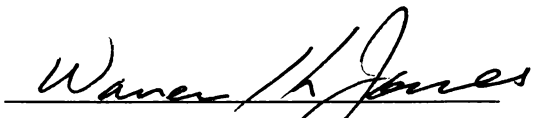
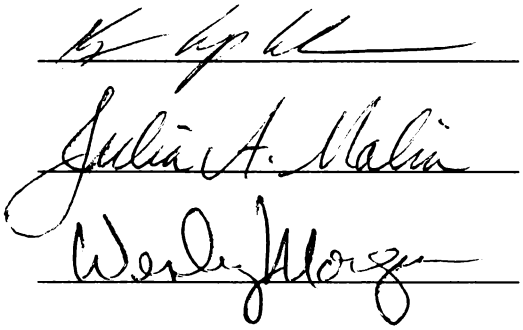
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Laura Anna Negel entitled "Exploring the Nature of Hurt Feelings." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.



Warren H. Jones, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Acceptance for the Council:



Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Exploring the Nature of Hurt Feelings

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Laura A. Negel
December 2002

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my major professor, Dr. Warren H. Jones. As my mentor for the past five years, Dr. Jones has helped shape my views of and my approach to psychological research and has helped me to understand the true meaning of being an academician. His incessant guidance and support helped sustain me through my graduate career and for that I will be forever grateful. Dr. Jones is truly an invaluable role model for those of us who plan to spend our careers as both educators and researchers. I am lucky to have had the opportunity to study under his expert tutelage, and I hope to model my own academic career after the example he has set forth for me.

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I would like to express my deep love and appreciation for my parents, Marion and Carmen Negel. Their love and support helped sustain me in life and in my academic endeavors, culminating in the dissertation I have herewith written. Education has been the central focus of my life up to this point, and the combination of my love of learning and my parents' encouragement has accounted for my continued academic pursuits and accomplishments. One of my father's last wishes for me was to see me finally graduate with my doctorate, but, tragically, his life was cut short on the 13th day of October 2002, a couple of months short of my attaining this academic milestone.

Another individual that deserves my sincere admiration and gratitude is Dr. Mark R. Leary of Wake Forest University. Taking Personality Psychology with Mark during my sophomore year of college solidified my interest in social and personality, and it was during the course of his class that I began planning to attain my doctorate in these areas of psychology. Mark's engaging personality and enthusiastic teaching style served as a model for my own approach to teaching, and his research interest in the "new" topic of area of hurt feelings culminated not only in the first JPSP publication on hurt feelings but also in my continued pursuit of this fascinating topic, which resulted in the doctoral research that I present herewith.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my wonderful dissertation committee members: Dr. Warren Jones, Dr. Kristina Gordon, Dr. Wesley Morgan, and

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ABSTRACT

Hurt feelings are an inevitable consequence of interpersonal relationships. Hurt can be defined as the responses to trauma, abuse, loss, stress, rejection, insults, and offenses that may occur throughout life. The purpose of the series of studies outlined in this dissertation was two-fold: (1) to develop a reliable and valid personality measure of the bimodal model of hurt reactivity comprising introjective hurt (i.e., internalizing hurt and engaging in self-blame) and retaliatory hurt (i.e., lashing out immediately and aggressively against perpetrators of hurt); and (2) to assess the meaning and implications of hurt from various methodological perspectives, including narrative accounts of hurt experiences and their outcomes over time and the exploration of hurt in a hypothetical paradigm. Results indicated that the Introjective and Retaliatory dimensions of the Hurt Reactivity Scale were differentially related to various indices of similar and related personality constructs. Similarly, each scale was predictive of the cognitive, emotional and behavioral reactions that are characteristic of each response pattern in the longitudinal studies of hurt. Moreover, the results of the hypothetical study showed that intentionality is strongly associated with the angry retaliation found in the retaliatory hurt personality and also evidenced in the self-punitive and dependent responses of the introjective hurt predisposition. The implications of these results along with the limitations of the methodologies employed and suggestions for future research were also addressed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Emotions are integral to one's daily life. They shape and are shaped by an individual's interpersonal relationships; they influence how one subjectively feels about, views, and, consequently, relates to others. Thus, how one interprets a given situation influences how one responds to that situation; and, a single situation may give rise to multiple, subjective, emotional experiences (Whitesell & Harter, 1996). Furthermore, different situations that affect the individual in the same manner and have comparable consequences are experienced as similar emotional experiences.

Although emotional experience may result from either impersonal or interpersonal interactions, many human emotions are experienced in the context of close interpersonal relationships. Various interpersonal emotions (e.g., jealousy, guilt, love, shyness, etc.) have been extensively examined by researchers interested in the emotional reactions to daily interactions. By contrast, interpersonal hurt has received relatively little research attention. Hurt has been defined in the clinical literature as "the accumulation of traumas, abuses, losses, stresses, strains, rejections, put-downs, and offenses that are inevitably received throughout the course of life" (L'Abate, 1999). Thus, instances of criticism, social exclusion, teasing, cheating, and betrayal all constitute illustrations of hurt feelings.

Hurt also has been conceptualized as feeling emotionally injured or harmed by another person (Vangelisti, 1994; Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Hurt arises as a result

of a perceived interpersonal transgression, rejection, threat, or frustration and is associated with feelings of agony, suffering, anguish, anger, and guilt (Fine & Olson, 1997; Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987; Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Despite the prevalence and presumed importance of hurtful experiences in everyday life, very little research has addressed the impact that hurt feelings have on the individual and his or her relationships with others. Thus, the purpose of this series of studies is to develop a reliable and valid measure of enduring hurt reactivity and to explore the nature of hurt in interpersonal relationships.

Among other things, enduring hurt has been linked theoretically to feelings of anomie and depression, leading to relational distancing and relationship dissatisfaction (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). In light of this supposition, the distinction in clinical depression proposed by Blatt (1974) is potentially relevant. Specifically, he proposed that depression can be broken into two main dimensions or patterns of behavior: (a) anaclitic depression, which is characterized by dependency on others for support and gratification, and (b) introjective depression, which is characterized by feelings of doubt, self-criticism, and guilt. The anaclitic pattern involves difficulty in managing anger and aggression for fear of losing, or destroying, the object of one's affectionate-need and the satisfaction he or she provides, whereas the introjective pattern involves constant concern and vigilance for disapproval and rejection and thus a heightened tendency to assume blame and responsibility and to be harshly self-critical and self-punitive (Blatt, 1974; Blatt et al., 1976).

In this regard, Blatt's two types of depression may be viewed as potentially describing two patterns of responding to hurt feelings, which, intuitively, appear to exhaust the logical array of maladaptive responses to being hurt; although healthier alternative responses to hurt remain possible as well. The proposed bimodal model of hurt reactivity suggests that some people tend to internalize their hurt, thereby exacerbating it and engaging in self-blame, denoting an introjective style of hurt reactivity. Other people have a tendency to lash out angrily and aggressively toward those whom they perceive as having hurt their feelings, which is representative of an anaclitic pattern of hurt reactivity.

Directions for Further Research

The development of a theory of hurt feelings comprising the introjective and anaclitic hurt reactivity patterns is needed in order to provide the basis for further research into the nature and structure of hurt feelings and their relationship to individual psychological well-being, adjustment, and relational development. It may be that those who experience introjective hurt are at even greater risk of developing self-esteem problems and even depression as they internalize the hurtful experience and compound its self-effacing negativity. Those who experience hurt in an anaclitic manner may fare better in this regard as they tend to react externally to the hurtful episode; by venting their anger and pain overtly, they experience a degree of emotional catharsis that allows for a partial, if not complete, resolution to the hurtful

experience. In either case, the hurt experience has a significant impact on both the individual and his or her relationship with the offending other.

Furthermore, Vangelisti and Sprague (1998) have theorized that people are predisposed to avoid hurt and to avoid causing hurt, often offering external attributions for engaging in other-focused deception when breaking social engagements rather than internal ones for fear of distressing, or hurting the feelings of, the other. In addition, hurt may be used to rouse others' feelings and redistribute emotional distress. In such an instance, the hurt individual may choose to lash out, inflicting hurt on his or her partner and thereby increasing the probability that the hurtful experience will negatively impact the relationship. In other circumstances, people may choose to withdraw from social interactions in order to avoid the hurt that they have come to expect in their interpersonal relationships. Thus, in order to examine what happens after one's feelings are hurt (after a transgression has occurred), researchers ought to conduct longitudinal studies ascertaining the nature of the hurtful event and the victim's response to the hurt incident in addition to the impact of the incurred hurt on the relationship between the victim and perpetrator. Possible variables of investigation in this enterprise ought to include the following: the immediate and subsequent response(s) of the victim to the hurt incurred, whether or not the perpetrator of the hurt apologized or showed remorse to the victim, the victim's feelings toward the perpetrator, whether or not the victim chose to remain in the relationship with the perpetrator after being hurt by him/her, etc. Are hurt feelings more easily forgiven or forgotten if the perpetrator apologizes to the victim, and,

therefore, does apology mediate the relationship between hurt feelings and relational outcomes?

Additionally, the extant literature assumes that hurt is experienced temporarily and typically connected to a particular event or interaction; no research has been done to explore the possibility of hurt feelings as being more enduring in nature, despite theoretical claims linking lasting hurt with depressive symptomotology and loss of relational closeness and/or satisfaction (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Furthermore, over-sensitivity to hurt may result in an inability to trust others and eventually may lead to withdrawal from social interactions. Therefore, another aspect of hurt feelings that may be of importance is the manner in which a person reacts to and copes with interpersonal hurt, further suggesting the need to develop a scale of hurt reactivity accounting for all possible reactions and coping mechanisms. Thus, the different ways of dealing with hurt feelings need to be tested empirically and compared to measures of psychological well-being. Similarly, longitudinal studies of hurt need to be conducted in order to study the transitory/permanent distinction with respect to hurt.

Further research may be able to discern what personality variables, if any, are associated with each type of reaction to the experience of hurt. As the literature stands now, hurt is only theorized to be related to guilt, anger, shyness, and shame (Fine & Olson, 1997; Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998); no empirical data have been collected to substantiate such claims. Thus, once a measure of hurt reactivity is developed, it ought to be correlated with related measures. This would substantiate proposed relationships with similar personal predispositions in order to develop a more

comprehensive theory of the experience of hurt feelings in the context of interpersonal relationships and the psychology of hurt feelings as a distinct construct.

In the research described below, the concept of hurt modeled after Blatt's distinction is explored in a series of studies involving (a) the development and validation of a Hurt Reactivity Scale (HRS) designed to measure two responses to hurt feelings, specifically (1) introjective hurt, characterized by internalizing the experienced hurt and blaming oneself for being hurt, and (2) retaliatory hurt, denoted by lashing out angrily and aggressively against the perpetrator(s) of the hurt; (b) longitudinal investigations assessing the factors predicting the resolution of hurt feelings; and (c) a hypothetical experiment assessing the degree and type of hurt elicited by intentional hurts from others.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: CONCEPTUALIZING HURT FEELINGS

In general, people's feelings are hurt when they perceive themselves to be criticized, belittled, avoided, teased, rejected, or betrayed. More specifically, interpersonal hurt refers to specific instances of feeling emotionally injured by another person as the result of an interpersonal offense, threat, or frustration (Fine & Olson, 1997; Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998).

Hurt can be defined as a synthesis of fear and sadness, involving sadness arising from emotional harm and fear of being or becoming vulnerable to harm (Vangelisti & Young, 2000). Phenomenologically, hurt is described as experiencing, for example, agony, anguish, anger, guilt, and pain (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987; Vangelisti, 1994). Recent research suggests hurt feelings not only reduce self-esteem but also are detrimental to relational stability (Leary, Springer, Negel, Ansell, & Evans, 1998). Hurt may be distinguished from other emotions in that it presupposes a "felt sense of vulnerability" (Vangelisti & Young, 2000), which may account for the idea that individuals feel hurt only to the extent that they have made themselves vulnerable to hurt.

Conceptualizations of Hurt

Several conceptual accounts of hurt have been proposed. In the clinical literature, hurt has been defined as "the accumulation of traumas, abuses, losses, stresses, strains, rejections, put-downs, and offenses that are inevitably received throughout the course of life" (L'Abate, 1999, p. 328). Thus, instances of criticism, social exclusion, teasing, cheating, and betrayal all constitute illustrations of causes of hurt feelings. Some researchers have attempted to define hurt in relation to intimacy, while others have attempted to denote the unique meaning of being hurt. L'Abate and his colleagues have defined intimacy as sharing hurt and the fear of being hurt (L'Abate, 1999; L'Abate & L'Abate, 1979; Stevens & L'Abate, 1989). In their conceptualization, hurting and caring are intrinsically entwined. Therefore, as the degree of closeness increases, so does the potential for being hurt.

Furthermore, hurt feelings are believed to represent the most private, personal, and secretive dimensions of an intimate relationship, and the sharing of such information is critical to the development of true and complete relational intimacy:

> To be really close to someone, you have to be willing to let that person know when he or she has hurt your feelings, and you have to be willing to let that person tell you when you have hurt his or her feelings (Stevens & L'Abate, 1989, p. 359).

According to this view, hurt and fears of being hurt are best understood in the context of close relationships, perhaps giving validity to the old lyric "we always hurt the one we love." Thus, this perspective emphasizes that experiencing and sharing hurt contributes positively to the quality of interpersonal relationships by increasing trust,

commitment, and emotional sharing in intimate partners or groups (Stevens & L'Abate, 1989).

By contrast, Gon (1982), one of the first researchers to systematically investigate the meaning of hurt in relationships, proposed a four-stage conceptualization of hurt. Each phase represents unique psychological changes in the individual in response to an instance of hurt. In the shock phase, hurt is "globally perceived as a threat to one's identity, leading to an overwhelming feeling of insecurity" (Gon, 1982, p. 239). In the second phase, called the denial and resistance phase, the individual experiences anger, resentment, suspicion, and aggression toward the perpetrator, but, at the same time, he or she is constantly denying the reality of the hurt. The third phase, termed the acknowledgment phase, finds the individual willing to reassess his or her experience and to seek consensual validation and support from others. Finally, in the adjustment phase, the individual comes to terms with his or her emotions and the hurtful event, thereby restoring his or her positive self-image and sense of control over life events. In Gon's view, the experience of hurt occurs in stages, depicted as the struggle that the individual must undergo to overcome the debilitating effects of being hurt. The experience of hurt is thus seen as an impediment to normal, everyday functioning and psychological well-being because it calls into question the manner in which the individual is perceived and, consequently, treated by those in his or her social environment.

According to the sociometer theory proposed by Leary and Downs (1995), state self-esteem acts as an internal gauge that automatically monitors the social

environment for cues denoting interpersonal rejection, disapproval, or exclusion, and triggering negative affect (i.e., hurt feelings). When such cues are detected, they impel the individual to engage in reconciliatory behaviors in an attempt to restore his or her social acceptance (Leary et al., 1998; Nezlek et al., 1997). In this model then, hurtful experiences trigger the perception of relational devaluation, or the recognition that another individual does not regard his or her relationship with the person to be as esteemed, close, or important as the person prefers (Leary et al., 1998). Moreover, the extent of hurt feelings are theorized to result from the affective component of the sociometer, suggesting that the more negatively evaluated, or socially rejected, one believes oneself to be, the more likely he or she is to experience negative affect. In fact, hurt feelings and feelings of rejection appear to be related in a circular fashion. The events that cause hurt feelings invariably involve real, implied, or imagined interpersonal rejection; and, conversely, the degree of hurt one experiences is related to the degree to which he or she feels negatively evaluated or excluded by another individual or group.

Vangelisti and her colleagues (e.g., Vangelisti & Crumley, 1998) use appraisal theory (Lazarus, 1991) to conceptualize hurt within the context of relationships and view hurt feelings as a special instance of the inherent connection between relationships and emotional experience and expression. Appraisal theory holds that emotions, including hurt feelings, occur as a function of the individual's evaluation of a situation. Most approaches suggest the relevance of two types of appraisal. First, primary appraisals concern the extent to which an incident is consistent or inconsistent

with the person's long-term goals and immediate objectives; specifically, how good or bad the incident is is judged in the context of the individual's self-interests. Secondary appraisals concern the individual's judgment as to the extent that he or she has personal and other resources available to cope with the event and its likely outcomes. According to Lazarus (1990), these appraisals provide information with respect to (a) core relational themes, (b) goal hierarchy, (c) beliefs about the self and world, and (d) how an event has been appraised in terms of its impact on the individual's well-being.

In addition, Vangelisti argues that emotions such as hurt feelings are not simply the consequences of the appraisal process, but they are also communications with their own "message value." This emphasizes the role of responses and sequelae of responses to hurtful messages (e.g., crying, retaliation, ignoring) in (a) influencing the impact of the original message and (b) structuring the on-going dialogue between emoting relationship partners.

Sources of Hurt

Research findings (Jones, Moore, Schratter, & Negel, 2000; Jones, Couch & Scott, 1997) indicate that a wide variety of experiences lead to hurt feelings, including both real and imagined events and ranging from the relatively minor to the highly serious in nature. Minor slights, insults, and other offenses have been reported as sources of hurt in several reported studies (Hansson, Jones, & Fletcher, 1990; Leary, Springer, Negel, Ansell, & Evans, 1998) along with two more serious categories of offense: rejection and betrayal.

Categories of Hurtful Events

In an exploratory study of hurt feelings, Leary and his colleagues (1998) identified seven categories of hurtful events: (a) active disassociation (explicit rejection, ostracism, or abandonment); (b) passive disassociation (being ignored, not being included in others' activities, and other instances of implicit rejection); (c) criticism; (d) betrayal; (e) teasing; (f) feeling unappreciated, used, or taken for granted; and (g) unclassifiable. All seven categories denote instances of either real or perceived relational devaluation, suggesting that hurt is experienced most often as a result of the perception that one is not valued as highly as one would like or expect by his or her actual or potential relationship partner(s). Of these seven categories, four account for the majority of hurtful incidents (in order of frequency): (a) criticism, (b) betrayal, (c) active disassociation (rejection), and (d) passive disassociation (being ignored). Criticism may have comprised the largest category of hurtful events because it denotes relational devaluation in two distinct ways. First, criticism means that the perpetrator inherently holds some aspect of the victim in disdain or disregard. Secondly, this disregard of one's feelings and abilities may further suggest that the perpetrator holds his or her relationship with the victim in the same disregard, conveying a lack of concern for the victim and the relationship itself.

Rejection

Research has shown that feelings of interpersonal rejection are moderately to highly correlated with hurt feelings (Leary et al., 1998). Interpersonal rejection is a debilitating force in human relationships, affecting one's feelings of self-worth and the

quality of one's interpersonal relationships. Specifically, rejection comprises abandonment, romantic rejection, expulsion from social groups, ostracism, disavowal, and a lack of interest in maintaining a given relationship, and it is associated with strong negative emotions (Nezlek, Kowlaski, Leary, Blevins, & Holgate, 1997). The mere perception of social exclusion is enough to decrease state self-esteem, to increase one's motivation to obtain acceptance, or social approval, and to affect one's social perceptions and subsequent interactions with others (Leary & Downs, 1995; Nezlek et al., 1997). Furthermore, instances of real, imagined, or insinuated social rejection often lead to hurt, and the higher the degree of perceived rejection, the greater is the hurt experienced by the individual.

One important consideration regarding rejection is that it is more-or-less inevitable because many interpersonal choices of friends, dating partners, etc., simultaneously involve de-selections or rejections of alternative friends and partners (Jones, 1990). For example, in principle, one cannot be in two exclusive romantic relationships simultaneously, and thus choosing to enter such a relationship presupposes not entering into any other comparable potential relationships. Another important consideration regarding rejection is that, although most people appear to be sensitive to various forms of rejection, there appear to be individual differences in the degree of sensitivity to rejection (Kelly, 2001; Levy, Ayduk, & Downey, 2001; Nezlek, Kowalski, Leary, Blevins, & Holgate, 1997).

Betrayal

Betrayal is defined as a significant violation of expectations, trust, or commitment in a relationship (Jones & Burdette, 1994). In a previous research project, Jones, Moore, Schratter, & Negel (2000) used participant-generated narrative accounts of betrayal incidents to explore the complex nature of this multifaceted construct. Participants from several samples (e.g., college students, adults, adolescents, the elderly) were asked to describe betrayal instances in which they were betrayed by a relationship partner. Participants also were asked several questions regarding the accounts provided (e.g., relationship to the other person, how the incident changed the relationships). Although some variations were observed on the basis of type of relationship, age, and gender, several patterns of results replicated across these samples. From the perspective of the victim, motives for betrayal typically are attributed to internal, stable, and intentional causes; and betrayals are seen as having detrimental, if not devastating, consequences for relationships. In fact, there is evidence that betrayals typically occur among one's closest friends and relationships, and the most devastating betrayals are associated with one's most intimate relationships (cf. Jones, Cohn, & Miller, 1991).

Among adults, the kinds of relational events that participants classified as betrayals and sources of their hurt feelings included, for example, infidelity, deceptions (including lying to and lying about someone), betraying confidences, emotional abuse (e.g., yelling, complaining), and lack of emotional support. Among college students and adolescents in the sample, betrayals were found to involve many

of the same types of incidents but also include two-timing and excessive emotional expressions (Couch, Jones, & Moore, 1999).

Despite these findings, the current studies of betrayal and other sources of hurt have not explored the structure of the situations and incidents that lead to hurt feelings. Candidate dimensions include unpleasantness, which is both public and intentional in nature. Also, as was the case for rejection, there appear to be individual differences in the degree to which people are sensitive and responsive to betrayals (Jones & Burdette, 1994).

Intentionality

Individuals' reactions to perceived intentionality play a critical role in interpersonal relationships as they shape the meaning, either positive or negative, associated with another person's behavior, especially regarding their transgressions. According to Vangelisti and Young (2000), people rely on a number of cues to detect intentionality in others' behaviors: (a) perceived volition (whether the individual chose to engage in the behavior), (b) forethought (whether the person planned the behavior), (c) foreseeability, or knowledge, of the behavior's consequences (whether the individual was aware of the outcomes that would be associated with his/her action), and (d) valence (whether the person felt the outcomes of the behavior were desirable or undersirable). Furthermore, the two primary characteristics of intentionality have differential outcome implications. The first is that intentionality implies that, even when the causes of a behavior are perceived to be internal and controllable, the

behavior itself may still be judged to be unintentional. The second centers around the idea that variations in people's judgments of intentionality shape the meaning one attaches to others' behaviors, which suggests that one's judgment of intent ought to be closely associated with one's emotional reaction to others. If one perceives a behavior as intentionally harmful, one experiences greater emotional pain and may choose to distance oneself from further interaction with the person who was the instigator of the hurt (Vangelisti & Young, 2000). This elicitation of greater hurt may be due to the fact that an intentionally hurtful behavior or comment is associated with free choice, planning, awareness, and desire on the part of the perpetrator of the hurtful incident.

In their study, Vangelisti and Young (2000) found that individuals who perceived a comment as intentionally hurtful were more likely to distance themselves from their relationship partners than those who viewed the statement as unintentionally hurtful. Additionally, people who perceived the comment as intentional tended to be less close to their relationship partner and less satisfied with their overall relationship. However, some qualities of the messages perceived as unintentional also were found to factor in relational distancing and the experience of hurt feelings. Specifically, Vangelisti and Young found that, if the unintentionally hurtful message was part of an ongoing pattern of hurtful communication that made individuals feel disregarded by the perpetrator of the hurt, participants reported feeling hurt and desiring to distance themselves from the other. Thus, just as large interpersonal transgressions (e.g., betrayal, assault) can cause an immediate rift in

relationships, so too does the accumulation of smaller, seemingly insignificant, but recurrent interpersonal offenses (e.g., critical remarks, slights).

Relational Context

Previous research and theorizing have suggested that the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of a hurtful episode influences the experience of hurt. For example, Snapp and Leary (2002) identified five factors as causing individuals to experience greater hurt by those who know them well than by less familiar others (Snapp & Leary, 2002). First of all, the potentially disastrous relationship implications of relational devaluation are greater in closer interpersonal relationships. Second, people expect to be treated more kindly by those who know them well, and, therefore, when this expectation is violated, they report higher levels of hurt. Third, as people get to know one another more intimately and invest more of their time, energy, identity, and future expectations in a relationship, they become more vulnerable to untoward events such as rejection and betrayal and, therefore, they are more susceptible to being hurt. Fourth, people may experience less hurt when relationally devalued by unfamiliar others because they assume that if others knew them better, they wouldn't have been as rejecting. Fifth, individuals assign greater value to the opinions of intimate and familiar others than to those of strangers. Thus, one would expect that people's feelings are more intensely and frequently hurt by those relationally closer to them.

Correspondingly, people in close interpersonal relationships are more likely to react more strongly to hurting their relational partners as well as being hurt by them because their partners' behaviors are more consequential to their overall well-being (Leary et al., 1998). In fact, the more one experiences rejection in his or her interpersonal relationships, the more likely he or she is to develop low trait self-esteem and an increased awareness, or sensitivity, to cues of social exclusion (Nezlek, Kowalski, Leary, Blevins, & Holgate, 1997). Such individuals also are more prone to develop an over-sensitivity to hurt, which may lead to social withdrawal (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). In one study on the self-fulfilling prophecy in the context of close relationships, Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, and Khouri (1998) hypothesized that people's expectations of interpersonal rejection lead people to behave in ways that elicit rejection from others. Specifically, they found that, in women, high rejection sensitivity, or the dispositional trait of anxiously expecting, readily perceiving, and overreacting to rejection from significant others, often leads to relational dissolution. Presumably this occurs because rejection sensitivity increases dissatisfaction with the relationship and increases behaviors that erode their partner's relational satisfaction and commitment.

However, relationship closeness and satisfaction also appear to moderate reactions to interpersonal hurt. Vangelisti and Crumley (1998) found that relationship satisfaction was inversely correlated with both the victim's feelings after the hurtful incident and the degree to which the incident negatively impacted relationship stability. Thus, it appears that the closer and more satisfied a relational couple is prior

to the hurtful episode, the more likely the victim is to try to reconcile with the offending partner in order to restore the relationship, especially in the case of minor incidents. People in committed relationships have more invested in the maintenance of that relationship and, therefore, are more willing to endure or overlook occasional hurts.

In a similar study, Snapp and Leary (2002) examined the moderating effects of interpersonal familiarity in instances of hurt among new acquaintances. The underlying assumption of this study was that hurt experienced in the context of satisfying, committed relationships ought to connote less relational devaluation than that in a more unfamiliar relationship, suggesting that people are less tolerant of being hurt by others they do not know well. In support of this supposition, the researchers found that individuals experienced more hurt and reported lower levels of state self-esteem when they were ignored by someone with whom they had just become acquainted than by someone with whom they were more familiar. Thus, it appears that, as Vangelisti (1994) suggested, familiar relationships may prove to be a key buffer against interpersonal hurt.

Nevertheless, it may be that this moderator effect may pertain to minor interpersonal offenses for which external, less devaluatory attributions can more easily be made. L'Abate and his colleagues have defined intimacy as the "sharing of hurts and fear of being hurt" (L'Abate, 1999; L'Abate & L'Abate, 1979; Stevens & L'Abate, 1989). In their conceptualization, hurting and caring are intrinsically entwined and thus, as the degree of closeness increases, so does the degree of hurt.

Further research is needed to explore the possibility that high hurt severity may detract from this moderator model.

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept

The more one experiences rejection in their interpersonal relationships, the more likely he or she is to develop low trait self-esteem and an increased awareness, or sensitivity, to cues indicative of social exclusion. Such individuals also are more prone to develop oversensitivity to hurt, which may lead to social withdrawal (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Previous research has shown that trait self-esteem moderates individuals' reactions to social inclusion and exclusion, and Nezlek and his colleagues (1997) proposed three possible mechanisms accounting for this effect. First of all, people with high trait self-esteem may possess a higher threshold for negatively responding to threats to their inclusionary status. Conversely, a lack of response to exclusion by high self-esteem participants may reflect a defensive reaction of minimizing such ego threats in order to maintain a positive sense of self-worth. Finally, the lack of response to exclusionary status may reflect a self-presentation tactic to convince others that being excluded did not bother the individual.

Baumeister and Newman (1994) have illustrated that engaging in socially undesirable behaviors, such as hurting someone, provokes a need for self-justification and esteem maintenance, which often distorts the accounts that people give of their interpersonal experiences. In support of Baumeister and Newman, Jones, Kugler and Adams (1995) reported that what people tend to feel guilty about is transgressions

against relationship partners rather than the traditionally taboo behaviors of sex and violence. Moreover, Schutz (1998) found that high self-esteem people justified hurting another individual by claiming that others would have done the same thing in their place, minimizing the hurtful impact and asserting that they had tried other solutions before resorting to hurting the individual in question. Low self-esteem participants, on the other hand, admitted that they had harmed the other person but claimed that they had not meant to hurt him or her. Thus, people with high self-esteem are motivated to uphold their feelings of self-worth by engaging in self-serving biases, such as minimizing the effect of their hurtful behavior; whereas low self-esteem individuals seek to excuse their interpersonal transgression by denying intentionality and seeking to restore their relationship with the harmed person.

In one of the initial studies on the nature and structure of hurt, Leary and his colleagues (1998) identified five aspects of one's self-concept that were most greatly affected by hurtful incidents. These included one's feelings of "(a) social desirability; (b) intelligence, competence, or skill; (c) physically appearance; (d) physical or athletic ability; and (e) attitudes, preferences, or beliefs" (Leary et al., 1998, p. 1227). The highest level of hurt was experienced in instances reflective of one's level of social desirability. In fact, "the more emotionally hurt and rejected participants felt, the worse they judged themselves" (Leary et al., 1998, p. 1229).

Reactions to Hurt

The most common behavioral reactions to being hurt are usually active and direct and include expressing anger, arguing or defending oneself, informing the other that he or she has hurt one's feelings, and countering with critical or nasty remarks (Leary et al., 1998). Furthermore, the intensity of one's reaction appears to be directly proportional to the intensity of the hurt inflicted. Therefore, the greater the hurt, the more likely it is for the victim to react immediately, either verbally or physically, toward the perpetrator. On the other hand, relatively little empirical research has been reported on reactions to hurt feelings. As a consequence, research on related constructs will be examined in order to speculate on the patterns of hurt reactions.

Reconciliation and Forgiveness

One possible reaction to hurt, of course, is for the offended person to respond in an adaptive and mature manner. Such responses might include a statement to the offender regarding the hurtful experience and, perhaps, given some degree of offender acknowledgment or acceptance of responsibility (e.g., an apology), offering forgiveness and other symbols of reconciliation.

Forgiveness is defined as forgoing retaliation and retribution toward an undeserving offender, and, instead, engendering feelings of compassion and love toward that person (Enright & North, 1998; Worthington, 1998). In this regard, the relevance of forgiveness to the experience of hurt is two-fold. First, forgiving the offender is, of course, one potential response to having one's feelings hurt by another person. Second, some of the research on forgiveness begins by asking participants to

describe an incident in which they have been deeply hurt and then progressing to an examination of whether or not participants have forgiven the offender in question. Thus, these studies identify factors that mitigate against the negative consequences of hurt feelings. Research findings have suggested the importance of offender apology, perceived intentionality, offense severity, and victim empathy in the likelihood of offense-specific forgiveness (i.e., the probability that a victim will forgive a specific offender for a specific offense; cf. McCullough & Worthington, 1999). The utility of forgiveness is suggested by studies indicating that forgiving an offender or even simply possessing a "forgiving personality" above and beyond specific instances of forgiveness is associated with both (a) enhanced interpersonal functioning and well-being (Barry, & Worthington, 2001; Hargrave & Sells, 1997) and (b) a healthier physiological profile (Farrow, Zheng, Wilkinson, Spece, Deakin, Tarrier, Griffiths & Woodruff, 2000; Witvliet, Ludwin & Vander Laan, 2001).

Vengeance and Retaliation

Failing such adaptive reactions, the person whose feelings have been hurt is likely to retaliate in some manner. Vengeance is a potential reaction to hurt feelings that incorporates retaliation or seeking revenge against an offender who is believed to have perpetuated a perceived or actual transgression. Gabriel and Monaco (1994) defined vengeance as a complex emotion-action sequence marked by an intention to right a wrong, avenge an injury or sleight, or get even. In addition, they indicated that vengeance can be either adaptive or maladaptive. The former need not involve a destructive action and dissipates over time as the person seeks to obtain justice fairly

or legitimately. Maladaptive vengeance is described as potentially obsessive and risks dominating the individual's life with an all-consuming desire to destroy the offender. By contrast, Horney (1948) defined vindictiveness as a state that has as its goal the humiliation or exploitation of the offender in an effort to protect the self. This effort typically takes the form of an open display of aggression. However, vengeance need not involve aggression, according to Horney. The adaptive strategy is to let go of the offense, whereas the maladaptive pattern is self-effacement.

Alternatively, some scholars (e.g., Graf & Green, 1971) have emphasized that impulses toward vengeance represent an attempt to restore balance or a sense of equity in a relationship that was imbalanced by virtue of a transgression. Indeed, one prominent theoretical approach to relationship development and change emphasizes the importance of equity or balance of both positive and negative relationship components and events (Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1973). Several empirical studies (e.g., Berscheid, Boye, & Walster, 1968; Kim & Smith, 1993; Tedeschi, & Nesler, 1993) support the idea that vengeance, revenge, and retaliation serve the purpose of protecting the self and restoring equity in relationships and the idea that specific instances of vengeance may be relatively more or less adaptive.

Relational Distancing and Introjection

Frijda (1986) proposed the notion that all emotions are associated with an approach-avoidant state of action readiness, or a tendency to engage with or disengage from those in one's environment, based upon the feelings encountered. Thus, individuals who experience hurt within interpersonal contexts will be prone to

distancing themselves from, or avoiding, further interaction with the source of their hurt. For example, Vangelisti and Maguire (2002) reported that forgiveness of family members following hurtful experiences was significantly and inversely related to distancing. Also, these researchers reported significant inverse correlations between forgiveness and both the frequency and proclivity of family members to hurt others. In contrast, distancing was significantly and directly correlated with the frequency and proclivity of family members' hurtful behavior. However, in the regression analyses, which controlled for the degree of satisfaction with the family, both the predictability of frequency and proclivity for distancing were not significant. When family satisfaction was controlled for, the frequency with which family members hurt the person in question significantly predicted forgiveness, but proclivity did not.

Also, it may be the case that distancing is only the beginning of a negative response to hurt that culminates in internalization of blame and self-recrimination. As discussed above, repeated exposure to hurtful episodes decreases self-esteem, and there is some evidence that it increases sensitivity to hurtful encounters (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Consequently, a second negative reaction to hurt and one that appears to be the diametric opposite of the vengeful pattern is the introjection of the offender's hurtful actions in the form of confusion, self-doubt, and self-blame.

State and Trait Hurt

Most of the literature assumes that hurt is experienced temporarily, typically connected to a particular event or interaction (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). No

research has been done to explore the possibility of hurt feelings being more enduring in nature, and only scant research has considered the possibility of individual differences in potential reactions to hurt. It has been theoretically suggested that enduring hurt may be linked to feelings of anomie and depression and denotes more lasting feelings of lack of intimacy and desired relational closeness/satisfaction (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Furthermore, oversensitivity to hurt may result in an inability to trust others and eventually may lead to withdrawal from social interactions. Therefore, another aspect of hurt feelings that may be of importance is the manner in which a person copes with interpersonal hurt. When one experiences hurt, he or she attempts to cope with his or her feelings (i.e., engage in emotion-focused coping), but often cannot change, or repair, the hurtful episode (i.e., engage in problem-focused coping). Thus, in order to determine whether some means of coping are better than others, the different ways of dealing with hurt feelings need to be tested empirically and compared in relation to measures of psychological well-being.

Vangelisti and Sprague (1998) have theorized that people are predisposed to avoid hurt and to avoid causing hurt, often offering external attributions for engaging in other-focused deception when breaking social engagements rather than internal ones for fear of distressing, or hurting the feelings of, the other. Furthermore, hurt may be used to rouse another's feelings and redistribute emotional distress. In such an instance, the hurt individual may choose to lash out, inflicting hurt on his or her partner and thereby increasing the probability that the hurtful experience will negatively impact the relationship. In other circumstances, people may choose to

withdraw from social interactions in order to avoid the hurt that they have come to expect in their interpersonal relationships.

More importantly, though, a comprehensive theory of the experience of hurt feelings in the context of interpersonal relationships needs to be developed. Specifically, sociometer theory could be used to predict, or explain, how a person responds to an instance of relational hurt, depending on characteristics of the individual, the situation, and the other (i.e., the perpetrator of the hurt incident). Does high self-esteem, in the case of the perpetrator, imply that one is self-focused and impervious to the cares of the other? Does low self-esteem, in the case of the victim, indicate that the person is weak and unable to stand up for his or her needs in a relationship? Are hurt feelings more easily forgiven or forgotten if the perpetrator apologizes to the victim, and, therefore, does apology mediate the relationship between hurt feelings and relational outcomes?

Additionally, further research may be able to discern what personality variables, if any, are associated with each type of reaction to the experience of hurt. As the literature stands now, hurt is only theorized to be related to guilt, anger, shyness, and shame (Fine & Olson, 1997; Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998); no empirical data have been collected to substantiate such claims. Researchers thus need to find answers to the following questions: Are shy individuals more likely to withdraw from social interactions once he or she has experienced a hurtful episode? Are extraverted individuals more likely to openly discuss their hurt feelings with others than are

introverted individuals? Are lonely individuals more likely to have a history of perpetually experienced hurt than their non-lonely counterparts?

Gender Differences in Hurt Reactivity

The role of gender differences in the expression of hurt feelings within interpersonal relationships also has been explored in the empirical literature. According to sex role expectations, women are assumed to be especially concerned with the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships, and such relationships are central to their psychological well-being (Frankel, 1990). In fact, studies have found that women are more likely than men to experience and report hurt feelings across a variety of provocations (Fine & Olson, 1996). Additionally, female participants' hurt feelings scores were positively related to intimacy scores, lending further credence to the notion that there is an interrelationship between intimacy and emotional expressiveness. Thus, women may be more willing than men to discuss hurt feelings and to actively seek solutions to problems that arise in relationships in order to restore or maintain a given relationship. Interestingly, Lippard (1988) found that, consistent with gender role socialization, women were significantly more likely than men to lie in order to protect another person's feelings. Female participants also were more likely to claim that deceiving one's friend in order to avoid hurting him or her was justifiable.

Men, on the other hand, are assumed to be strong and autonomous, and, therefore, they may see admitting to hurt as equivalent to being perceived as weak,

wanting, inadequate, and incomplete (L'Abate, 1999). In fact, many researchers and theorists have suggested that boys and girls deal differently with interpersonal problems and that girls tend to report more varied emotional responses, such as anger and sadness, than boys to given relational conflicts (Whitesell & Harter, 1996). Whitesell and Harter found that female participants rated hurt feelings, which were operationalized as a blend of anger and sadness, more highly than did their male counterparts, especially if the perpetrator of the hurtful event was the participant's best friend. Similarly, Fine and Olson (1997) found that females reported feeling hurt in response to various provocations at significantly higher levels than their male counterparts. The origins of this gender difference in hurt expressivity may be due to the fact that girls are socialized to be more comfortable in expressing their feelings and talking about problems in their relationships. Boys, on the other hand, are raised to be tough and not show their feelings for fear of being perceived as weak and unmanly (Rubin, 1985). Sweet (1996) found that men were inhibited from discussing their emotions with women for fear that they would be perceived as unmanly if they did so, supporting the norm of emotional inexpressivity for men.

Moreover, Fine and Olson (1997) found that men with higher hurt scores reported lower assertiveness and less life satisfaction than their low hurt male counterparts, suggesting that there are negative psychological consequences for men who do not manifest the masculine ideal. In their study, hurt was defined as a subjective, reactive emotional state that occurs in response to perceived frustration, threat, or injustice and is accompanied by attributing the cause of provocation to

oneself. Thus, hurt represents emotional vulnerability, which can be thought of as being potentially maladaptive and indicative of resigning oneself to a position of powerlessness as one fears that being assertive may lead to further hurtful encounters. However, Fine and Olson did not find a significant gender difference regarding anger provocation, indicating that men and women are more or less equally likely to react angrily to interpersonal transgressions.

Other researchers have found that discussing hurt feelings combined with discussing family matters accounted for 38% of the variance in the assessment of taboo topics among close friends across female and male participants in a British sample and for 29% of the variance in a Chinese sample (Goodwin, 1990). Thus, it may be that both males and females perceive sharing hurt feelings negatively, or as a sign of weakness, in both Eastern and Western cultures. However, it has been proposed that it takes strength to admit to being hurt and that weakness lies in the denial of such feelings, needs, and vulnerabilities (L'Abate, 1999). In fact, L'Abate argued that the sharing of joys as well as the sharing of hurts and fears of being hurt define relational intimacy. Furthermore, hurt within the context of intimate relationships needs to be shared and forgiven in order to improve and deepen the relationship and to avoid further hurt and possibly the loss of the relational partner.

Leary and his colleagues (1998), did not find gender differences in the general types of events that hurt men's and women's feelings, nor in their subjective experience of hurt, calling into question the findings of gender differences in hurt feelings. In fact, nothing in the data seemed to support the previous, stereotypic

claims that men are inherently less likely to feel hurt or that their subjective experience is less acute than that of women. Furthermore, men reported being just as likely as women to break down and cry in front of the women who hurt their feelings (Leary et al., 1998). The only difference that was observed was a tendency for men to hide their hurt feelings in the presence of other men (i.e., men reported being less willing to let other men know that they are hurt). This implies that men are just as vulnerable as women to being hurt by those they care about; however, both men and women prefer to reveal their hurt to women, who are thought to be more supportive and understanding of such displays of emotion. The nature of this gender difference ought to be studied in future research, thereby addressing the issue of seeking emotional support after a hurt experience.

The research on gender differences in the likelihood and frequency of hurt expressivity appears to suggest that, although both men and women react strongly and negatively to having their feelings hurt, women are more likely than men to admit to feeling hurt. Further research is needed to explore why defining hurt feelings for what they are is so taboo among men. Is it simply a function of early childhood socialization, or is there an alternative explanation? It may be that men experience hurt just as often as women but that they are more likely to specify their general hurt as anger, guilt, or pain.

Hurt Feelings and Depression

It has been suggested theoretically that enduring hurt may be linked to feelings of anomie and depression and may represent more lasting conditions of inadequate intimacy, relationship distance, and relationship dissatisfaction (Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998). Furthermore, oversensitivity to hurt may result in an inability to trust others and eventually may lead to withdrawal from social interactions. Research has shown that exaggerated responses to interpersonal transgressions are related to forms of psychopathology (Blatt, 1974; Blatt, D'Afflitti, & Quinlan, 1976). Additionally, the pattern by which people relate to others has relevance for sub-clinical issues of individual and relational adjustment (Nezlek et al., 1997). In this regard, the distinction in clinical depression proposed by Blatt (1974) is potentially relevant.

According to Blatt (1974), depression is an affective state that can be expressed as (a) relatively mild through profound in its intensity and (b) from a subtle experience to a severe and debilitating clinical syndrome in its manifestation. Thus, depression can range from a normal, affective state to a non-normative clinical disorder. In conjunction with the latter, depression may be viewed as including "an unusual susceptibility to dysphoric feelings, a vulnerability to feelings of loss and disappointment, intense need for contact and support, and a proclivity to assume blame and responsibility and to feel guilty" (Blatt, 1974, p. 109). Furthermore, depression can be broken into two main dimensions or patterns of behavior. The first dimension can be thought of in terms of dependency, or the enduring fear of losing significant others and seeking love and approval to counteract feelings of inadequacy,

guilt, weakness, helplessness, etc. (Blatt, D'Afflitti, & Quinlan, 1976). The second dimension can be thought of in terms of self-criticism and focuses on phenomena including depressed affect, low self-esteem, and inadequate motivation deriving from either feelings of helplessness or cognitive distortions (e.g., excessively negative view of the self, the world, or the future). Thus, these two conceptualizations denote depression "either as a unitary phenomenon involving a decrease in self-esteem or as the ego's affective reaction of helplessness to a difficult reality" (Blatt, 1974, p. 111).

In addition to these theoretical suppositions, research findings have begun to show an emergent distinction in depressive typologies. D'Afflitti (1973; rf. Blatt, 1974) found two distinct forms of dysphoric feelings when he studied feelings of depression in non-clinical female college students. Specifically, he identified two relatively independent factors in the dysphoria reported by his participants: (a) concern with dependency and the need to seek support and comfort from others and (b) preoccupation with the failure to live up to expectations and the assumption of responsibility. Combining these theoretical suppositions and empirical findings, Blatt proposed his own theory of depression, which articulated two primary types of depression: (a) anaclitic depression, which is characterized by dependency on others for support and gratification, and (b) introjective depression, which is characterized by feelings of doubt, self-criticism, and guilt. More specifically, the anaclitic pattern involves difficulty in managing anger and aggression for fear of losing, or destroying, the object of one's affectionate-need and the satisfaction he or she provides; whereas the introjective pattern involves constant concern and vigilance for disapproval and

rejection and thus a heightened tendency to assume blame and responsibility and to be harshly self-critical and self-punitive (Blatt, 1974; Blatt et al., 1976).

In order to test this theory, Blatt and his colleagues set out to construct a model that would account for the various experiences relating to the anaclitic and introjective depressive styles in both clinical and non-clinical populations and to determine if there were stylistic differences in depressive symptomotology among men and women. In this regard, he and his colleagues developed the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ), which was designed to measure three aspects of individual functioning. Factor 1 (dependency) was found to assess issues revolving around interpersonal relations and consisted of concerns about abandonment and rejection, feelings of loneliness and helplessness, and wanting to be close to, related to, and dependent upon others (Blatt et al., 1976). The dependency factor was a reconceptualizion of anaclitic depression and denoted a fear of hurting or offending others and, because of difficulties in managing and controlling anger and aggressiveness, resulting in fears of losing significant others. Factor 2 (self-criticism) consisted of feelings of guilt, emptiness, hopelessness, dissatisfaction, insecurity, failure to meet set standards or expectations, and ambivalence about self and others. Furthermore, the self-criticism factor, a re-embodiment of introjective depression, was associated with feeling threatened by change and a tendency to assume blame and to feel critical toward oneself. By contrast with their earlier work, the researchers also identified a third factor, which they labeled efficacy. Factor 3 referred to confidence regarding one's capacities and resources (Blatt et al., 1976). Specifically, individuals displaying a

high degree of efficacy set high standards and personal goals and conveyed feelings of "responsibility, inner strength, independence, satisfaction, and pride in one's accomplishments," which may be viewed as antithetical to introjective depression (Blatt et al., 1976, p. 385). Thus, it was through the development of the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire that Blatt reconceptualized his two patterns of depression; and thus, introjective depression became known as self-criticism and anaclitic depression as dependence. Efficacy remained the same.

Furthermore, Blatt proposed that the introjective and anaclitic typologies may be viewed as representations of normal personality development and are not limited to the realm of psychopathology. Specifically, Blatt and his colleagues suggested that the two major objectives of personality development are the acquisition of stable, enduring, and mutually satisfying mature relationships and establishing a consistent, realistic, and positive self-identity (Cramer, Blatt, & Ford, 1988). Correspondingly, the introjective personality configuration derives from the process of developing a positive self-identity, which is dependent upon increasingly mature experiences with satisfying interpersonal relationships, whereas the anaclitic personality configuration emerges from the effort to establish satisfying interpersonal relationships as a function of increasingly mature representations of the self (Cramer et al., 1988).

These two personality configurations are assessed using Blatt's Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ), in which introjective depression is reconceptualized as self-criticism and anaclitic depression as dependence. In their conceptual assessment and validation of the DEQ, Blatt, Zohar, Quinlan, Zuroff, and

Mongrain (1995) found that there are two distinct facets within the DEQ Dependency factor: (a) dependence, "which assesses a generalized, undifferentiated dependence on others and feeling of helplessness and fears of desertion and abandonment," and (b) relatedness, "which assesses interpersonal relatedness to particular significant, differentiated figures in relationship to whom there is vulnerability to feelings of loneliness in response to loss and separation" (Blatt, Zohar, et al., 1995, p. 334). Furthermore, their findings revealed that the dependence facet (anaclitic dependence; cf. Blatt, Zohar, Quinlan, Luthar, & Hart, 1996) of the DEQ Dependency factor accounts for dysphoria and depression as related to interpersonal relationship disruptions, correlating highly and significantly with established measures of depression (e.g., BDI) and the DEQ Self-Criticism factor. The relatedness items (mature relatedness; cf. Blatt, Zohar, Quinlan, Luthar, & Hart, 1996) of the DEQ Dependency factor did not contribute to the assessment of depression; instead, relatedness was significantly associated with measures of general psychological well-being and the DEQ Efficacy factor, especially for women (Blatt, Zohar, Quinlan, Zuroff, & Mongrain, 1995; Blatt, Zohar, Quinlan, Luthar, & Hart, 1996). These findings suggest that the DEQ is a useful tool in investigating the role of interpersonal relatedness and self-definition in the development of normal personality.

The developmental interconnectedness of the two depressive typologies has brought into question whether introjective and anaclitic depression represent two pure types of depression. Accordingly, Blatt and his colleagues (1976, p. 388) came to the conclusion that the introjective and anaclitic types "are not mutually exclusive, and the

possibility emerges of a compounded form of depression that includes features of both anaclitic and introjective dimensions." This assertion suggests that introjective and anaclitic depression do not define two distinct forms of psychopathology but rather may define two sides of a depressive symptomotology continuum.

Conclusion

According to Fine and Olson (1997, p. 325), "hurt is an affective state that underlies dysphoric emotions, such as depression." In fact, they assert that anger and hurt are the primary affective correlates of the two major classes of psychological disorders, those of externalizing and internalizing disorders. Furthermore, researchers have found that exaggerated emotional responses to interpersonal transgressions are inversely related to individual well-being and relational adjustment (Blatt, 1974; Blatt, D'Afflitti, & Quinlan, 1976; Nezlek et al., 1997).

In this regard, Blatt's two types of depression may be viewed as potentially describing two patterns of responding to hurt feelings, which, intuitively, appear to exhaust the logical array of possible responses to being hurt. Specifically, some people are highly susceptible to having their feelings hurt and have a tendency to internalize their hurt, thereby exacerbating it and engaging in self-blame; this represents the introjective pattern of hurt reactivity. Other people have a tendency to lash out angrily and aggressively toward those whom they perceive as having hurt their feelings; this description would be representative of the anaclitic pattern of hurt reactivity. Both the introjective and anaclitic hurt reactivity patterns involve

oversensitivity to hurt, but they represent highly divergent, if not diametrically opposed patterns of hurt reactivity.

The development of a theory of hurt feelings comprising the introjective and anaclitic hurt reactivity patterns is needed in order to provide the basis for further research into the nature and structure of hurt feelings and their relationship to individual psychological well-being, adjustment, and relational development. It may be that those who experience introjective hurt are at even greater risk of developing self-esteem problems and even depression as they internalize the hurtful experience and compound its self-effacing negativity. Those who experience hurt in an anaclitic manner may fare better in this regard as they tend to react externally to the hurtful episode; by venting their anger and pain overtly, they experience a degree of emotional catharsis that allows for a partial, if not complete, resolution to the hurtful experience. In either case, the hurt experience has a significant impact on both the individual and his or her relationship with the offending other. It is also possible that, similar to the conclusions of Blatt and his colleagues (1976), these two types of hurt are not mutually exclusive and may occur either simultaneously or sequentially. These and other speculative accounts of the importance and nature of hurt feelings require future empirical studies.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD AND RESULTS:

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HURT REACTIVITY SCALE

Phase 1: Scale Development and Likert Analysis

Participants and Procedure

Participants for the initial scale development phase of this research included 307 undergraduate students (211 women and 96 men) enrolled in upper division psychology courses at the University of Tennessee. The group had a mean age of 22.36 years (s.d. = 4.63), and the vast majority of participants were Caucasian (85%) and unmarried (72%). Participants completed the initial item pool for the Hurt Reactivity Scale (HRS) in out-of-class sessions in exchange for nominal course credit.

Hurt Reactivity Scale: Item Generation

One hundred and forty-three items were written to assess two definitions of hurt reactivity. Seventy items were written describing the introjective hurt reactivity pattern and 73 items were written to assess the retaliatory dimension. The two conceptualizations are believed to represent a broader range of meaning associated with the colloquial expression *hurt feelings* than had been the case in earlier research. Specifically, people who experience introjective hurt are presumed to be very sensitive to having their feelings hurt and as having a tendency to internalize their hurt, thereby

exacerbating it and often resulting in self-blame. Introjective hurt includes items such as "I take everything to heart," "The slightest hint of rejection wounds me," and "It takes a lot to upset me" (reverse scored). Retaliatory hurt denotes the tendency to lash out angrily and aggressively toward those who have hurt one's feelings. This concept is exemplified by statements such as "I can be vindictive when provoked," "I rarely fly off the handle" (reverse scored), and "When I get my feelings hurt, I act first and think later."

Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with the 143 statements of the HRS using a 5-point Likert-type response format anchored by the following verbal labels: Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. Responses were coded such that higher scores indicated greater hurt reactivity (i.e., greater introjective hurt and/or retaliatory hurt). The entire set of items assessing introjective and retaliatory hurt are presented in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

Results and Discussion

The 70 items of the Introjective Hurt scale were subjected to a Likert internal-reliability analysis. The initial 70 introjective items had a coefficient alpha of .95 and a mean inter-item correlation of .20. As indicated in Table 1, results of the first iteration included five items with corrected item-total correlations of less than .20. Coefficient alpha for this subset of items was .95, and the mean inter-item correlation was .23. Items not meeting the initial criterion (i.e., corrected item-total correlation $\leq$ .20) were discarded, and the analyses were calculated on the revised item pool of 65

Table 1. Introjective Hurt Subscale of the Hurt Reactivity Scale

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
1	Friendly teasing makes me feel well-liked*	2.33	0.87	.06	---	---	---	---	---
2	Being criticized makes me feel like less of a person	2.94	1.00	.47	.46	.48	---	---	---
3	I am never bothered by thoughts of past slights and hurts*	3.91	0.75	.29	.29	---	---	---	---
4	Being left out of social gatherings hurts my feelings	3.54	0.93	.42	.42	.42	---	---	---
5	I am often aggrieved by the actions of others	3.04	0.82	.33	.33	---	---	---	---
6	Criticism wounds me	2.81	0.96	.51	.51	.51	.51	.48	---
7	How I feel is a direct reflection of what others think of me	2.36	0.97	.35	.35	---	---	---	---
8	I am insensitive to others*	4.31	0.79	.07	---	---	---	---	---
9	I believe "sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me."*	3.67	0.99	.36	.37	---	---	---	---
10	I am devastated when someone makes it clear that they no longer wish to be in a relationship with me	3.33	1.08	.47	.48	.47	---	---	---
11	I don't let people walk all over me*	2.37	1.03	.32	.31	---	---	---	---
12	I am overly sensitive	2.77	1.03	.60	.60	.61	.61	.64	.64

Table 1 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
13	I don't mind being teased*	2.54	0.89	.36	.36	---	---	---	---
14	I feel lonely and dejected when someone hurts or offends me	3.09	0.92	.58	.57	.56	.56	.52	---
15	I am thick-skinned*	3.05	0.99	.35	.37	---	---	---	---
16	I equate teasing with being made fun of	2.02	0.77	.25	.24	---	---	---	---
17	I often set myself up for hurt and failure, especially in romantic relationships	2.47	1.11	.39	.38	---	---	---	---
18	I don't care if people snub me*	3.55	0.83	.31	.32	---	---	---	---
19	I feel devastated when I am the object of rumors and gossip	3.02	1.06	.50	.50	.51	.51	.48	---
20	I am often overwhelmed by my feelings	2.99	1.06	.59	.57	.56	.55	.56	.57
21	I take rejection well*	3.19	0.96	.59	.59	.60	.61	.60	.59
22	Flippant remarks threaten my self-esteem	2.59	0.89	.51	.51	.50	.50	.49	---
23	I can endure being hurt emotionally*	2.48	0.94	.28	.28	---	---	---	---

Table 1 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
24	I am stung by just about any harsh or unkind word directed toward me	2.36	0.92	.51	.52	.53	.54	.54	.53
25	I am not overly sensitive*	2.74	1.06	.63	.63	.63	.63	.66	.68
26	If someone failed to call me as promised, I would take it as a personal insult	2.39	0.92	.37	.38	---	---	---	---
27	I am easily hurt	2.59	1.00	.71	.71	.71	.71	.71	.71
28	I don't need to feel constant positive regard from others*	2.64	0.90	.46	.47	.48	---	---	---
29	I get sick when someone hurts my feelings	2.01	0.80	.42	.43	.44	---	---	---
30	The slightest off-hand remark upsets me	1.97	0.72	.47	.48	.46	---	---	---
31	I take everything to heart	2.35	0.94	.53	.54	.54	.53	.51	.52
32	I am not easily hurt by others*	2.79	0.98	.62	.62	.62	.62	.62	.64
33	I often anticipate problems before they happen	3.65	0.82	.17	---	---	---	---	---
34	I get upset when I am not invited to a friend's party	3.19	0.98	.49	.49	.50	.50	.44	---
35	I feel a constant need for reassurance	2.66	1.06	.63	.62	.62	.61	.60	.59

Table 1 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
36	I don't let the words and actions of others get to me*	3.05	0.93	.59	.59	.58	.57	.56	.54
37	I tend to keep feelings of pain and misery to myself	3.20	1.16	.03	---	---	---	---	---
38	People who know me well think that I am emotionally fragile	2.11	0.88	.57	.57	.54	.53	.54	.55
39	I don't mind being left out of friends' plans*	3.27	0.94	.46	.47	.48	---	---	---
40	I have a low threshold for being hurt	2.54	0.90	.54	.54	.55	.55	.57	.57
41	I fall apart when someone hurts me	2.08	0.79	.60	.59	.59	.58	.59	.58
42	I get upset when my romantic partner doesn't spend enough time with me	3.10	1.05	.33	.34	---	---	---	---
43	I am not particularly susceptible to being hurt*	2.96	0.88	.51	.51	.51	.49	---	---
44	If someone hurts me, it's probably my fault	2.22	0.83	.13	---	---	---	---	---
45	I am usually devastated when someone hurt my feelings	2.29	0.83	.55	.54	.54	.53	.53	.53
46	I don't care excessively about other people's opinions of me*	2.83	1.03	.39	.39	---	---	---	---

Table 1 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
47	It's my fault that people reject me	2.08	0.87	.26	.26	---	---	---	---
48	It takes a lot to hurt my feelings*	2.90	1.00	.61	.63	.61	.62	.62	.64
49	I tend to be a pushover	2.45	1.08	.42	.41	.38	---	---	---
50	People who know me well think that I am thin-skinned	2.44	0.97	.33	.33	---	---	---	---
51	No one would ever consider me to be a touchy person*	3.12	0.98	.26	.26	---	---	---	---
52	It takes me weeks to get over minor upset	1.85	0.77	.40	.41	.39	---	---	---
53	I don't mind being disliked by others*	3.17	1.04	.39	.40	.40	---	---	---
54	Someone who matters to me can easily hurt my feelings	3.64	0.91	.53	.52	.51	.49	---	---
55	I don't let things bother me*	3.32	0.90	.57	.58	.57	.56	.54	.54
56	My feelings depend on how others behave toward me	2.72	0.90	.53	.53	.51	.49	---	---
57	People tell me that I take things too seriously	2.66	1.03	.47	.47	.44	---	---	---
58	It takes a lot to upset me*	2.78	1.01	.59	.59	.60	.59	.59	.61
59	When someone hurts me, I tend to withdraw and sulk	2.71	1.03	.44	.44	.43	---	---	---

Table 1 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
60	The smallest problem can ruin my day	2.32	0.98	.55	.55	.55	.53	.56	.57
61	People often ask me if anything phases me*	3.50	1.03	.31	.32	---	---	---	---
62	When a relationship partner hurts me, I fear that our relationship is not important to him/her	2.97	1.14	.47	.46	.44	---	---	---
63	Sometimes, I am just devastated by something someone has said to me	2.76	1.08	.50	.50	.49	---	---	---
64	I don't mind being criticized*	2.91	0.97	.48	.49	.49	---	---	---
65	You always hurt the one you love	2.53	1.11	.21	.21	---	---	---	---
66	I am not particularly sensitive to public ridicule*	3.13	1.02	.41	.41	.38	---	---	---
67	People don't realize how easily I can be hurt	2.89	1.06	.57	.57	.57	.56	.56	.56
68	The slightest hint of rejection wounds me	2.24	0.85	.62	.62	.62	.62	.63	.63
69	Sometimes, I walk around like a wounded bird	2.06	0.92	.40	.41	.30	---	---	---

Table 1 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
70	I don't fear being hurt or rejected*	3.24	0.99	.51	.50	.49	---	---	---
	Reliability (α)			.95	.95	.95	.94	.93	.92
	Mean Inter-item Correlation			.20	.23	.29	.31	.35	.38
	Number of Items			70	65	45	27	25	20

Note: * = reverse-scored item; I(#) = Iteration Number.

Table 2. Retaliatory Hurt Subscale of the Hurt Reactivity Scale

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
71	Hurt me once, shame on you; hurt me twice, shame on me	3.00	1.23	.13	---	---	---	---	---
72	People have often described me as a mean-spirited person	1.81	0.96	.41	.42	.41	---	---	---
73	I always let bygones be bygones*	2.91	0.95	.48	.45	.45	---	---	---
74	I am easily annoyed	2.92	1.03	.49	.49	.48	.49	---	---
75	Hurting someone who has hurt you isn't malicious; it's fair play	2.12	1.00	.50	.49	.52	.49	---	---
76	I am deeply incensed when someone offends me	2.59	0.80	.33	.32	---	---	---	---
77	People who know me well consider me to be sweet and kind to others*	2.00	0.82	.39	.41	.39	---	---	---
78	I believe in the proverb "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."	2.53	1.09	.40	.41	.44	---	---	---
79	I am not easily provoked*	2.62	0.94	.45	.45	.44	---	---	---
80	I can be spiteful when my feelings are hurt	3.57	0.94	.47	.48	.50	.52	.51	.52
81	I cannot forgive someone who hurts me deeply	2.43	1.07	.34	.35	---	---	---	---

Table 2 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
82	I don't have much of a temper*	3.05	1.10	.54	.56	.55	.55	.58	.58
83	I am quick to judge the words and actions of others of others	2.95	0.99	.38	.37	---	---	---	---
84	The slightest dirty look is enough to set me off	2.18	0.87	.43	.43	.41	---	---	---
85	I try to look at the bright side of things*	2.06	0.82	.34	.34	---	---	---	---
86	I am hostile to those who have recently betrayed me or hurt my feelings	2.89	1.02	.58	.57	.58	.59	.55	.54
87	I often become annoyed with the actions and words of others	2.85	0.99	.50	.50	.49	.50	.47	---
88	People who criticize me are likely to get more than they bargained for	2.28	0.86	.59	.59	.61	.60	.56	.55
89	I am not irritable*	2.86	0.97	.53	.54	.51	.50	.50	.47
90	I get very angry when I hear that people have been spreading rumors about me	3.27	0.95	.32	.31	---	---	---	---
91	I never forget an insult	2.57	0.96	.48	.47	.46	.46	---	---
92	I can be spiteful when my feelings are hurt	3.35	0.93	.49	.48	.49	.50	.51	.51

Table 2 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
93	It's a waste of time trying to confront those who have betrayed you*	3.56	0.98	.06	---	---	---	---	---
94	People learn not to "get my dander up"	2.54	0.87	.45	.46	.47	.49	---	---
95	When someone hurts me, I have a difficult time controlling my temper	2.50	0.98	.59	.60	.60	.62	.64	.65
96	I always think twice before confronting others*	2.57	0.97	.36	.37	---	---	---	---
97	I am easy-going*	2.05	0.84	.48	.48	.44	---	---	---
98	People who know me would say that I have a short fuse	2.10	0.90	.64	.66	.64	.63	.64	.64
99	I have been described as being emotionally-prickly	2.18	0.81	.40	.40	---	---	---	---
100	I can be mean in response to offenses by others	3.31	0.97	.46	.46	.48	.51	.51	.51
101	I believe in turning the other cheek*	2.55	0.92	.46	.45	.45	.43	---	---
102	My temper often gets the best of me	2.29	0.99	.55	.56	.56	.57	.60	.60
103	I resent the hurtful actions of others	3.36	0.88	.26	---	---	---	---	---
104	I hardly ever walk around in an angry mood*	2.60	0.93	.42	.42	.38	---	---	---

Table 2 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
105	It takes me a long time to forgive those who have wronged me in the past	2.73	1.09	.52	.51	.50	.49	---	---
106	I tend to "lash out" when someone says or does something to hurt me	2.42	0.91	.60	.61	.61	.61	.62	.62
107	I seldom let minor offenses provoke me*	2.37	0.82	.35	.35	---	---	---	---
108	If someone hurt me, I'd probably retaliate before I had time to think about it	2.14	0.89	.55	.56	.58	.59	.60	.60
109	I often become enraged over the slightest offense	1.95	0.83	.54	.55	.53	.52	.52	.51
110	People who know me well would describe me as being happy-go-lucky*	2.49	0.92	.39	.39	---	---	---	---
111	I often seek revenge against those who have hurt me	1.96	0.79	.63	.64	.64	.63	.56	.57
112	I tend to be a peacekeeper*	2.13	0.83	.51	.52	.52	.48	---	---
113	If someone says something to hurt me, I'll say something to hurt them back	2.49	0.92	.64	.65	.67	.66	.64	.64
114	My quick temper often makes me do things which I later regret	2.40	1.02	.55	.57	.57	.58	.61	.61

Table 2 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
115	I could never hurt someone as they have hurt me*	2.92	1.02	.35	.36	---	---	---	---
116	The words and actions of other people can easily aggravate me	2.89	0.94	.55	.55	.52	.52	.48	---
117	I don't hold grudges*	2.99	0.99	.53	.52	.52	.49	---	---
118	People have told me that I seem to walk around with a cloud over my head	2.10	0.83	.16	---	---	---	---	---
119	The deeper the hurt, the sweeter the revenge	1.88	0.86	.49	.50	.51	.48	---	---
120	I ignore rumors about me*	3.13	0.97	.21	---	---	---	---	---
121	I pride myself in acting calmly and rationally, even when provoked	2.57	0.92	.49	.49	.47	.47	---	---
122	When it comes to being hurt, my motto is "one strike and you're out"	2.14	0.85	.26	---	---	---	---	---
123	I rarely "fly off the handle"*	2.32	0.89	.58	.60	.58	.57	.58	.58
124	People who try to hurt me tend to regret it later	2.49	0.98	.43	.44	.46	.46	---	---
125	I don't let the words of others and actions of others irritate me*	3.13	0.94	.33	.33	---	---	---	---

Table 2 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
126	Most people learn not to provoke me	2.58	0.90	.41	.43	.47	.48	---	---
127	I rarely brood over the inconsiderate behavior of others*	2.90	0.88	.38	.36	---	---	---	---
128	I tend to "forgive and forget" the words and actions of those who hurt me	2.73	0.95	.53	.52	.51	.49	---	---
129	Telling the person off is the best response to having your feelings hurt	2.04	0.70	.41	.42	.43	---	---	---
130	I try not to "rock the boat" even when offended*	2.87	0.92	.41	.42	.42	---	---	---
131	People who know me would say that I am argumentative	2.82	1.11	.44	.46	.48	.47	---	---
132	I try to forget insults directed toward me*	2.53	0.85	.42	.40	.38	---	---	---
133	When I get my feelings hurt, I act first and think later	2.23	0.81	.53	.53	.55	.55	.55	.55
134	I welcome criticism*	3.13	0.97	.13	---	---	---	---	---
135	I would describe myself as laid-back and easy-going*	2.27	0.98	.39	.39	---	---	---	---
136	When someone betrays me, I get angry	3.48	0.91	.44	.44	.45	.47	---	---
137	I've never become indignant over an insult	3.51	0.79	.12	---	---	---	---	---

Table 2 continued.

Item #	Content	Mean	SD	Item-Total Correlations I(1)	I(2)	I(3)	I(4)	I(5)	I(6)
138	It takes a lot to annoy me*	2.87	0.98	.54	.54	.51	.49	---	---
139	People have never accused me of being spiteful*	2.69	1.07	.37	.36	---	---	---	---
140	When someone offends me, I get "hot under the collar"	2.74	0.87	.53	.52	.53	.53	.51	.51
141	I always try to reconcile with those who have hurt me in the past*	2.59	0.96	.28	---	---	---	---	---
142	I can be vindictive when provoked	2.91	0.98	.53	.53	.54	.55	.53	.55
143	Revenge is never justified, no matter how deeply someone hurts you*	2.72	1.12	.41	.40	.42	---	---	---
	Reliability (α)			.95	.95	.95	.94	.92	.92
	Mean Inter-item Correlation			.20	.23	.27	.30	.34	.35
	Number of Items			73	64	50	38	22	20

Note: * = reverse-scored item; I(#) = Iteration Number.

items. At the second iteration, the criterion was set at .40, and 20 more items were discarded for not meeting this standard, reducing the item pool to 45. Coefficient alpha for this subset of 45 items was .95 with a mean inter-item correlation of .29. The third iteration brought about the elimination of 22 more items not meeting the set criterion of .50. Coefficient alpha for this subset of 27 items was .94 with a mean inter-item correlation of .31. Of the remaining 27 items, two more failed to meet the .50 criterion set in the earlier iteration and were therefore eliminated, reducing the item pool to 25. Coefficient alpha for this subset of 25 items was .93 with a mean inter-item correlation of .35. The final iteration brought about the elimination of five additional items not meeting the .50 criterion, further reducing the item pool to 20. The resultant 20-item Introjective Hurt scale had a coefficient alpha of .92 and a mean inter-item correlation of .38.

Similarly, the Retaliatory Hurt Scale initially was comprised of 73 items with a coefficient alpha of .95 and a mean inter-item correlation of .20. As indicated in Table 2, results of the first iteration showed nine items with corrected item-total correlations of less than .30, reducing the item pool to 64. Coefficient alpha for this subset of items was .95, and the mean inter-item correlation was .23. Items not meeting the criterion were discarded, and the analyses were calculated on the revised item pool of 64 items. The criterion was set at .40 on the second iteration, and 14 additional items were discarded for not meeting this standard, reducing the item pool to 50. Coefficient alpha for this subset of 50 items was .95 with a mean inter-item correlation of .27. The third iteration brought about the elimination of 12 more items not meeting

the set criterion of .45. Coefficient alpha for this subset of 38 items was .94 with a mean inter-item correlation of .30. Of the remaining 38 items, 16 more failed to meet newly established criterion of .50 and were therefore eliminated, reducing the item pool to 22. Coefficient alpha for this subset of 25 items was .92 with a mean inter-item correlation of .34. The final iteration brought about the elimination of two additional items not meeting the .50 criterion, reducing the item pool to 20. The resultant Retaliatory Hurt Scale comprised 20 items and had a coefficient alpha of .92 and a mean inter-item correlation of .35.

The mean inter-item correlation criterion was gradually increased until it reached the .50 level for both the introjective and retaliatory scales in order to reduce the item pool to the most concise number denoting the full range of meaning associated with each category. The overall pattern of results from each subscale's Likert analysis indicated that the Hurt Reactivity Scale is both internally reliable and temporally stable. Test-retest reliability for Introjective Hurt was .87; Retaliatory Hurt test-retest reliability was .85.

Phase 2: Validation

Participants and Procedure

Four hundred and forty-three undergraduate students (141 men and 302 women) enrolled in upper division psychology courses comprised the validation sample. This group had a mean age of 21.82 years (s.d. = 4.46), and the majority of the participants were Caucasian (89%). Participants completed one or more of five

questionnaires containing (a) biographical questions (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity); (b) the revised 40-item version of the Hurt Reactivity Scale (HRS); (c) alternative measures of hurt feelings (e.g., the Hurt-Proneness Scale; Leary & Springer, 2001); and (d) measures of relevant or related constructs (e.g., forgiveness, vengeance, self-esteem, guilt) as listed below.

Measures

Hurt Feelings. Leary and Springer (2001) designed the Hurt Proneness Scale (HPS) to examine individual differences in the propensity to experience hurt feelings; specifically, the HPS is an instrument designed to measure the frequency with which people's feelings are hurt and not the degree to which they feel hurt by specific hurtful events. Participants are asked to rate the six items comprising the HPS on a 5-point Likert-type response format with 1 = not at all and 5 = extremely characteristic of me. Certain items are reverse scored so that higher scores indicate a greater propensity to experience hurt feelings. The HPS was shown to be internally consistent with a coefficient alpha = .80. Validity analyses indicate that HPS scores correlate with how often people report being hurt in their everyday lives ($r = .65, p < .01$) but do not correspond to the intensity of people's hurt feelings in a particular hurtful situation (Leary & Springer, 2001).

Depression. The Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ; Blatt, 1976) contains 66 items designed to measure two types of depression (e.g., introjective/self-criticism and anaclitic/dependency) and efficacy. Participants are asked to evaluate each item on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7

(strongly agree). The scales of the DEQ were shown to have internal consistency with the Dependency factor having a coefficient alpha of .81; coefficient alpha for Self-Criticism was .80 and .72 for Efficacy (Blatt, 1995). The DEQ factor structure remained stable across repeated factor analyses, and the scales had acceptable levels of test-retest reliability over a 13-week time period. Blatt and his colleagues found considerable support for the construct validity of the DEQ Dependency and Self-Criticism Scales, with both showing significant relationships with similar measures, such as the Beck Depression Inventory and the Zung Self-Rating Depression Scale (Blatt et al., 1995).

Forgiveness. The Forgiving Personality Scale (FP; Jones, Iyer, & Lawler, 2002) is a self-report measure of dispositional forgiveness, or the readiness to forgive others when victimized by the moral and interpersonal transgressions of others. The FP scale consists of 33 items, which participants are asked to rate on a 5-point Likert-type response format, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The mean score for the FP scale in a college student population is 124.96 with a standard deviation of 16.32. It is highly reliable with a reported coefficient alpha of .93 and a mean inter-item correlation of .30 and stable over time with a test-retest correlation of .79 across a 2-month time interval. There is also evidence of validity as the scale correlates most strongly with other measures of trait forgiveness and related constructs.

Forgiveness of Self. Mauger, Perry, Freeman, Grove, McBride, and McKinney (1992) devised two related forgiveness measures: Forgiveness of Others and

Forgiveness of Self (FOS). The latter scale was designed to assess an individual's willingness to let go of one's own transgressions and was the subscale used in the present studies. FOS consists of 15 items, to which participants are asked to respond as either true or false. Previous research suggests that the scale is both internally and temporally reliable with a coefficient alpha of .82 and a test-retest reliability of .92. Comparisons with scales of the MMPI provided some evidence of validity.

Apology. Jones (AP; 2000, February) developed the Apology Scale to assess one's tendency to compromise and seek reconciliation in relationships. The Apology scale contains 21 items, which participants are asked to rate on a 5-point Likert-type response format, ranging from strongly disagrees to strongly agree. It is internally stable with a coefficient alpha of .86 and a mean inter-item correlation of .22, and temporally reliable with a test-retest correlation of .62 across a 2-month interval. The mean score for Apology is 88.47 with a standard deviation of 9.67.

Rejection Sensitivity. Downey and Feldman (1996) developed the Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (RSQ) to operationalize rejection sensitivity, which is defined as generalized expectations and anxiety about whether others will meet one's need for acceptance or whether they will be rejecting. Participants are asked to respond to each of the 18 items according to the likelihood that they would (a) be concerned or anxious about making the specified request and (b) expect the other person to honor their request. The test is scored by multiplying the (a) by the (b) and summing the cross-products. The RSQ displays high internal consistency with a coefficient alpha of .83 and a mean inter-item correlation of .30. Additionally, the

RSQ is highly reliable over time, with a 2-week test-retest reliability of .83 and a 4-month test-retest reliability of .78. Validity analyses of the RSQ indicate that individuals' anxious expectations of rejection promote a readiness on their part to perceive and overreact to rejection (Downey & Feldman, 1996).

Vengeance. Stuckless and Goranson (1992) developed the Vengeance Scale to measure attitudes toward revenge, or what may be called dispositional vengeance. Participants are asked to respond to each of the 20 items on a 7-point Likert response format, for which 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. High scores indicate higher levels of vengeance. The Vengeance Scale was shown to have high internal consistency with a correlation alpha of .92 and a mean inter-item correlation of .38. It is also consistent over time as demonstrated by a test-retest reliability index of .90. Validity evidence demonstrates that this scale is not unduly contaminated by social desirability bias as indicated by low inverse correlations with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Furthermore, the Vengeance Scale is positively correlated with measures of trait anger and self-reported vengeful behavior and is inversely related to empathy (Stuckless & Goranson, 1992).

Revenge. The Beliefs About Revenge Questionnaire (BARQ; Emmons, 1992) is an 18-item true-false questionnaire designed to measure past vengeful behavior (e.g., "I can think of a time when I wanted to get back at people who hurt me"), beliefs about the efficacy of revenge (e.g., "Revenge can have positive consequences"), and general attitudes toward revenge (e.g., "Seeking revenge is never justified"; reverse-scored). High scores on this one-dimensional measure reflect a generalized tendency

to be concerned with seeking revenge. The scale is internally consistent with a coefficient alpha of .77 and a mean inter-item correlation of .17. It also has been validated, yielding significant correlations with the Cook-Medley Hostility Index, the Buss-Durkee Hostility measure, and the Multidimensional Anger Inventory among others.

A seven item Revenge Scale was developed by Jones (2000) as part of a larger forgiveness inventory in order to assess the lack of forgiveness and tendency to seek revenge for wrongdoing by others. Participants are asked to respond to each of the seven items on a 5-point Likert response format, with 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. High scores indicate higher levels of revenge tendencies. The revenge scale has good internal consistency with a coefficient alpha of .86 and a mean inter-item correlation of .46. Additionally, it has been shown to be reliable over time with a test-retest reliability coefficient of .69.

Grudge-Holding. Jones and Lawler (2001) developed the six-item Grudge-Holding Scale as part of a larger forgiveness inventory to assess the degree to which one tends to hold grudges about past interpersonal offenses. Participants are asked to respond to each of the six items on a 5-point Likert-type response format, with 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. High scores indicate higher levels of grudge-holding. The grudge-holding scale is internally consistent with a coefficient alpha of .77 and a mean inter-item correlation of .35. It is also reliable over time with a test-retest reliability coefficient of .78.

Contentiousness. The 12-item Contentiousness Scale was designed by Jones and Lawler (2001) to measure the tendency to be contentious and argumentative. Coefficient alpha was .88 in one sample, and the test-retest reliability was .65. Validity was suggested by comparisons with measures of forgiveness (inverse relationships), anger, and revenge.

Anger. The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI; Spielbeger, 1988) is a 44-item inventory that measures an individual's experience with, expression, and control of anger. The measure has two scales [e.g., State-Trait Anger Scale (STAS) and Anger Expression Scale (AX)] and yields five scores: State Anger, Trait Anger, Anger-Out, Anger-In, and Anger-Control. The STAXI uses a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = almost never to 4 = almost always, to indicate a participant's level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. The 20-item STAS assesses one's intensity, proneness, and expression of anger with regard to (a) situational factors (State Anger) and (b) personality traits (Trait Anger) in response to perceived injustices or frustrations. Only the 10 STAS items denoting Trait Anger were used in this study. The Anger Expression Scale (AX) measures the behavioral component of anger, the frequency with which it occurs, and how anger is expressed (e.g., suppressed, physical, and destructive behaviors). The Anger-In factor consists of 8 items and refers to suppressed anger, while Anger-Out (8-items) denotes the external physically- and verbally-aggressive response to anger. A third factor, Anger-Control, is comprised of 8 items and refers to the ability of the individual to control his or her outward expression of anger. Spielberger (1988) reports alpha coefficients of

.93 for S-anger. The test-retest reliability over a 2-week period was reported by gender. Specifically, results indicated coefficient alphas for S-anger to be .27 for men and .21 for women. Validity for the STAS was denoted by significant correlations with the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory and the Hostility (Cook & Medley, 1954) and the Overt Hostility (Schultz, 1954) Scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Internal reliability coefficients for the AX scales ranged from .73 to .84. Validity was demonstrated by significant positive associations between Anger-In and increased systolic and diastolic blood pressure. However, the correlations between Anger-Out and blood pressure indices were moderate to small, which was expected given the differences in the expression and control of anger.

PFQ Guilt and Shame. Harder and Lewis (1986) presented the Personal Feelings Questionnaire (PFQ) as an instrument for assessing guilt and shame. It contains a list of 10 feelings, five of which assess shame, three of which measure guilt, and two filler items. Respondents rate each using a 5-point scale regarding the commonality of the feeling in their experience. Internal consistency is adequate for brief measures, and supportive validity data has been reported (Harder & Lewis, 1986).

Guilt and Moral Standards. Kugler and Jones (1992) developed the Guilt Inventory to assess one's propensity to experience guilt over interpersonal transgressions. The Guilt Inventory consists of 45 items and yields three independent scores assessing trait guilt, state guilt, and moral standards. Participants are asked to rate each of the 45 items on a 5-point Likert-type response format whereby 1 =

strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. The Guilt Inventory is internally reliable with average coefficient alphas ranging from .81 to .89 across several samples of adults and college students and test-retest correlations varying from .58 and .81 over a 10-week interval. Considerable evidence suggests the validity of scale interpretations, including concurrent scale comparisons, ratings by others, and antisocial behaviors (Kugler & Jones, 1992; Jones & Kugler, 1993; Jones, Kugler & Adams, 1995; Jones, Schratter, & Kugler, 2000).

Reflection and Rumination. Trapnell and Campbell (1999) developed the Reflection and Rumination scale to assess the degree of ruminative versus reflective patterns of private self-attentiveness. Each scale consists of 12 items, rated on a 5-point Likert-type response format where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree, and yields independent scores for reflection and rumination. Both scales have adequate internal reliability (coefficient alphas > .80), and the validity of scale interpretations has been assessed by comparisons to measures of the Five Factor Model of Personality and measures of self-consciousness and self-examination with supportive results (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999).

Regret. The Regret Scale consists of 14 items assessing the negative feelings and thoughts associated with loss, transgression, and errors (Caldwell & Mowrer, 1998). These items were reported to have a coefficient alpha of .66, and validity was suggested by inverse correlations with life satisfaction and delay of gratification and a direct correlation with anxiety.

Hypersensitivity. Jones (2001) devised the Hypersensitivity Scale to assess

excessive sensitivity to criticism. The scale contains eight items with a coefficient alpha of .76 and a mean inter-item correlation of .31. Validity of scale interpretations is suggested by inverse correlations with self-esteem and assertiveness and direct correlations with anxiety and depression.

Big Five Personality Factors. A measure of the five factor model of personality was developed to assess extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness (Benet-Martinez & John, 1998). Internal reliability estimates (coefficient alpha) varied from .75 to .90 for these components in U. S. and Canadian samples, and the average test-retest correlation across the five scales was .85 over a 3-month period of time. Strong evidence of validity was observed in comparisons with alternative measures of the five-factor model. Specifically, each scale was more strongly related on average to its comparable alternatives than to its average correlation with measures of other factors.

Avoidant, Dependent, and Borderline Personality. Jones (1988) developed a 186-item Inventory of Personal Data (IPD), designed to assess Axis-II personality disorder dimensions as defined in DSM-III, DSM-IIIR, and DSM-IV. Each scale consists of 15 self-report items answered on a 5-point Likert-type response format. The IPD scales are internally reliable ($\alpha = .75$ for all three scales), and preliminary validity evidence includes comparisons with alternative measures of Axis-II disorders, psychiatric diagnoses, and comparisons with measures of personality and psychopathology (e.g., the MMPI). For the present study, items comprising the Avoidant (feelings of inhibition, inadequacy, and hypersensitivity), Dependent

(submissiveness, excessive need to be taken care of), and Borderline (unstable relationships, excessive impulsivity, unstable self and emotions) were selected for comparison.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). The RSES was designed to measure one's level of self-esteem, or feelings of global self-worth (Rosenberg, 1965). The RSES is comprised of 10 items measured on a 5-point response format anchored by "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree." RSES scores may range from 10 to 50 with higher scores indicating higher levels of self-esteem (Robinson & Shaver, 1985). The RSES is highly reliable ($\alpha = .90$) and it is widely used in social psychological research as an index of trait self-esteem, which attest to its validity.

Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D). The CES-D was developed to measure depressive symptomatology (i.e., depressed mood, feelings of guilt and worthlessness, feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, psychomotor retardation, loss of appetite, and sleep disturbance) in the general population (Radloff, 1977). The CES-D is comprised of 20 items rated on a response format ranging from 0 to 3, indicating the frequency of occurrence. Possible CES-D scores range from 0 to 60, with higher scores denoting a greater number of depressive symptoms. Radloff (1977) found high internal consistency for the CES-D in both a general population sample ($\alpha = .85$) and a patient sample ($\alpha = .90$).

Results and Discussion

Table 3 presents the inter-correlations between introjective and retaliatory hurt across the two questionnaires. Table 4 includes the correlations between the Hurt Reactivity Scale and Blatt's (1976) Depressive Experiences Questionnaire. Table 5 denotes the correlations between introjective and retaliatory hurt and related concepts, and Table 6 depicts the correlations between introjective and retaliatory hurt and general measures of personality. Finally, Table 7 indicates the correlations between the hurt reactivity scale and measures of well-being. The Introjective Hurt Scale was significantly, positively related to conceptually-similar constructs, such as rejection sensitivity, guilt, and measures of personality disorder dimensions, such as avoidant and dependent personality. Retaliatory Hurt was positively and significantly associated with grudge-holding, trait anger, and vengeance. These results suggest strong construct validity for both scales. Additionally, convergent validity was denoted by the similarity in the pattern of correlations between introjective and retaliatory hurt and independent measures of well-being. Specifically, both introjective and retaliatory hurt were positively associated with depression and inversely related to an individual's level of self-esteem.

Discriminant validity was established by the differential pattern of correlations displayed. Specifically, results indicated that introjective hurt alone was highly and significantly related to hurt proneness, whereas the relationship between hurt proneness and retaliatory hurt was not significant. A similar pattern of results was seen for the relationship between introjective hurt and dependent personality as

Table 3. Correlations between Introjective and Retaliatory Hurt

	I1	R1	I2	R2
HRS Introjective 1	---			
HRS Retaliatory 1	.26**	---		
HRS Introjective 2	.87**	.23**	---	
HRS Retaliatory 2	.23**	.85**	.20*	---

Note: ** = $p < .01$; HRS Introjective/Retaliatory 1 = Questionnaire 1; HRS Introjective/Retaliatory 2 = Questionnaire 2.

Table 4. Correlations between HRS and Blatt's DEQ

	Introjective Hurt	Retaliatory Hurt
DEQ Efficacy	.14	.07
DEQ Dependence	.62**	.28**
DEQ Relatedness	.49**	.13
DEQ Dependence & Relatedness	.62**	.24**
DEQ Self-Criticism	.50**	.31**

Note: **= $p < .01$; Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ; Blatt, 1976)

Table 5. Correlations between the Hurt Reactivity Scale and Related Measures

	Introjective Hurt	Retaliatory Hurt
Hurt Proneness	.81**	.14
Forgiving Personality	-.24**	-.66**
Forgiveness of Self	-.50**	-.38**
Apology	-.13	-.51**
Rejection Sensitivity	.27**	.16*
Vengeance	.16*	.64**
Beliefs About Revenge	.13	.58**
Revenge	.06	.65**
Grudge-Holding	.39**	.55**
Contentiousness	-.13	.45**
State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory		
Trait Anger	.29**	.76**
Anger In	.34**	.27**
Anger Out	.07	.27**
Anger Control	-.34**	-.65**
Personal Feelings Questionnaire		
PFQ Shame	.38**	.00
PFQ Guilt	.22**	.16*

Table 5 continued.

	Introjective Hurt	Retaliatory Hurt
Guilt Inventory		
Trait Guilt	.30**	.27**
State Guilt	.30**	.16*
Moral Standards	.09	-.24**
Reflection & Rumination Scale		
Reflection	.04	.02
Rumination	.59**	.44**
Regret	.49**	.55**
Hypersensitivity	.61**	.53**

Note: ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; Hurt Proneness = Hurt Proneness Scale (Leary & Springer, 2001); Forgiving Personality = Forgiving Personality Scale (Jones, Iyer & Lawler, 2002); Forgiveness of Self = Forgiveness of Self and Others Scales (Mauger, Perry, Freeman, Grove, McBride & McKinney, 1992); Apology = Apology Scale (Jones, 2000); Rejection Sensitivity = Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (Downey & Feldman, 1996); Vengeance = Vengeance Scale (Stuckless & Goranson, 1992); Beliefs About Revenge = Beliefs About Revenge Questionnaire (Emmons, 1992); Revenge = Revenge Scale (Jones, 2000); Grudge-Holding = Grudge-Holding Scale (Jones & Lawler, 2001); Contentiousness = Contentiousness Scale (Jones & Lawler, 2001); Trait Anger, Anger-In, Anger-Out, & Anger Control = State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (Spielberger, 1988); PFQ Shame & Guilt = Personal Feelings Questionnaire (Harder & Lewis, 1986); Guilt & Moral Standards = Guilt Inventory (Kugler & Jones, 1992); Reflection & Rumination = Reflection and Rumination Scale (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999); Regret = Regret Scale (Caldwell & Mowrer, 1998).

Table 6. Correlations between HRS and Measures of Personality

	Introjective Hurt	Retaliatory Hurt
Extraversion	.03	-.14
Agreeableness	-.15	.13
Conscientiousness	.05	.03
Neuroticism	-.13	.15
Openness	.05	-.26**
Avoidant Personality	.56**	.29**
Dependent Personality	.55**	.09
Borderline Personality	.39**	.49**

Note: **= $p < .01$; Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism & Openness = Five Factor Personality Inventory (Benet-Martinez & John, 1998); Avoidant, Dependent & Borderline Personality = Inventory of Personal Data (Jones, 1988).

Table 7. Validity Assessment of HRS and Measures of Well-Being

	Introjective Hurt	Retaliatory Hurt
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale	-.34**	-.24**
CES-D	.26**	.24**

Note: ** = $p < .01$; Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965); Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977).

compared to the lack of relationship between dependency and retaliatory hurt. Retaliatory hurt, on the other hand, was very strongly correlated with trait anger and was the only one of the two types of hurt to significantly correspond with anger out, revenge, and beliefs about revenge. Additionally, retaliatory hurt alone showed a strong inverse association with apology and moral standards. The overall pattern of correlations suggests the construct and discriminant validity of both HRS scales and furthermore supports the utility of introjective and retaliatory hurt as two distinct dimensions of hurt reactivity.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD AND RESULTS:

STUDIES OF HURT

Study 1: Pilot Longitudinal Study

The purpose of this study was to explore factors that predict overcoming hurtful experiences. More specifically, this study investigated the utility of gender, personality traits, and hurt incident characteristics (e.g., degree of hurt affect, severity of betrayal, apology) in predicting forgiveness and introjective (internalizing) and retaliatory (lashing out) responses to interpersonal hurt.

Participants and Procedure

Data were collected from 52 college students (31 women and 21 men) during two assessment periods separated by a 2-month interval. At Time 1, participants described their most recent hurt experience and rated the likelihood of various behavioral and emotional reactions to having their feelings hurt in percentage format on an 11-point Likert-type scale (see Appendix A). Of the 21 items, six were used to denote an introjective response pattern. These items included the following: "degree of hurt I feel," "wondered what I did wrong," "said and/or did nothing," "blamed self for incident," "gave in to him/her," "depressed/sad over it," and "feared losing the relationship." When scaled, the introjective response pattern measure proved to be

reliable with a coefficient alpha of .74 and a mean inter-item correlation of .37. Seven of the 21 items depicted the retaliatory response pattern, including "have 'gotten back at' him/her somehow," "retaliated against him/her," "confronted him/her about the problem," "blamed him/her for what happened," "feel angry toward him/her," "yelled and screamed in retaliation," and "feel resentful toward him/her." The retaliatory response pattern measure was internally consistent with a coefficient alpha of .76 and a mean inter-item correlation of .35. Forgiveness was assessed using a five item version of the Acts of Forgiveness Scale (Drinnon, 2001). Time 1 predictor variables included the victim's gender, an abbreviated five item version of the Forgiving Personality Scale (Jones, Iyer, & Lawler, 2002), an abbreviated five item version of the Apology Scale (Jones, 2000), observer-rated severity, observer-rated hurt affect, participant indication of the perpetrator's awareness of having hurt the victim, and participant indication of whether or not the perpetrator apologized for the hurtful incident. At Time 2, participants were presented with their original hurt narratives and asked questions providing additional predictor variables (e.g., whether or not the perpetrator apologized at a later time, the continued importance of the incident, whether or not the victim attempted to overcome the hurt) designed to test whether the incident had been resolved or whether it was a source of continued hurt and anguish.

Results and Discussion

Analyses of narrative content indicated two common patterns of experiencing hurt feelings, which were identified as short-term and long-term impact. For short-term impact, participants reported being hurt by the critical remarks of their relationship partners, which had an immediate, negative impact on the victims' feelings (e.g., anger, resentment) but no long-term effect on the relationship. For long-term impact, participants reported being hurt by unfaithful romantic partners and friends who alienated them, leading to perceived relationship instability and the belief that the relationship either would quickly end or would never be as close again.

Regression analyses were performed to ascertain the impact of four predictor variables (victim gender, betrayal severity, whether or not the perpetrator apologized, whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his/her feelings) on forgiveness, introjective hurt response pattern, and retaliatory hurt response pattern. At Time 2, the fourth predictor variable was switched from awareness to whether or not the hurt incident continued to be of importance to the victim. Initially, whether or not the perpetrator apologized and the observer-rated severity of the betrayal predicted whether or not the victim forgave the perpetrator for the hurtful incident (see Table 8). Forgiveness assessed at Time 2 depended on whether or not the incident continued to be important to the victim in addition to the victim having received an apology, $F(2, 50) = 10.17$, $p < .000$. The severity of the betrayal was the sole predictor of the introjective hurt response pattern at Time 1 (see Table 9). The continued importance of the hurt incident and the severity of the

Table 8. Initial and Subsequent Forgiveness as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Apology Hurt Severity	.30	10.17	.000
2	Later Apology Importance	.34	11.25	.000

Note: Importance = whether or not the victim considered the hurtful incident to be of continued importance to him/her.

Table 9. Initial and Subsequent Introjective Response as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Hurt Severity	.30	20.83	.000
2	Importance Hurt Severity	.31	9.76	.000

Note: Importance = whether or not the victim considered the hurtful incident to be of continued importance to him/her.

incident predicted introjective hurt reactivity at Time 2, $F(2, 45) = 9.77, p < .000$. The severity of the betrayal and the victim's belief that the perpetrator was aware of having his or her feelings predicted the retaliatory hurt response pattern during Time 1, $F(2, 50) = 15.72, p < .000$. The severity of the betrayal alone accounted for the retaliatory hurt response pattern at Time 2 (see Table 10).

Results indicated that forgiveness is related to the perpetrator apologizing to the victim for having his or her feelings either immediately after the hurtful incident has occurred or a some later time, lower degree of severity, and the lessened importance of hurtful incident with the passage of time. These results also suggested the utility of dividing hurt feelings into introjective and retaliatory response patterns. High severity level hurt incidents and the continued importance of the hurtful episode to the victim appear to be associated with an introjective response style, conceptualized as the victim's tendency to feel sad or depressed, wonder what he/she did wrong, and engage in self-blame. A retaliatory hurt response pattern was noted when respondents stated that they yelled at, blamed, or confronted and felt angry and resentful toward the perpetrator. This retaliatory pattern was best predicted by high betrayal severity and the victim's belief that the perpetrator was aware of having inflicted hurt upon him or her.

Table 10. Initial and Subsequent Retaliatory Response as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Hurt Severity Awareness	.40	15.72	.000
2	Hurt Severity	.37	24.34	.000

Note: Awareness = whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his/her feelings.

Study 2: Longitudinal Study

This survey was designed as a partial replication and extension of the pilot longitudinal study. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to assess the utility of gender, personality characteristics (e.g., hurt reactivity, forgiving personality), and hurt incident characteristics (e.g., degree of hurt affect, severity of betrayal, apology) in predicting introjective (internalizing) and retaliatory (lashing out) responses to interpersonal hurt as well as forgiveness.

Participants and Procedure

One hundred and twelve undergraduate students (88 women and 24 men) enrolled in an upper-division psychology course at the University of Tennessee completed the narrative questionnaires during two assessment periods separated by a 2-month time interval. At Time 1, participants described their most recent significant hurt experience and rated the likelihood of various behavioral and emotional reactions to having their feelings hurt. Time 1 predictor variables included participant gender, the Hurt Reactivity Scale, observer-rated hurt severity, whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his or her feelings, and whether or not the perpetrator apologized, or made-up, for the hurtful incident according to the participant. At Time 2, participants were presented with their original hurt narratives and asked follow-up questions providing additional predictor variables (e.g., later apology, incident's continued importance) designed to assess the incident's impact on the individual (i.e., whether the incident had been resolved or whether it was a source

of continued hurt and anguish). Forgiveness was assessed using an abbreviated five item version of the Acts of Forgiveness Scale (Drinnon, 2001).

Results and Discussion

Analyses indicated that the victim's initial feelings, as assessed by two independent raters (inter-rater reliability = .69) on a 4-point Likert type scale where 0 = no affect and 3 = great affect, were predicted by three factors: whether or not the perpetrator attempted to apologize, or make-up, for having hurt the victim's feelings; the severity of the hurt incident; and whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his or her feelings (see Table 11). At Time 1, the severity of the hurtful episode and the victim's retaliatory hurt reactivity personality style accounted for the greatest degree of hurt experienced, as reported by the respondent himself or herself; whereas, hurt severity alone accounted for continued hurt, as assessed at Time 2 (see Table 12). The severity of the hurtful incident, introjective hurt reactivity, and the perpetrator's awareness of having hurt the victim predicted the introjective response pattern at Time 1, $F(3, 107) = 9.87, p < .000$. At Time 2, hurt severity alone accounted for a continued introjective response (see Table 13). The retaliatory response pattern was predicted by the perpetrator's awareness of having hurt the victim and retaliatory hurt reactivity at Time 1, $F(2, 109) = 8.76, p < .000$. At Time 2, it was predicted by betrayal severity, retaliatory hurt reactivity, and gender (see Table 14). Forgiveness, as assessed by the five item version of the Acts of Forgiveness Scale (Drinnon, 2001), was initially predicted by the severity of the

Table 11. Observer-Rated Victim's Feelings as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Make-Up Hurt Severity Awareness	.39	12.991	.000

Note: Make-Up = whether or not the perpetrator attempted to make-up, or apologize, for having hurt the victim's feelings; Awareness = whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his/her feelings.

Table 12. Initial and Subsequent Degree of Hurt Experienced as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Hurt Severity HRS Retaliatory	.11	7.46	.001
2	Hurt Severity	.06	6.71	.011

Note: HRS = Hurt Reactivity Scale.

Table 13. Initial and Subsequent Introjective Response Pattern as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Hurt Severity HRS Introjective Awareness	.20	9.87	.000
2	Hurt Severity	.04	5.27	.024

Note: HRS = Hurt Reactivity Scale.

Table 14. Initial and Subsequent Retaliatory Response Pattern as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Awareness HRS Retaliatory	.13	8.76	.000
2	Hurt Severity HRS Retaliatory Gender	.13	5.81	.001

Note: HRS = Hurt Reactivity Scale.

hurtful incident and a retaliatory hurt reactivity personality (see Table 15). At Time 2, forgiveness was predicted by hurt severity alone. Tables 16 and 17 represent the correlations among predictor and outcome variables at Time 1 and 2, respectively. These results indicated that forgiveness is inversely related to the victim's retaliatory personality and to the perceived severity of the hurtful incident. These results also suggested the utility of dividing hurt feelings into introjective and retaliatory response patterns. The HRS Introjective scale was one of the factors predictive of an introjective response style, conceptualized as the victim's tendency to feel sad or depressed, wonder what he/she did wrong, and engage in self-blame. The retaliatory response pattern, indicative of confrontational behavior and feelings of anger and resentment, was predicted by the victim's HRS Retaliatory personality at both Time 1 and 2.

Study 3: Hypothetical Hurt Incident Study

This study proposed that there are two distinct patterns of reacting to hurt: an introjective reaction pattern in which the individual internalizes hurt (i.e., engages in self-blame, becomes depressed) and a retaliatory reaction pattern in which the individual lashes out in response to being hurt. Thus, the purpose of the study was to explore the effects of setting, intentionality, and gender on introjective and retaliatory responses to interpersonal hurt.

Table 15. Initial and Subsequent Forgiveness as a Function of Predictor Variables

Time	Model	R Square	F	Sig.
1	Hurt Severity HRS Retaliatory	.11	7.78	.001
2	Hurt Severity	.13	15.50	.000

Note: Forgiveness was assessed by the five item version of the Acts of Forgiveness Scale (Drinnon, 2001).

Table 16. Correlations Among Predictor and Outcome Variables at Time 1

	Hurt	Introjective	Retaliatory	AF	VICFEEL
HRS Introjective	.14	.27**	.11	-.07	.03
HRS Retaliatory	.19	.10	.28**	-.22**	.04
Betrayal Severity	.28**	.33**	.20*	-.28**	.39**
Awareness	.22*	.27**	.29**	-.17	.24**
Make-Up	.02	.06	.08	.18	.59**
Gender	-.02	.04	.00	.02	.17

Note: ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; Hurt = Degree of hurt experienced by the victim; Introjective = introjective reaction pattern; Retaliatory = retaliatory reaction pattern; AF = five item version of the Acts of Forgiveness Scale (Drinnon, 2001); VICFEEL = rater's assessment of the victim's feelings; Make-Up = whether or not the perpetrator attempted to make-up, or apologize, for having hurt the victim's feelings; Awareness = whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his/her feelings.

Table 17. Correlations Among Predictor and Outcome Variables at Time 2

	Hurt	Introjective	Retaliatory	AF
HRS Introjective	.06	.07	.04	-.08
HRS Retaliatory	.13	.03	.20	-.13
Betrayal Severity	.27**	.31**	.29**	-.39**
Still Important	.21*	.16	.17	-.09
Later Apology	-.00	-.12	-.01	.02
Overcome	-.04	.02	.06	.10
Gender	.05	.09	.14	-.03

Note: ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; Hurt = Degree of hurt experienced by the victim; Introjective = introjective reaction pattern; Retaliatory = retaliatory reaction pattern; AF = five item version of the Acts of Forgiveness Scale (Drinnon, 2001); VICFEEL = rater's assessment of the victim's feelings; Later Apology = whether or not the perpetrator attempted to make-up, or apologize, for having hurt the victim's feelings; Awareness = whether or not the victim believed that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his/her feelings.

Participants and Procedure

One hundred and sixty-two college students (109 women and 53 men) were presented with descriptions of hypothetical incidents in which someone hurt their feelings either intentionally or not intentionally. Participants were asked to rate 21 probable responses to such an offense (e.g., anger, physical retaliation, blame, confrontation) in percentage format on an 11-point Likert-type scale.

Results and Discussion

The introjective and retaliatory response pattern measures used in these analyses were the same as those used in the earlier studies. A 2 (setting; public vs. private) X 2 (intentionality) X 2 (gender) Analysis of Variance was conducted to assess the effects of setting, intentionality, and gender on reactions to interpersonal hurt (introjective and retaliatory response patterns). Results indicated that intentionally hurtful acts account for both retaliatory and introjective response patterns (see Table 18). Relatively few significant results were attributable to gender and setting, indicating that these variables do not account for as significant a part of the variance in differential patterns of hurt responses as intentionality alone. In fact, setting appeared to impact only the introjective hurt response pattern, whereby results revealed that private settings were more conducive to this reaction pattern. Gender did not appear to significantly impact either hurt response pattern.

Table 18. Introjective and Retaliatory Hurt Response Means and F-Ratios

	Means								F-ratios						
	Public				Private										
	Intentional		Unintentional		Intentional		Unintentional								
Variable	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Gen	Set	Con	I(1)	I(2)	1(3)	I(4)
Introjective	28.08	29.84	23.48	25.67	31.83	32.10	25.19	29.03	2.72	5.13*	14.24**	0.00	0.67	0.04	0.41
Retaliatory	55.84	55.53	47.63	50.05	56.10	52.69	49.14	48.10	0.30	0.50	34.56**	2.34	1.42	0.25	0.01

Note: M= Male; F = Female; Gen = Gender (Male/Female); Set = Setting (Public/Private); Con = Condition (Intentional/Unintentional); I(1). = Interaction 1 (Gender x Setting); I(2) = Interaction 2 (Gender x Intentionality); I(3) = Interaction 3 (Setting x Intentionality); I(4) = Interaction 4 (Gender x Setting x Intentionality); * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION:

DEVELOPING A THEORY OF HURT REACTIVTY

Hurt Reactivity Scale

One basic purpose of this research project was to develop a reliable and valid index of hurt reactivity. The resultant Hurt Reactivity Scale provides a reliable and valid index of two styles of hurt reactivity. While both Introjective and Retaliatory Hurt express a heightened sensitivity to perceiving and experiencing hurt feelings, they differentially predict two distinct reaction patterns. Specifically, Introjective Hurt denotes an individual who internalizes hurt and engages in self-blame, whereas Retaliatory Hurt refers to a personality characteristic associated with lashing out immediately and aggressively toward perpetrators of hurt.

The results of these studies suggest the internal and temporal stability of the HRS scales. Furthermore, the Introjective and Retaliatory scales differentially predicted measures of constructs of relevance, thereby supporting the validity of interpretations of these scales. For example, as expected, the introjective scale strongly predicts dependence, self-criticism, hurt proneness, grudge-holding, anger-in, shame, trait guilt, rumination, regret, hypersensitivity, avoidant personality, dependent personal and borderline personality and is inversely related to self-esteem, anger-control, and forgiveness of self. By contrast, retaliatory hurt predicts vengeance,

favorable beliefs about revenge, grudge-holding, contentiousness, trait anger, and regret and is negatively correlated with forgiving personality, favorable attitudes toward apology and anger control. By definition, there is a degree of overlap between the introjective and retaliatory patterns that is reflected in the modest correlation found between the two and in a small set of convergent correlates including hypersensitivity, rumination, and borderline personality. Results of these analyses suggest both the measurement adequacy and validity of the Hurt Reactivity Scale.

Exploring the Nature of Hurt Over Time

Another purpose of this research was to explore the meaning and implications of the concept of hurt from various methodological perspectives. The narratives utilized in the two longitudinal studies yielded information regarding the factors associated with differential response patterns to experiencing hurt in interpersonal relationships, corresponding to the personality dimensions of introjective and retaliatory hurt. For example, the results of the pilot study indicated that the introjective hurt response pattern was best predicted by the severity of the hurtful incident and the continued importance of the incident to the hurt victim over time. In the subsequent longitudinal study that represented a replication and extension of the pilot study, the HRS Introjective Hurt personality and the victim's perception that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his or her feelings proved to be additional predictor variables. These findings suggest that having a general tendency to respond introjectively to hurt accounts for subsequent cognitive and behavioral displays of

self-blame, internalization, persistence, and sensitization in response to interpersonal betrayals.

Similarly, the severity of the interpersonal offense and the victim's belief that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his or her feelings significantly predicted a retaliatory response to hurt feelings in the initial longitudinal narrative study. The replication and extension showed that perceived perpetrator awareness and a HRS Retaliatory Hurt personality accounted for one's initial retaliatory behavioral response and that, over time, the more severe hurt incidents tended to presage a continuing negative and aggressive reaction toward the perceived perpetrator. Thus, individuals with a retaliatory hurt personality appear to lash out and aggress against those who have seriously, or deeply, hurt them immediately and for some time to come.

Forgiveness in the narrative accounts of hurt in the pilot study was best predicted by the victim receiving a sincere apology from the perpetrator, either immediately after the hurt occurred or subsequently, less severe hurt incidents or betrayals, and the diminished importance of the hurt incident to the victim over time. In the subsequent longitudinal study, lower hurt incident severity and lower retaliatory hurt personality were most predictive of forgiveness. These results suggest that a variety of factors including apology, retaliatory personality, and severity facilitate the likelihood of forgiveness both initially and over time.

Analyses of observer-rated and self-reported hurt feelings also were assessed in the follow-up longitudinal study. Observer-rated victim's feelings were related to whether or not the perpetrator attempted to apologize, or make-up, for having hurt the

victim, the severity of the hurtful incident, and the victim's belief that the perpetrator was aware of having hurt his or her feelings. In contrast, the victim's self-reported degree of hurt was associated with the severity of the hurtful incident and the victim's degree of retaliatory hurt predisposition. These findings reveal that more serious interpersonal offenses are perceived by both participants and observers as being very hurtful and that the more severe the hurt experienced, the more difficult it is to cope with such emotional challenges and to "let go" of the hurt.

Studying Hurt in a Hypothetical Paradigm

The hypothetical hurt incident study revealed that asking participants to imagine a time in which their feelings were hurt by another person suggested additional dimensions potentially influencing the probability and degree to which hurt may be experienced. Specifically, it was found that ascribing intentionality to a hurtful act (i.e., believing that the perpetrator purposely set out to hurt the victim's feelings) results in both the immediate and aggressive retaliation characteristic of the retaliatory hurt personality and in the internalizing and self-punitive responses of the introjective hurt predisposition. Furthermore, results indicated that the introjective pattern of responses to interpersonal hurt is more likely to occur in private settings as compared to public settings. These results suggest that the experience of both introjective and retaliatory hurt is easily triggered by perceptions of the perpetrator's motives--specifically, whether or not the victimization is seen as intentional. Ironically, being hurt in private apparently gives rise specifically to greater

introjective, but not retaliatory hurt. Perhaps individuals who are hurt in private settings are more likely to internalize the hurt and engage in self-blame because there is no other person present with him or her beyond the perpetrator of the hurt, and, thus, the blame is more easily placed on himself or herself.

Limitations and Points for Future Research

Although these studies offer information regarding the multifaceted nature of hurt feelings, the importance and implications of these findings may be limited by various methodological issues. One of the limitations of this study was that all of the data collection and analyses were conducted on samples of college students at a large Southeastern state university, leaving unanswered the questions as to whether these results would generalize to other populations. Another potential limitation derives from the reliance on self-report assessment procedures and possible contamination of social desirability and other response sets. However, the convergence of findings across the aggregate data and across the different methodologies employed (survey, narrative, and hypothetical) suggests that these limitations may be offset somewhat by replication and convergence. Additionally, these issues could be addressed in the future by conducting research using alternative perspectives and methodologies (e.g., behavioral analyses, obtaining sociometric ratings).

Future studies of hurt feelings ought to incorporate a dual perspective approach to analyzing narrative accounts of hurt. Specifically, participants ought to be asked to give narrative accounts of both a time when they were a victim of a hurtful incident

(as did the two studies conducted in this research project) and one in which they were the perpetrator of the hurt. This would allow researchers to explore how attribution impacts an individual's experience of hurt, depending on whether he or she was the perpetrator or victim of the hurt. The betrayal literature suggests that individuals tend to make external causal attributions in instances in which they betrayed another person, whereas they tend to ascribe intentionality to a hurtful act when they are the victim of hurt and, thus, attribute blame to internal causes or motivations on the part of the hurt perpetrator. So, it may be of interest to hurt researchers to pursue a similar line of research in order to see if the same principles are at work in instances involving interpersonal hurt. Furthermore, researchers interested in narrative accounts of hurt ought to compare and contrast recent hurt narratives with greatest hurt narratives. Specifically, it would be interesting to determine whether individuals with either an introjective or retaliatory personality would act in accordance to their predisposition in each instance and to see if time or degree of incurred hurt would impact the predictability of such behavior based on personal proclivity.

In addition to more narrative studies, laboratory studies of hurt would add another piece to this theoretical puzzle. For example, similar to laboratory studies of rejection, people could be brought into a laboratory setting in which they are excluded from the activity that the confederate group is engaging in; afterward, they would be given an opportunity to retaliate against group members (should they have the inclination to do so) and asked how they felt about the situation (e.g., whether or not they felt excluded, hurt, angry, etc.). Moreover, vignette studies of hurt would add to

the hypothetical study described in the current research, which simply asked participants to place themselves in a situation in which someone hurt them either intentionally or unintentionally in either a public place or a private setting, depending on the particular version they were given. Asking participants to place themselves in very specific hurt situations (in which the place, type of hurtful behavior, perpetrators' gender and intentional/non-intentional aim are clearly delineated) would add to the understanding of the predictive validity of the Hurt Reactivity Scale.

Conclusion

The series of studies conducted form the basis for a new theoretical model of hurt and help to differentiate hurt feelings from other constructs, which previously may have been thought to subsume this key aspect of one's experience and persona. Despite their possible limitations, the data provide substantial evidence in support of the proposed bimodal model of hurt reactivity. The Introjective and Retaliatory dimensions of the Hurt Reactivity Scale differentially correspond to various indices of personality. Specifically, one's susceptibility to experiencing hurt, or hurt proneness, is only related to an introjective hurt personality predisposition; whereas revenge tendencies appear to correlate only with a retaliatory hurt style. Similarly, each scale is predictive of the experiences (e.g., behaviors, emotions, cognitive patterns) that characterize each reactive pattern, as evidenced in the longitudinal study of hurt, and this distinction replicated across the studies using different participant populations. Furthermore, the pattern of results in the hypothetical study indicated that

intentionality is strongly associated with the angry retaliation found in the retaliatory hurt personality and also found in the dependent and self-punitive responses of the introjective hurt predisposition, whereas the public-private distinction was significantly related only to the introjective pattern, as might be expected.

This bimodal theoretical approach to studying hurt feelings is clearly differentiated both from previous work on emotions and from similar constructs in the existing literature. This model does not deal with discrete emotions, but, instead, uses everyday terminology to describe a universal experience. Thus, people are able recognize themselves and articulate about the manner in which they experience hurt using this model. Moreover, the bimodal model of hurt reactivity denotes two specific hurt trajectories with varied relational and personal consequences and implications; whereas hurt proneness only assesses the frequency with which one experiences hurt. Hurt proneness appears to map onto the introjective personality described in this dissertation, but does nothing to denote the other, equally important, aspect of hurt reactivity, retaliatory hurt.

People do not choose to have their feelings hurt, but presumably everyone is vulnerable to it. However, these studies verify that such vulnerabilities are related to the introjective and retaliatory predispositions and furthermore suggest that the consequences and strength of the hurt response is predictable on the basis of these predispositions and various characteristics of the hurtful incident itself. In this light, the Hurt Reactivity Scale ought to be a useful measurement tool for researchers

interested in individual differences in the emotional and behavioral reactivity to the hurt experienced as direct result of interpersonal transgressions.

The inherently sociable nature of human beings leave people open to the possibility of being hurt and the subsequent inevitability of experiencing a broad range of hurt throughout the lifespan (i.e., at both the minor irritant level and the deeper, more painful level) suggests the need for continuing investigation into the complexity of this multifaceted emotional experience. The series of studies presented in this dissertation provide a new theoretical framework for understanding individual differences in experiencing and reacting to hurt and a first look into specific aspects of the hurt experience not previously investigated.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Preliminary Hurt Narrative and Follow-Up for Pilot Longitudinal Data

NAME_____ AGE_____ GENDER_____

Describe the worst instance or incident in which your feelings were deeply hurt since the beginning of school this semester. If nothing has hurt your feelings during that time, think of the most recent instance in which someone has hurt your feelings deeply. After you have described the incident, answer the questions below and on the next page.

How long ago did this take place:

What is your relationship to the person(s) who hurt your feelings:

Why (in your opinion) did they do this:

Why do you think this hurt your feelings:

To your knowledge is he/she aware that your feelings were hurt, and if so, how does he/she know that:

How did you react (*i.e.*, how did you feel, what did you do or say, etc.) at the time this took place:

How did you react later:

Has the person said or done anything to make up for hurting your feelings, and if so, what has he or she done:

How has this changed your relationship with this person, if at all:

At this point in time, what would you predict regarding your future feelings about this person and this incident:

Answer these questions using the following scale: SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; U = Undecided; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly disagree (circle one).

1. I can never trust this person again.	SD	D	U	A	SA
2. I can never fully forgive the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
3. I would not want this to happen again, but I have forgiven the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
4. I still hold a grudge against this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
5. Even though it bothered me at the time, I am at peace with this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA

Now answer these items using the scale provided (circle one)

6. Degree of hurt I feel:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
7. Harmed relationship:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
8. Hold grudge toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
9. Apology solved problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
10. "Gotten back at" other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
11. Wondered what did wrong:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
12. Said and/or did nothing:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
13. Retaliated against other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
14. Confronted other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
15. Blamed other for it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
16. He/she acknowledged problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
17. Blamed self for incident:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
18. "Gave-in" to him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
19. "Reminded" frequently:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
20. Suspicious of him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
21. Depressed/sad over it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
22. Feel angry toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
23. Yelled/screamed at:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
24. Feel resentful toward:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

25. Made amends myself: 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

26. Feared losing relationship: 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Please answer these questions using the following scale: 5 = Strongly agree; 4 = Agree; 3 = Undecided or both agree and disagree; 2 = Disagree; 1 = Strongly disagree.

_____ 1. I believe in the importance of forgiveness.

_____ 2. I tend to hold grudges.

_____ 3. I am slow to forgive.

_____ 4. Basically, I am a forgiving person.

_____ 5. I believe that people should forgive others who have wronged them.

_____ 6. I respect people who have the courage to admit their mistakes.

_____ 7. A sincere apology should always count for something.

_____ 8. Everyone makes mistakes, including me.

_____ 9. Never apologize, it only confirms you were wrong.

_____ 10. Once a relationship has been damaged, it cannot be restored.

Name:_____

On the next page, you will find a copy of part of a questionnaire that you completed earlier this semester. Read the portion of the earlier questionnaire provided and then proceed to the remainder of the current questionnaire.

With the incident you described earlier in mind, please answer the following questions:

Upon reflection, did the incident you described change your relationship with him or her. If so, did it improve or harm the relationship.

Has anything else happened in your relationship with this person since you completed the questionnaire to improve or harm your relationship with him or her? If so, briefly describe.

Is the incident you originally described still important to you? If so, how?

Has the person apologized or attempted to make up for what he/she did originally?

Have you made an effort to overcome the impact of the earlier incident? If so, what?

Answer these questions using the following scale: SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; U = Undecided; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly disagree (circle one).

1. I can never trust this person again.	SD	D	U	A	SA
2. I can never fully forgive the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
3. I would not want this to happen again, but I have forgiven the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
4. I still hold a grudge against this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
5. Even though it bothered me at the time, I am at peace with this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA

Now answer these items using the scale provided (circle one).

6. Degree of hurt I feel:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
7. Harmed relationship:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
8. Hold grudge toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
9. Apology solved problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
10. "Gotten back at" other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
11. Wondered what did wrong:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
12. Said and/or did nothing:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
13. Retaliated against other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
14. Confronted other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
15. Blamed other for it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
16. He/she acknowledged problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
17. Blamed self for incident:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
18. "Gave-in" to him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
19. "Reminded" frequently:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
20. Suspicious of him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
21. Depressed/sad over it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
22. Feel angry toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
23. Yelled/screamed at:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
24. Feel resentful toward:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
25. Made amends myself:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
26. Feared losing relationship:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Appendix B. Preliminary Hurt Narrative and Follow-Up for the Longitudinal Study

NAME_____ AGE_____ GENDER_____

Describe the worst instance or incident in which your feelings were deeply hurt since the beginning of school this semester. If nothing has hurt your feelings during that time, think of the most recent instance in which someone has hurt your feelings deeply. After you have described the incident, answer the questions below and on the next page.

How long ago did this take place:

What is your relationship to the person(s) who hurt your feelings:

Why (in your opinion) did they do this:

Why do you think this hurt your feelings:

To your knowledge is he/she aware that your feelings were hurt, and if so, how does he/she know that:

How did you react (*i.e.*, how did you feel, what did you do or say, etc.) at the time this took place:

How did you react later:

Has the person said or done anything to make up for hurting your feelings, and if so, what has he or she done:

How has this changed your relationship with this person, if at all:

At this point in time, what would you predict regarding your future feelings about this person and this incident:

Answer these questions using the following scale: SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; U = Undecided; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly disagree (circle one).

1. I can never trust this person again.	SD	D	U	A	SA
2. I can never fully forgive the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
3. I would not want this to happen again, but I have forgiven the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
4. I still hold a grudge against this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
5. Even though it bothered me at the time, I am at peace with this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA

Now answer these items using the scale provided (circle one)

6. Degree of hurt I feel:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
7. Harmed relationship:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
8. Hold grudge toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
9. Apology solved problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
10. "Gotten back at" other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
11. Wondered what did wrong:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
12. Said and/or did nothing:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
13. Retaliated against other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
14. Confronted other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
15. Blamed other for it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
16. He/she acknowledged problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
17. Blamed self for incident:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
18. "Gave-in" to him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
19. "Reminded" frequently:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
20. Suspicious of him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
21. Depressed/sad over it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
22. Feel angry toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
23. Yelled/screamed at:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
24. Feel resentful toward:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

25. Made amends myself: 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

26. Feared losing relationship: 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Listed below are a number of statements that describe attitudes that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Read each item and decide whether you agree or disagree and to what extent.

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neither Disagree nor Agree 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly Agree

____ 1. I am overly sensitive.

____ 2. I can be spiteful when I need to be.

____ 3. I am often overwhelmed by my feelings.

____ 4. I don't have much of a temper.

____ 5. I take rejection well.

____ 6. I am hostile to those who have recently betrayed me or hurt my feelings.

____ 7. I am stung by just about any harsh or unkind word directed toward me.

____ 8. People who criticize me are likely to get more than they bargained for.

____ 9. I am not overly sensitive.

____ 10. I am not irritable.

____ 11. I am easily hurt.

____ 12. I can be spiteful when my feelings are hurt.

____ 13. I take everything to heart.

____ 14. When someone hurts me, I have a difficult time controlling my temper.

____ 15. I am not easily hurt by others.

____ 16. People who know me would say that I have a short fuse.

____ 17. I feel a constant need for reassurance.

____ 18. I can be mean in response to offenses by others.

____ 19. I don't let the words and actions of others get to me.

____ 20. My temper often gets the best of me.

____ 21. People who know me well think that I am emotionally fragile.

____ 22. I tend to "lash out" when someone says or does something to hurt me.

____ 23. I have a low threshold for being hurt.

____ 24. If someone hurt me, I'd probably retaliate before I had time to think about it.

____ 25. I fall apart when someone hurts me.

____ 26. I often become enraged over the slightest offense.

____ 27. I am usually devastated when someone hurts my feelings.

____ 28. I often seek revenge against those who have hurt me.

____ 29. It takes a lot to hurt my feelings.

____ 30. If someone says something to hurt me, I'll say something to hurt them back.

____ 31. I don't let things bother me.

____ 32. My quick temper often makes me do things which I later regret.

____ 33. It takes a lot to upset me.

____ 34. I rarely "fly off the handle."

____ 35. The smallest problem can ruin my day.

____ 36. When I get my feelings hurt, I act first and think later.

____ 37. People don't realize how easily I can be hurt.

____ 38. When someone offends me, I get "hot under the collar."

____ 39. The slightest hint of rejection wounds me.

____ 40. I can be vindictive when provoked.

Name:_____

On the next page, you will find a copy of part of a questionnaire that you completed earlier this semester. Read the portion of the earlier questionnaire provided and then proceed to the remainder of the current questionnaire.

With the incident you described earlier in mind, please answer the following questions:

Upon reflection, did the incident you described change your relationship with him or her. If so, did it improve or harm the relationship.

Has anything else happened in your relationship with this person since you completed the questionnaire to improve or harm your relationship with him or her? If so, briefly describe.

Is the incident you originally described still important to you? If so, how?

Has the person apologized or attempted to make up for what he/she did originally?

Have you made an effort to overcome the impact of the earlier incident? If so, what?

Answer these questions using the following scale: SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; U = Undecided; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly disagree (circle one).

1. I can never trust this person again.	SD	D	U	A	SA
2. I can never fully forgive the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
3. I would not want this to happen again, but I have forgiven the person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
4. I still hold a grudge against this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA
5. Even though it bothered me at the time, I am at peace with this person.	SD	D	U	A	SA

Now answer these items using the scale provided (circle one).

6. Degree of hurt I feel:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
7. Harmed relationship:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
8. Hold grudge toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
9. Apology solved problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
10. "Gotten back at" other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
11. Wondered what did wrong:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
12. Said and/or did nothing:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
13. Retaliated against other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
14. Confronted other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
15. Blamed other for it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
16. He/she acknowledged problem:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
17. Blamed self for incident:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
18. "Gave-in" to him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
19. "Reminded" frequently:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
20. Suspicious of him/her:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
21. Depressed/sad over it:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
22. Feel angry toward other:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
23. Yelled/screamed at:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
24. Feel resentful toward:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
25. Made amends myself:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
26. Feared losing relationship:	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Please answer these questions using the following scale: 5 = Strongly agree; 4 = Agree; 3 = Undecided or both agree and disagree; 2 = Disagree; 1 = Strongly disagree.

_____ 1. I believe in the importance of forgiveness.

_____ 2. I tend to hold grudges.

_____ 3. I am slow to forgive.

_____ 4. Basically, I am a forgiving person.

_____ 5. I believe that people should forgive others who have wronged them.

_____ 6. I respect people who have the courage to admit their mistakes.

_____ 7. A sincere apology should always count for something.

_____ 8. Everyone makes mistakes, including me.

_____ 9. Never apologize, it only confirms you were wrong.

_____ 10. Once a relationship has been damaged, it cannot be restored.

Appendix C. Hurt Reactivity Scale

Listed below are a number of statements that describe attitudes that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Read each item and decide whether you agree or disagree and to what extent.

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neither Disagree Nor Agree 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly Agree

____ 1. I am overly sensitive.

____ 2. I can be spiteful when I need to be.

____ 3. I am often overwhelmed by my feelings.

____ 4. I don't have much of a temper.

____ 5. I take rejection well.

____ 6. I am hostile to those who have recently betrayed me or hurt my feelings.

____ 7. I am stung by just about any harsh or unkind word directed toward me.

____ 8. People who criticize me are likely to get more than they bargained for.

____ 9. I am not overly sensitive.

____ 10. I am not irritable.

____ 11. I am easily hurt.

____ 12. I can be spiteful when my feelings are hurt.

____ 13. I take everything to heart.

____ 14. When someone hurts me, I have a difficult time controlling my temper.

____ 15. I am not easily hurt by others.

____ 16. People who know me would say that I have a short fuse.

____ 17. I feel a constant need for reassurance.

____ 18. I can be mean in response to offenses by others.

____ 19. I don't let the words and actions of others get to me.

____ 20. My temper often gets the best of me.

____ 21. People who know me well think that I am emotionally fragile.

____ 22. I tend to "lash out" when someone says or does something to hurt me.

____ 23. I have a low threshold for being hurt.

____ 24. If someone hurt me, I'd probably retaliate before I had time to think about it.

____ 25. I fall apart when someone hurts me.

____ 26. I often become enraged over the slightest offense.

____ 27. I am usually devastated when someone hurts my feelings.

____ 28. I often seek revenge against those who have hurt me.

____ 29. It takes a lot to hurt my feelings.

____ 30. If someone says something to hurt me, I'll say something to hurt them back.

____ 31. I don't let things bother me.

____ 32. My quick temper often makes me do things which I later regret.

____ 33. It takes a lot to upset me.

____ 34. I rarely "fly off the handle."

____ 35. The smallest problem can ruin my day.

____ 36. When I get my feelings hurt, I act first and think later.

____ 37. People don't realize how easily I can be hurt.

____ 38. When someone offends me, I get "hot under the collar."

____ 39. The slightest hint of rejection wounds me.

____ 40. I can be vindictive when provoked.

Summing across the following items will yield total scores for Introjective and Retaliatory Hurt, respectively.

Introjective Hurt: 1, 3, 5*, 7, 9*, 11, 13, 15*, 17, 19*, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29*, 31*, 33*, 35, 37, 39

Retaliatory Hurt: 2, 4*, 6, 8, 10*, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34*, 36, 38, 40

Note: * = *reverse scored items*

VITA

Laura Anna Negel was born on July 14, 1975 in Bucharest, Romania. She came to the United States in 1982 and lived in several states before graduating from Chamberlain High School in Tampa, Florida in 1993. She then attended Wake Forest University, whereupon she received a dual Bachelor's degree in Psychology and English in May of 1997. Upon receiving her Bachelor's, Laura enrolled in the doctoral program in Experimental Psychology with a concentration in Social and Personality Psychology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She is currently an Instructor at the University of South Carolina, Aiken.