

## Interview with Dr. Philip Zimbardo

By Dr. Elsa B. Cardalda  
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During late April of 2008, we had the pleasure to host a Conference by the eminent psychologist Dr. Philip Zimbardo, conducted at the University of Puerto Rico, and sponsored by the Psychology Department directed by Dr. Dolores Miranda. The Conference was open to all students of psychology from different universities and centers in Puerto Rico. The activities surrounding the conference were coordinated by the project PAIPS, directed by Dr. Nydza Correa. As a member of the project, and volunteer for the Conference proceedings, Dr. Elsa B. Cardalda conducted an interview with Dr. Zimbardo. This material will be part of the archives of PAIPS and shared with the general readership of Psychology.

Dr. Philip Zimbardo is an American psychologist and professor emeritus at Stanford University, where he is the Director of the Stanford Center on Interdisciplinary Policy, Education, and Research on Terrorism (see: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip\\_Zimbardo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_Zimbardo)). He also has taught at Yale University, New York University, and Columbia University, is a past president of the American Psychological Association, and has authored numerous articles and books in psychology. He is known for the landmark Stanford Prison experiment (see <http://www.prisonexp.org/>) and his latest contribution is the book *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding how good people turn evil* (2008; <http://www.lucifereffect.com/dehumanization.htm> ) where he discusses his experience as expert witness in the court martial hearings of the criminal behavior in the Abu Ghraib prison.

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Dr. E. Cardalda: Good afternoon. We have here Dr. Phillip Zimbardo, from Stanford University, visiting us at the UPR in Puerto Rico.

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: I am delighted to be here. I have been treated so well and I am eager to share my ideas with you.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Today is April 28<sup>th</sup> of 2008 and we would like to pose some questions in the form of an interview with you. I have read some of your materials but, in summary, could you tell us what do you consider your orientation or perspective in social psychology?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: I am an experimental social psychologist and essentially what that means is, if you get an idea where you would like to find the answer to that the way you go about is to translate that general idea into a hypothesis in such a way that it is possible to perform a experiment, to collect the data, and to answer the hypothesis. This comes from the tradition of Kurt Lewin, one of the early social psychologists, who some consider the pioneer of Social Psychology, who came from Germany to escape the Nazis, he was the one who said that Social Psychology should ask important questions about real world phenomena that make a difference and we should go about answering them in a rigorous experimental way, experiments both in the laboratory but also in the real world, as field research. He was the one who stimulated the research on leadership, comparing democratic with fascists and/or authoritarian leadership, he was the one that promoted the notion of participatory democracy, that when people get together and share ideas rather than top down leaders, the outcome is always much better, much more positive. So, I think I would be considered in the Lewinian tradition, as a social psychologist focused on doing experimental research but, always with an idea that research ultimately ideally should serve the human condition, should try to make things better for the human condition.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Would you see yourself as a behaviorist, a constructivist? Do you have an ideology or a school of thought that you ascribe to or you just use what you can?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Yeah, use what you can, that's my motto. No, I'm an old school generalist because I've taught Introductory Psychology for fifty years and I've written many Introductory Psychology textbooks, and I still do, and if you teach Introductory Psychology and you write books about it you have to be interested in all of psychology, so generalist means I love psychology, I love social psychology the most but when I'm writing or teaching, when I teach Cognitive Psychology I have to love Cognitive Psychology and memory and neural biology. I think ultimately if what you mean by behaviorist is that you study behavior, try to understand why people behave as they do then in research I would say I'm a behaviorist. But what is wrong with the behaviorist tradition of Skinner, Hull, and Pavlov, is that they gave no place for the human mind, it was all about performance: external behavior, rats running mazes, pigeons pressing a key and clearly social psychologists say cognition matters, the situation matters, culture matters, history matters and so on. I and other social psychologists we simply take a more complex view of what goes into human behavior but ultimately we want to know why do

people do what they do in addition to why they think what they think, why they say what they say.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Do you see yourself primarily as a psychologist or as a social psychologist?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: I think I would say as a psychologist but I think other people see me as a social psychologist because the research I've done is, certainly the Stanford prison experiment is highly visible. But really I'm interested in all of psychology. I have written, I have published about 350 articles and recently someone did a check and it's in 40 different areas of psychology: with animals, with children, on stress, on memory, on cults, hypnosis, on shyness so some people say like meaning "you're not an expert on anything" but I get interested on something and say I wonder what would happen if, and that's the kiss of research, that's the magic that takes an idea that philosophers have, that sociologists have, lots of people have and we turn it into an experiment.

Dr. E. Cardalda: You have mentioned that most social psychologists may come from minority groups. How do you think that is so? What does it mean for the field?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Originally social psychology, now it's changing, it's becoming more cognitive social psychology and I think when it does then it means social psychology in your head rather than social psychology in the situation. But traditional social psychology was heavily influenced by Jewish figures such as Lewin, Schacter, Festinger and I think in a sense if you are a minority, you're always looking in on society, you're never privileged, you're never part of the privileged elite, you never have power, you're always observing power, you're always the object of discrimination rather than the one who's discriminating. So I think because of that, social psychologists were more likely to be observers of human behavior in the social setting. Also, what social psychologists are able to do is, you know, be involved in the human condition but also step out and look in, almost like an anthropologist in your own country, so your own country becomes the culture that you are observing. But the other thing is that for example Stanley Milgram and I were high school classmates, we sat next to each other in high school in the Bronx and now, I was more poor than him but still we were relatively poor and if you are rich, if you are privileged, when you look around you see success everywhere, your parents are successful, your relatives are successful, your friends are successful so you want to believe you deserve success, you want to believe there's a gene for success in you, you are more likely to believe that dispositions make the person, your traits. On the other hand, if you grow up poor then when you look around and see is failure, your father is not working, you have friends or relatives who are in prison or prostitutes or drug addicts and you don't want to believe that's in you, in people, you want to believe its the situation that made them that way and, optimistically, if you change the situation you would change their behavior. Stanley Milgram, who did the famous blind obedience experiment study and Phillip Zimbardo who did the Stanford Prison

study, we come from the same tradition of saying we want to understand how situations mold people's character and that's what is common about both of us. So I think that's why social psychologists tended to be more from minorities and also tended to be more poor than rich.

Dr. E. Cardalda: On that note, is there any way that being of Italian American origin has shaped your career?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Well it's also being an outsider; there are very few Italians in Academia. Sadly, the Italian immigration in general were poor people and poor people mostly from the south of Italy, from Naples down and they were people who themselves were not educated and who did not give education a high priority. Unlike Jewish immigrants, immigrants from other countries where education was seen as the key to survival, the key to success and so I was the first person in my family to go to high school, not college, high school. My mother left school after the eighth grade, my father never even got to the eighth grade, and my father never wanted me to go to college, since he did not have that experience he couldn't understand why I didn't want to go to work when I finished high school because then you could make money and I had to fight him all the time. I have to go to college; I love school! He didn't even like me to study he said, "You're burning your eyes out, you're reading too much". Every other parent is pushing their child to read more, and my father was like read less, go play and I said "No, I got to study" (father) "Don't study, you work too hard". So, in a sense there are relatively few Italian Americans in Academia, in any field, and in psychology growing up there's only handful and so recently some Italian American psychologists, have organized an assembly just to give ourselves a sense of group identity, a sense of sharing and it's only the last two or three years so it's Italian Americans and friends and it's really important. Many of them are in Clinical Psychology doing various kinds of treatments.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Italian American formally seeking to get over their invisibility...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Again, Italian Americans were also discriminated against widely. Seen as the stereotype, as they were all part of the Mafia, all they want to do is eat and have big families, they're not really serious. When I was in high school, when I was a junior, when I was fifteen my family moved to California and I had always been a very popular student, socially popular and I went to North Hollywood high school, 1948, and no one talked to me. If I would sit down other kids would walk away, for 6 months and it was depressing because literally, no one would talk, no one would smile at me. It wasn't until the spring (I got depressed, I used to get asthma which I never had, purely psychosomatic) and then I made the baseball team in the spring and when we were going to some game, I'm like sitting on the bus, and I turn to the guy next to me and I said: "I don't understand, why are people, you know, avoiding me?" and he said, "We're afraid of you" and I said "What?" and he said " Well, everybody thinks you're part of the New York Mafia". I'm a skinny little kid, maybe I weighed 150 pounds, you know, I was the most peaceful

person and here is where a stereotype kills and I said “No, I have nothing to do with that” and the other kid said “ Well that’s too bad, I’ll tell the other people”. But, here’s where a stereotype about Italian Americans, about the Mafia being dangerous applied to me. I have no connection to the Mafia but it was enough for all these kids, I mean, hundreds and hundreds of kids: in my class, in the cafeteria I sit down, people get up and walked away and it was devastating for me, finally my family had to leave, come back to New York.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Where you able to clarify these stereotypes?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: No, not really.

Dr. E. Cardalda: So, once they got going...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Once it was embedded, so kids said “Well, it doesn’t matter, we don’t want to know him now anyway” and the irony is the next year I came back in the summer, in September I went to James Monroe High school where Stanley Milgram was in the class, and in six months I was voted the most popular boy in the school. So I went in six months to being the least popular boy to the most popular boy. So in fact Stanley Milgram and I talked about it, did I change or the situation changed? It was the same me, so again here’s the power of the situation.

Dr. E. Cardalda: So, those stereotypes were not operating in the Bronx?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Oh no, not the same I mean like, no. There were Italians everywhere, in New York City, at that time in the 40’s and 50’s in the South Bronx it was a true melting pot. My friends were Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Italians, Jewish, Armenians, across the border. I have pictures of all of us, of all different colors and shapes and we never even thought about race. You know, there were derogatory terms it was Spijs and Niggers and Wasps and stuff but not with our friends, you know, other people said that. But you didn’t think of other kids as Mafia, you knew there was a Mafia, the Mafia was bad, but when you grow up in the streets you’re more sophisticated about where the power is and so forth. Another terrible story about prejudice, maybe I’m getting ahead of the interview, so, I graduated from Brooklyn College in 1954, Brooklyn College was a free college, New York has five different boroughs, areas, and each one has a City College that was free in those days, no tuition at all so many poor kids would never go to college. I would never been able to go to college if it wasn’t totally free, even though I worked every night to bring money home. So, I’m at the top of my class, I graduate Summa Cum Laude that’s the highest honor. In my junior year, I’m president of the fraternity, captain of the track, and I apply to Yale, which is my first choice because it was nearby, and other kids are accepted or rejected, I don’t even hear from them; I don’t even get a letter. So, on April the 15<sup>th</sup> is the time when you have write back to the school that accepted you to say you’re going to accept so I was going to go to the University of Minnesota to work with Stanley Schacter and a

professor calls me from Yale and says, “ I hope you haven’t sent in your acceptance letter anywhere ” I said, “ No, I thought I would do it tomorrow” and he said “Well at Yale we were interested in you, you were on a waiting list” and I said “ But, nobody ever wrote to me” he said “ Well, are you still interested?” and I said “ Yeah I’m interested, Yale is my first choice” and he said “ I’m coming to New York for a convention tomorrow, don’t send your letter until you talk to me, I want to ask you a few questions”. So I meet this guy at 10 o’clock in a bar he’s having double martinis, and he said “I want to ask you a three questions. Can you run rats? Can you build equipment? Can you start working in the summer?” I said “Yeah, I can run rats (but they are in our apartment, I didn’t tell him that, we run them out with a broom), I can build equipment (because my father can build anything I’ll make him do it), and I said yeah I don’t have a job”. He said, “Ok, You’re now officially accepted into Yale graduate program”. I’m amazed and I said, this is so wonderful...

Dr. E. Cardalda: By invitation...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: By invitation, the guy comes and sees me. Well, two things happened, when I got there I discover that I was not on the waiting list, I was the question mark because they thought I was Black and a professor, Harold Kelly, he was a famous social psychologist, he was my teacher then I met him a four years later, he told me “You know, some people thought you were Black and said, we should take him because we’ve never had a Black student here. Other people said, because he’s Black we shouldn’t take him because he is going to fail and it wouldn’t be fair to him and his race”. So this is among intelligent psychologists at Yale University having this debate, of course nobody... they could’ve just called, right, to say, but it was too awkward. So, why did they think I’m Black? Well first of all...My name is Phillip Zimbardo. At that time, Roy Campanella was the catcher of the Brooklyn Dodgers, he was Black, and so it’s a Black guy with the name. Then it turns out, it was all circumstantial evidence; I was the captain of the track team, Black. They ask me what do you read, I read Down Beat Magazine. Your favorite music, Jazz, because my brother was a Jazz musician. I belonged to the NASCP because of my teacher, I was sociology major, I took courses, Negro’s in the United States, Race Relations, I did research on integration of Blacks and Puerto Ricans and so, they looked at this pattern. And also I got higher scores in verbal than math so they looked at it and said no question. And also I had a little mustache and I used to wear Bronx clothes, suede shoes, and blue suede shoes. So there was a debate, therefore, all of his good letters of recommendation are probably biased; he’s not so good, they’re just saying it. So they didn’t make a decision, they just put me in hold there and the day before when you had to submit your request, one of the other applicants changed his mind so they had a position they had to fill and they stuck me into it. So I almost didn’t get into Yale because I was Black and I was almost the first Black student there... so here is prejudice following me around.

Dr. E. Cardalda: It's interesting because I think you mentioned that your family is originally from Sicily and you're considered the darker zone...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Within Italy, Sicilians are considered Black.

Dr. E. Cardalda: But you are fair, and have blue eyes...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: It doesn't matter if you have blue eyes, if you're seen as Sicilian you're more dark than light.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Yeah, let's go back what you were talking about, to the newly formed Italian American Psychology Association. What role do you see it having? Do you think it has a possibility to have a role within APA or outside APA?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: What's really important is social modeling, so it means that, if you are a young student, that suddenly people with prestige are proud to be Italian, I belong to Italian American rather than, I'm Italian by accident and I don't want to mention it I want to change it. Again, earlier lots of people changed their name; Italians used to change their names. I have an uncle that changed his name to Bard because he didn't want to be seen as Italian, he worked in the hotel industry. So, again lots of people, for various reasons are ashamed, ashamed to be Puerto Rican, ashamed to be Italian. To say no, I'm proud to be Italian, I'm proud of my heritage and so maybe we have an influence on students who's choosing a creative way to say I should be proud to be Italian, here's a role model, if he can make it I can make it too. American Psychological Association is just so big. I don't know how many fifty thousand members and fifty divisions so I don't think it can have an impact in APA, very little so. But we meet once a year at conventions, we have social meetings we also have on the program, people who talk about stereotypes of Italians in America, of Italian Americans on Italy and we try to support each other's research.

Dr. E. Cardalda: In the official history there has been neglect of this topic...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Oh yeah, you see, during the Second World War there were signs all over America, probably in Puerto Rico too, which said: "Don't speak the language of your enemy: German, Japanese, Italian". People would get that Italians were hooked, that Mussolini was hooked up with Hitler and so on. If you were Italian you were the enemy so I wanted to learn Italian and my mother would say "No, speak American." she didn't know English, "because we don't want them to think we're the enemy". So, my whole generation of kids who grew up... did not want to be Italians; didn't want to be linked with the old world. That is the metaphor of the melting pot: you put all these people in, Jews, Irish, German, you mix them up and they come

out as Americans. Well, it didn't work that metaphor, now the metaphor is the mosaic because each part of the mosaic is unique, you put them all together you get something beautiful but each part of the mosaic keeps its identity. The melting pot was, "no, we want to eliminate your identity, the only thing you can keep is your food, we don't care about that".

Dr. E. Cardalda: I heard you developed this Zimbardo Foundation. Can you tell us a little about that?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Yeah. When I went to Sicily three years ago, I should say that I went to Sicily first time in my life three years ago, and the reason I went there is I had done an interview on Italian television that was broadcasted all over Italy including Sicily and some people there wrote to me and said, "you must be connected to us because there are hundreds of Zimbardo's in our village" I said, "What village?" "*The Cammarata*", is a little village in the mountains, in the middle of Sicily and it turns out that that's where my grandfather came from but when I asked him as a child where do we come from he said Palermo in a low voice; a little town outside. So like, if you came from Newark, New Jersey and they said, where do you come from, and they say New York; a little town outside, because people know the big city and Palermo is the big city. So I went there 3 years ago and sure enough there's a hundred Zimbardo's. My grandmother's name is Marino, there's 40 Marino's some are married to Zimbardo's even though my grandparents left more than a hundred years ago. So I was like the prodigal son; returning to the old world. There were posters all over with the Statue of Liberty that said, "the world's most famous psychologist is from New York but he is a son of Cammarata"...and it was wonderful, and they fed me gave me Italian wine and it was just lovely. And what you see is these people have a rich historical tradition, grandparents, great-grandparents still live with their children. Even when you die in the cemeteries they have porcelain pictures of you in a visual image... and people go everyday to put flowers.

Dr. E. Cardalda: So you don't disappear...

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: You never disappear and kids are always part of it, if there's a party kids are playing until two o'clock in the morning, they're playing around, they run to their grandparent's house. So I met with the high school students and said, "you're so fortunate, you have two of the three of the most important things, you have a rich past, you have a wonderful sense of the present". I call present hedonism, good food, good wine and judging from the size of the family, and other things that are good. But, you're missing one thing, you have no future, because of the Mafia still controls southern Italy, there's no industry because no industry will settle from Naples down because they extort, they control the union and so all the industries are in the North and Fiat, Olivetti, Masserati, all the big companies are in the north. So I tell them, unemployment in this village is forty-one percent, that's official. So I said, what you have to do

is to begin to develop a future orientation meaning you have to not live for the moment, you have to learn to delay gratification but you have to learn a marketable skill that your community needs and you have to go to college, you've got to learn computers. Computers are the inescapable link to the future and you have to travel, out of Italy, as a group, so organize groups, other students travel all over, kids from Europe travel everywhere together. So what I'm going to do is I'm going to develop a Foundation so I can help send a bunch of you each year to local colleges and then bring some of you to America to a fellowship on the summer, and they had only one computer in the whole high school so I arranged for a friend to donate twenty computers with programs. So is a small thing but it gives them hope, hope of a future that can be better than the present. So now I go every year, there's a big ceremony, the teachers pick the eight best students, four boys, four girls, we give them the fellowship there in the big ceremony with big diplomas and things and then we bring a couple of kids each year, they spend a week in New York in my brother's family, a week with my family and although it's a small thing it really conveys a sense that life could be better and for all of them you say the key is not to get education and go away, the key is to come back and make your community better, so you always think, what's missing in my community? What business? What skill that I can start? I can make money and I can live here and make it better. So that's what I'm doing and I'm going to go back in this June. Only they stuff me so much, I gain a pound a meal, almost as bad as Puerto Rico.

Dr. E. Cardalda: In your work of heroes and heroines you distinguish between the everyday hero and the lifelong hero. Have you looked at that in any systematic way or do you have some general comments on this?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: In the book I wrote, *The Lucifer Effect*, although most of the book is focused on evil and how you overcome it. The last chapter is a celebration of heroism, I had to write the chapter because I needed to lift myself out of all the mock of evil and my argument is that the heroes that we celebrate in every culture are bigger than life so we have Nelson Mandela, we have Mother Teresa, Martin Luther King, here you have Roberto Clemente and others, and we have famous war heroes or Gandhi, one of the great models of heroism. The problem is that they are not really good role models for us because they organize their whole life around a sacrifice, around a principle, around some moral focus, for most of us we're not going to do that, we have another life. And I'm arguing that kids have heroes who are the Fabulous Four, Superman, Batman, Robin, Spiderman, but they can never be them because those people have fictional qualities so my argument is most heroes are everyday people, ordinary people, and therefore, what I'm saying is to be a hero, doesn't mean you have to be a special person. The heroic act is extraordinary, but heroes are ordinary and what that means is you don't have to be more religious, more altruistic, at some point you're in a situation where other people are becoming as important or more important than your egocentrism and you have to take action when other people don't do anything and we don't know why, we don't know why some people are motivated to act when other people do nothing, freeze out. So that's the main thing we can

do. I'm starting a whole program that says, "Let's understand what it means to be a hero in different cultures; what are the different kinds of heroism possible? Can you train people to begin to internalize the self-identity that I'm a hero in waiting? Waiting for some situation in my life to come along where I would put my heroic imagination into action and actually do the heroic thing." And we think that first beginning to label yourself as a hero in waiting and then learning some hero talents. If you're a hero you're always going to be a deviant, heroes are always going against the grain, going against the majority, maybe after learning some first aid skills, if you're going to be that type of hero sometime, you also have to learn social activism; you're going to be a better hero if you get other people to share your vision. So, we're now beginning to develop courses, curriculum, hero workshops, some are programs, but also in the school system in Detroit, Michigan where there is a lot of poverty, to begin to get kids enroll in a class, *The Hero Project* we call it, and they talk about heroes, heroes in literature, what makes a hero, what kinds of things have they ever done which are heroic, and we focus now in the heroes in your family, heroes in your community, get them to read scrapbooks... So its only the beginning but the idea is: the more heroes you have in a society, the more people you have that are going to oppose evil, so heroism is really antidote to evil and the idea is we want to develop more courses and have it spread across the curriculum, but also at different levels you do different things. College students should be doing it, things like opposing bullying. Bullying is a terrible evil that we all are aware of, when we talk about torture, well we never going to become tortured but we hear about it: Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo. But bullying is something we all know about, and so, how do you get kids to oppose bullying in an effective way? Prejudice is an evil, how do you get kids to stop using stereotypes? How do you get kids to stop telling racist or sexist jokes or to challenge parents and relatives that they love who tell racist or sexist jokes? How do you do it in an effective way that doesn't turn them off, but gets them to stop doing the thing? So, there's lots of it, how do you get your parents to stop smoking? Smoking is an evil because it kills people, gets them sick, how do you get parents to be more involved in the green movement, which kids need? We're destroying their world! So, again is all of these kinds of things that heroism is not a simple thing, it could be a collection of very concrete specific actions but we think getting yourself to say, "well no I'm a hero in waiting and while I'm waiting, heroism is a process, all the things I can begin to do to make my community better, make my family better, make the quality of life better". Be a friend to the shy child, that would be a hero, because other kids are saying, "don't pay attention", they don't talk to him. So that's what I'm excited about, it has a lot of possibilities, a lot of potential and also it lifts me out of working on evil and all these terrible things.

Dr. E. Cardalda: How do you see the future of social psychology, are you still very optimistic about that?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: I am, because in a funny way social psychology is bolder, taking over of most of psychology and losing its identity because... if you look at any general psychology book

text, everything is social hyphen something else, social-cognition, social-emotion, social-memory, social-development... So social psychology, which used to be on the periphery, used to be like here's psychology and there's this little circle up here which is close to sociology, now it's moved to the center and everything is social something. In a way that's good because it says everything we social psychologist believe about, our discipline, is now infiltrating to the rest of psychology but as it does, then we lose our identity because we become social-everything else. So, I'm optimistic but there is another big problem, it is very difficult to do laboratory social experiments of the prison study kind or the Milgram study or even an old bystander intervention studies because of the human subject's limitations. Therefore, most social psychologists have ended up doing paper and pencil studies. You asked people to imagine how you would behave if you're in that situation but everything we know says that how you think you would behave, its different than when you're in the influence of the situation, that's the whole point of the Milgram and Stanford Prison study. So the pressure of the human subjects is pushing psychologists, the younger generation, to do more and more paper and pencil studies. Also, the pressure of the journals, when you have to publish two or three or four experiments in one single study an experiment could be paper and pencil. So that's also pushing social psychologists to get out of the laboratory. You do a big introductory class, you can do a whole experiment in ten minutes but I think it moves you away from behavior. The other thing we talked about, Kurt Lewin and his influence... well, there's very few social psychologists doing anything related to groups, it's just more difficult, it takes more subjects, and so the group dynamics part of social psychology is really dying, dropping out, while the cognitive social psychology is increasing. And even now it's social neuroscience so social psychologists are being involved in putting people in MRI scanners to look how the brain operates... But as more social psychologists move out into all these other areas there is a danger of losing its core.

Dr. E. Cardalda: I have been thinking lately a lot about the University as an Institution, about the historical development of the future of the University as an Institution, how academic freedoms have changed. What do you see happening in the University as an Institution in the future? Do you see we're going to have less academic freedom? Because our countries are moving towards less freedom, so we are also infringing on academic freedoms as well.

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: Yeah, that's really understandable universities are institutions, prisons are institutions, old age homes are an institution, and part of the new message that I've been trying to get across, in all the lectures that I'm giving out to promote my book *The Lucifer Effect* says that what social psychologists have to do is look at behavior at the individual level, behavior at the level of the situation, the social context. But also we have ignored the power of the system and the system is the institution, the institution creates the situation in a classroom, the institution creates the possibility of bullying to go on unlimited, or allows prejudices, allows all the high school shootings... That's not just about some kids that are unhappy with life, that's about an institution that's failed to acknowledge and recognize that children had very serious

psychological problems. Most of the problems are social problems, had no friends, were ostracized, were bullied, were shy, and now the difference is if you live in America and you're a kid you can get a gun. So, these are kids who before were just miserable and just got beaten up all the time or got ignored and now the same kids you give them a gun and they're going to get revenge. So it's hard to know whether institutions are moving in the direction to limit freedom. I don't know about Puerto Rico, times are much more conservative now than they were when I did the Stanford Prison Study. Students then were social activists, were revolutionaries. When I think about the student reaction to the Vietnam War versus the student's non-reaction to Iraqi war it's enormous. The problem was in those days the students were worried about getting drafted and the government knew. They didn't want to deal with the middle class opposition; so they said "we're not going to draft students". But in general, students themselves are more conservative than ever, in part because they're worried about getting a job. Years ago you knew that if you went to college there was a job waiting for you; the only question how good it was. Now students are worried, would I ever get a job? And that's a terrible thing about the upcoming recession. It makes everybody more conservative. You don't want to do anything that's going to impact your career, you don't want to have any marks in your records, you don't want to stand out, you don't want to be different, you don't want to be a social activist, you don't want to be a political activist. So in a funny way, I think students are limiting their own freedom by saying "I don't want to do anything which is going to give me visibility as a trouble maker, as a social activist, as a dissident, against my president, against the society" and that's wrong. I mean, students throughout history have been leaders of social change. At that point you don't give a care about Darfur, the Congo, Palestine, but you have to rise above the pleasure of your life, in fact, your privileged life. And if you are not a social activist as a student you are never going to be. That is the time society endorses you. They say you don't have to work, they let you to go to college, they're going to educate you and you have to use that education in a meaningful way, for social change. But that's my concern that I have seen students systematically really move to more political conservatism. So I hoping in America if Barack Obama becomes president, that he has a kind of vision and charisma that John F. Kennedy did, and really what Kennedy did is he mobilized young people, he started the Peace Corps. He say, "don't ask what can the government do for you, ask what you can do for your government". He wanted you to get active! Do something to make life better, go make peoples life better. Go teach in Africa, and I'm hoping that Obama would do the same thing, would mobilize young people and say "we don't have to, you know, put out with has become a fascist administration, we don't have to put out with a limited future, limited opportunities, we can change our world, bit by bit, and you don't have to go Peace Corps". Wonderful, but there are ghettos all over America that need young people to go and make life better as teachers, as social workers, as nurses, as doctors and that's what's I'm hoping would happen, a change in the political climate in America.

Dr. E. Cardalda: Your work has made me think about Codes of Honor, in general, how they have changed. You see, in Puerto Rico we can see historical changes in the Code of Honor that followed from the nineteenth century, do you see a parallel there?

Dr. Phillip Zimbardo: That's a really a good question...Certainly I can't deny that the main Code of Honor is about cheating and is really important that institutions try to develop a Code to limit the temptation to cheat when you could get away with it...It is not fair to all the students that you get a better grade than you deserve, that you didn't work for as much as I did. But it really is to prepare them not to cheat in life. So that, once you're college student and you cheat on an exam, you copy somebody else's work and you get a good grade and then you are a graduate students and you take somebody else's paper and turn into yours, when you get away with it that means you are being rewarded, for cheating, for being deceitful, and we know in Psychology when you get rewarded for something you are going to keep doing it. So that means that you are going to take the choice to cheat when you become a lawyer, when you become a doctor and you become a businessperson....And it spirals because behavior that gives you what you want is reinforced, we call it, psychological reinforcement. But the honesty system is two things. I sign my name to say that I will not cheat. Secondly, which is harder, is: I agree that if I observe anyone else cheating I will turn them in; and that's what students have most difficulty doing. My sense is to have a middle ground. Say if I observe students or anybody, I think, cheating, I will confront them they say I go to the teacher and say, "I think Elsa is cheating". I would go to you and say, "I think you are cheating. I would like you to promise me you won't do it again or else I would be force to turn you in". It gives the person an opportunity...to think about it and is more powerful coming from another student than coming from the authority and I feel is that's really a Code that the institution has to stand for, they say we can't allow prejudice, we can't allow cheating.

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