

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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SITUATIONAL PRESSURE, RACIAL STEREOTYPES, AND

CONFORMITY IN LABORATORY AGGRESSION

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Abstract Approved: _____

(Dr. Knud S. Larsen)

This investigation was designed to assess the effects of a victim's race and stereotypical characteristics on another subject's willingness to administer punishment within the context of a teacher-learner paradigm. In addition, this study sought to empirically test the validity of the social-psychological theory that states that theories of social behavior are primarily reflections of contemporary history. Specific to the paradigm involved in this investigation, this theory advocates that the availability of information concerning models of social conformity sensitizes people to factors that may lead them into socially deplorable actions. In other words, if this theory is valid, we would expect that subjects' familiarity with information concerning the pressures and typical outcomes involved in this type of situation would insulate them against the future efficacy of these same factors when confronted with them in a similar situation. Utilizing Milgram's "remote condition"

teacher-learner paradigm and the methodological modifications introduced by Larsen, forty-four male and female subjects were exposed to either a black or white "learner", either portraying an assimilative or salient stereotype in appearance, speech and manner. The results produced several conclusions: (1) in spite of their belief that they were indeed hurting a helpless victim, and in the absence of any censure by significant others for appearing racially prejudiced coupled with the implicit legitimacy of the situation, white subjects are more willing to administer punishment to a black victim than a white victim, (2) male and female subjects show no significant differences in behavior in situations of this variety, (3) the stereotypical characteristics of the victim have a profound effect on the magnitude of aversive stimulation delivered to him; the magnitude of the punishment increases significantly as the stereotype portrayed by the victim increases in saliency, and (4) the assumptions forwarded by Gergen that people's familiarity with factors operating in social conformity which induce individuals to act contrary to the dictates of their conscience sensitizes them to the future efficacy of these factors, are invalid. These findings were discussed in terms of the previous research, the social cost phenomenon, their implications for social change and the future of mankind. The results also raised further unanswered questions as to topics of possible future research.

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SITUATIONAL PRESSURE, RACIAL STEREOTYPES, AND
CONFORMITY IN LABORATORY AGGRESSION

I. INTRODUCTION

The moral question of obedience to authority and its conflicts with conscience is an ancient one which has been treated extensively in the form of abstract discourse. The rigorous empirical investigation of obedience to authority and its link to destructive aggression really began with the work of Stanley Milgram (1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1965a, 1965b, 1967, 1974). In order to closely examine the act of obeying, Milgram designed a rather simple albeit ingenious experimental paradigm while at Yale University. In general, what occurs is that an individual enters a psychological laboratory and is requested to engage in a series of acts which come increasingly into conflict with his (her) conscience. The question that Milgram sought to answer was: how far would an individual proceed in following the investigator's requests prior to refusing to continue?

Milgram was the innovator of the now classic social-psychological "teacher-learner" laboratory paradigm that has been used extensively in several related studies by other investigators (e.g., Ancona & Pareyson, 1968; Ring, Wallston, & Corey, 1970; Mantell, 1971; Larsen, Coleman, Forbes, & Johnson, 1972; Sheridan & King, 1972; Larsen & White, 1973; Kilham & Mann, 1973; Larsen, Colen, Von Flue, & Zimmerman, 1974; and Larsen, Lancaster, Lesh, Redding, White, & Larsen, 1976). The experimental paradigm is perhaps best described by the man who

conceived of it:

"Two people come to a psychological laboratory to take part in a study of memory and learning. One of them is designated as a 'teacher' and the other as a 'learner'. The experimenter explains that the study is concerned with the effects of punishment on learning. The learner is conducted into a room, seated in a chair, his arms strapped to prevent excessive movement, and an electrode attached to his wrist. He is told that he is to learn a list of word pairs; whenever he makes an error, he will receive electric shocks of increasing intensity.

The real focus of the experiment is the teacher. After watching the learner being strapped into place, he is taken into the main experimental room and seated before an impressive shock generator. Its main feature is a horizontal line of thirty switches, ranging from 15 volts to 450 volts, in 15-volt increments. There are also verbal designations which range from SLIGHT SHOCK to DANGER - SEVERE SHOCK. The teacher is told that he is to administer the learning test to the man in the other room. When the learner responds correctly, the teacher moves on to the next item; when the other man gives an incorrect answer, the teacher is to give him an electric shock. He is to start at the lowest shock level (15 volts) and to increase the level each time the man makes an error, going through 30 volts, 45 volts, and so on.

The 'teacher' is a genuinely naive subject who has come to the laboratory to participate in an experiment. The learner, or victim, is an actor who actually receives no shock at all. The point of the experiment is to see how far a person will proceed in a concrete and measurable situation in which he is ordered to inflict pain on a protesting victim. At what point will the subject refuse to obey the experimenter?" (Milgram, 1974, Pp. 3-4)

Throughout all of the experiments utilizing this procedure, the learner's responses to the learning test were pre-determined to be fifty percent right and fifty percent wrong, randomly distributed

throughout the sixty trials, constant for all experimental conditions. An advantage of employing this technique is that the naive subjects could not attribute either improvement or decreased "learning" to be a function of the shock administration.

Milgram defined obedience as behavior which in fact followed the commands of the experimenter (dictates of authority) and eventuated in the naive subject's continuance to shock for wrong responses, increasing the level each time, despite any misgivings that he might have. Conversely, disobedience was defined as the rupture of this compliant relationship which occurred when the teacher refused to obey the experimenter's commands, succumbing to his own misgivings (after four separate and increasingly demanding prods) and consequently his participation was terminated. In summary, the basic paradigm is, that if A tells B to hurt C, under what conditions will B refuse or obey?

The experimental situation which Milgram devised condensed "the elements present when obedience occurs in the larger world such that the essential ingredients are brought into a relatively narrow arena where they are open to scientific scrutiny" (Milgram, 1974). Milgram utilized this basic procedure in a series of eighteen separate experiments, wherein he manipulated such situational and subject variables as the physical proximity of the victim to the aggressor, their personal characteristics of the experimenter and the victim, the setting of the experimentation, the various remarks made by the victim, the proximity of the authority figure, sex of naive subjects, the number and kind of authority figures, and so forth. He obtained

incredible levels of fully obedient behavior (individuals who shocked the learner using the highest level, 450 volts) ranging from a high of 92.5%, when the naive subject was requested to "assist" in delivering the punishment in conjunction with a confederate of the experimenter, to a low of 0.0% in three separate instances. In one of the latter instances, the experimenter commanded the subject to cease participation while the learner demanded that the experiment continue, despite his exhibitions of discomfort. In another, the experimenter (authority figure) played the role of victim, and in the final instance where Milgram obtained zero obedience, two authority figures were planted in the situation who gave commands contradictory to one another.

As Milgram, among others, has pointed out, the dilemma inherent in obedience to authority is as ancient as the biblical story of Abraham. To the contemporary mainstream, the results of Milgram's investigations may appear to be exceedingly shocking at first glance. Yet when one pauses for a moment and reflects seriously on such contemporary historical instances of destructive obedience to authority such as Auschwitz, Hiroshima, My Lai, Uganda, and countless other examples, the apparent contradiction in expectations ceases to be so surprising. Numerous critics of Milgram's work have, however, questioned the connection of these laboratory investigations to the forms of obedience we so deplore in the epochs cited above. As Milgram (1974) has stated:

"The differences in the two situations (referring to his experiments and the Nazi epoch) are, of course, enormous; yet the difference in scale,

numbers, and political context may turn out to be relatively unimportant as long as certain essential features are retained. The essence of obedience consists in the fact that a person comes to view himself as the instrument for carrying out another person's wishes, and he therefore no longer regards himself as responsible for his actions ...the adjustment of thought, the freedom to engage in cruel behavior, and the types of justification experienced by the person are essentially similar whether they occur in a psychological laboratory or the control room of an ICBM site ... a situation that captures the essence of obedience - that is, a situation in which a person gives himself over to authority and no longer views himself as the efficient cause of his own actions" (p. xiii).

Still other critics have characterized Milgram's work as a fluke, and argued that his fully obedient subjects must have been mentally deranged, monsters, the "sadistic fringe of society". "But if one considers that almost two-thirds of the participants fall into the category of 'obedient' subjects, and that they represented ordinary people drawn from working, managerial, and the professional classes, the argument becomes very shakey" (Milgram, 1974). It should be pointed out parenthetically that Milgram's essential findings have been replicated widely, both throughout the United States (Ring, et. al., 1970; Larsen, et. al., 1972; Sheridan & King, 1972; Larsen, et. al., 1973; Larsen, et. al., 1974a; Larsen, et. al., 1976) and cross-culturally (Ancona & Pareyson, 1968; Mantell, 1971; and Kilham & Mann, 1973). Ironically, a large proportion of Milgram's critics are social scientists, particularly his colleagues in psychology, yet as Konrad Lorenz laments in Civilized Man's Eight Deadly Sins, "... a dark cloud

of collective stupidity is still obscuring the minds of many influential people." A thorough treatment of this critical issue which pervades all of the social sciences (and physical sciences as well) is clearly beyond the scope of this exposition, however its connection to the primary topic of concern here will be dealt with in a later section of this paper.

Destructive obedience to authority may vary drastically in terms of the extent of its consequences. It may run the gamut of perhaps the most devastating instance in human history, the mass extermination of over six million Jews by the Nazis, to the more recent example of reputationally destructive obedience to malevolent authority, which resulted in the long drawn out period of history in America known as "Watergate". West, Gunn, & Chernicky (1975) showed quite literally that despite the ubiquity of the Watergate epoch, they were able to reproduce experimentally an attempt at an operation almost identical to the third rate second story job that brought the Nixon administration to its eventual demise. Man's potential for destructive aggression in response to the commands or dictates of authority lies within each and every one of us; it is not uniquely German, nor is it only directed toward the Semetic peoples. And apparently our familiarity with examples of its occurrence is not a sufficient condition in and of itself for the prevention of its re-occurrence in a similar form. Empirical support for this proposition will be provided in a later section of this paper.

Milgram examined both structural and personality variables

believed to be related to destructive obedience to authority. As Larsen, Coleman, Forbes, & Johnson (1972) have pointed out, however, he (Milgram) "asked but did not tell us whether personality dynamics or the social structure is most important in producing obedience". Milgram's work primarily concentrated on the structural variables responsible for obedience, whereas the earlier work of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford (1950) sought to discover the personality variables which predisposed individuals to partake in fascist activities. The extensive research of the latter authors culminated in what is known as the F-Scale which measures right wing authoritarianism. Elms & Milgram (1966) found a significant relationship between subjects' obedience in the experiments and their score on the F-Scale. Those subjects who obeyed the commands of the investigator showed a greater degree of authoritarianism (higher F score) than those who refused to comply. Elms (1972) states:

"... the relationship between obedience and some elements of authoritarianism seems fairly strong; and it should be remembered that the measure of obedience is a measure of actual submission to authority, not just what a person says he is likely to do. Too much of the research on authoritarianism ... has been on the level of paper and pencil responses, which don't necessarily get translated into behavior. But here we have people either obeying or refusing the demands of authority, in a realistic and highly disturbing situation ... so it does look as if those researchers (Adorno, et. al.) in the late 40s had something, something which can be translated from abstract tendencies into actual authoritarian behavior; submitting to the man in command, punishing the weaker subordinate." (p. 133, italics mine)

In 1972, Knud Larsen and his associates began a series of investigations based upon the original work of Milgram. Larsen, et. al. (1972) utilized the basic teacher-learner paradigm, however they minimized the effect of the obedience element by removing the experimenter's commands to the subject to administer punishment, as Milgram did in Experiment 11 of his investigation (see Milgram, 1974, Pp. 70-72). "Rather than obedience to specific commands, the experimenters permitted the situations to exert their influence and consequently, the essential variable studied was situational conformity" (Larsen, et. al., 1972). This general procedural difference was also employed in other related investigations by Larsen, et. al., 1973, 1974a, 1976. The influence of the experimenter as the authority figure was reduced only to his explanation of the situation, " ... after which he removed himself from the room until the experiment was completed", allowing subjects to respond independent of any further demands from the experimenter.

In their first study, Larsen, et. al. (1972) examined the relationship between subjects' willingness to shock an innocent victim within a learning-study paradigm and four separate social structural manipulations. In addition, these investigators looked at the relationship between subjects' willingness to aggress and assessments of their personality characteristics of: aggression as conceptualized by Larsen (1970), attributed power (Larsen & Minton, 1971), hostility (Buss & Durkee, 1957), parental aggression training (PAT) (Larsen & Schwendiman, 1970) and Machiavellianism (Mach IV Scale) (Christie &

Geis, 1969). Their results showed that there is no significant relationship between these personality measures and aggressive behavior as conceptualized by subjects' willingness to shock an innocent victim. Larsen, et. al. (1972) reasoned that this was probably largely a function of the irrelevancy of these scales which measured aggression, to the behavioral situation which was of a conformity inducing nature. The subjects in Larsen's experiments, as contrasted with the subjects in Milgram's research, were obedient to authority only insofar as they agreed to participate in the procedure, whereas the remainder of their behavior can perhaps best be conceptualized in terms of situational conformity. Milgram (1974) makes the distinction clear when he states that:

"Conformity is a response to pressures that are implicit, the subject interprets his own behavior as voluntary ... in obedience the opposite is true ... The situation is publicly defined as one devoid of voluntarism, for there is an explicit command that he is expected to obey. The subject falls back on this public definition of the situation as the full explanation of his action." (p. 115)

Larsen, et. al. (1972) concluded that "the situational structure is the all-important variable in predicting behavior, and that persons in fact often act opposite to their predisposition to act when faced with situational pressures" (p. 294). These authors add, "the sobering conclusion is that our homes and society evidently produce young people who are reluctant but nevertheless willing to act against their own conscience."

Consequently, Larsen, et. al. (1976) investigated the relationship

between subjects' willingness to administer shock to an innocent victim and measures of conformity as conceptualized by Rokeach's (1960) Dogmatism Scale, Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, Larsen's Survey of Self-Esteem (Larsen & Schwendiman, 1969), and Larsen's (1974b) Forced Choice Approval Seeking Personality Test. As a result, Larsen, et. al. (1976) found that subjects' conformity as measured by dogmatism, self-esteem, and approval seeking, was significantly related to the level of shock that they administered to an innocent victim in a teacher-learner paradigm. These investigators concluded that laboratory aggression might best be termed "compliant aggression", but cautioned that situational pressures, however, may predominate regardless of personality characteristics in some instances.

In an earlier study, Larsen, et. al. (1974a) investigated the effects of racial attitudes as well as the effects of situational pressure on subjects' willingness to shock a black victim. In addition, these experimenters compared two groups of white male subjects in terms of the shock levels they administered to a black or white victim. The results of this investigation showed that attitudes toward blacks were not related to the level of shock administered to a black victim, whereby the authors concluded that "apparently the situation is compelling regardless of attitude." Interestingly, these experimenters also found that white male college students shocked the white victim at a significantly higher level than the black victim. The authors concluded that "this discriminatory behavior can be understood as a function of the social pressures of the university community as

influenced, for example, by the affirmative action programs." The authors did not provide any empirical support for their explanation of subjects' discriminatory behavior. Furthermore, the authors made no mention of the racial tensions that were occurring on the campus of Oregon State University at the time of their investigation and the possible influence that they may have had on the deferential treatment of blacks evidenced by the results of their study. The authors do however state: "There may also have been fears on the part of the white subjects to appear racially prejudiced" (p. 220), a conjecture that could most likely be attributed to the effects of the racial tensions and the cautions regarding racial discrimination that arose as a consequence. Results of an investigation by Donnerstein & Donnerstein (1973) showed that white subjects were willing to administer an apparently painful electric shock to a black victim when there was no possibility for censure by significant others, however, when a censure was present, these authors found the opposite results. In any event, if one is to accept the explanation forwarded by Larsen, et. al. (1974a), a crucial question arises as to whether the social pressures of the university community as influenced for example, by the affirmative action programs were responsible for these results and whether or not such "pressures" have any enduring or lasting effects on the problem of racial discrimination. An answer to the first part of the question is as yet unknown, since pertinent assessments of the amount of influence that the affirmative action programs may have had on experimental subjects were not made at the time of the original study. An answer to the second part of this question can be arrived at by replication of

this portion of the Larsen, et. al. (1974a) study during a period in which there are no overt broadly publicized racial tensions on campus and in essence no salient censures for appearing racially prejudiced. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the pressures of this situation would be exerted in their usual fashion, inducing subjects to comply with the demands of the experiment as in the previous research cited. Given the absence of any overt racial tensions on campus during the time of the investigation, it was expected that white subjects in the black learner conditions would exhibit higher levels of aggression than those participants in the white stimulus person conditions. When one reflects seriously on the broader contemporary scene in the United State (and elsewhere in the world) today, noting the increasing conservatism and declining activism, the American Nazi Party marching the streets of predominantly Jewish Skokie, Illinois (with the support of the American Civil Liberties Union), the Ku Klux Klan patrolling the southern U.S. border, and the general wave of apathy now characteristic of the college campuses, such a hypothesis does not seem awfully far-fetched. With respect to the latter observation, Lauer (1977) states that: "if the student uprisings and campus turmoil of the 1960s seemed to point to a generation of radicals, we might remind ourselves that the universities in the contemporary world are placid compared with those of the past." There also is experimental evidence which shows that the conformist nature of individuals today has not significantly altered since the 1950s and the McCarthy era (Larsen, Triplett, Brant, & Langenberg, 1978).

In a now classic study, La Pierre (1934) demonstrated the profound discrepancies between people's stated behavior and their actual attitudes. Larsen, et. al. (1974a) have suggested that in measuring attitudes toward a specific object, e.g., a racial group, the "predominant social pressures of the situation are overlooked." Milgram (1974) and Larsen, et. al. (1972) found drastic discrepancies between subjects' predictions of their behavior in the teacher-learner situation and subjects' actual behavior when they were confronted with the real situation. Specifically, subjects as a group predicted that only a "pathological fringe" not to exceed two percent would actually fully obey under such circumstances. It has already been stated in this paper that under actual circumstances this simply is not the true state of affairs. Yet, in addition to this oversight of the "predominant social pressures" there is also another critical variable that has thus far received little or no immediate attention. In La Pierre's (1934) study, in the paper and pencil assessment of subjects' attitudes, participants largely responded to their negative stereotypical images of the racial group under consideration, in this instance, the Chinese. On the other hand, in the actual behavioral assessment of subjects' treatment of Chinese people, the "stimulus persons" with which subjects were confronted, in no way resembled or portrayed such negative or salient stereotypical images. Rather the stimulus persons could most accurately be described as portraying what I shall term an assimilative, commonly accepted stereotype, assimilative in the sense of being within the range of the white middle class conception of what is socially acceptable. In

addition to the "social pressures", it is not inconceivable that this contrast in stereotypes may have accounted for the discrepancy between attitudes (actually responses to stereotypes) and actions.

In order to highlight the foregoing remarks, some reflections on the Nazi epoch are in order. The Nazi organization in Hitler's Germany went to great pains to transform both their image of the Jews and the actual people themselves into the unpure, animalistic, vermin of society which they believed them to be. Through both extensive propaganda campaigns and deplorable techniques of perhaps the most hideous sort ever known to human history, the Nazis' actual image of the Jews came into focus with their negative or saliently stereotypical images of the entire race. Of profound importance is the fact that the Nazis saw the Jews as strikingly different from them (the "pure Aryan race") and moreover, as a threat to their purity. As a result of the created social distance, the collective effort of the mass extermination of over six million Jews was a much easier task, much less conscious burdening. Likewise, during the Viet Nam war, the Vietnamese people were commonly characterized by American soldiers as being gooks, flies, animals, waste material, and other subhuman objects, which served to create a vast social distance and made "wasting" a whole village of them a much easier endeavour.

Based upon the aforementioned, it is quite logical to expect that the characteristics of the victim, in particular the stereotype portrayed, may very likely influence subjects' willingness to aggress toward him in the context of the learning-test paradigm. Specifically, it was hypothesized that learners who presented subjects with a picture of

the salient or typically expected negative racial stereotype would receive significantly higher levels of shock than victims who are characteristic of the more assimilative, commonly accepted stereotype which approximates white middle class standards. As a consequence, it was expected that the black learner who expressed the typically expected negative racial stereotype (expected by whites) in speech, manner, and dress (Black Salient-Stereotype Condition) would serve to heighten the delivery of aversive stimulation and aid in the rationalization process, since it is easier to aggress against distant psychological objects. As a control procedure for comparisons with a white victim, the White Salient-Stereotype Condition took the form of the dirty, long-haired, smelly hippie, conceived of as an approximation to the socially distant Black Salient-Stereotype Condition. Again, it was expected that this condition would likewise elicit higher levels of aggressive behavior from subjects than that of the assimilative, white middle class, intelligent appearing, well groomed stimulus condition (White Assimilative-Stereotype Condition).

Another issue of profound importance to be dealt with in this investigation concerns a thesis advanced by Kenneth Gergen (1973) that "theories of social behavior are primarily reflections of contemporary history". Specifically, Gergen states that the publication and subsequent availability of socio-psychological findings and theoretical formulations insulates people from behaving similarly to the manner in which experimental subjects have behaved. Essentially, his argument is that individuals are able to adjust their behavior such that it is counter to that which has been hypothesized as a result of

their recognition of the situation due to their supposed understanding of how others behaved under similar circumstances. In the development of his arguments, Gergen completely ignores the abundance of evidence which demonstrates the profound and predominant effects of situational pressure, which as Larsen, et. al. (1974a) have stated is apparently compelling regardless of attitude. Specific to the paradigm utilized in the present investigation, Gergen (1973) makes the following remarks:

"Thus models of social conformity sensitize one to factors that might lead him into socially deplorable actions. In effect, knowledge insulates against the future efficacy of these same factors ... Milgram's obedience phenomenon is certainly dependent on contemporary attitudes toward authority." (p. 311, 315)

Gergen claims that the "dissemination of psychological 'knowledge' modifies the patterns of behavior upon which the knowledge is based" and that familiarity with such "knowledge" has liberating effects" and subjects' resistance is based on "common values of freedom and individuality." Gergen's use of the term "knowledge" is particularly perplexing. Throughout the development of his thesis, he has implied an apparent equivalency of "dissemination of 'knowledge'" and people's internalization of information which affects lasting behavior change. Familiarity with existing facts and the internalization of such information are not one in the same. The latter is a permanent, deeply rooted response to social influence, which is extremely impermeable to change. A person may be familiar with many instances of social influence but this is certainly not a guarantee that he (she) will necessarily respond to

them in the form of internalizing new values or attitudes and altering his behavior accordingly. As an example, nearly everyone is familiar with the well documented medical theories relating cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Yet evidence clearly shows that only a handful of individuals have internalized this information and quit smoking. In fact, the statistics show that despite the widespread availability of this well documented evidence, more people are smoking than ever. Moreover, Gergen's thesis makes two rather precarious assumptions. First, he forwards an argument, largely polemical without empirical support, which implies that a profound degree of mutual communication exists between the psychological community and the general public. Specific to the university student, he states that "the liberal education of today entails familiarity with central ideas in psychology" (p. 310). Secondly, he assumes that the general public's familiarity with psychological research (the first assumption) is both a necessary and sufficient condition to affect internalization of this "knowledge" and subsequent alteration of attitudes and behavior patterns. Again, this argument is largely polemical and lacks empirical validation. On the basis of this rationale, Gergen has claimed that theories of social behavior lose their validity and predictive capabilities as history progresses.

It can be assumed probably with a profound degree of certainty that the vast majority of the American people are familiar with, in fact, even probably highly knowledgeable of, the events and consequences of the Watergate Affair. This political scandal virtually

dominated all sectors of the mass media in the United States (and other parts of the world) for nearly three years, and even now, almost six years since the Watergate Break-in, books are still being published by central figures in the Nixon administration (e.g., Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean, Colson, Nixon, etc.) and the public is continuing to buy them. If one applies the essential arguments of Gergen's thesis to the clearly ubiquitous nature of Watergate in America, one would expect that individuals would be able to see the light if subjected to similar circumstances and of course alter their behavior accordingly, i.e., refuse to conform or obey. Yet as was mentioned earlier in this paper, West, Gunn, & Chernicky (1975) demonstrated that even in the "wake of Watergate", that such an expectation did not hold true.

As was noted earlier, Milgram obtained incredible levels of obedience in his investigations. Likewise, Larsen, et. al. (1972, 1973, 1974a, 1976) obtained equally high levels using college students as experimental subjects, who are more likely to be privy to the findings of psychological research than the non-academic members of the community utilized by Milgram. Similarly, Mantell (1971) found even higher levels of obedience in Germany than Milgram found in the United States. Similar results were found by Ring, et. al. (1970) in the U.S., Kilham & Mann (1973) in Australia, and Ancona & Pareyson (1968) in Italy.

Since numerous successful replications of the obedience and situational conformity phenomena have been made over a period of years without any evidence of any "sensitizing effects" of knowledge and subsequent behavioral alterations, Gergen's thesis is seriously called

into question. The present investigation utilized undergraduate college students selected from second term general psychology classes as experimental subjects. Prior to their participation, subjects had been assigned reading in their classes concerning the obedience research as well as other psychological findings in conjunction with their coursework. In addition, these students had been lectured to on topics relevant to this investigation. The present study attempted to determine empirically whether or not Gergen's assumption concerning the equivalency of the dissemination of knowledge to the internalization of information and subsequent alterations of behavior is an accurate one. If Gergen is correct, we would expect that subjects would recognize the similarity of the situation and despite the pressures to conform (largely implicit), their familiarity would liberate them such that they would be able to resist participation. Prior to their participation in the study, subjects all completed an extensive consent form which informed them of their right to terminate or refuse participation in the experiment at any time, for any reason, without any penalty, academic or otherwise. Furthermore, subjects were not commanded to do anything at any time but rather were read a series of statements describing the experimental procedure and from that point on, were left alone to "punish" the learner at their own discretion. Hence the overt pressures of the situation were minimized as much as possible.

However, as the aforementioned replicative evidence seems to allude to, it was expected that subjects would in fact behave according to the predictions made, despite their possession of some degree of familiarity with work of a similar nature, presumably a greater degree

than the "general population".

In summary, this investigation sought answers to the following questions:

1. Given the absence of any salient censures on campus or in the broader university community for appearing racially prejudiced, would the black stimulus person conditions elicit higher levels of punishment than the white stimulus person conditions, contrary to the findings of Larsen, et. al. (1974a)?
2. Would the victims who presented experimental subjects with the salient or typically expected negative racial stereotypes elicit significantly higher levels of aggression than the stimulus persons whose appearance was characteristic of the more assimilative, commonly accepted stereotype designed to approximate white middle class standards?
3. Would the subjects in this investigation behave differently (e.g., a greater percentage refuse participation) than experimental participants in previous research of a similar nature? That is, are the assumptions of Gergen's (1973) thesis valid?

This chapter has dealt with the large body of research that has been conducted over the past two decades concerning destructive obedience to authority and situational conformity. The rationale leading up to the present investigation and the specific hypotheses to be tested were also presented. This paper will now report on the design of the current investigation and its results.

II. EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The experiment was based upon the "Subject Free to Choose Shock Level" procedure used by Milgram in Experiment 11 of his investigation (1974) and the methodological modifications employed by Larsen, et. al., 1972. Milgram conceptualized fully obedient subjects as those who continued to increase the level of shock for each wrong response and eventually utilized the maximum level (450 volts). In addition, Milgram reported subjects' mean maximum voltage levels administered. Larsen, et. al. (1972) reported subjects' average voltage levels administered, total duration spent shocking the victim, actual maximum voltage level used, and estimated or guessed maximum voltage level employed, defining these as measures of subjects' willingness to aggress against an innocent victim. Larsen, et. al. (1974a) calculated subjects' "shock score" by multiplying the level of shock administered by the duration of the shock, having reasoned that both "the level of shock and the length of time spent shocking reflect the subjects' willingness to shock a victim". Having noted that some subjects tended to favor a longer duration than others, and still other subjects favored higher shock levels than others, the present investigation measured subjects' average duration shocked (seconds), average shock score (volts x seconds), highest duration shocked (seconds), and highest shock score (volts x seconds) in addition to their average voltage level administered, total time shocked, actual maximum voltage level used, and estimated maximum voltage level employed. In all, there were eight dependent measures of subjects' willingness to aggress against an innocent victim, as conceptualized above. In

addition, subjects estimations of the degree of pain felt by the learner as a result of the highest shock level employed were measured by their responses to a ten-point scale with a continuum from 1 (no pain) to 10 (extremely painful)¹. The reason for obtaining this measure was so that the degree of relationship could be determined between the maximum level subjects shocked at and the amount of pain they believed the victim felt. In addition to self-report data, the magnitude of this relationship would provide an objective measure of the validity of the experimental procedure.

The experiment was a 2 x 2 factorial design with willingness to shock an innocent victim as the dependent variable. The two independent variables were the race and stereotypical characteristics of the victim. There were two levels of race: black and white. Both the black and white victims were approximately the same age (late twenties), equal in height, weight, and stature. In addition, both individuals were graduate students in education. Stereotypical characteristics had two levels: the assimilative stereotypical image and the salient stereotypical image. The assimilative condition for the white victim took the form of the learner merely playing himself. He was neatly attired, wearing slacks, a clean pressed shirt, and was well groomed, as closely approximating white middle class standards as was feasible. The assimilative condition for the black victim took a similar form. The black learner for this condition spoke in the same tone and manner as did his white counterpart - a manner

1

See Appendix II

which some individuals often term, "Uncle Tomish". He was dressed approximately the same as the white learner, was well groomed, and his hair was closely cropped. The salient condition for the black victim took the following form. Although the learners made the same responses in all conditions, for this group of subjects, the black learner spoke in a black English dialect, shuffled when he walked, and repeated the instructions slowly, indicating that he was unsure of their meaning. In addition, he wore a blue stocking cap, orange shirt, tinted sunglasses, flared pants and platform shoes. This condition was designed to represent the negative or salient stereotypical image of black people commonly held by many white people. The White-Salient condition was designed to use as a control group to determine whether the victim's appearance characteristics were related to subjects' willingness to aggress toward him, and to separate this factor from that of the victim's ethnic group. The learner for the White-Salient group, as was mentioned earlier, also played the role of the victim in the White-Assimilative condition. However, for the White-Salient condition, he was attired in wrinkled, dirty clothing, wearing a leather cowboy hat, chewing tobacco, appearing to be "spaced out". The latter characteristic was mentioned by subjects during the post-experimental questioning. He repeated the instructions slowly, as did the Black-Salient learner, again indicating that he was unsure of their meaning. This condition was conceptualized as as approximating an image similar in saliency to that portrayed by the Black-Salient victim. Perhaps it best approximated the middle class negative stereotypical image of what

a "hippie" is. Many subjects characterized this stimulus person as a hillbilly or "hippie-like" during post-experimental questioning.

Note that in all four conditions, the learners' responses to the supposed "learning test", as indicated by a panel of lights to the naive subjects in a separate room, were pre-determined to be fifty percent right and fifty percent wrong and were randomly distributed throughout the sixty trials, as taken from a table of random numbers. The "right" trials and the "wrong" trials indicated were identical for every participant. In employing this format, the naive subjects could not rationalize either improvement or decreased learning by the learner to be a function of the shock administration.

Since previous investigations by Milgram, and Larsen have found no significant differences in the behavior of female and male subjects in this type of an experimental situation, the sex of subjects was not strictly controlled for in this study. However, as it worked out, there was an equal proportion of male and female subjects within each condition. To verify the results of past research in this regard, statistical tests were carried out on the experimental data to examine any differences that may have existed between males and females.

Following preparation of the experimental apparatus and materials, an experimental investigation was undertaken, and the next chapter will discuss the methodology employed which tested the hypotheses outlined in Chapter I.

III. METHOD

Sixty undergraduate students from second term general psychology courses at Oregon State University, Winter term, 1978 were recruited on a voluntary basis for participation in this investigation. The investigator described the experiment as a "learning study". All students who volunteered received optional course credits for their participation. Subjects were then randomly assigned to the four experimental groups such that each condition consisted of fifteen participants. Due to scheduling conflicts and previous commitments, sixteen individuals from the original pool of subjects were unable to participate in the experiment. Therefore, the total number of actual participants was forty-four, the sample including thirty-one females and thirteen males. The mean age of subjects was 19.9 years, ranging from eighteen to twenty-two. The proportion of male and female subjects within each of the four conditions was approximately equal, the ratio of female to male participants two to one.

Of this group, four subjects refused to participate in the study upon having been read the instructions and therefore, were of course eliminated from the experimental analysis. In addition, one other subject's data was eliminated from the experimental analysis due to the extreme nature of her responses which were several standard deviations from the group mean on all of the dependent measures. It was also highly questionable as to whether this subject was aware of the experimental manipulations involved, since at one point in the

debriefing session she said she was, and at another point denied having had any idea of what was occurring.

Responses for the remaining thirty-nine subjects were used in the analysis of the experimental data. This group included twenty-six females and thirteen males with a mean age of 19.9 years.

Prior to arriving for participation in the study, subjects completed a consent form² required of all experimental participants at Oregon State University. The completed subject consent forms were turned into the investigator and a permanent file was developed.

Two rooms located in the Psychology Department were secured for the experiment which were separated by approximately twenty feet. Since no form of communication was possible between the learner (victim) and the subject (teacher), the setup approximated Milgram's "remote condition" (Milgram, 1963, 1974) and was identical to that of Larsen, et. al. (1972, 1973, 1974a, 1976). In one room, the shock apparatus was situated atop of a desk. It consisted of a gray rectangular box, about eight inches high and twelve inches wide. In the upper right corner, there was an orange light labeled "RIGHT" and in the upper left hand corner there was an orange light labeled "WRONG". A meter which indicated with a needle the amount of voltage used was located on the left side of the apparatus. Below the meter was a switch, which the subjects used to control the duration of the shock by holding it

2

See Appendix I

down. A dial was located on the right side of the machine and was labeled from 0 to 390 Volts. The 0 to 120 range was labeled in green as "SLIGHT SHOCK", the 121 to 240 range was labeled in yellow as "MODERATE SHOCK", and the 240 to 390 range was labeled in red as "DANGER: SEVERE SHOCK". It was possible for subjects to select any voltage level, however every tenth voltage level was clearly marked and identified. Adjacent to the shock apparatus was an ordinary oscilloscope having no connection to the present investigation whatsoever. Its presence was only maintained for special effects purposes, which added to the authenticity of the situation.

The other room was equipped with an "electric chair", which consisted of shock electrodes and a machine which communicated the learner's responses to the naive subjects. It was situated on top of a table placed directly in front of the "electric chair". The entire apparatus was located within a wire mesh shielded cage surrounded by oscilloscopes and an EEG recording apparatus. Again, the latter equipment was in no way connected with the present study, but as evidenced by the looks on subjects' faces, it obviously added an impressive and authentic flavor to the situation. The learner's machine, unbeknownst to the naive subjects, also contained a meter which recorded subjects' choice of voltage levels and an electric timer which recorded the duration of each shock administered.

To avoid arousing any suspicions on the part of naive subjects in regard to the status of the experimenter's confederates (the learners), the learner consistently left the building upon completion

of one subject's participation and returned just after the next subject arrived for the study. Upon arriving at the experimenter's office, adjacent to the experimental rooms, the two individuals (collaborator and naive subject) were introduced to each other and both asked if they understood and were in agreement with the points set out in the subject consent form. All subjects nodded approvingly, and to maintain the authenticity of their supposed general psychology student volunteer status, the collaborator followed suit in all conditions. Upon having secured this information, the experimenter asked both individuals to follow him into the room in which the experiment was to be conducted. With a text book on human learning in hand, the experimenter read the following set of instructions to both individuals:

Since this is a learning experiment, it requires both a teacher and a learner. So that you both have an equal chance, I have here two slips of paper, one which says "teacher" and another which says, "learner". Each of you please draw one (holding them out within the reach of both individuals). (Note: Both slips of paper actually say Teacher but the collaborator was pre-experimentally instructed to say that his slip said Learner: the drawing was rigged.)

Now then, very little is known about the effects of punishment on learning. There are many theories around, but very little in the way of empirical evidence. What we have designed here is an experiment to investigate the problem. It is a teacher-learner experiment, where you take the role of the learner (pointing to the collaborator) and you are the teacher (pointing to the naive subject). The learner will be asked a series of sixty paired-comparison questions. Whether his answers are right or wrong are indicated to you (pointing to the teacher) by the appropriate

light flashing on this machine (pointing to the shock generator). Your job then is to shock the learner after each wrong answer. There is no preferred way for you to respond. One major question is to discover which voltage levels have the most positive effects on the learning process. You should therefore feel free to experiment with the various voltage levels. In a nutshell, be the most effective teacher that you can be, using shock to punish the learner for wrong responses.

The investigator then inquired of both the naive subject and the collaborator whether either of them were in any way familiar with the experiment. The experimenter then escorted both the "learner" and the "teacher" to the second room where the learner was to be administered the supposed paired-associates learning test. The experimenter then requested the learner to step inside the wire mesh cage and sit before the shock machine. The subject was requested to remain outside the "cage" but the entire apparatus and occurring procedure was kept in his full view. The experimenter then asked the learner to roll up his left shirt sleeve and remove his wristwatch and ring. Next to the electrodes was a tube of electrode paste, labeled as such, which was not actually used but merely there again to add special effects. The investigator then proceeded to "wire" up the victim to the electric chair by placing the electrodes over the bottom of his left wrist and carefully wrapping an elastic bandage around his wrist completely covering the electrodes. While engaged in this procedure, the experimenter said to the onlooking naive subject, "The reason for your presence here is to introduce you to the rest of the apparatus in order to familiarize you with the entire procedure".

In all four of the experimental conditions, upon having completed the "wiring up" process, the learner inquired of the experimenter as to whether the shocks were safe. And accordingly, the experimenter gave the same response: "Although the shocks can be extremely painful, you will not suffer any permanent tissue damage." The experimenter then escorted the naive subject back to the original room and asked the individual to take a seat before the shock equipment. The experimenter then explained the apparatus to the naive subject in the following manner:

The voltage dial goes from 0 to 390 volts and progresses from slight, to moderate to severe shock (pointing to the dial). Your job will be to monitor this panel of lights (pointing to the right and wrong labels) and when the learner makes an incorrect response, you are to administer an electric shock by pressing this toggle switch down here, after having set the voltage dial. Although the shocks can be extremely painful, the learner does not suffer any permanent tissue damage. Are there any questions? If not, I will go down to the other room with the learner and will flash the panel of lights to signal to you that we are ready to begin. Remember, watch the panel, and administer shocks only after wrong answers, deciding as you go the amount of voltage for each trial.

The experimenter then proceeded to the other room where the learner was located, leaving the naive subject on his own. Due to the manipulations involved, the experimenter was aware of which condition each subject was in at the time of the data collection. To prevent any bias in the data recording process, the learner took the voltage meter and timer readings and the experimenter recorded them

appropriately on the individual subject record sheets.

As was mentioned earlier, the "Right" and "Wrong" trials were pre-set prior to the experiment. For each trial, the learner pressed the appropriate button, right or wrong, on the panel before him, which indicated his response to the naive subject in the next room. The time allotted between trials or "questions" was twenty seconds.

Having completed the sixty trials, the experimenter re-joined the naive subject and began a debriefing procedure which included the subject's completion of a post-experimental questionnaire. After having completed their responses to the questionnaire, subjects were again asked if they were familiar with the experiment in any way.

Next, the experimenter carefully informed the subject of the true purpose of the experiment and then re-united the naive participant with the learner. The experimenter re-introduced the learner to the subject, identifying the former as his confederate and explained that the learner had actually not received any shocks at all and was completely unharmed. The learner then related to the subject that he was indeed unharmed and verified that he had actually not received any shocks, and had no hard feelings whatsoever. Upon having done this, subjects were asked still once more whether they had recognized anything here that was in any way familiar to them. The experimenter then answered any questions the subject had, provided any reassurances that were felt to be necessary (as some subjects showed greater signs of emotional stress than others), and thanked the subject for his (her)

participation and asked that he (she) please not discuss the study with anyone until all of the experimentation had been completed. All subjects were told that upon completion of the research, they were welcome to learn the complete results at a colloquium presentation by the investigator to be held the following quarter. At this point, the learner vacated the premises prior to the arrival of the next subject.

This procedure was identical for every subject within each of the four experimental conditions. The only differences were the experimental manipulations which were discussed in an earlier chapter of this paper, the race of the victim and his stereotypical characteristics.

The next chapter concerns the major findings of this study, focusing mainly on the hypotheses set forth in Chapter I.

IV. RESULTS

This study sought to provide answers to three major questions of concern. First, given the absence of any salient censures on campus or in the broader university community for appearing racially prejudiced, would the black stimulus person conditions elicit higher levels of aggression from white experimental participants than the white stimulus person conditions? In other words, would the lack of any source of censure for appearing racially prejudiced, coupled with the implicit legitimacy of the situation be sufficient conditions for producing discriminatory behavior?

Secondly, would the "victims" who presented the experimental subjects with the characteristics of a salient or typically expected negative racial stereotype elicit higher levels of aggression than the stimulus persons who were characteristic of the more assimilative stereotype which approximates white middle class standards?

Third, would the subjects in this study behave differently (e.g., refuse participation, alter their behavior according to the dictates of their conscience, etc.) than experimental participants in previous research of a similar nature? That is, are the assumptions of Gergen's (1973) thesis valid?

To provide a test of the first two hypotheses forwarded in this paper, separate 2 x 2 analyses of variance were carried out on each of the eight dependent measures of subjects' willingness to aggress toward an innocent victim. The results of the first analysis for subjects' average voltage level administered are presented below in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1

Analysis of Variance

Analysis for Differences in Subjects' Mean Voltage Levels Administered as a Function of the Race and Stereotypical Characteristics of the Victim

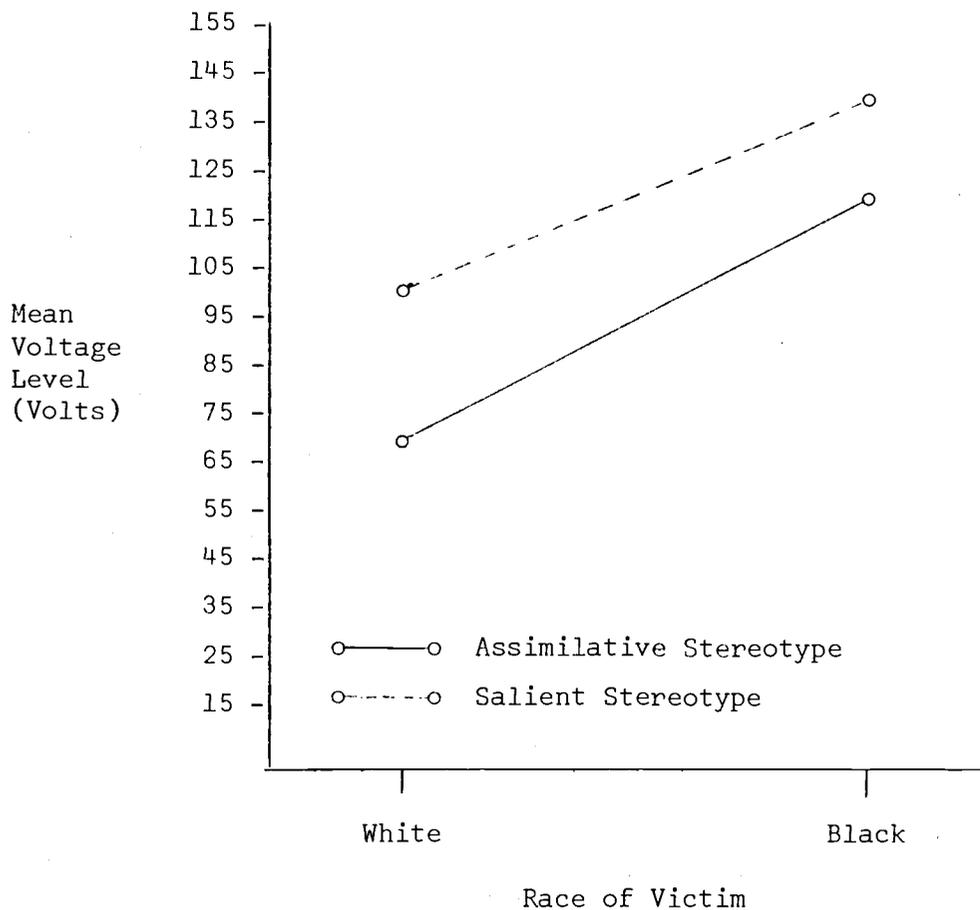
SOURCE	df	MS	F	p
Race (A)	1	20390.90	11.20	<.005*
Stereotype (B)	1	5441.03	2.99	<.10
Interaction (A x B)	1	144.48	0.08	<.20
Error	32	1820.06		

(*) = F values considered to be significant

Results of the analysis of variance in Table 4.1 indicate a significant main effect for the race of the victim on subjects' average level of voltage employed. The group means are graphically depicted in Figure 4.1 below.

FIGURE 4.1

Average Voltage Levels Administered By Subjects
in the Four Experimental Conditions



As predicted, subjects in both of the black stimulus person conditions administered higher levels of aversive stimulation than did subjects in the white victim conditions. Although there was not a significant main effect for stereotypical characteristics of the victim, the mean voltage levels administered were higher for subjects in the salient stereotype conditions than in the assimilative stereotype conditions, as was hypothesized.

Second, an analysis for group differences in subjects' average

duration spent shocking the victim did not yield any significant main effects for the variables under consideration. As a consequence, there were also no significant group differences in subjects' total amount of time spent shocking the victim. The group means for both of these measures are presented below in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2

Group Means for Subjects' Average Duration (Sec)
and Total Duration (Sec) Spent Shocking the Victim

Variable	White Assimilative (n=10)	White Salient (n=11)	Black Assimilative (n=9)	Black Salient (n=9)
Average Time Shocked	0.675	0.645	0.643	0.940
Total Time Shocked	20.260	19.350	19.320	28.200

The analysis for group differences in subjects' average shock score (Volts x Sec.), a function of both the level and duration of the shock administered, yielded a significant main effect for the race of the victim. The results of the analysis of variance are presented below in Table 4.3. The group means are graphically depicted in Figure 4.2.

TABLE 4.3

Analysis of Variance

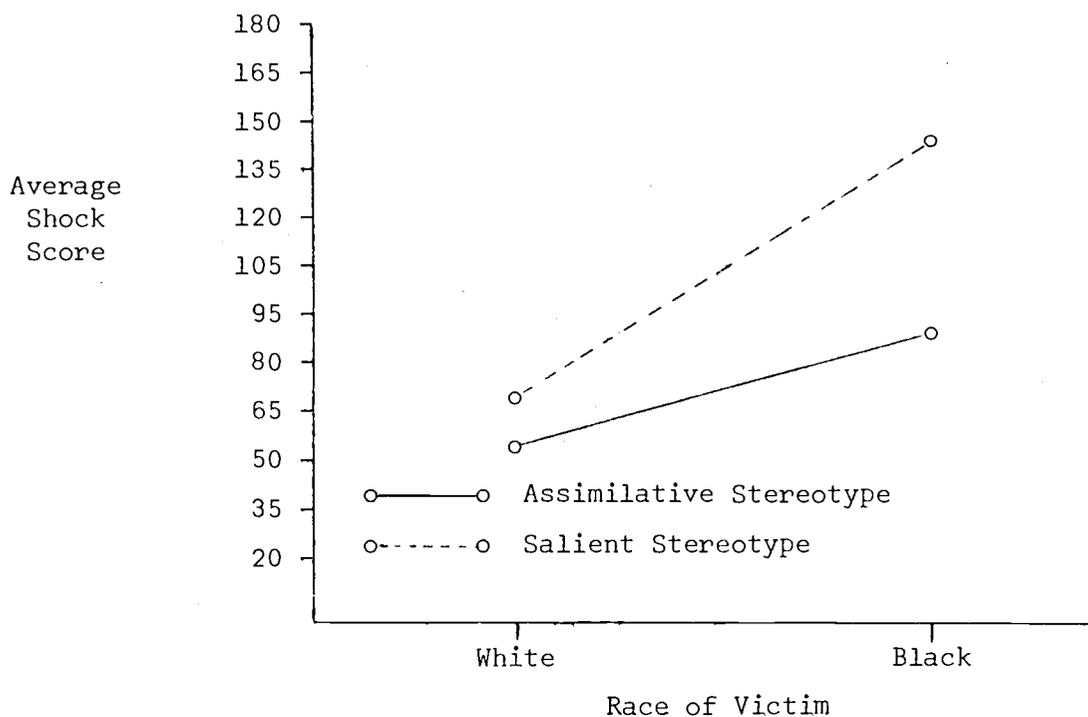
Analysis for Differences in Subjects' Average Shock Score
(Volts x Sec.) as a Function of the Race and Stereotypical
Characteristics of the Victim

SOURCE	df	MS	F	p
Race (A)	1	30458.90	8.73	<.01*
Stereotype (B)	1	8339.95	2.39	<.20
Interaction (A x B)	1	5942.71	1.70	<.20
Error	32			

(*) = F values considered to be significant

FIGURE 4.2

Subjects' Average Shock Scores (Volts x Sec) Among
the Four Experimental Conditions



As hypothesized, subjects in both of the black stimulus person conditions administered higher levels for longer durations than did subjects in the white victim conditions. The main effect for the stereotypical characteristics of the victim was not significant, however the mean shock scores are higher for subjects in the salient conditions than those in the assimilative conditions as was predicted.

An analysis of variance for the subjects' highest shock duration administered yielded a significant interaction effect between the race of the victim and his stereotypical characteristics. The results of the analysis are presented below in Table 4.4, and the group means are graphically represented in Figure 4.3.

TABLE 4.4

Analysis of Variance

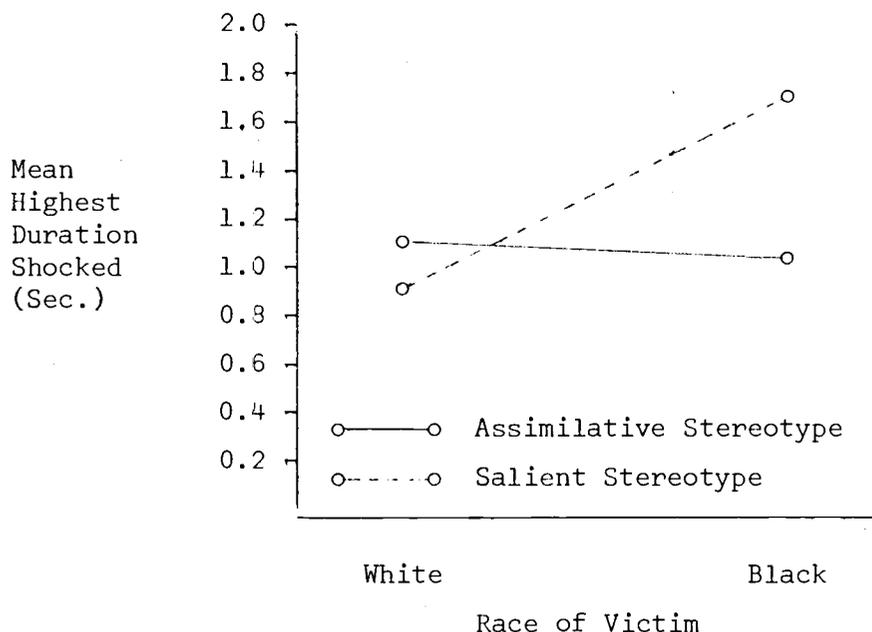
Analysis for Differences in Subjects' Highest Duration Shocked (Sec) as a Function of the Race and Stereotypical Characteristics of the Victim

SOURCE		df	MS	F	p
Race	(A)	1	0.996	3.39	<.10
Stereotype	(B)	1	0.825	2.81	<.15
Interaction	(A x B)	1	1.517	5.16	<.05*
Error		32	0.293		

(*) = F values considered to be significant

FIGURE 4.3

Subjects' Highest Duration Shocked (Sec.) Among
the Four Experimental Groups



Post-hoc analyses for the simple effects of the interaction depicted in Figure 4.3 yielded results which lend partial support for the contentions forwarded in the first two hypotheses under consideration. Specifically, subjects in the Black-Salient condition administered shocks of a longer duration than did subjects in the White-Salient condition, indicating a significant effect of the victim's race on subjects' willingness to aggress towards him ($t = 2.31, 16 \text{ df}, p < .05$). In addition, subjects shocked the Black-Salient victim for a longer duration than they shocked the Black-Assimilative stimulus person ($t = 2.12, 16 \text{ df}, p < .05$), which illustrates a significant effect of the victim's stereotypical characteristics on subjects' willingness to hurt him. Analyses for highest shock duration differences between the White and Black Assimilative conditions, and

the White-Assimilative and White-Salient conditions did not yield statistically significant results.

An analysis of variance for subjects' highest shock score (Volts x Sec.) administered, yielded a significant main effect for the race of the victim. The results of the analysis are presented below in Table 4.5. The cell means are graphically depicted in Figure 4.4.

TABLE 4.5
Analysis of Variance

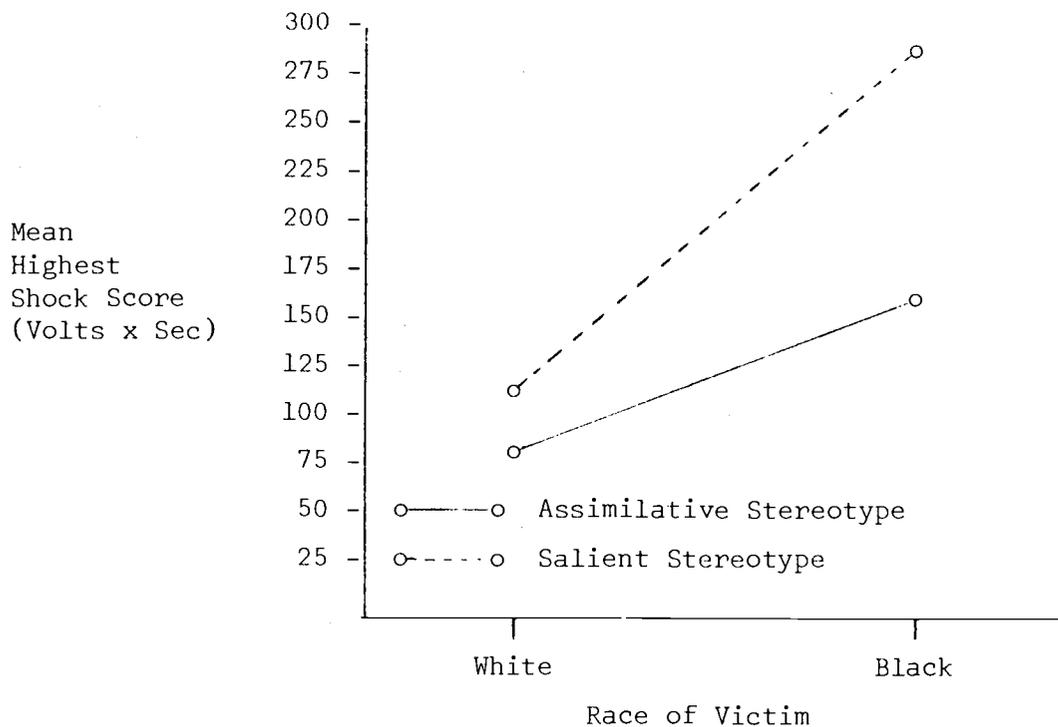
Analysis for Differences in Subjects' Highest Shock Score (Volts x Seconds) Administered as a Function of the Race and Stereotype of the Victim

SOURCE	df	MS	F	p
Race (A)	1	140569.0	9.395	<.005*
Stereotype (B)	1	46329.0	3.096	<.10
Interaction (A x B)	1	25714.8	1.719	<.20
Error	32	14962.4		

(*) = F values considered to be significant

FIGURE 4.4

Subjects' Highest Shock Scores Among
the Four Experimental Conditions



As predicted, subjects in both of the black stimulus person conditions showed a greater willingness to administer punishment at a higher level and for a longer duration than did subjects in the white victim conditions. Again, although there was not a significant main effect for the stereotype variable, subjects' mean highest shock scores were of greater magnitude in the salient victim conditions than in the assimilative stereotype conditions, as was expected.

Finally, two separate analyses of variance were carried out on subjects' actual highest voltage levels administered, and their estimated highest voltage levels employed. The results of both of these

analyses are presented below in Tables 4.6a and 4.6b, respectively.

TABLE 4.6a

Analysis of Variance

Analysis for Differences in Subjects' Actual Highest
Voltage Levels Administered as a Function of the Race
and Stereotypical Characteristics of the Victim

SOURCE	df	MS	F	p
Race (A)	1	41684.0	10.05	<.005*
Stereotype (B)	1	24284.0	5.86	<.025*
Interaction (A x B)	1	7084.0	1.71	<.20
Error	32	4146.5		

(*) = F values considered to be significant

TABLE 4.6b

Analysis of Variance

Analysis for Differences in Subjects' Estimated Highest Voltage Level Employed as a Function of the Race and Stereotypical Characteristics of the Victim

SOURCE		df	MS	F	p
Race	(A)	1	30334.0	8.03	<.01*
Stereotype	(B)	1	20784.0	5.50	<.05*
Interaction	(A x B)	1	11200.7	2.96	<.10
Error		32	3778.1		

(*) = F values considered to be significant

Results of the analyses of variance in Tables 4.6a and 4.6b both indicate a significant main effect for the race of the victim and the victim's stereotypical characteristics on subjects' actual and estimated highest voltage levels administered. Examination of the cell means for both dependent measures, as graphically depicted in Figures 4.5a and 4.5b below, indicates that the black victim received higher voltage levels of shock than did the white victim, and the salient stereotype victims received higher levels of aversive stimulation than did the assimilative stereotype victims, as was hypothesized.

FIGURE 4.5a

Subjects' Actual Highest Voltage Levels
Administered in the Four Experimental Conditions

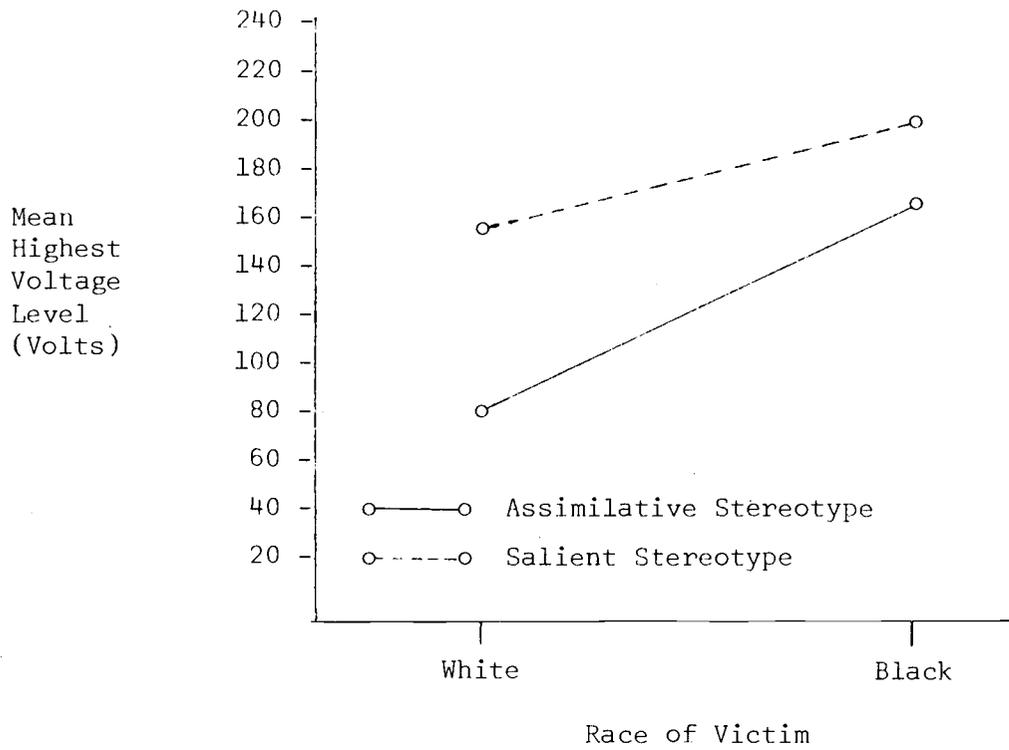
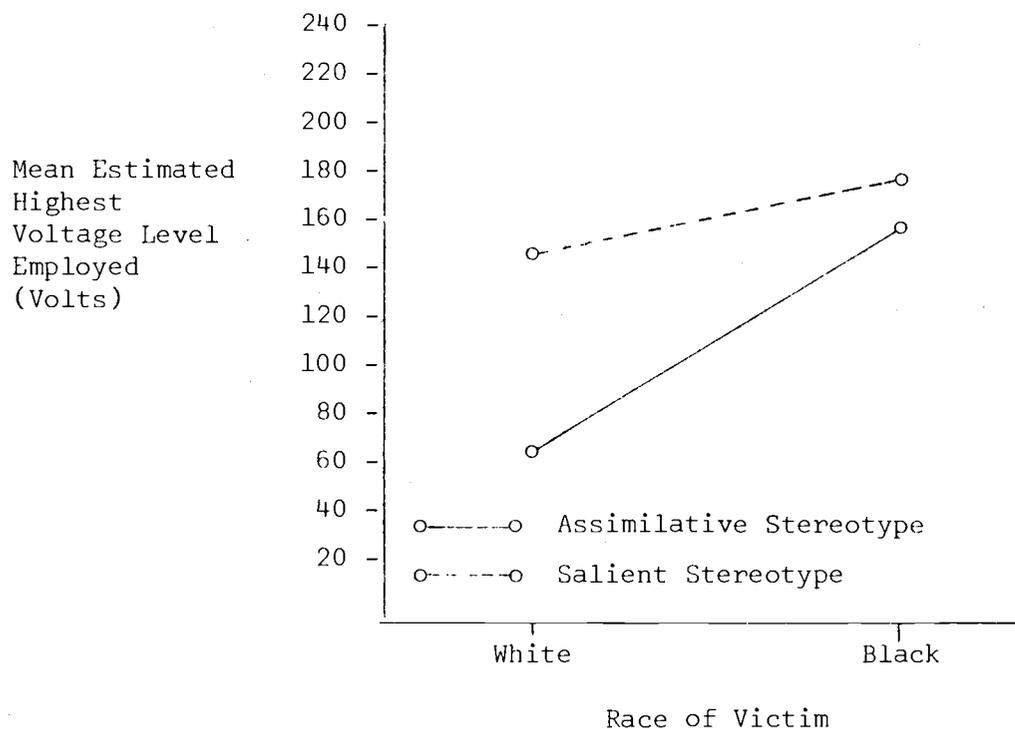


FIGURE 4.5b

Subjects' Estimated Highest Voltage Levels
Employed in the Four Experimental Conditions



In order to ascertain whether or not there were any differences between male and female subjects in terms of their willingness to hurt an innocent victim, separate two-tailed t tests were carried out for each of the eight dependent measures within each of the four experimental conditions. The minimum criterion for significance, as in the other analyses, was at the .05 level of confidence. The results of the analyses are presented below in Table 4.7, which shows that there were not in fact, any significant sex differences on any of the eight dependent measures for all four experimental conditions.

TABLE 4.7

t-Values Between Female and Male Samples for the Four Conditions Analyzing for Differences in Mean Voltage Level Used, Mean Duration Shocked, Mean Shock Score, Highest Duration Shocked, Highest Shock Score, Total Time Shocked, Maximum Voltage (Actual), Maximum Voltage (Guessed) and Estimated Pain Felt*

Variable	White Assimilative	White Salient	Black Assimilative	Black Salient
Mean Voltage Level	-0.34	-1.01	-1.29	0.18
Mean Duration	-0.13	0.59	-1.61	-0.08
Mean Shock Score	-0.51	0.31	-1.66	-0.28
Highest Duration	-0.43	0.39	-1.21	0.10
Highest Shock Score	-0.62	0.62	-1.19	-0.07
Total Time Shocked	0.13	0.59	-1.62	-0.08
Maximum Voltage (Actual)	-0.61	-0.76	-1.08	-0.12
Maximum Voltage (Guessed)	-0.53	-0.99	-1.07	-0.61
Estimated Pain Felt	-0.58	-1.76	-0.39	0.93

*None of the above are significant at the .05 level

In addition to utilizing a carefully planned set of questions in the debriefing procedure, another method was devised to determine whether or not subjects believed that the "shocks" they were administering were real, that is whether the learner was actually suffering pain

as a result of the voltage levels subjects employed. Subjects were first asked to provide the amount, in volts, of the highest voltage level which they had administered to the learner for wrong responses in the sixty trials. They were asked to give their best estimate of this amount if they could not specifically recall the exact value. Secondly, participants were asked to estimate the amount of pain that the learner incurred as a result of the highest level of shock that they employed. They made such an estimate on the basis of a ten-point scale with a continuum of 1 (indicating no pain) to 10 (indicating extremely painful). Pearson product-moment correlations were carried out between subjects' estimated highest voltage level employed and their corresponding subjective estimate of the amount of pain suffered by the learner as a result of that level used. The results of the correlational analyses for experimental subjects overall and subjects within each condition are presented below in Table 4.8. The mean estimated highest voltage levels employed and subjective estimates of pain are presented in Table 4.9.

TABLE 4.8

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between
Subjects' Estimated Highest Voltage Level
Employed and their Subjective Estimate of
Amount of Pain Which This Level Produced

Group	r	t	z	p
All Subjects	0.884	-	5.52	<.001*
White-Assimilative	0.888	5.46	-	<.001**
White-Salient	0.874	5.39	-	<.001**
Black-Assimilative	0.913	6.33	-	<.001**
Black-Salient	0.913	5.92	-	<.001**

(*) = z values considered to be significant

(**) = t values considered to be significant

TABLE 4.9

Subjects' Mean Estimated Highest Voltage Levels Employed
and Corresponding Subjective Estimates of the Pain Elicited

Group	Mean Estimated Highest Level (Volts)	SD	Mean Estimated Pain	SD
All Subjects	143.00	75.49	4.42	1.97
White-Assimilative	87.00	74.95	3.30	1.56
White-Salient	146.82	88.66	4.27	2.57
Black-Assimilative	166.00	66.65	4.80	1.61
Black-Salient	175.00	29.79	5.44	1.42

As the results in Table 4.8 show, there is a highly significant positive relationship between the voltage levels subjects claimed they used and the amount of pain they felt such levels elicited. As can be seen by examining the means presented in Table 4.9, as the level of shock increases, likewise does the magnitude of the subjective estimate of pain. Also note that the magnitude of the highest voltage level employed increases in accordance with the predictions made in the first two hypotheses forwarded.

In order to determine whether or not subjects underestimated the highest level of shock they administered, as a possible guilt-reduction mechanism, related t tests were carried out between subjects' self-report estimates of their highest shock level employed and subjects' actual highest level used (as was recorded during the experiment). The results of these tests, which are presented below in Table 4.10, indicate that subjects consistently underestimated the highest level of shock which they employed in punishing the learner.

TABLE 4.10

Paired t-Values Analyzing for Differences Between Subjects' Maximum Voltage (Actual) and Maximum Voltage (Estimated) Employed

Group	Mean Difference Between Actual and Estimated Highest Level Used (Volts)	S.E. of the Difference	t	p
All Subjects	14.75	2.58	5.71	.001*
White-Assimilative	12.00	4.16	2.88	.05*
White-Salient	10.00	5.00	2.00	.10
Black-Assimilative	13.50	4.83	2.79	.05*
Black-Salient	25.00	6.12	4.08	.01*

(*) = t values considered to be significant

Upon completion of the experimental phase of the investigation, subjects were all asked to report their reasons for participating in the study, by responding to the statements in part four of the Post-Experimental Questionnaire.³ The percentages of subjects responding to each of the eight statements are presented in Table 4.11 below.

³ See Appendix II

TABLE 4.11

Subjects' Reasons Indicated for Their
Participation in the Investigation

Reason Cited	Overall	Percentage of Subjects Responding*			
		White Assimilative	White Salient	Black Assimilative	Black Salient
Experimenter asked me to (1)	27.5	40.0	27.0	20.0	22.0
Seemed like the thing to do (2)	12.5	10.0	9.0	10.0	22.0
Thought it would be interesting (3)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Was afraid to say no (4)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
As a contribution to science (psychology) (5)	40.0	70.0	18.0	60.0	11.0
Enjoyed being a teacher (6)	20.0	30.0	9.0	30.0	11.0
To help out the experimenter (7)	70.0	80.0	45.0	90.0	67.0
Felt the experimenter knew what he was doing (8)	42.5	40.0	27.0	60.0	44.0

(*) = percentages are based on sample of subjects who completed the experiment

Having heard the explanation of what was to occur in this investigation, 100% of the subjects thought it would be interesting! Both conformity (Items one and eight) and rationalization of conflict (Items five and seven) were the type of items frequently selected, which is in accord with the findings of previous research of a similar nature.

Finally, with respect to the third major hypothesis of this study (Gergen's thesis), only four out of a total of forty-four subjects refused to participate in this investigation, three in the White-Assimilative condition and one in the White-Salient condition. Of the entire sample population of subjects, only two individuals recognized the experimental situation as being remotely familiar to anything that they had ever read or heard about. These two subjects recollected the work of Stanley Milgram, after having been prodded, but when questioned as to its purpose and moreover its significance and import, their responses were that it was "to test the effects of punishment on learning" and "to examine the effects of poor learners on teachers' frustration tolerance", respectively. The four individuals who refused participation cited "moral" and "ethical" grounds. These individuals indicated that they had no recollections of any similar research having been done in this area, but rather said that this was their "nature" and that they would never engage in any behavior that would cause injury or pain to another human being, regardless of the purpose or circumstances involved. The data indicate that Gergen's (1973) assumptions are not valid and that there are other variables which are responsible for the non-compliant or non-conformist behavior exhibited by these four individuals.

The findings of this investigation provide substantial evidence which supports the three major hypotheses of this paper. Specifically, for six of the eight dependent measures, subjects showed a greater willingness to aggress towards a black victim than a white victim. Secondly, evidence has been provided which illustrates the profound effect of the stereotypical image portrayed by the victim on subjects' willingness to administer punishment to him. Finally, Gergen's assumptions that people are in touch with the findings of psychology and that people's familiarity with models of social conformity and pertinent experimental findings sensitize them to factors that might lead them into socially deplorable actions, are seriously called into question.

V. DISCUSSION

The results of this investigation are consistent with those of previous research in illustrating the profound effect of situational pressure on individuals' willingness to act contrary to their conscience in voluntarily complying with a request to harm an innocent victim. In addition, the findings of the present study cast further light on the theoretical issues under consideration in this paper. The results shall be discussed in terms of the experimental hypotheses formulated, the phenomenon of social cost, their social implications for mankind, and their indication for future areas of research.

Results of the analyses concerning the eight dependent measures of subjects' willingness to aggress against an innocent victim clearly demonstrate that white participants showed a greater willingness to hurt the black victim than the white victim. The results are contrary to those obtained by Larsen, et. al. (1974a). The social pressures of the university community, e.g., the Affirmative Action Programs, which these authors claim were responsible for their findings, are apparently no longer producing the same effects. The inter-group censure against appearing racially prejudiced that was in effect on campus during the period in which these investigators conducted their research was in all likelihood, responsible for their results, since with the absence of any such censure, coupled with the lack of any overt broadly publicized racial tensions on campus, the present study made contrary findings. In other words, the absence of any censure by significant others for

appearing racially prejudiced, coupled with the implicit legitimacy of a relatively mildly compelling situation, provides the sufficient conditions for racial discriminatory behavior. For six of the eight dependent measures of subjects' willingness to hurt an innocent victim, white male and female subjects shocked the black victim at a significantly greater level of magnitude than the white victim. On only two of the dependent measures, the average duration spent shocking and the total duration spent shocking, did subjects not significantly differ. However, if one notes the means depicted in Table 4.2 (Chapter IV), it can be seen that the average and total time spent shocking the victim was greatest in the group where the stimulus person was black and portrayed the commonly expected negative racial stereotype of blacks held by many white people, as was hypothesized. Results of the analysis for subjects' highest duration spent shocking the victim yielded a significant interaction effect between the race and stereotypical characteristics of the victim. As can be seen by referring to Figure 4.3, and the results of the post-hoc analyses on page 39, the black (salient stereotype) victim was shocked for a significantly longer duration than was the white (salient stereotype) victim, again indicating evidence for the effect of the victim's race on subjects' willingness to aggress towards him. In addition, it should be pointed out that white subjects shocked the black victim longer when he portrayed the commonly expected negative stereotype of blacks than when he appeared to subjects as more assimilative in terms of his mannerisms and appearance. The reason for the appearance of a significant interaction effect for this dependent

measure can be explained by the fact that there were no significant differences in terms of the highest duration subjects used in shocking the black-assimilative and white-assimilative victims. Such differences were, however, noted for the other five dependent measures. Since no significant differences were found in the analyses of subjects' total and average duration shocked either, the argument is forwarded that the measure of subjects' duration of shock administration, by itself, probably does not provide an adequate measure of subjects' willingness to hurt an innocent victim. It is suggested that this variable, when looked at in conjunction with the level of shock administered, best exemplifies subjects' willingness to shock a victim, as was pointed out earlier by Larsen, et. al. (1974a). In examining the group means for subjects' highest shock scores (volts x seconds), as depicted in Figure 4.4, it is clear that as the social distance between the victim and his aggressor increases in terms of the saliency of the victim, that the magnitude of the punishment administered increases substantially. Further evidence of this phenomenon was noted in looking at subjects' actual and estimated highest voltage levels administered, where significant main effects for the race and stereotypical characteristics of the victim were found.

In summary, it appears that in the absence of any censure by significant others for appearing racially prejudiced, coupled with the apparent legitimacy of the situation, white male and female college students are willing to administer higher levels of punishment to a black victim than a white victim. Further, if the black person fits

the image of the commonly held negative racial stereotype of black people, an even wider social distance is created and consequently the magnitude of the punishment increases. In terms of behavior beyond the laboratory, consider again, if you will, the atrocities of Nazi Germany. Clearly, a vast social distance existed between the "pure Aryans" and the Jews. As was stated before, this distance was created through extensive propaganda, as well as actual efforts on the part of the Nazi SS to literally transform the Jews into something that indeed resembled Hitler's characterization of them as the vermin of society. They shaved their heads, performed hideous operations on them, confined them to ghettos, refusing them bathing facilities, medical attention, proper living quarters, and other necessities for subsistence. Clearly now, the Jews indeed portrayed an appearance (a negative racial stereotype, if you will) which coincided with the Nazis' well internalized negative image of this entire race of people. The rest of the story is basic social psychology. The tremendous social forces at work demanding the extermination of this race of people from the earth, coupled with an apparent legitimacy of the cause (the so-called Jewish problem) and the now vast social distance which had been created between executor and executant, made for the most atrocious period of human destruction in the history of mankind. But why did they do it, and why did the white subjects in this experiment show a greater willingness to hurt a black person than a white person? What are these social forces at work which impel people to comply with the demands of a situation or an authority figure and act

contrary to their conscience or re-adjust their conscious thoughts and rationalize their behavior accordingly?

The concept known as social cost perhaps best explains why the majority of individuals resolve the conflict with their conscience in favor of the demands of a situation or an authority figure rather than courageously follow the dictates of their moral values. The notion of social cost coincidentally originated from research on the topic of prejudice as a mediating variable which influences the extent to which an individual may receive approval or rejection from significant others contingent upon his or her behavior in a specific situation. The research of Pettigrew (1958) and Tajfel (1969) has demonstrated the profound importance of significant others (e.g., parents, friends, employers (political leaders, military leaders, reserachers)) in the determination of racial attitudes and behavior. Larsen (1976) found social cost to be a potential generic and integrative variable in the study of prejudice and postulated a three factor theory focusing on social cost as the major predictor of a person's acceptance or rejection of others. Specific to the topic of concern here, in essence what Larsen is saying, is that the social cost for non-compliant behavior in such situations is high, that is the potential for rejection by significant others (e.g., your superior officers, your country, and national leaders in the case of war, or the researcher and the university in the case of the experiment) is sufficient cause for people to behave in a manner contrary to what they know to be just and moral. Yet, even so, almost no one prefers to see himself in a bad light for having behaved in a morally deplorable manner. And this is where the phenomenon

of guilt reduction mechanisms comes into play. In the case of the Nazis, many resorted to the extreme position and denied that the atrocities ever even occurred, having repressed the incidents completely. Still others claimed that they only acted according to the orders which they received from the top. One notes the diffusion of responsibility here which serves to lessen the burden on one's own conscience for the role he has played. Similar comments occurred during the trial of Lt. William Calley, who was charged with leading the mass murder of an entire village of civilians at My Lai. Calley stated that he received orders from his captain to "waste" the entire village of men, women, and children, and to leave no trace of life. His captain, Ernest Medina, vehemently denied having given the order and stated that it was not on his conscience. Former President Nixon cited "national security" reasons for his immoral deeds and his aids cited the "office of the presidency" as the sanction for theirs, and both Nixon and his confidants were fully aware of the unethical and illegal nature of their deeds demonstrated by their concerted efforts to cover them up.

Many still argue that the Nazis were the sadistic, deranged fringe of society, that Calley was a crackpot, that Nixon was a sick man, that Hiroshima was a necessity, and that our laboratory experimental situation lacks any connection to reality outside the laboratory. It is argued, however, that these attempts at an explanation in fact, tell us very little of any use. For if all of society shall always be at the mercy of a handful of "deranged" individuals and as such remain crippled from reacting, then there is no hope for the future of the human condition.

However, consider the profound statement made by the German philosopher, Georg Fredrich Hegel, that "history teaches us that man learns nothing from history". In the context of this paper, man learns nothing from his past mistakes; although the inanimate aspects of his civilization change shape, and governments rise and fall, and the fads, fashions, and folderol vascillate with the zeitgeist, man's basic nature does not significantly change shape. Man's inhumanity to his fellow brethren occurs in the name of religion, in the name of racial purity, in the name of national defense, in the name of economical necessity, and so forth. Philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists and various other intellectuals dedicate their entire lives to improving the lot of mankind, to make people aware of the necessity for interdependency and the absence of conflict. Gergen (1973) felt that people's familiarity with other's behavior in conformity inducing situations would sensitize them and insulate them from succumbing to these factors in similar situations in their lives. Gergen argued that theories of conformity behavior become obsolete as history proceeds. The empirical validity of Gergen's theory is deemed at best, questionable, having reflected on the history of mankind, and the results of the experiments described in this paper. It is questionable in the sense that just because there may exist an abundance of psychological, sociological, historical, and philosophical literature, and other forms of communication, we have no way of knowing whether any of it is absorbed by our non-academic members of society, and what is more, we have no indication or measure of the impact it may have on them, if any. And when one considers the fact that a substantial portion of the "intellectual"

community has dissipated an enormous amount of energy in attacking the pioneer work of Stanley Milgram in this field as being unethical, unjustifiable, and methodologically invalid via the literature and the classroom podium, how can we hope to achieve a major impact on changing the ways of man in a positive direction. As Erikson (1968) states: " ... derogative dismissal is to be expected, simply because people like to shut their eyes to undesirable behavior, preferring to investigate memory, forgetting of nonsense syllables ..."

This is an issue which warrants a separate and extensive analysis, however, it is beyond the scope of this exposition to give it the just treatment it deserves. Suffice it to say that the "collective stupidity" which persists to cloud the minds of influential members of our society must cease to persist in perpetuating the illusion that the responsibility for man's inhumanity to his fellow man lies with some supernatural force or reified abstract entity called society. There is an abundance of scientific evidence which demonstrates that the responsibility for, and the control of his inhumane actions lies with man. And in light of our present situation, man can clearly not afford to continue to ignore this evidence.

Let us return to the findings of this investigation to amplify evidence for the methodological validity of the procedure used and its connection to the foregoing remarks. The experimental data quite clearly support the predictions which were made prior to the undertaking of the study. There is self-report evidence which verifies the statistically demonstrated effects that the manipulations made in this study had on its participants. Reflect for a moment, if you will, on

some remarks which were made by subjects during the post-experimental questioning period. First, let us examine some typical remarks made by participants in the White-Assimilative condition concerning their views or feelings about the learner. The highest voltage level administered appears in the parentheses following the quotations.

"He's good looking, neatly dressed, and rather bright." (15 volts)

"He was a nice person, seemed intelligent, he acted just like any average run of the mill middle class college student." (30 volts)

"He seemed really smart. He seemed the same as you or I." (65 volts)

Now, keeping in mind that the only way in which the white learner differed in the White-Salient condition was in terms of his style of speech (hippie-like) and his clothing, that he was the same human being, and he made the same verbal responses and the identical responses to the learning test, this is how subjects perceived him:

"Seemed like a hippie in a way. He sure wasn't very bright." (120 volts)

"Seemed quiet, seemed like real different, like a hippie, not very conscious of how he dressed, kind of a hillbilly type." (145 volts)

"Seemed low in intelligence, sounded not so smart which fit with his missing a lot of the questions." (130 volts)

"Your basic run of the mill, can't think of the word -- a jerk -- the type who looks as wierd as he can to be different"(195 volts)

Now, let us turn to some of the remarks made by subjects in the

black victim conditions, looking first at the Black-Assimilative condition:

"Average to high intelligence, kind of shy and nervous, seemed okay." (150 volts)

"Friendly guy, easy going, I don't think I shocked him more because he was black - but then I'm not sure." (95 volts)

"Kind of surprised to see he was black - but seemed okay." (165 volts)

"Average guy, above average intelligence, nice looking for a black guy." (170 volts)

"Seemed like a nice guy, I didn't really want to shock him, I'm not sure whether it made a difference since he was black, but it may have." (100 volts)

"Seemed rather quiet, appeared rather clean-cut, like a good student, but sure wasn't all that smart during the experiment." (225 volts)

"He seemed like he'd be a good student, but for some reason (looking down at the floor), I just didn't think he'd do well on the experiment ..." (185 volts)

Finally, note some typical remarks made by subjects who were exposed to the same black learner, where he attempted to portray a picture of the negative racial stereotype, typically expected by many white people, yet again, his responses to the "learning test" were precisely identical:

"Looked like most black students look." (210 volts)

"The fact that he was black, I noticed right away, Maybe I was a little cautious cause he was black."
(This subject shocked the learner at a level of 275 volts on the majority of the 30 trials)

"Seemed like he was into other things than school which was probably why he missed so many questions."
(195 volts)

"Kind of slovenly, surly, withdrawn, looked like it would take him a while to learn something. He had a careless appearance, like alot of black students I have seen." (190 volts)

"He didn't look too intelligent and I guess it made a little difference in the level I shocked him at as he was black." (210 volts)

The results of the experimental analyses, coupled with the foregoing self-report data provide conclusive evidence that the differences obtained in terms of subjects' willingness to hurt an innocent victim are strongly related to the manipulations of the independent variables of the race and stereotypical characteristics of the learner. The question may arise as to whether the subjects really believed that they were hurting the learner, that is, whether they indeed believed the shocks were real. Three separate pieces of evidence are provided here which demonstrate rather conclusively that the participants in this study accepted the rationale of the experiment and truly believed that the shocks they were delivering were hurting the victim in the next room. First, referring to the results in Table 4.8 and Table 4.9, one notes the highly significant relationship between subjects' estimates of their highest voltage levels employed and their corresponding subjective estimates of the amount of pain felt by the learner as a result. It should be pointed out parenthetically that subjects also consistently underestimated the highest levels they used (see Table 4.10) and therefore

because of the high degree of relationship of this measure with subjects' pain estimates, the latter were also underestimated. At any rate, we have experimental proof that subjects really believed they were shocking another human being and were aware of the amount of pain he was suffering as a result of the shocks. Secondly, self-report responses to the question asking subjects their views regarding the purpose or intention of the study revealed that 100% of the participants believed that the purpose of the study was to investigate the effects of punishment on learning and to discover which shock levels worked best, indicating further evidence that subjects accepted the rationale of the experiment and were aware of what they were doing. Finally, subjects were asked whether they had any suspicions or misgivings about the study in the form of an open-ended question. Only two of the thirty-nine participants who completed the study and were included in the experimental analyses claimed that they had a slight feeling of unsureness about the shock, but both followed up by stating that at no time during their participation were they ever sure that the learner was not being hurt by the shocks. As was mentioned in an earlier chapter of this paper, one subject's data was not included in the statistical analyses because it was unclear whether she was aware of the status of the shock, in addition to the other reasons presented. In summary then the procedure used in this study was methodologically sound in terms of subjects' acceptance of its authenticity. The connection of the behavior observed in this laboratory investigation to that of the epochs of the "outside" world which have been discussed in this paper is sound in terms of the

social-psychological forces at work, however, there are of course tremendous differences in terms of the scale, numbers, and political context, as Milgram (1974) has carefully pointed out. The essential ingredients which induce a person to act contrary to his conscience in response to the social cost for non-compliance are just as real in a psychological laboratory as they were in Nazi Germany or My Lai.

Since the subjects knew what they did, as evidenced by the empirical data which has been presented, and the signs of emotional strain on each of their faces which the author noted upon having arrived back in the teacher's room after the shocking task, the question arises as to why these individuals felt they did it. That is, what rationalizations did subjects give for completing the experiment, despite the distastefulness of the experience? Let me remind you that not a single subject appeared to be pleased when he heard that he was being requested to shock the other person. When subjects were told that "although the shocks may be extremely painful, the learner will not suffer any permanent tissue damage", without exception, each subject shuddered and looked at the ground, remaining silent. There were of course four participants who broke off at this point, which was mentioned earlier. The point is that these individuals who continued were not the sadistic fringe of society. They were in no way mentally incompetent or mad. One might say that these individuals, because they were college students who live and study in an extremely competitive atmosphere, were more aggressive than the average person. However, be reminded that Milgram's subjects were drawn from all sectors

and classes of society, and that the subjects in the present study behaved exactly like his subjects did in a comparable condition. During the debriefing period, the overwhelming response of subjects as to why they went ahead with participating despite the fact that they believed they were hurting an innocent victim, was that they didn't want to spoil the investigator's experiment and that they didn't want him to think bad of them. This provides pretty strong evidence for the forces of social cost at work, as was discussed earlier. Let us examine some empirical evidence for subjects rationalization of their behavior. First, the fact that all subjects consistently underestimated the highest level of shock they employed when asked to reveal this amount immediately subsequent to the "shocking phase", indicates strong evidence for a guilt-reduction mechanism at work. This is not unusual as both Milgram and Larsen noted findings of similar nature in their investigations. Next, subjects were asked to provide their reasons for participating in this study (prior to being told of its true purpose and the manipulations involved). As can be seen by examining the results in Table 4.11, 100% of the subjects, upon having completed the shocking phase, indicated that they participated because they thought it would be interesting. It should be pointed out to the reader that the looks on the faces of these subjects, upon having heard the instructions and having witnessed the "wiring up" of the learner, could best be described as fearful and were certainly far from being stares of curiosity or intrigue. As Larsen, et. al. (1972) noted, the present study also found that subjects' reasons most frequently indicated were conformist and rationalization of conflict items, e.g., "the experimenter

asked me to", "I felt that the experimenter knew what he was doing", "as a contribution to science (psychology)", and "to help out the experimenter".

Perhaps one of the most primary redeeming characteristics of this research was what each subject without exception said to the investigator upon completion of the experiment and post-experimental debriefing. The essential content is captured in the words of one subject when she stated:

"This was one of the most valuable learning experiences I have ever had. I never thought I was the type of person who could get roped into doing something like this. I shall certainly be much more aware of the forces in my environment and be less afraid now to confront them when they try to induce me to do something that I know is wrong."

Several of the participants in this investigation have come to see the author since the study and although no statistical results can be provided, my subjective observations show me some degree of qualitative change. It is purely conjecture at this point and requires empirical inquiry, but it is felt that perhaps that by making people aware, in the context of a personally moving experience, such as the one described in this paper, of the social factors operating which influence a vast amount of their behavior, that perhaps something like an inoculation effect may occur whereby people do indeed become sensitized to the future efficacy of these same social forces. In addition, the results of this research point to the profoundly important need for increased personal contact between members of different racial groups in order to dispel

the existence of negative racial stereotypes. The results of this study also show that until such time that man escapes the bonds and chains of social cost and sees his fellow man as his brother and treats him accordingly, censure by significant others for racial prejudice shall remain to be a necessity.

VI. EPILOGUE

As has been discussed in vast detail in this paper, an abundance of psychological research has been conducted concerning the behavior of individuals in situations which call for responses that are in conflict with one's conscience. The emphasis has consistently been placed upon the conformist or obedient subject who resolves the conflict in favor of the demands of the situation or the authority in charge, which characterizes the majority of people. The rare non-conformist or individual who exerts his or her existential courage and resists the social forces at work in these situations and triumphs by resolving the the conflict in the direction of his or her moral convictions, has thus far received no empirical consideration. In what way or ways do these latter few differ from the former many? Is there a critical period in the lives of these individuals where the essential elements are internalized which sensitize them to the efficacy of such social forces in influencing their behavior? What are the essential elements? Are they learned or genetic? These and many other intriguing questions await the attention of future research. However, the most profoundly important question of all is how much longer can mankind await the necessary changes to come about which will preclude his impending path toward extinction? In light of the ever increasing threat to all humanity of a thermonuclear holocaust, and the chaotic state of the world today, it is extremely important that we spare no time in getting underway with the process of discovering the answers to this collectively shared

dilemma. We have witnessed the inhumanity of man to his fellow man for millenia, and the responsibility for rectifying this puzzling and perilous state of affairs lies with the perpetrator, none other than man. The emphasis this paper is advocating is an optimistic one, for with sights of hope and eventual triumph, coupled with genuine collective efforts, we can change and grow. With shades of despair and pessimism, at best our human condition will remain static, and at worst, it shall cease to exist. In closing, perhaps the words of George Bernard Shaw best express the direction that this author is advocating:

"Some people look at things as they are and ask, why; I dream things that never were, and ask why not."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Subject Consent Form

In signing this consent form, I agree to participate in a psychological study being conducted by William D. Brant. My signature indicates that I have read, and do understand, the following:

1. I understand that I have the right to refuse to participate in this study without academic or other penalty.
2. I understand that I have the right to terminate my participation in this study if I so desire.
3. I understand that I have the right to complete information as to the nature and purpose of this study as soon as the information can be given out without affecting the outcome of the study.
4. I understand that if any deception is involved, it is essential to the success of the study and I can expect to be briefed regarding it after the study has been completed.
5. I understand that I have the right to anonymity and that this confidentiality will be maintained by Mr. Brant.
6. I understand that in the event that the findings of this study are made public in any way, the results of my participation will not be associated with my name.
7. The nature and purpose of this study have been explained to my satisfaction. The benefits of my participation, the possible uses of the data, and my right to ask further questions about the study have also been explained to me.

My signature below indicates that I have read and understood the points outlined above and have been offered a copy of this form.

DATE

SIGNATURE

APPENDIX II

Post Experimental Questionnaire

COND _____

SUBJECT # _____

1. Please indicate the maximum voltage (the highest voltage level) you used in the 60 trials. If you don't remember, give your best estimate. _____
2. In using the volatge level you indicated in #1 above, estimate the amount of pain that this shock elicited, by means of the ten point scale below:

Circle 1 if you think the level you used elicited
no pain at all.

Circle 5 or 6 if you feel the level that you used
was moderately painful.

Circle 10 if you think that the level you used was
extremely painful.

Since this is a continuum, you are free to use the
other ratings also, but only make one rating indicating
your best estimate.

CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER

NO PAIN 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 EXTREMELY PAINFUL

3. Please indicate in the space provided, your overall reaction to the study.

4. Please indicate, in the space below, your reasons for participating in this study by placing an X by as many of the eight statements that are appropriate for you.

(YOU MAY CHECK AS MANY AS YOU FEEL ARE APPROPRIATE)

- (1) ___ Because the experimenter asked me to.
- (2) ___ It seemed like the thing to do.
- (3) ___ Because I thought it might be interesting.
- (4) ___ I was afraid to say no.
- (5) ___ As a contribution to science (psychology).
- (6) ___ I enjoyed being a teacher.
- (7) ___ To help out the experimenter.
- (8) ___ I felt that the experimenter knew what he was doing.
5. Please indicate your rationale or reasoning for using the shock level that you said you used in question #1 (page 1).

6. Did you feel any tenseness or anxiety at all during the experiment?

Yes/No

If yes, please describe your feelings below. Also indicate whether or not this may have affected your behavior in this study in any way.

7. Did you feel any pressure at all during your participation in this study?

Yes/No

If yes, please describe it, indicating the source of the pressure and its effects on you and your behavior.

8. Briefly describe how you felt about the learner during your participation in the study, including your views about the learner's personality, intelligence, appearance (looks) and any other characteristics or feelings that you would like to describe.

9. Please indicate in the space provided, your views regarding the purpose or intention of this study.

10. Did you have any suspicions or misgivings about this study?

Yes/No

If so, please indicate what they were and how they affected or might have affected your behavior in this study.