F(1, 95) = 18.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$ ). High-power victims received a higher level of compliance ( $M = 3.38, SD = 1.43$ ) compared to low-power victims ( $M = 2.19, SD = 1.30$ ). Importantly, the anticipated effect of the two-way interaction was significant (see Figure 4;  $F(1, 95) = 4.04, p = .047, \eta^2 = .04$ ).

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 Insert Figure 4  
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Simple effects tests revealed that for lower-power victims, expressing forgiveness alleviated transgressors' fear ( $M = 1.73, SD = 1.09$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 2.90, SD = 1.29$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 9.37, p < .01, \eta^2 = .09$ . For high-power victims, expressing forgiveness did not alleviate transgressors' fear ( $M = 3.21, SD = 1.44$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 3.56, SD = 1.43$ ),  $F(1, 95) = .07, p = .79, \eta^2 = .00$ .

From a different vantage point, forgiveness from a low-power victim led to lower fear ( $M = 1.73, SD = 1.09$ ) than forgiveness from a high-power victim ( $M = 3.21, SD = 1.44$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 23.08, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$ . When a victim withheld forgiveness, there was no significant difference in fear between low-power victims ( $M = 2.90, SD = 1.29$ ) and high-power victims

( $M = 3.56$ ,  $SD = 1.43$ ),  $F(1, 95) = 2.12$ ,  $p = .15$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Thus, in support of H2, the results revealed particularly low levels of transgressor fear when low-power victims expressed forgiveness.

We proceeded to test H3. We used Hayes' PROCESS macro (model 8) to test the indirect effect of victim response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) on transgressor compliance via transgressor fear, conditional upon victim power (low vs. high). This analysis showed that expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness significantly decreased transgressor compliance, via decreased transgressor fear, when the victim had low power: indirect effect = .24,  $SE = .11$ , 95% CI: [.07, .53]. When the victim had high power, expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness had no significant indirect effect on transgressor compliance: indirect effect = .02,  $SE = .09$ , 95% CI: [-.14, .22]<sup>2</sup>.

### Discussion

The results of Study 2 complement those of Study 1 by providing initial causal evidence for the prediction that offering (vs. withholding) forgiveness leads to lowered transgressor compliance when the victim is low (vs. high) in power (H1). However, it is noteworthy that unlike Study 1 where we found that for high-power victims, expressed (vs. withheld) forgiveness did not influence transgressor compliance, results of Study 2 revealed that expressed (vs. withheld) forgiveness led to more transgressor compliance. Given that this result only present in Study 2, we are not confident if this result has theoretical and statistical meaning. We return to this issue will provide a more detailed discussion of this result in the general discussion section. Furthermore, Study 2 revealed first support for the prediction that

<sup>2</sup> Previous studies have shown that perceived sincerity of the other party's gestures and moral entitlement of two parties are important mediators in the reconciliation process (Zheng, Van Dijke, Leunissen, Giurge, & De Cremer, 2016; Zitek, Jordan, Monin, & Leach, 2010). To rule out that these mediators explain our findings, we measured sincerity perceptions of victim responses and transgressors' feeling of moral entitlement (Zheng et al., 2016; Zitek et al., 2010) and tested for their potential mediating role using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 8, 5,000 bootstrap resamples) by including sincerity, entitlement, and fear as mediators. Results revealed that only fear was a significant mediator.

the Victim Power  $\times$  Victim Response interaction on transgressor compliance is mediated by transgressor fear (H2-3). These findings were obtained in a setting that allows for drawing conclusions high in ecological validity<sup>3</sup>.

However, a limitation of Studies 1 and 2 is that participants were asked to freely recall a recent workplace transgression. This could be any transgression (Study 1) or a transgression that took place in the context of a specific power relationship and that was characterized by a specific victim response (Study 2). This free recall format can undermine the internal validity of the conclusions that we draw, even in Study 2, because the nature of the transgression situations described by respondents may vary as a function of the instructions.

### Study 3

We designed Study 3 to address the limitation in Studies 1 and 2 that participants were allowed to recall their own transgression episode, which may compromise internal validity. Study 3 was a laboratory experiment in which all participants experienced the same transgression in a managerial in-basket test. As in Study 2, we again tested all three hypotheses, and thus our full moderated mediation model in Study 3.

#### Method

**Participants and design.** We assigned eighty-nine undergraduate business students from a medium-sized European university (45.9% male) with an average age of 22.02 years ( $SD = 2.86$ ) randomly to one of the four conditions of a 2 (victim power: high vs. low)  $\times$  2 (victim response: expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) design.

**Procedure.** In the laboratory, each participant was seated in a soundproof cubicle. All instructions were communicated via a personal computer. To simulate actual workplace experiences, we adapted an in-basket test which is often used in selection procedures to

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<sup>3</sup> Given that whether or not the transgressor apologized may shape the extent to which they fear punishment and retaliation as well as their subsequent compliance, we measured whether the transgressor has apologized (1 = yes, 0 = no). Correlation results indicated that apology was not related to fear ( $r = -.02, p = .84$ ) or compliance ( $r = -.07, p = .46$ ).



assess job applicants (Treviño, 1992; Hoogervorst et al., 2013). After reading the instructions of the in-basket test and a description of the organization, participants were placed in a situation in which they were either a leader or a subordinate in the organization. At the beginning of the task, participants were asked to answer several questions measuring leadership skills. This was to ensure that participants believed that their role in the organization would be determined based on their answers. After reading the introduction and completing leadership skills questions, the screen showed that the system was retrieving their answers and determining their role in the organization. In reality, participants were randomly assigned to either one of the victim power conditions. Half of the participants were in the low-power victim condition in which they worked as a manager, while the victim Andrew was their subordinate. The other half were in the high-power victim condition in which they worked as a subordinate and the victim Andrew was their manager. Consistent with Study 1, with this manipulation of power we operationalized power based on hierarchical position (Galinsky et al., 2003; Hoogervorst, De Cremer, & Van Dijke, 2010; Stouten & Tripp, 2009).

After reading the role description, participants received a transgression scenario:

*“Please read the following scenario in which you seriously transgressed your subordinate/supervisor Andrew in the company. It is Thursday afternoon and you have a meeting with your subordinate/ supervisor Andrew. You tell him that you will not be able to complete a report for the department meeting on Monday. Andrew decides to do it and spends the entire weekend completing the report. It is clear that Andrew has contributed a lot to the final report. Given that Andrew has to deliver a progress report of his own part of the project, you both agree that you will present the report at the meeting. However, on Monday afternoon, when you present the report in the meeting, you intentionally do not acknowledge Andrew’s contribution.”*

The manipulation of victim response then commenced. Participants received an email

from Andrew. On the basis of Wallace et al. (2008)'s forgiveness manipulation and consistent with Adams et al. (2015)'s forgiveness manipulation, we adapted messages such that they would be more suitable in the workplace context. In the expressing forgiveness condition, participants received an email message from Andrew: "*Hi (participant's name), I am writing this email to tell you not to worry about what just happened. I forgive you and I hope we are good now.*" In the withholding forgiveness condition, participants received the message: "*Hi (participant's name), I am writing this email to tell you that what just happened is not ok. I am angry and I think I deserve the credit for the report.*"

**Measures.** After reading the role description, participants rated victim power with one item: "To what extent do you feel Andrew is in control of the company?" (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *completely*; Galinsky et al., 2003). After reading the email message, participants also indicated how forgiving the victim was with two items: "To what extent do you feel Andrew has forgiven you in the email?" "To what extent do you feel Andrew is still angry in the email? (Reverse coded)" (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *completely*). These two items were averaged into a reliable victim response manipulation check (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .85$ ).

We then asked participants to answer questions about their feelings and their future interaction with Andrew. We measured *fear* with the six-item fear scale from Watson and Clark (1994)'s PANAS. We specified items to the current situation. Item examples are "I feel frightened by Andrew's reaction." and "I feel afraid of Andrew's reaction." (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *completely*). We averaged these items into a reliable fear scale (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .92$ ).

Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, we measured transgressor *compliance* using the adapted GCS (Gudjonsson, 1989; 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .78$ ). Since we manipulated the transgression as an intentional transgression in Study 3, all participants experienced an identical intentional transgression. We therefore did not measure and control for participants' feelings of guilt and the perceived severity of the transgression.

Given that the gender of the victim is always described as Andrew, a male, it is important to ensure that gender of participants was balanced across the four experimental conditions. Although we ensured that the allocation of participants to experimental conditions followed a random procedure, we found that gender of participants was not fully balanced across the four conditions. This phenomenon is common in experiments (see Saint-mont, 2015 for a recent review). Specifically, there were 7 males and 14 females in the high-power victim expressed forgiveness condition and 9 males and 14 females in the low-power victim withheld forgiveness condition. To address this limitation, we followed recent recommendations for experimental studies and controlled for *gender* as a covariate in our data analysis (Saint-mont, 2015; Simmons, Nelson, & Simonsohn, 2011; Wang, Sparks, Gonzales, Hess, & Ledgerwood, 2017).

**Data Analysis Strategy**

Consistent with Study 2, Study 3 aimed to test whether the victim’s relative power (low vs. high) moderates the effect of the victim’s response (expressing vs. withholding forgiveness) on transgressor compliance (H1) and on transgressor fear (H2). We also tested the full moderated mediation model (H3). As in Study 2, the independent variables - victim relative power and victim response - were categorical variables. The dependent variable transgressor compliance and the mediator variable transgressor fear were continuous variables. To control for participants’ gender we tested H1 and H2 using analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) in which we included gender as covariate. As in Study 2, we tested H3 with Hayes’ PROCESS macro (model 8, 5,000 bootstrap resamples).

**Results**

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the variables included in the study are displayed in Table 3.

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Insert Table 3

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**Manipulation checks.** To check whether the manipulation of victim power was successful, we conducted a Victim Power (high vs. low)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANOVA on the power manipulation check. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of victim power ( $F(1, 85) = 97.73, p < .01, \eta^2 = .54$ ). Participants in the high-power victim condition perceived the victim as having more power ( $M = 5.6, SD = 1.7$ ) than participants in the low-power victim condition ( $M = 2.57, SD = 1.16$ ). The effect of victim response ( $F(1, 85) = 2.02, p = .16, \eta^2 = .02$ ) and the interaction between victim power and victim response were not significant ( $F(1, 85) = .02, p = .90, \eta^2 = .00$ ).

To check if the manipulation of victim response was successful, we conducted a Victim Power (high vs. low)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANOVA on the victim response manipulation check. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of victim response ( $F(1, 85) = 115.5, p < .01, \eta^2 = .58$ ). Participants in the expressing forgiveness condition perceived the victim as more forgiving ( $M = 4.40, SD = 1.52$ ) than participants in the withholding forgiveness condition ( $M = 1.62, SD = .84$ ). The effect of victim power ( $F(1, 85) = .00, p = 1, \eta^2 = .00$ ) and the interaction between victim power and victim response were not significant ( $F(1, 85) = 1.03, p = .31, \eta^2 = .01$ ). This indicates that the victim power and victim response manipulations were orthogonally induced.

**Confirmatory factor analysis.** Consistent with Study 2, we conducted CFA to determine whether transgressor fear and compliance represent distinct constructs. We first estimated a model with two latent variables (transgressor fear and compliance). This model showed sufficient fit ( $\chi^2 = 187.31, df = 128; CFI = .92; RMSEA = .07; SRMR = .08$ ) and all items loaded significantly on their intended factor. We also fit a 1-factor model in which all items loaded onto one latent variable. The fit of this model was insufficient ( $\chi^2 = 374.04, df =$

129; CFI = .66; RMSEA = .15, SRMR = .15), and inferior to that of the 2-factor model,  $\chi^2(1) = 186.73, p < .001$ . Thus, the unique constructs of transgressor fear and compliance were operationalized with distinct scales.

**Hypotheses tests.** We first tested H1. A Victim Power (high vs. low)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANCOVA with gender as the covariate and transgressor compliance as the dependent variable revealed that the main effect of victim response was not significant ( $F(1, 84) = .15, p = .70, \eta^2 = .00$ ). The main effect of victim power was significant ( $F(1, 84) = 12.94, p < .01, \eta^2 = .13$ ). The effect of gender was significant ( $F(1, 84) = 7.16, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$ ). Importantly, the two-way interaction was also significant ( $F(1, 84) = 6.37, p = .01, \eta^2 = .07$ ) (see Figure 5).

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 Insert Figure 5  
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Simple effects analyses showed that for low-power victims, expressing forgiveness led to lower transgressor compliance level ( $M = 3.47, SD = .80$ ) than withholding forgiveness ( $M = 3.90, SD = .82$ ). The effect was significant,  $F(1, 84) = 4.15, p = .045, \eta^2 = .05$ .

**Consistent with Study 1**, for high-power victims, expressing forgiveness did not affect compliance ( $M = 4.41, SD = .70$ ), compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 4.17, SD = .88$ ),  $F(1, 84) = 2.43, p = .12, \eta^2 = .03$ .

However, from a different vantage point, forgiveness expressed by low-power victims significantly lowered compliance ( $M = 3.47, SD = .80$ ) compared to forgiveness expressed by high-power victims ( $M = 4.41, SD = .70$ ),  $F(1, 84) = 17.05, p < .01, \eta^2 = .17$ . Withholding forgiveness did not lead to lower compliance when it came from a low-power victim ( $M = 3.90, SD = .82$ ) than from a high-power victim ( $M = 4.17, SD = .88$ ),  $F(1, 84) = .60, p = .46$ .

**Thus, consistent with Studies 1 and 2, we found that compliance was particularly low when a**

low power victim expressed forgiveness<sup>4</sup>. Thus, our results provide partial support for H1.

We proceeded to test H2. We conducted a Victim Power (high vs. low) × Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANCOVA with gender as covariate and transgressors' fear as the dependent variable. This analysis revealed that the main effects of victim response ( $F(1, 84) = 1.16, p = .30, \eta^2 = .01$ ) and victim power ( $F(1, 84) = 2.92, p = .09, \eta^2 = .03$ ) were not significant. The effect of gender was significant ( $F(1, 84) = 4.56, p = .04, \eta^2 = .05$ ). Importantly, there was a significant interaction of victim power and victim response on transgressor fear (see Figure 6),  $F(1, 84) = 7.09, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$ .

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 Insert Figure 6  
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Simple effects analyses showed that for low-power victims, expressing forgiveness alleviated transgressors' fear ( $M = 1.96, SD = .98$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 2.94, SD = 1.12, F(1, 84) = 6.78, p = .01, \eta^2 = .08$ ). For high-power victims, expressing forgiveness did not alleviate transgressors' fear ( $M = 3.13, SD = 1.32$ ) compared to withholding forgiveness ( $M = 2.59, SD = 1.12, F(1, 84) = 1.37, p = .25, \eta^2 = .02$ ).

From a different vantage point, forgiveness from a low-power victim led to lower fear ( $M = 1.96, SD = .98$ ) than forgiveness from a high-power victim ( $M = 3.13, SD = 1.32, F(1,$

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<sup>4</sup> Without controlling for gender, a Victim Power (high vs. low) × Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANOVA on transgressor compliance revealed that the main effect of victim power was significant ( $F(1, 85) = 12.36, p < .01, \eta^2 = .13$ ). The main effect of victim response was not significant ( $F(1, 85) = .33, p = .57, \eta^2 = .00$ ). Furthermore, the two-way interaction was not significant ( $F(1, 85) = 3.77, p = .055, \eta^2 = .04$ ). The simple effects of victim responses was not significant for low-power victims,  $F(1, 85) = 3.00, p = .09, \eta^2 = .03$  and for high-power victims,  $F(1, 85) = .99, p = .32, \eta^2 = .01$ . The simple effects of victim power was significant for victims who expressed forgiveness,  $F(1, 85) = 13.53, p < .01, \eta^2 = .14$  but was not significant for victims who withheld forgiveness,  $F(1, 85) = 1.38, p = .24, \eta^2 = .02$ .

84) = 8.77,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .10$ . When a victim withheld forgiveness, there was no significant difference in fear between low-power victims ( $M = 2.94$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) and high-power victims ( $M = 2.59$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ),  $F(1, 84) = .55$ ,  $p = .46$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ . Thus, in support of H2, transgressor's fear was particularly low when a low power victim expressed forgiveness<sup>5</sup>.

To test H3, we used Hayes' PROCESS macro (model 8, 5,000 bootstrap resamples). In support of H3, this analysis showed that expressing forgiveness significantly decreased transgressor compliance, via decreased transgressor fear, when the victim had low power: indirect effect = .21,  $SE = .10$ , 95% CI: [.07, .47]. When the victim had high power, withholding forgiveness had no significant indirect effect on transgressor compliance: indirect effect = -.09,  $SE = .09$ , 95% CI: [-.35, .05].<sup>6</sup>

### General Discussion

We found across three studies that for a victim of a transgression, withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness promotes transgressor compliance. However, as predicted, we found this effect only when the victim had low power relative to the transgressor. When the victim had high power, transgressor compliance was always high, regardless of whether the victim

<sup>5</sup> Without controlling for gender, a Victim Power (high vs. low)  $\times$  Victim Response (expressing forgiveness vs. withholding forgiveness) ANOVA on transgressors' fear revealed that the main effects of victim response ( $F(1, 85) = .76$ ,  $p = .39$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ ) and victim power ( $F(1, 85) = 2.74$ ,  $p = .10$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ ) were not significant. Importantly, there was a significant interaction of victim power and victim response on transgressor fear,  $F(1, 85) = 9.62$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .10$ . The simple effects of victim responses was significant for low-power victims,  $F(1, 85) = 7.49$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .08$  but not significant for high-power victims,  $F(1, 85) = 2.63$ ,  $p = .11$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ . The simple effects of victim power was significant for victims who expressed forgiveness,  $F(1, 85) = 10.28$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .11$  but not significant for victims who withheld forgiveness,  $F(1, 85) = 1.16$ ,  $p = .28$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

<sup>6</sup> Scholars increasingly recognize that to evaluate an effect, one should not consider single studies in isolation, but instead evaluate the totality of the evidence across studies (e.g., Lakens & Etz, 2017; Tuk, Zhang, & Sweldens, 2015). To do so, scholars recommend within-paper meta-analyses (e.g., Cumming, 2013). We therefore conducted an internal meta-analysis on the three studies in this paper. Specifically, we used Van Rhee, Suurmond, and Hak (2015)'s software to compute the meta-analytic effect size and its 95% confidence interval for the Victim Power  $\times$  Victim Response interaction on transgressor compliance (number of studies  $k = 3$ , number of participants  $n = 294$ ). This analysis revealed significant support for our prediction that victim power and victim response interact to influence transgressor compliance,  $d = .26$ , 95% CI: [.13, .40],  $Q(3) = .68$ ,  $p = .71$ .

withheld or expressed forgiveness. We obtained this effect in a survey conducted among US employees working in a variety of different organizations using the critical incidents technique (Study 1), in an autobiographic recall study conducted among such employees (Study 2), and in a controlled lab study among European business school students in the context of a managerial in-basket task (Study 3). Furthermore, Studies 2 and 3 also revealed that the effect of withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness on transgressor compliance, as moderated by victim power, is explained (mediated) by transgressor fear. These findings clearly point out that through withholding forgiveness, low-power victims can stimulate transgressor responses that victims value.

### **Theoretical Implications**

Our findings have, first of all, implications for studying forgiveness in organizations. Although forgiveness is often promoted as a virtue, it is still an understudied topic in the organization literature (Aquino et al., 2003; Bright & Exline, 2011; Cox et al., 2012; Fehr & Gelfand, 2012; Goodstein, Butterfield, & Neale, 2015; Palanski, 2012). The few studies addressing this issue have usually taken an intrapersonal perspective to study the effects of forgiveness on victims' psychological and physical wellbeing (Cameron & Caza, 2002; Cox et al., 2012; Little, Simmons, & Nelson, 2007). Yet, transgressor responses after being forgiven also shape victims' wellbeing (Adams et al., 2015; Hannon et al., 2010; Kelln & Ellard, 1999; Leunissen et al., 2012; Mooney et al., 2015; McNulty, 2010; 2011; McNulty & Russell, 2016; Struthers et al., 2008). The present research is one of the few attempts so far to empirically show that the effects of forgiveness are not unequivocally beneficial to victims. Our findings thus provide further evidence to existing studies showing that forgiveness under some conditions may lead to negative transgressor responses - that is, distance seeking when the transgressor believes (s)he did not commit any transgression (Adams et al., 2015), and repeating the transgression when the transgressor is low in agreeableness (McNulty, 2016).



Our findings support an evolutionary analysis of revenge. According to this analysis, a primary “fitness” concern for victims in the wake of transgressions is how to deter transgressors to ensure the transgression is not repeated (McCullough, Kurzban, & Tabak, 2013). It follows from this analysis that withholding forgiveness is more adaptive in deterring transgressors than expressing forgiveness (McCullough et al., 2013). The present research support this analysis by suggesting that withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness is indeed more effective in deterring transgressors for low-power victims because it invites transgressor compliance.

Another relevant contribution results from the fact that we applied deterrence theory to the study of workplace conflicts. Deterrence theory has been regarded as fundamental in explaining how to control and prevent illicit acts (Andenaes, 1971; Beccaria, 1963; Gibbs, 1968, 1975; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; Nagin, 2013). It has been widely used in criminological literatures to understand criminal acts and “white-collar” crime (see Pratt, Cullen, Blevins, 2006 and Nagin, 2013 for reviews). Organization scholars have also used this theory to explain how to deter workplace deviance and unethical behaviors (Carlsmith et al., 2002; Crockett et al., 2014; Hollinger & Clark, 1983; Kaptein, 2011; Kwok et al., 2005; Nagin & Pogarsky, 2003; Sekerka et al., 2014; Verboon & van Dijke, 2011). However, it has rarely been applied in explaining workplace transgressions. Our work applies this theory to the domain of workplace transgressions and tests a specific type of deterrent – withholding forgiveness – and a relevant moderator to its effects – power. Thus our work extends deterrence theory to the domain of workplace transgressions and provides further empirical evidence that validate this theory.

Our focus on victim relative power as a boundary to the effect of forgiveness on transgressor compliance highlights the importance of considering power dynamics in studying workplace conflicts. In organizational contexts, it is important to realize that

hierarchy and power differentiation is an important characteristic of work relationships (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). However, organization scholars often assume that workplace conflicts occur between two parties with equal power (Coleman, Kugler, Mitchinson, & Foster, 2013; Tjosvold & Wisse, 2009). To date, only a few of studies considered workplace conflicts between unequal-power parties (Aquino et al., 2001; 2006; Zheng et al., 2016). For example, victims with low power have been shown to view transgressors in a cynical way, making it less likely that an apology leads to forgiveness (Zheng et al., 2016). Our work extends this research and sheds light on what happens afterwards - how such power differentiations influence transgressor responses to these decisions (i.e., forgiveness vs. unforgiveness). These findings show that power is an important variable that should not be overlooked in studying workplace conflicts (See also De Dreu, 2014).

Our finding that transgressor fear mediates the effect of forgiveness on transgressor compliance extends organizational scholars' understanding of the role of fear in organizations. Fear is a basic emotion that has a long evolutionary past. It is regarded as an adaptive moral emotion (Teper et al., 2015) that shapes people's behaviors in any organization with hierarchical differences (Kemper, 1978; Plutchik, 2003). Thus, although it is part of the "dark" side of the organizational literature, it is important to study its behavioral consequences in the workplace. Regretfully, it is still an understudied topic in the organization literature (see Kish-Gephart et al., 2009 for a review), which has focused exclusively on its role in explaining employee silence (Cortina & Magley, 2003; Detert & Trevino, 2010). The current paper identifies that fear plays an important role in influencing transgressors' reactions to forgiveness. Thus, it extends the role of fear to workplace conflicts.

### **Practical Implications**

Our findings have practical implications for how organization members with different

hierarchical positions gain compliance in organizations. Specifically, organizational members in low hierarchical positions should be aware that they are less effective in gaining others' compliance through forgiving because of their power position. This is because their forgiveness alleviates fear from transgressors. Our findings suggest that employees with low power should refuse to be a "doormat" and "stand up". It is through this response that they make transgressors fearful about potential retaliation and punishment and gain some interpersonal influence in the workplace. On the other hand, although our findings reveal that leaders in the workplace always obtain compliance regardless of how they respond after a transgression, we do not claim that leaders should not express forgiveness. This is because in the long term, forgiveness is a demonstration of leaders' humanity (Aquino et al., 2003; Cameron & Caza, 2002; Caldwell & Dixon, 2010) and brings positive individual and collective outcomes such as relationship commitment and interpersonal citizenship (Fehr & Gelfand, 2012). Thus, forgiveness is an important virtue for leaders.

Compliance is not only highly relevant to the fundamental needs of victims but also to the effectiveness of organizations (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001; Den Hartog et al., 2007; Kemper, 1978; Murphy & Tyler, 2008; Pitesa & Thau, 2013; Plutchik, 2003; Tyler & Blader, 2005). Organizations cannot function effectively when employees too often refuse to comply with requests they receive from others in the workplace (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001). Our findings have implications for managers who want to improve organizational effectiveness by enhancing employee compliance to each other's work related requests. The finding that transgressor fear of punishment and retaliation influences compliance in the workplace highlights that maintaining a system that punishes deviant behaviors and reward cooperative behaviors may elicit employees' compliance and enhance organizational effectiveness.

### **Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions**

To the best of our knowledge, an error-proof manipulation or measurement of transgressions does not exist in the literature. Therefore, we employed different study designs including two surveys and one experiment. Although this methodological diversity makes studies more difficult to compare, the strengths of one study compensate for the weaknesses of the others, which increases confidence in our findings (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). Study 1, a survey among employees from different organizations, ensures ecological validity because of its reliance on the critical incident technique. Study 2 used a forced recall task in which we specified the victim's relative power and victim response to enhance the internal validity. To maximize internal validity, Study 3 was a controlled lab study with a managerial in-basket task. The combination of our three studies ensures internal validity, ecological validity, and generalizability.

However, despite a number of contributions to the existing literature and methodological strengths, the present set of studies has its limitations. Building on deterrence theory, to determine whether victims benefit from expressing forgiveness, we examined whether transgressors exhibit compliance. However, it is equally important to take the victim's perspective in determining whether victims indeed value transgressor compliance in the wake of a transgression. Future research from the victim's perspective should examine whether victims indeed feel that their needs for control are fulfilled when transgressors exhibit a high level of compliance.

Second, building on deterrence theory, we focus on the mediating role of transgressor fear. Transgressor fear of punishment and retaliation is an important mediator because it is a potent emotion experienced by transgressors in the aftermath of a transgression (Dorff, 1998; Exline et al., 2007; Witvliet et al., 2002). However, other important mechanisms such as work role expectation and morality concerns may also mediate the effect of unforgiveness on transgressor compliance. For example, de Reuver (2006) have suggested that hierarchy and

power differentiations in organizations function as constraint and guidance for employees to ensure their behaviors are predictable and lead to the achievement of organizational goals. Thus, supervisors are not expected to comply with subordinates in the workplace. It is possible that in the wake of forgiveness, high-power transgressors do not comply because doing so would violate their role expectations. On the contrary, in the wake of unforgiveness, role expectations have changed. High-power transgressors are expected to show compliance. In addition, it is well-established that morality evolved to promote cooperation between group members (Greene, 2013; Haidt, 2013). It is thus possible that transgressors comply out of morality concerns. Future research should explore these additional mechanisms.

A third limitation is that our research did not address how forgiveness in the long term influences compliance for victims in the aftermath of transgressions. As suggested by Bies, Barclay, Tripp, & Aquino (2015) in a recent review, it is important to take into account the temporal aspect when examining the effect of forgiveness (McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003; Wohl & McGrath, 2007). Given the interdependent nature of work relationships, it is possible that in the long run expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness does have constructive effects on work relationships, even for victims with little power, relative to transgressors. Thus, future research should study the long-term effects of forgiveness on work relationships.

A fourth limitation lies in our methodology. We measured transgressor compliance using established self-reported measures instead of observational measures. We did this because compliance is an enforced outcome, which may be more accurately captured by self-reported measures. Furthermore, in Study 3, we asked participants to imagine that they transgressed another person using the vignette design. This may challenge the ecological validity of the study given that participants were forced in the role of the transgressor (Wallace et al., 2008). Future research should extend the current findings by examining transgressor compliance in an experimental setting in which scholars induce participants to

commit an actual transgression and observe their actual compliance behaviors (Leunissen et al., 2012; SimanTov-Nachlieli & Schnabel, 2014; Zheng et al., 2016).

In addition, although deterrence theory suggests that deterrence works well in eliciting compliance and cooperative behaviors, it also emphasizes the boundary conditions that restrict the effectiveness of deterrence. For example, recent studies have shown that when the initial trust between two parties is high, deterrence undermines trust and cooperation (Mulder, van Dijk, De Cremer, & Wilke, 2006). Other studies have shown that when deterrence is perceived as illegitimate, it undermines compliance (Verboon & van Dijke, 2011). Thus, it is possible that when the initial trust between the victim and the transgressor is high, forgiveness is more effective in eliciting transgressor compliance. Future research should examine the conditions under which forgiveness is more effective for low-power victims.

Finally, it is noteworthy that not all of our results completely support out hypotheses.

Specifically, in Study 1 we found that among for low-power forgivers, withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness increases transgressor compliance. However, for high- and equal power victims, expressing (vs. withholding) forgiveness did not affect compliance. We argued that withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness instills fear in transgressors, thus increasing compliance, but this effect should be weaker the more power a victim has because victims with more power are likely to instill fear regardless of whether they express or withhold forgiveness. Based on this argument we would expect that equal-power forgivers who withhold (vs. express) forgiveness will also increase transgressor compliance, and this effect should be stronger than for high-power victims and weaker than for low-power victims. One possible reason why we did not find that withholding (vs. expressing) forgiveness by equal power victims promotes transgressor compliance is that being cooperative and compliant with co-workers (i.e., equal power others is the norm in workplaces (De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001; Den Hartog, De Hoogh, & Keegan, 2007). Future research should

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~~explicitly address the role of workplace norms in the forgiveness-compliance relationship.~~

~~Second, although our research revealed that forgiveness undermines transgressor compliance for low-power victims, Study 2 revealed that forgiveness may actually lead to more compliance for high-power victims. Based on the needs based model of reconciliation (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2009) notes that when transgressors feel that their moral image and needs for acceptance are fulfilled, they are more likely to exhibit behaviors that benefit victims and relationships. It is possible that high-power victims' forgiveness (vs. unforgiveness) is relatively more effective in addressing these needs and, as a consequence, eliciting compliance. However, we are hesitant to interpret this effect given that it did not replicate we did not find these results in Study 1 and Study 3, we are not confident about this effect. Thus, future research should examine and clarify the value of forgiveness for high-power victims.~~

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### Conclusion

Scholars have often promoted forgiveness in the workplace. Our research shows that when victims have low power, withholding (rather than expressing) forgiveness promotes transgressor compliance – a response that directly addresses the victim's thwarted needs for respect and control. This effect is due to transgressors' fear of retaliation and punishment – a major concern of transgressors in the aftermath of transgressions. Given that there are times that forgiveness fails to bring benefits to victims, our research cautions that forgiveness is not always a panacea for victims.

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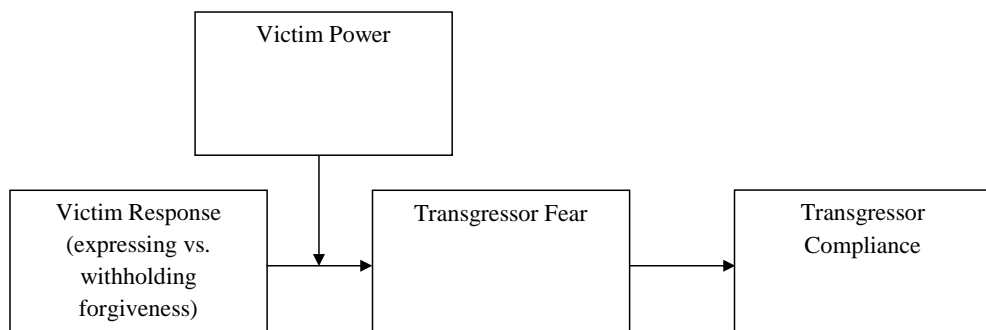


Figure 1. Research model



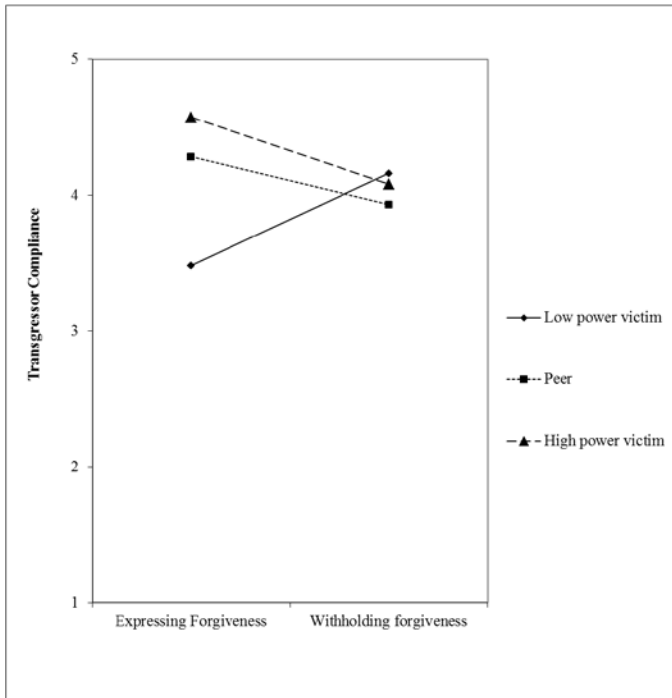


Figure 2. Transgressor compliance predicted by the two-way interaction between victim power and victim forgiveness, Study 1.

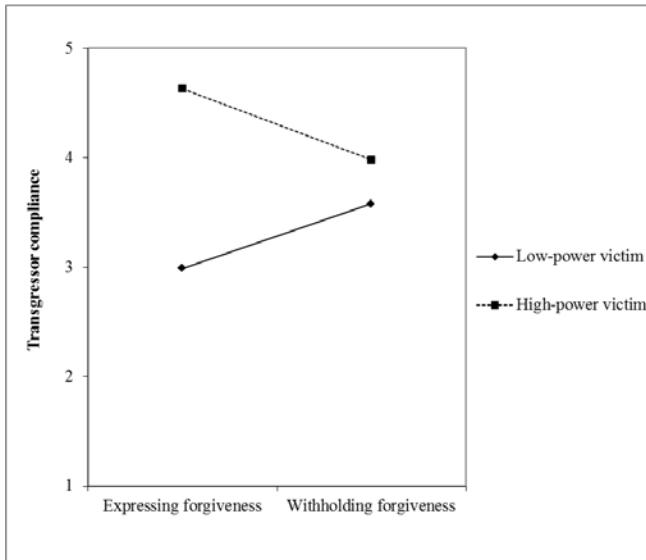


Figure 3. Transgressor compliance predicted by the two-way interaction between victim power and victim forgiveness, Study 2.

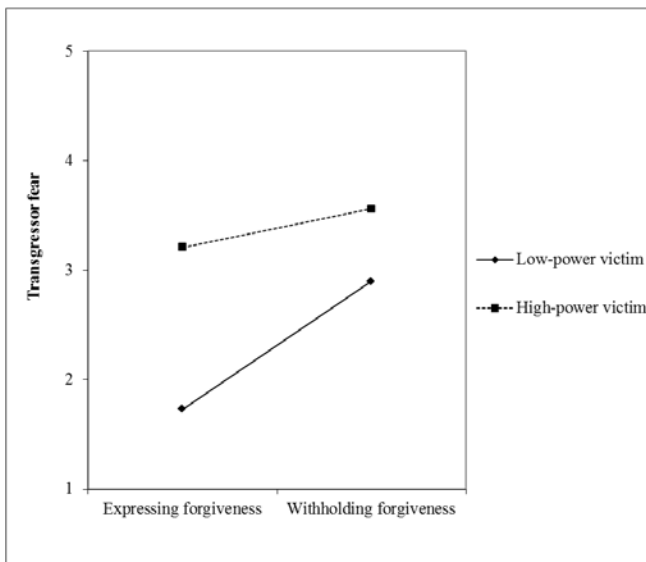


Figure 4. Transgressor fear predicted by the two-way interaction between victim power and victim forgiveness, Study 2.

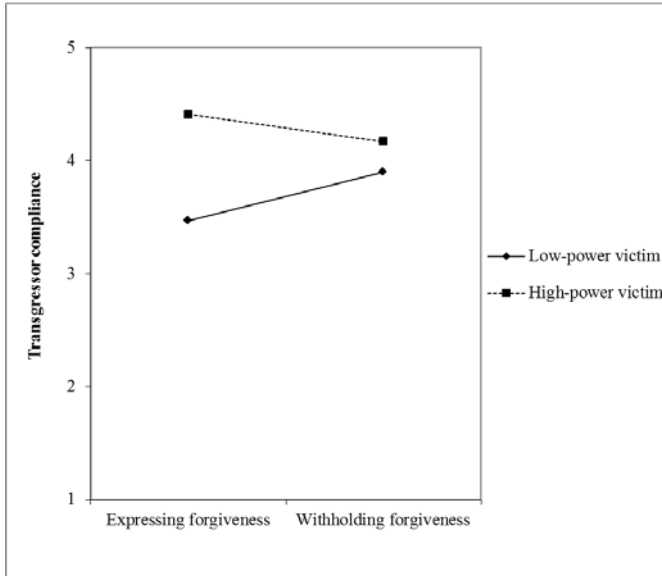


Figure 5. Transgressor compliance predicted by the two-way interaction between victim power and victim forgiveness, Study 3.

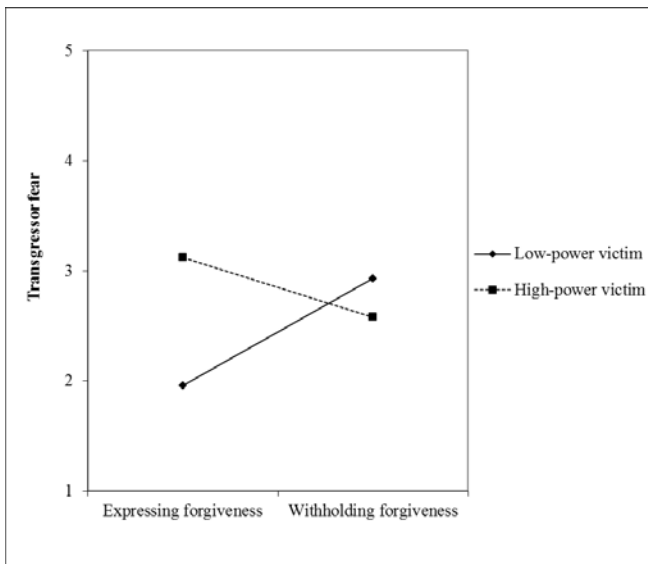


Figure 6. Transgressor fear predicted by the two-way interaction between victim power and victim forgiveness, Study 3.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations between the variables in Study 1

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Tenure	5.41	6.09					
2. Guilt	4.10	1.77	-.14				
3. Severity	4.19	1.60	.12	.30**			
4. Victim power	.02	.88	-.14	.01	-.23*		
5. Victim response	1.29	.46	.01	-.05	-.05	.01	
6. Transgressor compliance	4.08	1.07	-.26**	.35**	-.00	.35**	-.03

*Note.*  $N = 102$ . \*\* $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , subordinate = -1, peers = 0, supervisors = 1, expressing forgiveness = 1, withholding forgiveness = 2.

WHEN EXPRESSING FORGIVENESS BACKFIRES IN THE WORKPLACE 2

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations between the variables in Study 2

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Tenure	6.52	6.43							
2. Guilt	4.55	1.81	.02						
3. Severity	3.05	1.5	-.02	.29**					
4. Commitment	4.01	1.13	-.05	.11	.24*				
5. Victim power	1.51	.50	-.04	.07	.03	.04			
6. Victim response	1.43	.50	-.06	-.09	.01	-.22*	.07		
7. Transgressor fear	2.79	1.49	-.05	-.04	.22*	-.12	.40**	.28**	
8. Transgressor compliance	3.78	1.08	-.04	.11	.03	.12	.52**	.01	.43**

Note. *N* = 103. \*\**p* < .01, \* *p* < .05, low-power victim =1, high-power victim =2, expressing forgiveness =1, withholding forgiveness =2.

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations between the variables in Study 3.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Gender	1.52	.50				
2. Victim power	1.53	.50	-.06			
3. Victim response	1.55	.50	-.06	.01		
4. Fear	2.67	1.21	.28**	.14	.08	
5. Transgressor compliance	4.00	.86	-.19	.33**	.05	.32**

*Note.*  $N = 89$ . \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ , low-power victim =1, high-power victim =2, expressing forgiveness =1, withholding forgiveness =2.