

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
ALEXANDRIA DIVISION**

SUHAIL NAJIM)
ABDULLAH AL SHIMARI *et al.*,)

Plaintiffs,)

v.)

C.A. No. 08-cv-0827 GBL-JFA

CACI INTERNATIONAL, INC., *et. al.*,)

Defendants)

**EXPERT REPORT OF
PHILIP G. ZIMBARDO, Ph.D.**

I. PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

I research and write in the field of social psychology, particularly experimental social psychology, and I have expertise in the areas of group behavior, pathology of imprisonment, shyness and mind control. I am currently a professor emeritus of Psychology at Stanford University, where I have taught since 1968, and a professor at Palo Alto University. I have a Ph.D. in Psychology, 1959, from Yale University, an M.S., 1955, also from Yale University and an A.B. (summa) Honors in Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology, 1954, from Brooklyn College. I have honorary degrees from nine universities including Webster University, Vienna, Rutgers University New Jersey and Lund University, Sweden.

I am the president of the Western Psychological Foundation and was previously the President of the American Psychological Association as well as a board member with the International Positive Psychology Association. I am a distinguished senior fellow at the Center for Homeland Defense and Security, Naval Postgraduate School and an executive board member at the Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education at Stanford Medical School. I have taught as a faculty member at Yale University (1957-1960), New York University (1960-1967), Columbia University (1967-1968) and Stanford University (1968-2003). I have been a visiting professor at twelve universities including the University of Louvain, Belgium, the Institute of technology at Lugano, Switzerland and the University of Warsaw, Poland.

I have more than 400 publications including over 50 books in many areas of psychology. I am the co-author of the oldest current textbook in psychology, *Psychology and Life* in its 19th edition, and co-author of *Psychology: Core Concepts*, in its 7th edition. The following publications are of particular relevance to this expert testimony:

- The power and pathology of imprisonment. *Congressional Record*. (Serial No. 15, October 25, 1971). Hearings before Subcommittee No. 3, of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Ninety-Second Congress, *First Session on Corrections, Part II, Prisons, Prison Reform and Prisoner's Rights: California*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Zimbardo, P. G. (1971).
- *Study of prisoners and guards in a simulated prison* (Naval Research Reviews 9 (1-17)). Washington, DC: Office of Naval Research. Haney, C., Banks, W. C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1973).
- The psychology of imprisonment: Privation, power and pathology. In Z. Rubin (Ed.), *Doing Unto Others: Explorations in Social Behavior* (pp. 61-73). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. Zimbardo, P. G., Haney, C., Banks, W. C., & Jaffe, D. (1974).
- Prison behavior. In B. B. Wolman (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis and Neurology*, (Vol. 9; pp. 70-74). New York: Human Sciences Press. Zimbardo, P. G., & Haney, C. (1978).

- The psychology of evil: On the perversion of human potential. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Challenges to the Criminal Justice System: The Perspectives of Community Psychology* (pp. 142-161). New York: Human Sciences Press. Zimbardo, P. G. (1979).
- The psychology of evil: A situationist perspective on recruiting good people to engage in anti-social acts. *Research in Social Psychology [Japanese journal]*, 11, 125-133. Zimbardo, P. G. (1995).
- The past and future of U.S. prison policy: Twenty-five years after the Stanford Prison Experiment. *American Psychologist*, 53, 709-727. Haney, C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1998).
- Reflections on the Stanford Prison Experiment: Genesis, transformations, consequences. In T. Blass (Ed.), *Obedience to Authority: Current Perspectives on the Milgram Paradigm*. (pp. 193-237). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. Zimbardo, P. G., Maslach, C., & Haney, C. (1999).
- Violence workers: Police torturers and murderers reconstruct Brazilian atrocities. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Huggins, M., Haritos-Fatouros, M., & Zimbardo, P. G. (2002).
- Foreword. In M. Haritos-Fatouros. *The Psychological Origins of Institutionalized Torture*. London: Routledge. Zimbardo, P. G. (2002).
- A situationist perspective on the psychology of evil: Understanding how good people are transformed into perpetrators. In A. G. Miller (Ed.), *The Social Psychology of Good and Evil* (pp. 21-50). New York: Guilford Press. Zimbardo, P. G. (2004).
- Pathological power of prisons: Parallel paths at Stanford University and Abu Ghraib prisons. *Charakerty. (Polish Magazine. Character)*. Zimbardo, P. G. (2005).
- How Good People Become Criminals: A Situationist's View of the Psychology Of Evil. Chapter in R. Fayet, Ed., *The Anatomy of Evil: A Section through Body, Morals and History (Wie gute Menschen zu Verbrechern werden: Ein situationistischer Blick auf die Psychologie des Boesen. Die Anatomie des Boesen: Ein Schnitt durch Koerper, Moral und Geschichte.)*. Baden, Switzerland: Hier & Jetzt. Zimbardo, P., G. (2008).
- *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil*. (Paperback edition). New York: Random House. Zimbardo, P.G. (2008).

II. DOCUMENTS REVIEWED IN PREPARING THIS REPORT

In preparing this report, I have reviewed the following materials:

- Plaintiffs' Second Amended Complaint
- Military investigative reports regarding Abu Ghraib:

- AR 15-6 Investigation of the 800th Military Police Brigade, Major General Antonio Taguba, Investigating Officer (2004), and certain witness statements annexed thereto
 - AR 15-6 Investigation of the Abu Ghraib Detention Facility and 205th Military Intelligence Brigade, Major General George Fay, Investigating Officer (2004)
 - Final Report of the Independent Panel to Review DoD Detention Operations, August 2004 (Schlesinger Report)
- Statements made to U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Division, including statements of Ivan Chip Frederick and Charles Graner
- Transcripts of court martial proceedings from *U.S. v Smith*; *U.S. v. Davis*, *U.S. v. Frederick* and *U.S. v. Graner*
- Documents produced in discovery in this litigation including:
 - Delivery Orders 35 and 71, and accompanying Statements of Work
 - Personnel folders of CACI's employees provided by counsel
 - CACI Code of Conduct
 - Materials related to qualifications of CACI employees
 - Army regulations, including Army Reg 190-8, Enemy Prisoners of War, Retained Personnel, Civilian Internees and Other Detainees (1997)
- Depositions of CACI employees provided by counsel
- Review of voluminous materials used in preparing *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil*, P. Zimbardo (Random House, 2007).

Although I have reviewed scores of documents related to Abu Ghraib and base my opinions here on such a review, I understand that discovery has only just commenced in this case, and that new information may as yet come to light regarding the CACI corporation's role in the Abu Ghraib scandal, which might affect my opinion. I reserve the right to amplify or modify my opinion based on additional information.

III. STATEMENT OF COMPENSATION

For my time reviewing documents related to this case listed above and in drafting this report, counsel for Plaintiffs have agreed to compensate me at a flat rate of \$10,000. I estimate that I spent approximately 40 hours in preparing and drafting this report.

IV. SCOPE OF OPINION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Scope of Opinion

Based on my research and writing in the area of social psychology, group behavior and the social-psychological pressures that facilitate immoral or illegal conduct, as well as my investigation and analysis of the forces that contributed to egregious behavior of Military Police (“MP”) guards and civilian interrogators at Abu Ghraib, I have been asked to render an opinion about the role that a private contracting company, CACI, played in contributing to the abuses there. Specifically, I have focused my opinion on whether: (1) in light of widespread acceptance of elementary theories of social-psychological behavior, the CACI corporation should have foreseen the possibility (or high probability) that its interrogators would have engaged in the abuse of prisoners under their control in the absence of strict oversight, wide spread and known surveillance, as well as adequate prior mission-specific training, and (2) whether in a complex social dynamic such as the prison setting at Abu Ghraib, that Corporation can be said to have directly contributed to the many documented abuses in Abu Ghraib, despite, and in addition to, the military’s own failures of leadership and accountability.

Summary of Conclusions

A. The harms caused by CACI employees at Abu Ghraib were foreseeable and preventable by the Corporation. A long and well-accepted body of social-psychological literature, based in large part on my iconic 1971 Stanford Prison Experiment, recognizes that high stress situations such as a prison environment, where there is an anonymity between prisoners and guards and an adversarial, power- dominated relationship between these two groups, generally creates strong “situational” pressures on those in power and with authority-based social influence to abuse those under their command. These are considered textbook principles in psychological literature; they are widely accepted across the board, including in the most basic and most advanced academic courses in psychology; numerous corrections officials and directors of related institutions; military officials who devise and control the SERE program; by the investigation and related book of a military officer assigned to clean up the problems at Abu Ghraib, and by James R. Schlesinger in his assessment of the foreseeability of harms at Abu Ghraib. Under this accepted view, wrongdoing *cannot* be fairly attributable to the work of a few “bad apples” or rogue soldiers; even good people can succumb to situational forces to abuse those in their custody in certain, predictable situations. In order to have prevented this foreseeable abuse by its employees, CACI should have but apparently failed to take both preventive and remedial measures such as proper training, controlled supervision and prompt discipline of wrongdoing.

B. CACI contributed to the abuses at Abu Ghraib, despite the military’s own failures. Reports by military investigators, among them, Taguba, Fay, Jones and Schlesinger conclude that CACI employees, including Steven Stefanowicz and others identified by

pseudonyms (i.e., “CIVILIAN-21 (CACI)”, “CIVILIAN-11, a CACI contractor”), directly or indirectly contributed to the abuses in Abu Ghraib. The conclusions of those reports are consistent with “the situationist account” of misconduct. They recognize that there was a blurring of the lines of authority between CACI interrogators and military personnel and that, as a result, a number of CACI interrogators ordered and encouraged military personnel to “soften up” the Iraqi detainees on Tier 1A by physical and psychological tactics of abuse, to prepare them for interrogation by CACI employees. The reports capture the kind of “groupthink” among military and civilian personnel that is consistent with what we see in such high-stress, adversarial prison environments (as well as other settings in government and business). CACI, as a corporation with a management and supervisory structure, could have prevented or limited the abuses at Abu Ghraib.

I have relied on the factual content of these reports as well as the conclusions drawn from their experienced authors, as such secondary source accounts of dynamic environments is very commonly the source of material and opinion in my field of social psychology.

From my review of documents available to me, it appears that CACI: offered only very limited training to its employees prior to starting their interrogation duties at Abu Ghraib; gave “on the job” promotions to individuals into interrogator positions who had been deemed as unqualified prior to their arrival in Iraq; offered insufficient supervision by managers; and gave incentives for bad behavior, such as an incentive to provide intelligence information to the U.S. government. Had proper training and supervision been in place, CACI’s facilitative role in the abuses in question could have been mitigated or avoided. In addition, it appears that CACI supervisors were made aware of incidents of wrongdoing by employees, but did not act quickly either to report or acknowledge them, or to reprimand wrongdoers. In social-psychological systems, turning a blind eye to misconduct often sends a signal of ratification, endorsement, or at least indirect acquiescence that can encourage proliferation of “bad behavior”.

Finally, I have criticized the military chain of command for its failures of oversight and responsibility at Abu Ghraib, and have testified in the defense of Staff Sgt Ivan Frederick in his court martial proceedings, in order to urge that his guilt be recognized, but his sentence be lessened based on my documented extreme situational pressures acting on him in his night shift command. Although the military bears some measure of responsibility for the abuses at Abu Ghraib, that does not obviate the responsibility of any civilian corporation and its employees performing contract duties there. CACI employees exploited the vacuum of leadership and control left by the military at Abu Ghraib in a manner that led to considerable abuses of detainees, thereby making CACI responsible as well. And, the fact that there were strong situational pressures for abuse does not absolve any individual wrongdoers of their moral and legal responsibility. Among the “villains” in Abu Ghraib, there were what I would call “heroes” in that abusive filled prison in the military and in the CACI organization -- who refused to

engage in such misconduct, some even attempted to report it, and one, MP army reservist, Joe Darby, did document the abuses to a senior investigator (leading to investigations aimed at shutting down the entire operation). This contrast demonstrates that people have free will and can make the correct moral choices even under the duress of powerful situational forces. Understanding the pervasive and subtle situational forces in any given context does not excuse wrong doing taking place in its confines, although such awareness should tend to move us toward greater leniency in sentencing and in moral condemnation of perpetrators.

V. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. The Corporation Should Have Foreseen the Likelihood of Abuses Committed by Its Employees

A well-developed body of social psychological literature—literature that has been accepted as common principle among psychologists, military officials and individuals who run institutions such as prisons—reveals that ordinary people can be seduced, or corrupted into doing evil deeds. This can happen either by influence agents whose job it is to gain in some way by such actions, or more indirectly by being immersed in situations that elicit such behavior even without a single influence agent-authority pushing that agenda. Most often these evil actions are initially small ones, that are hardly noticeable, but then over time, they are increased in severity until they clearly cross the fine line between good and evil. That can be considered a negative “slippery slope of evil.” This gradual or graduated change from acceptable to unacceptable behavior occurs in part because people are often on automatic pilot in new situations, not noticing clear features or signs of evil in action.

Many institutional settings, like nursing in hospitals, clinics, or residential care facilities, have the potential to transform what should be good service to clients and patients into indifferent or even abusive treatment when any or all of the following situational forces are operating: obedience to authority (doctors, administrators), dehumanization (of patients, clients), group pressures to conformity (sometimes called “groupthink”), anonymity of staff and patients, diffusion of personal responsibility, and other processes that I identify in my book, *The Lucifer Effect*.

We are all vulnerable to those insidious social influences unless the dominant system that creates and maintains and justifies them is willing to change and challenge their operation. It is thus imperative that systems and institutions anticipate the prospect of wrongdoing by their agents or employees, and undertake actions to prevent and remediate the temptation to misconduct. CACI failed this commonplace imperative and, as a result, its employees contributed to the abuses at Abu Ghraib.

1. Individual vs. Situational vs. Systematic Influences on Behavior and Personal Responsibility/Accountability

When we want to understand why someone did something, or some human activity occurred about which we are curious there are three directions our search for an explanation can go: First, we focus on the **individual**, the person who was the actor, or the one who started the action we are interested in, such as: smoking, gambling, fighting, overeating, risk taking, being abusive, torturing, and more.

Typically, we try to find something about that person, or within that person that might have caused the action, such as his or her genes, personality traits, character, upbringing, gender, race, or ethnicity. Such explanations are called “**dispositional**” by psychologists because they depend on finding dispositions or tendencies in the individual that seem to account for the behavior we want to explain.

Second, we may focus on the **situation** in which that individual engaged in that action. An analysis of the features or forces in any given situation acknowledges that almost all human behavior consists of people acting within a given social context, a social space in a particular environment, such as a gang, a fraternity, military unit, cult, class, night shift, inner city, blind date, bachelor party, late night club, and more. Such explanations are called “situational” because they focus on the features of that social and physical environment where the behavior occurred. This type of explanation views the Person in the Context, just as we view actors on a stage where there are costumes, props, other actors, and an audience, all as inherent features that accompany the individual actor's performance.

Third, we may focus on the Person in the Situation, which is created and maintained by a **system** of power and control. The system is where the deeper power resides, such as, legal, economic, political, cultural and historical. Systems create many situations and they also create justifications, reasons, rules and laws that maintain particular situations. In the analogy of an actor in a play, the actor is the individual, that stage and audience features are the situation, and the system can be the actors' union, the critics, the producers, and the authorities who give ratings of acceptability. The system also has the power not only to create situations of various kinds, but to modify, and even terminate them.

Action Scenario: Military Police Prison guards in Iraq’s Abu Ghraib are accused of mistreating and abusing Iraqi detainee-prisoners in 2003. When photos were revealed of their humiliation, degradation and torture of their prisoners over many months, how was that sadistic behavior understood?

Dispositional: They were “bad apples” or rogue soldiers, who acted on their own out of sadistic tendencies. This was the preferred analysis of both the Bush Administration Officials and the senior Military staff, as exemplified by General Myer’s analysis before a Senate Committee investigating the abuses.

Situational: Their unacceptable behavior occurred because they were encouraged by their superiors, and as we came to learn from military investigators, to do “whatever was necessary” to the prisoners in order to get them to confess when interrogated later on, so that they would provide actionable intelligence against the insurgency. Then senior officers or corporate supervisors did not go to Tier 1A to provide surveillance and oversight, particularly during the night shift, so as to limit such abuses. The other aspect of the situation is the group conformity dynamics in which once several MPs began their abusive tactics, documented in their photos, group social pressure is put on the others to fall in line and go along, to get along, what is sometimes referred to as “groupthink.”

The Situation in this case becomes more complex given that there were multiple, competing services all engaged in securing actionable intelligence at the same time: Military Intelligence, “OGA,” and two civilian contractors, CACI and Titan Corporations. As detailed in the Taguba and Fay/Jones reports, and recounted in court-martial testimonies, their agents or operatives also pressured the MP Army reservists, particularly on the night shift, to assist them in their pursuit of information from interrogated detainees in that facility, giving orders to “soften up” detainees and “set the conditions” for interrogations.

System, or Systemic: Such aggressive behavior by military prison guards was not limited to that one prison situation, but was widespread in many other prisons where prisoners were also tortured as part of a program to get intelligence from detainees using all means necessary. It was part of a general pattern of our military personnel in that war zone acting under pressure from higher ups to get information from prisoners as quickly as possible.

If the situation and/or system is critically responsible, then efforts need to be made to change the neglected or missing features of the situation in order to prevent such behavior from recurring in the future, not just punishing or imprisoning the individual culprits.

Personal Accountability: Individuals are always held responsible and legally accountable for their criminal behavior even if it can be demonstrated that their behavior was situationally or systemically influenced. Those external influences should reduce the severity of their legal sentences, but not affect the determination of guilt. Proof that individuals under situationalist pressure are still morally responsible for their actions comes from the actions of certain “heroes” such as military Specialist Joseph Darby, who

refused to follow the group pressures to abuse detainees, and reported misconduct to his superiors; also, certain individuals from the CACI corporation likewise reported misconduct, rather than continue or encourage it as did some of their fellow employees.

The above referenced social psychological knowledge is summarized in several detailed chapters in my book, *The Lucifer Effect*, but all that knowledge existed for decades before that time, and much of it is widely known even outside academia. The most highly such referenced study was in fact conducted back in 1971, replicated in various settings and has become a virally transmitted meme, almost as an urban legend, *The Stanford Prison Experiment*. It is singled out in one of the investigative reports on the Abu Ghraib abuses by the committee headed by James Schlesinger (see Appendix G: Psychological Stresses).

2. The Stanford Prison Experiment

The Stanford Prison Experiment provides a model lesson in situational power over individual dispositions, and the pervasive, negative impact of role-playing being prison guards. The earlier, classic initial demonstration of situational power over individual behavior was that devised by Stanley Milgram in the 1960's at Yale University, known as the blind obedience to authority (see Milgram, S., *Obedience To Authority: An Experimental View* (Harperperennial, 2009 ed.).

In Milgram's paradigm, more than 1000 adult (non-student) research participants were individually instructed by a white Lab-coated experimenter (the Authority) to give increasingly painful electric shocks to other participants. The Teacher-subject had to shock the Learner-subject when he (or she) made an error in their learning trial allegedly to help improve learning by punishing errors. The shocks were given in ever increasing small increments as labeled on an impressive shock box generator, 15 volts each up to a full 450 volts. The Learner in an adjacent room began screaming and moaning as the shocks became more intense and demanded to be released. The Teacher dissented, the Experimenter insisted continuation, and most participants obeyed to the full extent possible, giving 450 volts that could have been lethal. The majority, a full 65% went all the way in most of the experimental variations. (The Learner was a research confederate who did not really get shocked, but the Teachers all believed that their shocks were being delivered to their target.)

My research focused not on the power of a single authority to demand obedience, but more on the kind of psychological processes that occur in institutional settings, like schools, business, military, and prisons. There, rarely does one person demand abuse of others, rather abuse arises from a complex set of contributing factors, such as role-playing key positions, rules, group dynamics, power differentials, anonymity, among others. My research team and I chose to create a mock prison that was functionally similar to U.S. prisons, and randomly assigned

volunteer college students to the roles of Guards with power, and Prisoners with minimal power. On the basis of a series of personality assessments and clinical interviews, we were able to determine that the 24 final participants (from a pool of 75 initial volunteers responding to our newspaper ad) were normal, healthy and well functioning on day 1 of our projected two-week long study.

Prisoners lived in their cells 24/7, while guards worked 8-hour shifts and went home afterwards. Behavior of both groups was systematically observed, video recorded, along with interviews, diaries, and evaluations. We could establish that on day 1, we had only “good apples” deposited in what would soon become a “bad barrel.” In short order, the guards soon began to be abusive, degrading, even sadistic in their treatment of the prisoners, who rebelled initially but eventually became helpless and hopeless. Within the first 5 days, five prisoners had emotional breakdowns and had to be released to student health. The worst abuses, including sexualized mistreatment of prisoners, occurred on the night shift, when the guards assumed rightly that I, acting the Superintendent role, was asleep and not observing their misbehavior. The two-week long projected study had to be terminated after six days because it had spun out of control. It had become a place of evil, and led to the conclusion that evil places come to dominate good people.

This conclusion, established through the Stanford Prison Experiment, is now very widely accepted. The study is presented in some detail in every introductory psychology textbook read by college and now high school students. It has been the subject of national TV shows, like 60 Minutes and 20/20, among many others, as well as featured in recent documentaries, such as *The Human Behavior Experiments* (produced by Oscar award winning director, Alex Gibney). The situational power hypothesis started by Milgram was given new dimensions and depth by my study, and it was fully articulated and expanded to include systemic power in my book, *The Lucifer Effect*. I created a documentary video to educate the general public and various authorities about the ease with which unregulated power can corrupt even the best and brightest of us (*Quiet Rage: The Stanford Prison Experiment*).

Indeed, the “Final Report of the Independent Panel to Review DoD Detention Operations (August 2004),” known as the Schlesinger Report, proclaims that the “landmark Stanford study & provides a cautionary tale for all military detention operations.” (Schlesinger Report, Appendix G, p. 1) In contrasting the relatively benign environment of the Stanford Prison Experiment, the report makes evident that “in military detention operations, soldiers work under

Thousands of copies of that video have been distributed over the past several decades throughout the nation and internationally, to civic, religious, educational, military, and corporate institutions. Its message also has been widely conveyed via our web site: www.prisonexp.org, with more than 20 million unique page views. The Stanford Prison Experiment will soon become the basis of a Hollywood movie, to go into production in the next few months.

stressful combat conditions that are far from benign.” (Ibid.) The implication is that those conditions might be expected to generate even more extreme abuses of power by military police and interrogators involved in detention and interrogation activities than were observed in our mock prison experiment.

In Appendix G, the Schlesinger Report outlines the unique set of psychological stresses likely to have been experienced by most individuals who worked long shifts at the Abu Ghraib “hard site” both military and civilian personnel, military police and interrogators and committed what General Taguba referred to as “numerous incidents of sadistic, blatant, and wanton criminal abuses” to get “actionable intelligence” from the detainees. “Psychologists have attempted to understand how and why individuals and groups who usually act humanely can sometimes act otherwise in certain circumstances.” Among the concepts outlined to help explain why abusive behaviors occur among ordinarily humane individuals are the following: deindividuation; groupthink; dehumanization; enemy image; moral exclusion or disengagement; social facilitation, and other environmental, or situational factors. (Schlesinger Report, Appendix G, pp. 4-6) Among the environmental factors are poor training, confused lines of authority and inadequate oversight. (Ibid. at p. 7)

One such environmental factor singled out was the widespread practice of stripping detainees. “The removal of clothing as an interrogation technique evolved into something much broader, resulting in the practice of groups of detainees being kept naked for extended periods of time at Abu Ghraib.” (Ibid.) In its very sensitive analysis of why this practice of enforced nakedness played a causal role in the abuses of detainees in Tier 1A, the Schlesinger Report notes that the initial intention was to make detainees feel more vulnerable and to become “more compliant with interrogations.” (Ibid.) However, it describes how this tactic eventually fostered dehumanizing conditions on that Tier:

Over time, “this practice is likely to have had a psychological impact on guards and interrogators as well. The wearing of clothes is an inherently social practice, and therefore the stripping away of clothing may have had the unintended consequence of dehumanizing detainees in the eyes of those who interacted with them& . dehumanization lowers moral and cultural barriers that usually preclude the abusive treatment of others. (Schlesinger Report, Appendix G, p. 7)

This report makes evident the total failure of leadership at every level and among various institutions, and its contribution to the abuses by the MPs, military intelligence officers (“MI”) and civilian contractors, particularly on the notorious night shift. “The aberrant behavior on the night shift in Cell Block 1 at Abu Ghraib would have been avoided *with proper training, leadership, and oversight.*” (Schlesinger Report, p. 13, p. 5) (Italics added for emphasis.

Recommendations were made to the military to address a number of these systemic problems, as part of the Taguba, Fay/Jones and Schlesinger reports. Additionally, army psychologist, Lt. Col. Larry James was sent to Abu Ghraib Prison “to fix it.” He recounts having analyzed daily operations, noting what was missing in terms of daily protocol, what was present that was not conducive to humane treatment of prisoners while maintaining security, and more. Larry James, *Fixing Hell: An Army Psychologist Confronts Abu Ghraib* (Grand Central Publishing, 2008). James’ observations of what was still going wrong in that prison situation, despite the international notoriety it had garnered from the prisoner abuse revelations, led him to establish seven layers of Prison Oversight and Rules Governing the Treatment and Interrogation of Prisoners at Abu Ghraib Prison, presumably to be extended to other facilities. Those new conditions included requiring supervision by senior officers at all times, including night shifts; mandatory “mission-specific training” of all those involved in interviews of prisoners; interview booths open to surveillance through one-way observation mirrors enabling viewing from hall corridors by officers and others, and videotaping of all interviews for subsequent analysis and administrative review; and multiple layers of supervision and oversight, with medical inspection of each prisoner to be interviewed, pre- and again post-interview, to report any signs of changed medical status as a consequence of the interview procedure. Similarly, a military attorney must review all procedures, along with other layers of regular supervision built into the system.

3. CACI Failed to Prevent Foreseeable Harms and Ultimately Facilitated Them

The direct relevance of this articulated view of human nature under the influence of pervasive, often subtle aspects of situational, context forces helps us to more fully understand and appreciate how ordinary, perhaps usually moral and upstanding men, like the CACI interrogators working in the Abu Ghraib prison, could have gone wrong, done bad, illegal, immoral things to prisoners.

CACI interrogators responded to the call for actionable intelligence by ordering that detainees be “softened up” or be given “special instructions” for detainees, including the use of dogs, to “set the conditions” for interrogations. CACI employees engaged in interrogation services as their primary job in that prison setting, as highly paid contractors, must be held individually accountable for abuses they committed in the process of preparing prisoners for interrogation, or when engaged in torture practices during the interrogation process. This is true even when they were involved in encouraging MP army guards to abuse and torture prisoners in various demeaning ways.

CACI’s failure to properly vet applicants and reject unqualified individuals and properly train and supervise the contract employees it sent to Iraq in the roles of screener, analyst and interrogator contributed to a system where serious abuse of detainees was foreseeable, and in fact, occurred. In the case at hand, CACI corporate officers, who received substantial

government contracts to supply interrogators to conduct many interrogations in the Abu Ghraib Prison, bear responsibility for having failed to safeguard their operative-employees from the forces that would likely cause them to abuse the targets of their interrogations the detainees.

I summarize the relevance of this research to its application in this case of CACI employees who are accused of abusing detainees at Abu Ghraib in these terms:

- Individuals involved in detention and interrogation operations in high stress environments without actual mission-specific training or fully operational oversight are likely to escalate abuse of prisoners and even torture them without regard for human rights regulations governing such situations.
- In order to prevent such abuses, individuals in positions of authority, i.e., employers or supervisors, should: a.) adequately train guards or interrogators, b.) set up rigorous protocols for supervision and accountability, c.) actively monitor conduct of its on-the-scene employees, and d.) discipline transgressors fully and publicly, so the message of “Do No Harm” is heard loud and clear throughout that organization.
- There in no evidence that I have seen to indicate that CACI engaged in any of these constructive actions and policies, and so its employees on the ground in Abu Ghraib Prison acted without constraint on their abusive power.

Based on the material I reviewed,² which includes documentary material produced in this case, as well as the direct conclusions of military investigative reports, I conclude that CACI failed in hiring qualified and experienced interrogators and in training and properly supervising the individuals it introduced into the interrogation process at Abu Ghraib, which led to the foreseeable consequence, i.e., prisoner abuse. For example, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 16831 [REDACTED] CACI 16933. I have seen no indication that any additional training was provided to any of the individuals as they moved from screeners or database analyst to the position of interrogator, nor do I see any reference made by any CACI employee or manager involved in the hiring or promotion process to the “training” in any regard (i.e., utility, necessity, benefits derived from proper training).

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 16877-16879. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

² Again, I reserve the right to modify, amplify or alter my opinion if presented with additional information.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CACI 16770, CACI 16790). This raises questions of whether they were rewarded for conduct that military investigators later found contrary to regulations and policy.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 16820.
[REDACTED] CACI 16989.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 16878 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CACI 16790).

Steve Stefanowicz was identified in the Taguba report as allowing or instructing MPs to facilitate interrogations by “setting conditions.” He was identified by MPs in court-martial testimony ordering detainees be “softened up” for interrogation and telling MPs to use dogs to intimidate detainees. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 16833. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

In the materials I reviewed, including portions of deposition transcripts of CACI employees in supervisory or management positions, it appears that CACI's supervision of its interrogators was limited and insufficient. Despite the obligation placed on CACI to supervise all of its contractor personnel, as set out in the Statement of Work, CACI's "supervision" appears to have been limited to, or primarily in the area of, administrative matters; managers visited the "client", i.e., US military, to be sure there were no issues. According to one CACI manager, his visits with "the client" were to verify the contractors had the correct attitude and were showing up on time, and generally about their performance, with the purpose of these conversations to ensure that the client was happy. There are no indications from in-country supervisors that a protocol for supervision was in place, and, in reviewing the documents related to promotions, no record that CACI actively monitored its employees performance for compliance with laws and regulations.

Likewise, based on the review of materials provided to me, CACI failed to investigate claims of prisoner abuse brought to its attention by its own employees. For example, when CACI interrogator Richard Arant left Iraq shortly after his arrival, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 2960. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Torin Nelson, another CACI interrogator who left Iraq after only a couple of months, implicated two CACI interrogator-employees as being involved in prisoner abuse in his interview with the military Criminal Investigative Division (CID) in January 2004. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CACI 10383-

85.

CACI's failure to investigate and discipline transgressors fully was a lost opportunity to prevent continuing harm; it also suggested that those in authority in the Corporation were not concerned with prisoner abuse, and that it could be tolerated.

Examining CACI's conduct in light of the principles set out above and demonstrated through the Stanford Prison Experiment, CACI should have anticipated the likelihood of doing harm to prisoners in a detention facility such as Abu Ghraib Prison and taken affirmative steps i.e., hiring qualified interrogators, providing adequate training in the duty of care owed to detainees, and supervising them to ensure that standards of care were actually observed in practice thereby ensuring that none of CACI's employees vitiated their responsibility to 'do no harm' to detainees.

B. CACI's Contribution to the Harm

I have reviewed numerous military investigative reports at Abu Ghraib. These are the kind of factual accounts of dynamic situations that I and my fellow social psychologists routinely rely upon in drawing conclusions based on our areas of expertise. These reports describe a situation in which CACI was responsible for harms suffered by detainees. Those investigations implicate military leadership, civilian interrogators, military intelligence and the "OGA" in creating the conditions that spawned the abuses.

The overall picture that I draw from the Taguba and the Fay/Jones reports is that there was a vacuum of leadership by both the military and the Corporate management of CACI. MPs lacked adequate human resources, supervision and training to carry out their job effectively. Because of this training and leadership void, those engaged in military intelligence, including CACI contractors exploited the situation: they were able to exert control and direction in how detainees in Tier 1 were treated. MIs, along with CACI personnel, directed how detainees were treated and ordered that they be "softened up" in order to make them more compliant in interrogations. According to the military investigative reports, these instructions led directly to the harm suffered by the detainees.

General Taguba conducted the most thorough of the dozen investigative reports by interviewing a great many actors in that abuse setting, from the MP guards up through the higher military officers as well as civilian contractors from CACI and Titan. His most developed findings were in relation to the MPs, and the lack of adequate training to the 800th MP Brigade for its corrections-specific assignment at Abu Ghraib.

General Taguba further found Military Intelligence interrogators "actively requested that MP guards set physical and mental conditions for favorable interrogation of witnesses. [&] "to "set the conditions" for MI interrogations." (Taguba Report, p. 18, para. 10). He then went on to

recommend disciplinary action against many of them well above the MP level, in very specific indictments. General Taguba recommended that an investigation “be conducted to determine the extent of culpability of MI personnel, assigned to the 205th MI Brigade and the Joint Interrogation and Debriefing Center (JIDC) at Abu Ghraib.”

General Taguba identified CACI contractor Steven Stefanowicz [“Stephanowicz”], among others, as an individual he suspected was “either directly or indirectly responsible for the abuses at Abu Ghraib (BCCF),” leading General Taguba to “strongly recommend immediate disciplinary action as described in the preceding paragraphs as well as the initiation of a Procedure 15 Inquiry to determine the full extent of their culpability.” (Taguba Report, p. 48). General Taguba found that Stefanowicz “[m]ade a false statement to the investigation team regarding the locations of his interrogations, the activities during his interrogations, and his knowledge of abuses.” (Ibid.) He further found that Stefanowicz “[a]llowed and/or instructed MPs, who were not trained in interrogation techniques, to facilitate interrogations by “setting conditions” which were neither authorized and in accordance with applicable regulations/policy. *He clearly knew his instructions equated to physical abuse.*” (Ibid. Italics added for emphasis.) That is exactly what MPs Ivan Chip Frederick and Charles Graner who were court-martialed for their role in the abuses reported that they were encouraged to do by these civilians who seemed to be in charge of the main action of Tier 1A, namely for them *to get actionable intelligence through detainee interrogation by any means necessary.*

Recalling that my research has found that prison personnel have strong incentives to be harsh if not properly trained or supervised, General Taguba made this finding in relation to CACI:

In general, US civilian contract personnel (Titan Corporation, CACI, etc&), third country nationals, and local contractors do not appear to be properly supervised within the detention facility at Abu Ghraib. During our on-site inspection, they wandered about with too much unsupervised free access in the detainee area. Having civilians in various outfits (civilian and DCUs) in and about the detainee area causes confusion and may have contributed to the difficulties in the accountability process and with detecting escapes. (Taguba Report, p. 26, para. 30)

Notably, General Taguba had Col. (Dr.) Henry Nelson, a USAF Psychiatrist “analyze the investigation materials from a psychological perspective. He determined that there was evidence that the “horrific abuses” suffered by the detainees at Abu Ghraib (BCCF) were wanton acts of select soldiers in an unsupervised and dangerous setting. There was a complex interplay of many psychological factors and command insufficiencies.” (Taguba Report, pp. 48-49, and Annex 1.) Colonel Nelson also found that the “ringleaders” of the abuse “collaborated with other MP

soldiers and several unknown MI personnel, to include soldiers as well as their civilian contract interrogators and interpreters.” (Taguba Report, Annex 1, p. 2.)

The investigation of the 205th Military Intelligence Brigade at Abu Ghraib Prison conducted by LTG Anthony R. Jones and MG George R. Fay was the follow-up investigation to the Taguba Report. Although their report advances the standard dispositional attribution of putting the blame on individual perpetrators of the abuses, once again by a “small group of morally corrupt soldiers and civilians” it does extend the causation to situational and systemic factors in revealing ways. Although they frame their analysis around the MP and MI perpetrators, their report indicts all those in positions of authority who had employees operating in that volatile situation, namely, CACI officers and their contractor-operatives acting as interrogators.

“The events at Abu Ghraib cannot be understood in a vacuum,” is the Fay/Jones lead into outlining how the “operational environment” contributed to those abuses. (Fay/Jones Report Executive Summary, p. 3.) Compatible with the social psychological analysis that I have been proposing, their report goes on to detail both the powerful situational and systemic forces operating within and around the behavioral setting. Consider the significance of the following three paragraphs extracted from their final report:

- “LTG Jones found that while senior level officers did not commit the abuse at Abu Ghraib they did bear responsibility for lack of oversight of the facility, failing to respond in a timely manner to the reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross and for issuing policy memos that failed to provide clear, consistent guidance for execution at the tactical level.”
- “MG Fay has found that from 25 July 2003 to 6 February 2004, twenty-seven 205 MI BDE [Brigade] Personnel allegedly requested, encouraged, condoned or solicited Military Police (MP) personnel to abuse detainees and/or participated in detainee abuse and/or violated established interrogation procedures and applicable laws and regulations during interrogation operations at Abu Ghraib.”
- “The leaders from units located at Abu Ghraib or with supervision over Soldiers and units at Abu Ghraib failed to supervise subordinates or provide direct oversight of this important mission. These leaders failed to properly discipline their Soldiers. These leaders failed to learn from their mistakes and failed to provide continued mission-specific training.... The absence of effective leadership was a factor in not sooner discovering and taking actions to prevent both the violent/sexual abuse incidents and the misinterpretation/confusion incidents.... *Abuses would not have occurred had doctrine been followed and mission training conducted.*” (Fay/Jones Report Executive Summary, pp. 3-4 (Italics added for emphasis.))

This joint report identifies multiple factors that contributed to the abuses at Abu Ghraib. Seven factors are identified as primary contributors to the abuses: “Individual criminal propensities” [the alleged dispositions of the reserve MPs]; “leadership failures” [systemic factors]; “dysfunctional command relationships at brigade and higher echelons” [systemic factors]; “multiple agencies/organizations involvement in interrogation operations at Abu Ghraib” [systemic factors]; “failure to effectively screen, certify, and then integrate contractor interrogators/ analysts/ linguists” [systemic factor]; “lack of a clear understanding of the MP and MI roles and responsibilities in interrogation operations” [situational and systemic factors], and “lack of safety and security at Abu Ghraib” [situational and systemic factors]. (Jones Report, pp. 5-6.) The Fay/Jones report thus specifies six of seven contributing factors to the abuses as traceable to systemic or situational factors, and only one traceable to dispositional factors. Their report then proceeds to expand on this overview by highlighting numerous systemic failures that played key roles in facilitating the abuses.

It concludes that: “*The environment created at Abu Ghraib contributed to the occurrence of such abuse and the fact that it remained undiscovered by higher authority for a long period of time.* What started out as nakedness and humiliation, stress and physical training [exercise], carried over into sexual and physical assaults by a small group of morally corrupt and *unsupervised Soldiers and civilians.*” (Fay Report, pp. 9-10 (Italics added for emphasis.))

In discussing the 44 incidents of detainee abuse “committed by MP and MI soldiers, as well as civilian contractors,” General Fay finds that of those incidents where MPs were involved *because* they were “requested, encouraged, condoned, or solicited by MI personnel” [that] “[t]he abuse, however, was directed on an individual basis and never officially sanctioned or approved.” (Fay Report, p. 7) He finds CACI contractors among those responsible for the abuse of detainees at Abu Ghraib: “Fifty-four (54) MI, MP, and Medical Soldiers, and civilian contractors were found to have some degree of responsibility or complicity in the abuses that occurred at Abu Ghraib.” (Ibid, pp. 7-8, pp. 47-48.)

The findings in the Fay/Jones report demonstrate a failure in hiring, training and supervision by CACI, leading to confusion about command and control over detention and interrogation activities:

Civilian CACI contract interrogators began to arrive in late September 2003. There are a number of shortfalls connected to this issue (See paragraph 4.g., below). It was another complicating factor with respect to command and control. CPT Wood relied on the CACI site manager, CIVILIAN-18, to interview contractors as they arrived and to assign them based on his interviews. She knew little of their individual backgrounds or experience and relied on “higher headquarters” to screen them before arrival. Such screening was not occurring. (Fay Report, p. 40)

General Fay found “[s]everal of the interrogators were civilians and about half of those civilians lacked sufficient background and training.” (Fay Report, p. 46) LTG Jones further found: “Integration of some contractors without training, qualifications, and certification created ineffective interrogation teams and the potential for non-compliance with doctrine and applicable laws.” (Jones Report, p. 18.) General Fay provided the following specific accounts:

- **On lack of training:** “The necessity for some sort of standard training and/or experience is made evident by the statements of both contractor employees and military personnel. CIVILIAN-21 (CACI) seemingly had little or no interrogator experience prior to coming to Abu Ghraib (Reference Annex B, Appendix 1, CIVILIAN-21, ADAMS), even though he was a Navy Reserve Intelligence Specialist. Likewise, numerous statements indicated that little, if any, training on Geneva Conventions was presented to contractor employees (Reference Annex B, Appendix 1, SOLDIER-25, CIVILIAN-10, CIVILIAN-21 and CIVILIAN-11).” (Fay Report, p. 51.)
- **On relationship between military and contractors:** “the apparent lack of understanding of the appropriate relationship between contractor personnel, government civilian employees, and military personnel. Several people indicated in their statements that contractor personnel were “supervising” government personnel or *vice versa*. SGT Adams indicated that CACI employees were in positions of authority, and appeared to be supervising government personnel. She indicated a CACI employee named “First Name” was listed as being in charge of screening. CIVILIAN-08 (CACI) was in charge of “B Section” with military personnel listed as subordinates on the organization chart. SOLDIER-14 also indicated that CIVILIAN-08 was a supervisor for a time. CPT Wood stated that CACI “supervised” military personnel in her statement, but offered no specifics. Finally, a government organization chart (Reference Annex H, Appendix 6, Tab B) showed a CIVILIAN-02 (CACI) as the Head of the DAB. CIVILIAN-02 is a CACI employee. On the other side of the coin, CIVILIAN-21 indicated in his statement that the Non-Commissioned Officer in Charge (NCOIC) was his supervisor. (Reference Annex B, Appendix 1, SOLDIER-14, CIVILIAN-21, ADAMS, WOOD) (Fay Report, pp. 51-52.)

The conclusions of these reports are consistent with my situationalist hypothesis of wrongdoing. They stress a number of factors that can be expected to produce wrongdoing by CACI employees, including blurred lines of accountability and confused roles between military and CACI personnel; the anonymity of detainees and military; the existence of a high pressure situation in a stressful, danger-filled prison environment; an incentive structure that prioritized obtaining intelligence, and profit motive; a failure to control the situationalist pressures by

supervisors and managers of the corporation, by properly training, supervising and disciplining its employees.

CACI's Responsibility vis-à-vis the Military

I have been on record in my book and in other contexts for blaming the military chain of command for its failures in Iraq, conclusions I reached based on the application of my own research to the investigative reports in Abu Ghraib. I have also served as an expert defense witness in support of S/Sgt. Ivan (Chip) Frederick at his military court martial trial in Baghdad. Frederick was charged with a host of crimes for which the military prosecutors demanded harsh penalties of up to 15 years in prison, along with a host of other severe penalties. Here is the text of my statement presented to the Court Martial:

The Fay report, the Taguba report indicate that this [abuse] could have been prevented had the military put in any of the resources or any of the concern that they're putting into these trials--Abu Ghraib never would have happened. But Abu Ghraib was treated with indifference. It had no priority, the same low priority in security as the archaeological museum in Baghdad [whose treasures were looted after Baghdad was "liberated" while soldiers passively watched]. These are both low priority [military] items, and this one happened to erupt under these unfortunate circumstances. So, I think that the military is on trial, particularly all of the officers who are above Sergeant Frederick who should have known what was going on, should have prevented it, should have stopped it, and should have challenged it. They are the ones who should be on trial. Or, if Sergeant Frederick is responsible to some extent, whatever his sentence is, has to be, I think, mitigated by the responsibility of the whole chain of command.

There are at least two important points about this testimony that are relevant to my opinion rendered in this case. First, my criticism of the military and attempt to pin responsibility on military leaders, in no way obviates my opinion that CACI contributed to the environment in Abu Ghraib and is likewise responsible for the harms that resulted from it. Indeed, in my book I also identified the role of military contractors, including CACI for responsibility for abuses in Abu Ghraib. We know from group social psychology that, in any dynamic setting, with multiplicity of persons and situational forces in place over time, there can be multiple bad actors. There can be a singular, evil leader or responsible official, but that is far more rare than situations where groups of individuals respond to similar pressures and act in concert to abuse those under their joint control. Likewise, there can be a system of control (e.g., the military) that acts affirmatively to limit the situational pressures that cause others to commit misconduct.

Still, I conclude that CACI contributed to the abuses at Abu Ghraib, in addition to the concurrent failures of Military Police and Military Intelligence to provide adequate leadership,

supervision and oversight at Abu Ghraib. Just as the military chain of command over those working in the prison setting that they helped create was responsible for the conduct of their soldiers, I believe that likewise CACI is responsible for the conduct of its own employees who were abusing prisoners, and also their misuse of MPs, encouraging them to go to “the dark side.”

In Abu Ghraib, one can say that the military chain of command left a vacuum of leadership and control, and CACI employees exploited this vacuum (as well as the vacuum of corporate supervisory control) in setting the conditions and ordering the abuse of detainees by MPs. Thus, as I detailed above, the military and CACI have parallel lines of responsibility. Just as the military failed, so too did CACI for putting their employees in harm’s way without the tactical guidance and support they needed to do their job with integrity rather than with disregard for the humanity of those they interrogated or prepared for interrogations.

The second relevant observation from my trial testimony is that I in no way discount the importance of individual responsibility. I then made explicit and clear that I find Sgt. Frederick “guilty as charged” for the abuses he perpetrated against prisoners in his command, and also for not preventing the rampant nightly abuses of prisoners by the MPs that he should have been in charge of. In addition, he allowed civilian interrogator personnel to dictate abusive, degrading tactics that he and others in his battalion followed. However, I then made clear that my reasoned, well-researched analysis determined that this soldier’s behavior over his entire long military career was nothing less than exemplary as shown by the nine medals and awards he won deservedly across his 20 years of service. I concluded that negative situational forces impacting him were comparable in kind but exponentially greater than those I witnessed on my guards in the Stanford Prison Experiment. Therefore, I urged the judge to take into consideration these powerful situational forces that distorted Fredrick’s judgment, values and behavior, as well as that of all the other MP guards working the night shift on that Tier. Although guilty, I testified that the *severity of his sentence should be mitigated* by factoring in these extrinsic forces. In fact, his sentence was reduced to eight years, from a possible fifteen, dishonorable discharge, and other penalties. So I am on record in condemning such abusive actions against detainees whose innocence must be presumed until proven otherwise no matter who are the agents of such abuse. I made evident my view that: “Such (mitigating) conditions neither excuse nor absolve the individuals who engaged in deliberate immoral or illegal behaviors even though certain conditions heightened the possibility of abusive treatment.”

Based on my decades of research, I still believe that despite this situational dynamic that puts negative pressure on people caught up in its confining grip, individuals always still have a behavioral choice, and thus must bear the personal and legal responsibility for their actions. Give in to those forces, and one becomes a Villain; resist, oppose and defy them, and one becomes a Hero. We know that there can be individual responsibility in difficult situations because of the heroic actions of military personnel such as Joseph Darby, and even CACI personnel such as Torin Nelson. Finally, I conclude that it should be part of the mission of our military leaders, as

well as civilian corporate leaders contracted to work in military settings, to do all in their power to reduce pressures on their subordinates to become perpetrators of evil, and instead create and sustain conditions that inspire them toward heroic behavior.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Phil Zimbardo". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Dr. Phil Zimbardo
February 1, 2013

Philip G. Zimbardo, Ph.D.
Curriculum Vitae

VITA

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Current Work and Professional Positions

Professor (2006-Present)

Palo Alto University (formerly, Pacific Graduate School of Psychology)
Palo Alto, CA

President, Founder (2009-Present)

Heroic Imagination Project (HIP) Corporation dedicated to encouraging and exploring everyday heroism.

Distinguished Senior Fellow (2002-Present)

Center for Homeland Defense and Security, Naval Postgraduate School (NPS)
Monterey, CA (Recently retired)

Executive Director (2005-PRESENT)

Center for Interdisciplinary Policy, Education, and Research on Terrorism (CIPERT)
Stanford Medical School and Naval Post Graduate School, Sponsors

President (2005-PRESENT)

Philip G. Zimbardo Educational Foundation (Sicily, Italy-USA Cultural Exchanges, College Scholarships for high school students; created computer labs in 3 towns)

President (2005-PRESENT)

Western Psychological Foundation (Funding arm of the Western Psychological Association)

Executive Board Member (2009-Present)

Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education (cCARE), Stanford Medical School

Board Member (2009-Present)

International Positive Psychology Association (IPPA)

Philip G. Zimbardo

Personal Information

Born: March 23, 1933, The Bronx, New York City, New York

Married: August 10, 1972, Christina Maslach, Ph.D., Psychologist, U. C. Berkeley
(czimbardo@gmail.com)

Children: Adam, Zara, and Tanya

EDUCATION AND HONORARY DEGREES

Brooklyn College, A.B. (Summa) Honors in Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology, 1950-1954

Phi Beta Kappa, 1953.

Yale University, M.S. 1955; Ph.D., 1959

Psychology License: # PL 4306 (since 1975; currently lapsed)

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters in Clinical Psychology, Pacific Graduate School of Psychology, 1996

Honorary Degree, Doctor Honoris Causa, National University of San Martin, Peru, 1996

Honorary Degree, Doctor Honoris Causa, Aristotle University, Thessalonica, Greece, 1998

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, Webster University, Vienna, 2007

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, Brooklyn College, New York, 2008

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, Rutgers University, New Jersey, 2009

Honorary Degree, Doctor Honoris Causa, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, 2009

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, Loyola University, Chicago, 2010

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, WA, 2013

HONORS AND AWARDS

GENERAL

President of the American Psychological Association, 2002

President, Western Psychological Association, 1983, again in 2001

Who's Who in America, 1982 - present

Ugliest Man on Campus (Most Popular Stanford Faculty/ Administrator), Alpha Phi Omega, 1983

Chosen by Editors of *The Sciences* to represent psychology in its 35th year celebration reflecting on the contributions in each field of science, November, 1996

Phi Beta Kappa, Distinguished Visiting Lecturer, 1989-1990

Western Psychological Association, Service Award, 2003

Chair of the Council of Scientific Society Presidents (CSSP) representing more than 60 science and math societies, with 1.5 million members, 2005

President of the Western Psychological Foundation, 2005 to present

Board Member, American Psychological Foundation, 2005 to 2008

APA, Distinguished Contributions in the Public Interest (Senior Career), 2008

Richard Lyman Award, Distinguished Lifetime Service to Stanford University, 2008

Innovations in Humanity Award, Ciudad des Ideas, Puebla, Mexico, 2009

Philip G. Zimbardo

Lifetime Service Award, Society of Personality and Social Psychology, 2009
Lifetime Achievement Award, Brooklyn College, 2010
Lifetime Achievement Award, Western Psychological Association, 2010
Fellow, American Association of Arts and Sciences (AAAS), 2010
Distinguished Lifetime Contributor to Media Psychology, 2012
Gold Medal Award, American Psychological Foundation, Lifetime Achievement in the Science of Psychology, 2012

TEACHING

Distinguished Teaching Award, New York University, 1965
Distinguished Teaching Award for Outstanding Contributions to Education in Psychology, American Psychological Foundation, 1975
Phoenix Award for Outstanding Teaching, Stanford Psychology Department Faculty, 1984
California Magazine, Best Psychology Teacher in California, 1986
The Walter Gores Distinguished Teaching Award, Senior Faculty, Stanford University, 1990
Bing Fellow Outstanding Senior Faculty Teaching Award, Stanford University, 1994-1997
WPA Recipient of the annual Outstanding Teaching Award, 1995
Distinguished Teaching Award, Phi Beta Kappa (Northern California Chapter), 1998
Robert S. Daniel Teaching Excellence Award, APA Division 2, Society for the Teaching of Psychology, 1999
Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching, Stanford University 1999-2000

RESEARCH

Peace Medal from Tokyo Police Dept., 1972 (special recognition of a foreign national whose research and ideas significantly contributed to improving criminal justice administration)
Fellow, Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1972
Gordon Allport Intergroup Relations Prize (honorable mention), 1974, Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues (for the Stanford Prison Experiment)
Distinguished Research Contributor Award, California State Psychological Association, 1977
Psi Chi Award for contributions to the Science of Psychology, 1986
Guze Award (Society for Clinical & Experimental Hypnosis), Best Research in Hypnosis, 1989
Selected as one of ten major contributors to *Social Psychology*, Yosemite Conference on 100 Years of Experimental Social Psychology, 1997
Ernest R. & Josephine R. Hilgard Award for the Best Theoretical hypnosis paper for Society for Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis, published 1999
Distinguished Lifetime Contributions to General Psychology (APA, Division 2, 2000)
APA Division 1 award, Ernest Hilgard Award for Lifetime Contributions to General Psychology, 2000
Distinguished Contributions to Scientific Hypnosis (APA, Division 30, 2001)
Psychology Today Magazine, Mental Health Award for Research and Treatment of Shyness, 2001
Distinguished Contribution to Psychology as a Profession, California Psychological Association, 1998

Philip G. Zimbardo

Los Angeles County Psychological Association: Psyche Award for Lifetime Contributions to Psychology as a Science and Art (2000)

Distinguished Lifetime Contributions to Psychology, California Psychology Association, 2003
Ig Nobel Prize In Psychology, 2003, AIR, Harvard University

Nobel Prize in Psychology (Virtual) 2004, Klagenfurt University, Austria

Havel Foundation Vision 97 Award, 2005, for lifetime of research contributions to knowledge

Carl Hovland Distinguished Lecturer, Yale, 2005

Group Psychologist of the Year, APA Division 49, 2007

Gold Medal Award, American Psychological Foundation, Lifetime Achievement in the Science of Psychology, 2012

WRITING

National Media Award (honorable mention), American Psychological Foundation, 1973 (for popular writing on vandalism)

William Holmes McGuffey Award for *Psychology and Life*, for Excellence and Longevity, (Textbook Authors Association) 1995

New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS) prize for the best book published on Latin American Studies in 2002 (*Violence Workers in Brazil*)

William James Award for best book published in psychology in 2007 (*The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil*). Also New York Times best seller.

MEDIA

Senior Academic Advisor, Host, Writer and Narrator of *Discovering Psychology*, (A 26-part PBS TV series on psychology, Annenberg/CPB project, 1986-1989)

London Weekend Television (Granada Media), “The Human Zoo” Three Programs, Chief Scientific Advisor and On-Screen Expert, 1999.

STC (Society for Technical Communication) International Audiovisual Competition Award of Excellence for “The Power of the Situation” (*Discovering Psychology* video series), 1991

Columbus International Film & Video Festival Bronze Plaque Award for “The Developing Child” (*Discovering Psychology* video series), 1992

International Film & TV Festival of New York Finalist Certificate for “Past, Present and Promise” (*Discovering Psychology* video series), 1992

WPA Film Festival Award of Excellence for “The Responsive Brain” and “Social Psychology” (*Discovering Psychology* video series), 1992

WPA Spring Festival first place award for *Quiet Rage: The Stanford Prison Study* video, 1993

WPA Spring Festival first place award for *Candid Camera Classics in Social Psychology* Video, 1993

APA Presidential Citation for outstanding contributions to psychology for the *Discovering Psychology* video series, 1994

Champions of Mental Health, *Psychology Today Awards*, 2001. (One of eight national figures

Philip G. Zimbardo

honored)

Psychological Consultant, New Programming for NBC TV, 2002.

Emmy Award, New England Instructional Television, Host, Cognitive-Neuroscience
(*Discovering Psychology* Video Series), 2002

WPA Spring Festival, First Place Award for Cultural Psychology (*Discovering Psychology*
Video Series), 2002

Carl Sagan Award for Promoting Public Understanding of Science, Awarded by Council of
Scientific Society Presidents, 2002

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Post Doctoral Trainee - West Haven Veteran's Hospital, Clinical Psychology Dept., 1959-1960
Co-Director (with Dr. S. Sarason), Children's Test Anxiety Research Project, Yale University,
1959-1962

Created, Directed The Harlem Summer Program, "A Head Start-Black Pride" Daily Program
Staffed by NYU and CCNY Students in Harlem (1965)

Training and research consultant in hypnosis, Morton Prince Clinic, New York, 1963-1967

Co-Director (with Dr. Ernest Hilgard), Stanford Hypnosis Research Lab, 1969-1980

Director, Stanford University Social Psychology Graduate Research Training Program

Founder, Co-Director (with Dr. L. Henderson), Shyness Clinic/ Shyness Institute, 1975-2007

Senior Scientific Advisor, writer, narrator, *Discovering Psychology*, PBS-TV/ Annenberg Corp
Video series (1989, updated 2001)

TEACHING

Instructor/Assistant Professor, Yale University, 1957-1960

Assistant Professor, New York University, 1960-1967

Columbia University (1967-68; Klingenstein Professor of Race Relations)

Professor, Stanford University, 1968 to 2003, Emeritus currently

Senior Fellow, Monterey Naval Postgraduate School, 2002-Present

Professor, Palo Alto University, 2007-Present

Visiting Professor: Yale (1962), Stanford (Summer 1963), Barnard College (1966), University of
Louvain (Belgium) Part-time (Summer 1966), University of Texas (1967), University of
Hawaii (Summer 1973), International Graduate School of Behavioral Sciences, Florida
Institute of Technology at Lugano, Switzerland (Summer, 1978), Guanajuato University
(Summer, 1985), University of Warsaw (Summer 2000), Masters Program, Visiting
Professor of Social Psychology, Webster University, Vienna, (2007).

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Psychological Association (APA), Fellow; Div. 1(F), 2(F), 3(F), 8(F), 9(F), 13(LM),
15(F), 26(LM), 45, 46(LM), 48(F), 52(F)

Association for Advancement of Psychology (AAP)

American Psychological Society (APS), Fellow

Charter Fellow Canadian Psychological Association (CPA)

Philip G. Zimbardo

Western Psychological Association (WPA), Fellow
Eastern Psychological Association (EPA), Fellow
California State Psychological Association (CSPA)
International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP)
International Congress of Psychology (ICP)
International Positive Psychology Association (IPPA)
Society for Inter-American Psychology
Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI)
American Association for Advancement of Science (AAAS), Fellow
Society for Experimental Social Psychology (SESP)
Society for Advancement of Social Psychology (SASP)
Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP)
Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, Psi Chi
American Association of University Professors (AAUP)
Psychologists for Social Responsibility (PSR)
Council of Scientific Society Presidents (CSSP)
Italian American Psychology Assembly (IAPA)

CONSULTATIONS AND BOARDS

Research Consultant, Morton Prince Clinic for Hypnotherapy (New York City)
Asthma Research Unit, Cornell Medical School (New York City)
Tokyo Police Department
Wake Up! Louisiana (New Orleans Citizens' Group)
Public Advocates Law Offices (San Francisco)
Charles Garry Law Offices—expert witness, prison litigation, Senate subcommittee on prisons and juvenile delinquency
Japanese internment reparations hearings (San Francisco)
San Francisco Newspaper Agency (Senior Project Research Consultant)
Cristaldi Films, Rome, Italy (Consultant on “Control” film)
SRI International Consultant to PSI Phenomena Project (Oversight Committee)
San Francisco Exploratorium, Consultant to APA Traveling Museum Exhibit, and Memory Project
Executive Board for the Holocaust Study Center, Sonoma State University
Advisory Panel for the Center on Postsecondary Learning, Teaching and Assessment
Board of Advisors, *Psychology Today* Magazine
Consulting Editor, McGraw Hill Publishers, Social Psychology Series
Historian, Western Psychological Association (1984-2000)
Editorial Board, *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*
Editorial Board, *Journal of Social Issues*
Institute for Research on Social Problems
Contributing Editor, *Healthline*
Advisory Board, The Foundation for Grand parenting
Advisory Board, End Violence Against the Next Generation (California)
Advisory Board, North American Journal of Psychology
Honorary Member, Italian Inter-university Center for the Study and Research on the Origins and

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Development of Prosocial and Antisocial Motivations

Consultant, Live Entertainment, Hollywood, "Stanford Prison Experiment" film

Advisor, London Weekend Television, "Human Zoo" 3 programs on group behavior, shown on Discovery Channel

Advisor, BBC, Human Rights, Human Wrongs Program: "Five Steps to Tyranny,"

Founder, Scientific Advisor, RealPsychology.com

Consultant, NBC TV, ABC TV

Consultant, Maverick Films, Hollywood, "Stanford Prison Experiment" film

Consultant, Coup d'Etat Films, Hollywood, "Stanford Prison Experiment" film

INTERNATIONAL INVITED ADDRESSES, WORKSHOPS, PRESENTATIONS

Conventions and Associations

International Congress of Psychology (in Bonn, London, Tokyo, Mexico City, Brussels, Stockholm, Berlin); International Congress of Applied Psychology, International Social Psychology Conference (in Majorca, Spain, and Budapest); Canadian Psychological Association, Japanese Psychological Association, Japanese Social Psychological Association, German Psychological Society, Greek Psychological Association, Spanish Social Psychological Association, European Association of Experimental Social Psychology, European Association of Personality Psychology, World Congress on Eclectic Hypnotherapy in Psychology (Ixtapa), International Conference on Time (San Marino, Italy); International Convention on Shyness and Self Consciousness (Cardiff, Wales), Mexican Psychological Society, Cammarata, Sicily Conference on Italian-American Culture Confrontations, Australian Psychological Society, Hawaiian Psychological Association, Palermo, Sicily, First Conference of Sicilian Psychologists and Italian-American Psychologists, Royal Society of Arts, London, A Level UK High School student conference, Edinburgh and London, British Psychological Society, First International Conference on Time Perspective, Coimbra, Portugal

Universities

University of Salamanca, University of Barcelona; The Sorbonne; University of Paris (Ecole des Hautes Etudes), University of Rome, University of Bologna, Catholic University of Milan, University of Naples, University of Parma; Oxford University, East London University, Central London University, University of Cardiff, Open University-Birmingham, England; University of Thessalonika, University of Athens; University of Louvain; Hamburg University; Tokyo University, Kyoto University, Okinawa University, Osaka University; University of Sao Paulo, University of Rio de Janeiro; Guanajuato University; University of British Columbia, Calgary University, University of Alberta, Toronto University, McGill University, University of New Foundland; Chinese University of Hong Kong, Deree College, (Athens), Webster University (Vienna), Advanced School of Social Psychology (Warsaw, & Wroclaw), Warsaw University, School of Management, State University of Moscow, St. Petersburg University (Russia), Cambridge University, University of Silesia, Poland, Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Chinese University of Hong Kong

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DOMESTIC LECTURES, WORKSHOPS, PRESENTATIONS

Conventions and Associations

American Psychological Association, American Psychological Society, Eastern Psychological Association, Western Psychological Association, Midwestern Psychological Association, South Eastern Psychological Association, Rocky Mountain Psychological Association, New England Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, American Orthopsychiatric Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York Academy of Sciences, Society for Experimental Social Psychology, Federation of Behavioral, Cognitive and Social Sciences, Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, Society for Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis, National Conference on Law Enforcement, Smithsonian Institute, Annenberg Foundation, American Association of Behavior Therapy, Anxiety Disorders Association of America, California School of Professional Psychology (Fresno and Berkeley), Pacific Graduate School of Psychology, Eriksonian Conference on New Developments in Therapy, National Conference on Teaching, Texas Junior College Convention. Veteran's Administration Hospital Psychology Programs in Palo Alto, Menlo Park, CA., Bronx, NY, Society for Research in Child Development, California Psychological Association, Midwest Institute for Teachers of Psychology, CATO Institute, Aspen Institute Festival of Ideas, TED, Technology, Entertainment and Design (2008, 09,10), United Nations Psychology Day, Evolution in Psychotherapy Conference, Positive Psychology Conference, Davos Foundation Festival, Renaissance Conference

Georgetown University, Cal Tech University, Harvard Law School, MIT Business School, Scripps College/Claremont-McKenna, University of Akron, Bucknell University, Columbus State C.C., Cal State University at Monterey Bay, Brooklyn College, University of Puerto Rico, San Francisco State University, Nova South East University (Ft. Lauderdale), New York University Business School, U. North Carolina, Asheville, United States Military Academy (West Point), United States Naval Academy (Annapolis), D'Anza C.C., Stanford University Business School,

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MEDIA PRESENTATIONS, APPEARANCES, INTERVIEWS ON TV & RADIO

"Discovering Psychology" Series, 26 episodes shown nationally on PBS and Internationally in 10 Countries (from 1989 to present)

The Phil Donahue Show, 20/20, Night Line, The Today Show, and Good Morning America (several appearances on each show); Charlie Rose Show, Tom Snyder Show, The Daily Show with John Stewart and The Colbert Report on Comedy Central, That's Incredible, Not For Women Only, To Tell The Truth, NBC Chronolog, People Are Talking,

BBC, CNN, National Public Radio, KGO Radio, Live 105 San Francisco Radio, Milt Rosenberg Radio Interview Program (Chicago), Italian TV-RAI (Shyness Program on Quark), Stanford Television Network, The Discovery Channel Program on Torture. 60 Minutes, and, London Weekend TV/ Discovery Channel program on the "Human Zoo," Only Human, NBC/Discovery Channel, Terri Gross, Fresh Air, Amy Goodman, Democracy Now, Wolf Blitzer, CNN Reports, New York Times video blog interview, Claudia Dreifus, Pete Wilson, KGO Radio, CBS Early Morning

AM and Late Night TV Shows in NYC, LA, Chicago, Seattle, Washington, DC, Atlanta, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Boston, Vancouver; Canadian Broadcasting Company,

INTERVIEWER/ON-STAGE CONVERSATION SERIES

Public interviews/conversations for California Academy of Sciences and S. F. City Arts & Lecture Series) with:

Anna Deveare Smith, Oliver Sachs, Jonathan Miller, Robert Coles, Andrew Weil, Frank Sulloway, Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, Mary Catherine Bateson, Peter Funt (son of Allen Funt), Frank Sulloway, and Michael Gazzaniga.

PUBLICATIONS

As of Winter, 2013 I have more than 400 publications, including 50+ books in many areas of psychology. Because my interests in psychology are quite diverse as someone who is a generalist and easily excited by interesting ideas in any domain where I find them, the following is an extensive listing of branches of psychology and topical areas within them in which I have published.

BRANCHES OF PSYCHOLOGY WHERE I HAVE CONDUCTED PUBLISHED RESEARCH

Animal experimental, clinical, cognition, perception, cultural psychology, developmental, educational, environmental, experimental, comparative, history of psychology, neuropsychology/biological, physiological, personality, political psychology, social, teaching of psychology, therapy

CAREER GOALS

The joys of psychology have come from blending teaching, research, and applications of psychological knowledge as my basic career goals. I love to teach and have done it extensively and intensively for nearly 50 years, trying to communicate what we know and how we know it to the next generation of citizens and psychologists. But my training as a research psychologist has prepared me to take much delight in contributing to the basic knowledge about how the mind and behavior work in social settings. Publishing that information is not only essential to career advancement, but to sharing with colleagues and the public these new ideas.

Finally, it has always been a central goal for me academically and personally to “give psychology away” to the public, to the media, and to those who could use it in ways that enhance the human condition. I like to think of myself as a social change agent – able to use my experience, training, and insights as a psychologist to make a difference in the lives of many people. As a patriotic dissident loyal to the American principles of justice, fairness, and peace, I have taken public positions and actions opposing some of the US government’s policies. These positions have focused around the Vietnam War, the preemptive war against Iraq, and the policies enabling the application of torture to civilians captured and detained in the Bush Administration’s so-called “war against terrorism.”

TEACHING CAREER - OVERVIEW

The year 2007 marked my golden anniversary of 50 years as an educator, having completed five decades of teaching Introductory Psychology. I began teaching in 1957 as a part-time instructor at Yale, in charge of a class of 25 freshmen in Introductory Psychology, and continued this wonderful experience for several more years until my first full-time appointment as assistant professor at New York University, Heights Campus in the Bronx. That was teaching in the raw: 12 semester courses a year, including summer school, all lecture courses, including 3 large Introductory Psychology courses per year. Living in New York on semi-starvation wages forced me to add a 13th course for several years, moonlighting up at Yale, teaching the Psychology of Learning to master’s level students in the Education School, and another year teaching Social Psychology at Barnard College. Some years I taught summer school at Stanford, in Louvain, Belgium, Lugano, Switzerland, and Vienna, Austria.

I love to teach large lecture classes where I am on the “performing center,” doing demonstrations, class experiments, and integrating novel AV materials, but it is even more challenging and rewarding to be intimately connected to students in seminars where I learn from our interaction. In addition to this in-class teaching, I have always mentored students in individual study, undergraduate honors research, and thesis research of masters and doctoral students.

Another dimension of teaching for me has been to develop teaching materials, and course supplements that make teaching both more effective and easier. To this end, I have not only written many basic texts and primers in Introductory and Social Psychology, but pioneered the new breed of Instructor’s Manual that helps teachers with every aspect of course preparation and

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curriculum design.

I have also developed Student Guides and Workbooks, and a variety of demonstrations and AV resources for teachers. Among the later are: the “Discovering Psychology” PBS - video series of 26 programs covering all of general psychology, “Candid Camera Classics,” one for Introductory and another for Social Psychology courses (with teacher’s manuals for each), “Quiet Rage,” the video documentary of the Stanford Prison Experiment, and a public website slide show of my experiment (www.PrisonExp.org/). In the ten years since its launch by Scott Plous on Social Psychology Network, it has received more than 100 million page views of its content.

Since its inception in 1989 to 2008, more than half a million people in Tele-Courses have received full credit for Introductory Psychology by passing a standard test based on the “Discovering Psychology: video series and a basic textbook. For me, that represents an ideal in “outreach teaching.”

Another dimension of teaching in my career has been training teachers also to discover the joys of teaching by helping them to do their job really well. I regularly give workshops on teaching throughout the country, at professional meetings (APA, APS, WPA, National Conference on Teaching, and others); in many universities and colleges; organize my own workshops at Stanford (for local area teachers at all levels of psychology education), and have given many teaching workshops internationally as well. I also contribute to teaching by training my own teaching associates to become experts through working closely with them in an intensive Practicum in Teaching course, that I innovated in 1960 at NYU, and have developed over the years into a training program that includes undergraduate TAs as well as graduate students. Many of these students have gone on to become distinguished, prize-winning teachers in colleges across the country and in national competitions.

STANFORD TEACHING: I believe that I have taught more students, for more credits, in a greater variety of courses, than any other Full Professor in the history of Stanford University. Since 1968, I have regularly taught large lectures in **Introductory Psychology**, one of the most popular courses in the University, typically to about 300 students, but have taught this course to as many as 1000 students, and as few as 10 students in a special seminar format with computerized daily interaction on written assignments, in addition to lectures.

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Reports and Media

Philip G. Zimbardo
Stanford University

1953

1. Zimbardo, P. G. (1953). The dynamics of prejudice and assimilation among two underprivileged minority groups in New York City. *Alpha Kappa Delta*, XXIV(1), 16-22.

1957

2. Montgomery, K. C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1957). The effects of sensory and behavioral deprivation on exploratory behavior in the rat. *Journal of Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 7, 223-229.

3. Zimbardo, P. G., & Montgomery, K. C. (1957). The effects of free-environment rearing upon exploratory behavior. *Psychological Reports*, 3, 589-594.

4. Zimbardo, P. G., & Montgomery, K. C. (1957). The relative strengths of consummatory responses in hunger, thirst and exploratory drive. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 50, 504-508.

1958

5. Zimbardo, P. G. (1958). The effects of early avoidance training and subsequent rearing conditions on the sexual behavior of the male rat. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 51, 764-769.

6. Zimbardo, P. G., & Barry, H. (1958, January 10). The effects of caffeine and chlorpromazine on the sexual behavior of male rats. *Science*, 127, 84-85.

7. Zimbardo, P. G., & Miller, N. E. (1958). The facilitation of exploration by hunger in rats. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 51, 43-46.

1960

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9. Zimbardo, P. G. (1960). Verbal ambiguity and judgmental distortion. *Psychological Reports*, 60, 57-58.

1961

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10. Barnard, J. W., Zimbardo, P. G., & Sarason, S. B. (1961). Anxiety and verbal behavior in children. *Child Development*, 32, 379-392.

11. Sarnoff, I., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1961). Anxiety, fear and social affiliation. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 62, 356-363.

1962

12. Cohen, A. R., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1962). An experiment on avoidance motivation. In J. W. Brehm and A. R. Cohen, *Explorations in Cognitive Dissonance* (pp. 143-151). New York: Wiley.

1963

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1964

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1967

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24. Zimbardo, P. G. (1967, June). The psychology of police confessions. *Psychology Today*, 1, 17-27.

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