

come up within two villages we can help by learning from the lived experiences that the community has had in the past of resolving conflict so they can develop tools for the future.” Metz often helps bring in real life situations during trainings so trainees can discuss how they handled similar cases. “They could bring up an example between a goat herder and a land holder. My job is to see whether they can use that implicit knowledge and learned experience for other conflicts. It’s also important to remind groups of moments of peace, of heroes of peace, and symbols that have to be authentic for that group. Groups can forget that there were these moments or people. Part of change can simply be reminding.”

It is also essential, in Metz’s opinion, for peace builders to not rush into an already volatile situation. “Because deep conflict tends to be long term I’m not a big believer in rapid intervention that is emergency-driven. I don’t think that is all that effective.” Metz says his job is to create a network and to facilitate capacity building over long periods of time and more urgent situations require other types of involvement. “In an emergency situation people need a different kind of intervention, such as food or shelter. When people are shooting at each other we need to stop that before we can do other work. It’s very difficult in a moment of acute violence. Psychologically these individuals are at their most escalated state and to intervene you have to get them off the cycle of violence.”

With a background in international affairs, Metz states his work is heavily influenced by social psychology. It is through psychology, Metz says, that he is able to identify the dynamics at work and clarity on how to handle them. “Social psychology teaches us about the phenomenon of how conflict happens and the meaning people make of it. Columbia University social psychologists and colleagues Morton Deutsch and Peter Coleman are leaders in the field. Conflict resolution comes into the picture when we are seeing what’s happening between groups—over who has access over water or historical colonial stratification in North Africa, for example. It could be about language and access to schooling in Algeria and access to multi-lingual education (French and Arabic).” Metz feels Morton Deutsch’s work is a seminal authority within the field of conflict resolution, touching on subjects such as violence, trust, attribution, and intractability. “Intractability means we experience the conflict as never ending; as historical and as comprehensive, meaning everything is infused with a sense of otherness. It has a tendency to creep backwards in history.”

For psychologists interested in the field of conflict resolution, Metz suggests they begin by attending trainings that gives individuals a window to the practice. One effective framework has been developed by the Public Conversations Project (PCP) at <http://www.publicconversations.org>. To learn more about the innovative work of Consensus visit at <http://consensusgroup.com> or contact Zachary Metz at zmetz@consensusgroup.com. Ψ

UN Report: Holocaust Victims Honored at UN Remembrance Day

by Florence L. Denmark, Main APA Representative to the United Nations

In 2005, the General Assembly of the United Nations decided that January 27th would mark an annual day of international commemoration to honor victims of the Holocaust victims. January 27th was chosen because it is the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp.

This year the UN held an outreach program entitled, “Holocaust and the United Nations” that addressed the use of educational programs for promoting remembrance. Experts discussed methods for passing on the lessons of the Holocaust as a preventative measure against genocide. Established by UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, the program urges member states to develop educational activities of their own. As part of this the United Nations Department of Public Information (UNDPI) has developed a range of activities to promote awareness. Academic papers, discussions, films, informational materials, and presentations with partner organizations, were among the many initiatives carried out, each with a goal of reminding us of the devastation and threat caused by crimes against humanity.

Because January 27th fell on a Monday, activities were spread throughout the week, beginning on January 28th. An exhibit, of the Gennady Dobrov Art Exhibition, “Memorial Drawings: Remembering the Holocaust Victims and their Liberators,” in one of the conference rooms of the secretariat building, sponsored by the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, remained on exhibit through January 31st 2008 and helped form the context for events of the week. Monday, January 28th began with the launch of Holocaust Remembrance Postal Stamps, a series of 41-cent US stamps, designed by the UN, commemorating the January 27 Holocaust Remembrance Day. The launch ceremony was held at the Museum of Jewish Heritage, organized by the United Nations Postal Administration, in part with the Philatelic Service of Israel.

A film screening Of “Holocaust Education in Action” followed the stamp launch and was followed with a panel lead by B’nai B’rith International. The discussion was moderated by Eric Falt, director of the Outreach Division of UNDP; along with Helene-Marie Gosselin, director of UNESCO in New York; and Sandra Roberts, the director and a teacher of the Paper Clips Project, a program that began as a small 8th project in a small Tennessee town and now includes a memorial with 11 million paperclips, representing lives lost in the Holocaust, and a film (see <http://www.paperclipsmovie.com>).

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com/synopsis.php). A student from Whitwell Middle School, where the Paper Clips Project began, was also present for this discussion. The day ended with a key note address by US Congressman Tom Lantos, a Holocaust Survivor, on "Civic Responsibility and the Preservation of Democratic Values."

The Buchmann-Mehta School of Music Symphony Orchestra from Tel Aviv University, and the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Maestro Zubin Mehta, played a concert at this event.

The following day, January 29th, began with a briefing from Dr. Rob Rozett on, "Rescue during the Holocaust: Denmark, Slovakia and Hungary." The evening program celebrated the opening of two exhibits commending the supporters of Jews during the Holocaust. The Department of Public Information, Yad Vashem and the Permanent Mission of Albania to the United Nations, sponsored "BESA: A Code of Honor, Muslim Albanians who Rescued Jews during the Holocaust." The Department of Public Information also co-sponsored a program entitled "Carl Lutz and the Legendary Glass House in Budapest," along with the Permanent Missions of Switzerland and Hungary to the United Nations.

On the evening of Wednesday, the 30th, the Holocaust and United Nations Outreach Programme unveiled the opening of the Permanent Holocaust Exhibit, located on the grounds of the UN, as a memorial for all visitors to reflect upon. The remembrance week came to a close on Thursday, January 31st, with a screening of the documentary, "Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport." The film's producer, Deborah Oppenheimer, was present for the viewing.

This memorial week was a powerful expression of determination to prevent such a tragedy from occurring again. It was successful as both a reminder of past crimes against humanity and as a proactive force for educating against such offenses in the future. Ψ



Case Closed: Beth Cohen Discusses her Research on Holocaust Survivors

Dr. Beth Cohen is both a psychologist and a social historian who has studied and researched the subject of Jewish refugees who settled in the United States after World War II. She received her Master's degree in Human Development from Harvard and her PhD in Holocaust History from Clark University's Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (2003). She is also the author of Case Closed: Holocaust Survivors in Postwar America (Rutgers University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007) and is currently teaching at UCLA and California State University in Northridge, where she is acting interim director of the Jewish Studies program. Dr. Cohen is presently researching how children, both orphans and those who were reunited with their parents, dealt with the challenges and obstacles of being a refugee and a survivor.

Before I started graduate school, I worked as a director for the Rhode Island Holocaust Memorial Museum from 1988 to 1998. It was during that time I became very involved with the survivor community and noticed how a number of those survivors who talked about their experiences would talk quite bitterly about how they were treated by the community when they came to the United States. When I first heard their accounts I was upset and embarrassed, of course, but didn't spend too much time thinking about it.

Later, I entered The Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University, and I was one of the first three students admitted to the PhD program. It was when I started working towards my PhD, and was looking for a topic for my dissertation, that those same comments by survivors came back to haunt me so I started doing more research on the reception of those survivors into the United States. I began looking for stories that appeared in the media from about 1946 to 1954 about refugees or "displaced persons" (DPs) who came to the US and was most struck by the happy accounts from the view of the agencies who

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...Case Closed, continued from previous page

were working with them. It was such a contrast to what the survivors had originally told me, so I wanted to further explore that gap in perception. I visited the Jewish Family and Children's Services, in Denver Colorado where I came across case files from social workers in the later 1940's and early 1950s. The reports that social workers wrote about their interaction with refugees who settled in Denver was the type of material that gave a wonderful insight unmediated by time, uncensored, and not heroic. They were simply honest accounts of how survivors were treated and their hopes and dreams.

I wanted to know if there were similar files in New York because it was known that fifty percent of survivors had settled there. With the help of the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA), a Jewish association set up to help people settle in New York, I discovered they had 40,000 files and was able to look at over 300 of these files from the period I was interested in. Looking at these hundreds of files gave me a pattern and the confidence to arrive at certain conclusions and became the starting point of my study.

When I finished my dissertation, and tried to develop it into a book, I received a fellowship from the US Holocaust Museum. There I looked at some of the videotapes from the museum and conducted my own interviews with people who dealt with the resettlement process, such as rabbis, social workers, and doctors. I didn't interview people who were also in the case files, but the social workers, doctors, and the rabbis who mostly worked for those agencies. In my book all the names by and large (except for key figures) are either just first names or initials—the goal was to include bits and pieces of stories that coalesced into a picture and a pattern.

Throughout my work, what was particularly interesting was the frequency with which I encountered illness in the files. Sixty percent of them reported illness that had no clear organic basis. The mandate of the agencies that dealt with the survivors was to get them working as quickly as possible. On a superficial level you might think this was the right approach but it was actually more of an economic decision to spend the minimum amount of time and effort on each individual, when in reality they needed more. I was astounded to see many symptoms of anxiety and depression, insomnia, and eating problems. When their symptoms interfered with the refugee's ability to find work they would refer them to a doctor and the doctor could find nothing wrong with the survivors, even when they were describing all these symptoms and truly felt ill. There was a fair amount of talk of suicide, compared to the triumphant narrative that was showcased in the media. The files that I read and saw were truly weighted down with the difficulties of the war. It was after coming to the United States when they were actually faced with starting a normal life, after these wartime experiences that had shattered their lives and left them in DP camps for years.

When I present at conferences someone inevitably asks if one can find fault with the professionals at a time when they had no awareness of PTSD and to be sensitive to this since words such as post traumatic stress disorder were not a part of their vocabulary. I

went back and looked at meetings those professionals were attending and in the psychological literature there was quite a bit of discussion about refugees and how they might have benefitted from a different type of treatment. The question was out there and even words like "trauma" were being used. A Polish psychologist by the name of Philip Friedman who had emigrated from Europe around that time said it was not enough to tell displaced persons to put the past behind and move on. When push came to shove the professionals working with the survivors did not always take such psychological factors into account.

Perhaps one of the significant reasons for this is that some have said that psychologists (who were by and large Jewish) working with the DPs felt very guilty about having been safe during the Holocaust when so many were murdered. It was perhaps their inability to confront the Holocaust at that point, as one of the motivations for not helping the DPs with the emotional problems they were experiencing. Another reason was that it was a very difficult population to deal with. I interviewed someone who was responsible for resettling the newcomers and she told us they were very needy and difficult and essentially they had not seen anything like it. It was an unprecedented event in terms of their client population. So, it was not really a case where the refugees were so different from the people who were dealing with them but that the refugees were too similar to the parents of the psychologists and psychiatrists who, as the immigrant generation, had fled Europe earlier on. Ψ



Global Science Forum Develops Steps for Decreasing Research Misconduct

Specific steps institutions, governments, scientific societies and publishers may take to lessen the prevalence of research misconduct were developed during a workshop held by the Global Science Forum (GSF) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Tokyo last February that was attended by over 50 government-appointed representatives of 23 countries.

The Global Science Forum of OECD is “a venue for consultations among senior science policy officials of the OECD member and observer countries on matters relating to fundamental scientific research. The Forum’s activities produce findings and recommendation for actions by governments, international organizations, and the scientific community,” the report states.

The specific steps were reported in an unofficial workshop report, *Best Practices for Ensuring Scientific Integrity and Preventing Misconduct*, that was presented at the World Conference on Research Integrity, held in Lisbon last September. The unofficial report is available at <http://www.esf.org/activities/esf-conferences/details/confdetail242.html>. The specific steps contained in the report are:

- Designing and implementing a formal system for addressing allegations of misconduct in research that is tailored to local conditions and requirements.
- Making the results of each investigation known in the scientific community, as a deterrent to similar occurrences.
- Adopting definitions, standards, rules and codes of conduct. These can cover three areas: (1) good scientific practice (e.g., experimental design, laboratory safety, error analysis, data curation and access); (2) traditional ethics issues (e.g., rights of human subjects, handling of experimental animals, philosophical/moral aspects of research in human reproductive biology, defense-related research); and (3) misconduct.
- Promoting the internalization of rules and standards via carefully designed and implemented educational measures. Curriculum design is a key issue, as is the question of when (at what stage of a scientific career) education measures can be most effective.
- Incorporating instruction about responsible conduct of research in student curricula, and in the training of faculty, staff and technical personnel. Of particular value is instructing graduate students about the realities of scientific

careers, including a realistic description of the pressures that can destabilize the lives of postdoctoral fellows and assistant professors.

- At the level of research institutions (e.g., university departments, large laboratories), actively fostering open and frank discussion of misconduct-related matters. Promoting collegiality and networking among colleagues to discourage isolation of the type that can harm susceptible individuals (‘lone wolf’ scientists) and to clarify collaborators’ responsibilities within research collaborations. At the institutional level, rewarding those leaders who set an example by visibly adopting the standards of integrity in research.
- In hiring and promotion, rewarding quality of work rather than quantity of publications.
- To the extent possible, streamlining, rationalizing, and simplifying the grant application and award system.
- In scientific publishing (and in grant applications) adopting clear, uniform standards for:
 - o authorship criteria for papers, including obligations of co-authors;
 - o allowable types of image processing in published images;
 - o requirements for making primary and secondary data available to the general scientific community
 - o conditions under which results will be published (i.e., with or without permission of the sponsor).
- Making use of computer-assisted tools (software) for detecting plagiarism in publications, proposals, reports, etc. Promoting the development of software for detecting fraud in images, data, figures, etc.

Reprinted from the Office of Research Integrity Newsletter, Volume 16, No. 1: December 2007 (<http://ori.hhs.gov>).

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

APA Offers Travel Awards for APA Members to Attend International Conferences and for International Affiliates to Attend Convention. Deadline: Extended to March 15, 2008

For more information, please visit: <http://www.apa.org/international/awards/travel.html>.

Apply for the Frances M. Culbertson Travel Grant. Deadline: March 25, 2008

The American Psychological Foundation's (APF) Culbertson Travel grant supports women from developing countries who are in the early stages of their careers by providing travel funds to attend international regional conferences in psychology. Recipients of the grant also receive a two-year affiliate membership in the American Psychological Association.

Amount: Reimbursement for registration and travel expenses up to US \$1,500. **Eligibility:** Applicants must be women from developing countries who are no more than ten (10) years post-doctoral degree. Preference is given to applicants attending the following conferences:

- International Council of Psychologists (ICP),
- Biennial Regional Congress of Psychology,
- International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS), and
- International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP).

Applications Procedures

Submit a completed application online at <http://forms.apa.org/apf/grants> by **March 25, 2008**.

Applications materials must include:

- A completed application form;
- Current vita; and
- One letter of recommendation from a supervisor certifying present position.

Scholar Rescue Fund Fellowships Deadline: April 1, 2008

The Institute of International Education's Scholar Rescue Fund (SRF) provides fellowships for established scholars whose lives and work are threatened in their home countries.

These fellowships permit professors, researchers and other senior academics to find temporary refuge at universities and colleges anywhere in the world, enabling them to pursue their academic work and to continue to share their knowledge with students, colleagues, and the community at large. When conditions improve, these scholars will return home to help rebuild universities and societies ravaged by fear, conflict and repression. During the fellowship, conditions in a scholar's home country may improve, permitting safe return; if safe return is not possible, the scholar may use the fellowship period to identify a longer-term opportunity.

How the Scholar Rescue Fund Works:

* Professors, established researchers and other senior academics from any country, field or discipline may qualify. Preference is given to scholars with a Ph.D. or other highest degree in their field; who have extensive teaching or research experience at a university, college or other institution of higher learning; who demonstrate superior academic accomplishment or promise; and whose selection is likely to benefit the academic community in the home and/or host country or region. Applications from female scholars and under-represented groups are strongly encouraged.

* Fellowship recipients are expected to resume their teaching, lecturing, research, writing and publishing at an academic institution outside the region of threat.

* Fellowships are awarded for visiting academic positions ranging from 3 months to one calendar year. The maximum award is US \$20,000, plus health insurance.

* Fellowships are disbursed through host academic institutions for direct support of scholar-grantees. In most cases, host campuses are asked to match the SRF fellowship award through partial salary/stipend support, research materials, medical insurance, and other in-kind assistance.

* Applications are accepted at any time. Emergency applications receive urgent consideration. Non-emergency applications will be considered according to the following schedule:

Spring 2008:

Application received by April 1; decision by June 1.

To apply, please download the information and application materials from: <http://www.iie.org/programs/srf/apply.htm>.

For universities and colleges interested in hosting an SRF scholar, please visit: <http://www.iie.org/programs/srf/host.htm>. We welcome your questions and comments. Please contact us at:

IIE Scholar Rescue Fund Fellowships
809 U.N. Plaza

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Tel: (USA) 1-212-984-5486
Fax: (USA) 1-212-984-5353
E-mail: SRF@iie.org
Web: www.iie.org/SRF

*If you are a scholar from Iraq, or seeking support on behalf of an Iraqi scholar, please direct all questions or queries to: IraqSRF@iie.org.

**Elderhostel K. Patricia Cross \$5,000
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Now Being Accepted**

Please visit: <http://www.apa.org/science/psa/feb08ann.html#ann05>.

EVENTS/NEWSLETTERS

Newsletter of SIP (InterAmerican Society of Psychology) Invites Articles

The InterAmerican Society of Psychology (SIP - Sociedad Interamericana de Psicologia) was established in 1951 and has members throughout North, Central and South America. It contributes to the regional development of the discipline through international and regional congresses, publications, and the establishment of professional networks among different psychological specializations within regions.

The SIP Newsletter, Inter-American Psychology, published twice a year, reports news, announcements and articles of interest to psychologists of the Americas and focuses on facilitating the communication between psychologists with information about psychology in the region. The editor, Marcelo Urrea, invites contributions and welcomes all readers. To obtain a copy, please contact Marcelo Urrea at marcelo.urrea@psicologico.cl or visit <http://www.sipsych.org/english/periodicals>.

CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

For a full listing of psychological conferences and meetings around the world, please visit: <http://www.apa.org/international/calendar.html>

March 26-29, 2008

International Conference on Infant Studies
Vancouver, British Columbia, CANADA
URL: www.isisweb.org

June, 2008

Second Annual Convention, Asian Psychological

Association (APsya)
Kuala Lumpur, MALAYSIA
URL: www.apsya.org

July 3-6, 2008

Second International Congress on Interpersonal Acceptance and Rejection
Crete, GREECE
URL: www.isiparweb.org

July 5-8, 2008

International Association for Research in Economic Psychology (IAREP) Annual Conference
Paris, FRANCE
URL: team.univ-paris1.fr/iarep-sabe2006

July 12-15, 2008

International Council of Psychologists (ICP)
St. Petersburg, RUSSIA
URL: icpsych.tripod.com

July 12-16, 2008

3rd International Conference on Teaching Psychology (ICTP-2008)
St. Petersburg, RUSSIA
URL: www.ictp-2008.spb.ru

July, 14-16, 2008

6th International Conference, International Test Commission: The Public Face of Testing
Liverpool, UNITED KINGDOM
URL: www.intestcom.org

July 20-25, 2008

XXIX International Congress of Psychology
Berlin, GERMANY
URL: www.icp2008.de

July 27-31, 2008

19th Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology
Bremen, GERMANY
URL: www.iu-bremen.de/iaccp2008

August 14-17, 2008

116th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association
Boston, Massachusetts, USA
URL: <http://www.apa.org/convention08>. Ψ

Resolution Against Genocide

As passed by the Council of Representatives of the American Psychological Association, February 2008

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Introduction

Throughout human history and continuing to the present, the issue of genocide or mass violence has been a devastating reality (Staub, 2000). Psychology is in a unique position to both inform our understanding of the causes and solutions to genocide (Munn, 2006; Sternberg, 2003). While governments and the United Nations work to address this life altering and history altering crisis, Non-Governmental Organizations, such as the American Psychological Association, have the skills, knowledge, and expertise to increase awareness and ultimately bring about peace and reconciliation (Howe, 2004). In keeping with its charge, APA's Committee on International Relations in Psychology and Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs call on all psychologists to respond to this global continuing crisis with the unique contribution that can be made by mental health educators, researchers, and counselors.

WHEREAS the American Psychological Association has demonstrated its commitment to the fight for human rights of all people through (1) its resolutions against racism, stereotypes, and male violence against women, (2) the establishment of the Committee on International Relations in Psychology, the Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs, and the Committee on Women in Psychology and (3) its ongoing support for the efforts of the United Nations to promote and defend human rights (Bryant-Davis, Okorodudu, Holliday, 2004);

WHEREAS the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines the term as: Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (United Nations, 1948);

WHEREAS "unintentional" or indirect acts of destruction such as forced marching and forced starvation are also crimes against humanity;

WHEREAS genocide is the ultimate display of hate, fear, and violence, which are learned attitudes and behaviors; (Staub, 2006; Dutton, Boyanowsky, & Bond, 2005; Sternberg, 2003);

WHEREAS genocide can be an outgrowth of multiple factors including promotion of self advancement at the cost of other's human rights; crisis of resources, compliance with authoritarian leaderships, and prejudice which is unfavorable affective reactions or evaluations of groups and their members (Waller, 2006; Finzsch, 2005);

WHEREAS genocide threatens basic human rights of survival, security, development, and social participation (Lang, 2006; Mork, 2003);

WHEREAS genocide has negative cognitive, behavioral, affective, relational, and spiritual effects on child and adult victims, as well as on perpetrators, historically and contemporarily (Dutton, Boyanowsky, & Bond, 2005; Ursano, Fullerton, & Norwood, 2003; van der Kolk, McFarlane, & Weisaeth, 1996);

WHEREAS genocide is often combined with systematic rape and displacement of victims and severe mental health consequences for survivors of genocide that have been shown to increase anxiety, depression, self-defeating thoughts, post-traumatic stress disorder, substance abuse,

suicide, homicide, and a host of health complications in targeted communities (Bolton, 2001; Staub, 1999; Herman, 1997);

WHEREAS genocide has been shown to severely alter the developmental trajectory of children who are exposed to it by negatively impacting academic and social development, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (Kaplan, 2006, Dyregrov, Gupta, Gjestad, & Mukanoheli, 2000);

WHEREAS genocide intersects with race, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status in ways that are unique in creating disenfranchisement and environments of vulnerability; (Gangoli, 2006; Bryant-Davis, 2005; Lindsey, 2002; Moses, 2002; Bhavnani, & Backer, 2000)

WHEREAS genocide has long term intergenerational traumatic effects on whole communities (Kaplan, 2006; Ritchie, Watson, & Friedman, 2005; Briere, 2004; Staub, 2000);

WHEREAS the United Nations has established genocide and systematic rape as crimes against humanity (United Nations, 2004; Osborn, 2001);

WHEREAS genocide negatively affects perpetrators by perpetuating distorted thinking about the self and others, including cognitions that dehumanize those who are targeted (Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Staub, 2004);

WHEREAS genocide has negative effects on intergroup relations, magnifying distrust, fear, vigilance, suspicion, anxiety, stereotypes, and disconnection (Kressel, 2003; Bolton, 2001);

WHEREAS genocide continues to occur throughout human history (Lal, 2005);

WHEREAS the psychological devastation of genocide has been established in psychological studies of the genocides of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, Africans in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Jewish people in the Holocaust, Armenians in 1915, the Tutsis in Rwanda, Cambodians, Guatemalans, Ukrainians, Chinese in the Nanking Massacre, Muslims in Bosnia, and most currently the Black people of the Darfur region of the Sudan where assaults against the Black Sudanese have resulted in the murder of more than 450,000 persons, the rape of countless women and girls, and the displacement of 2.5 million persons (Bush, 2007; Lippman, 2007; Hinton, 2005; Steinweis, 2005; Austin, 2004; Midlarsky & Midlarsky, 2004; Mueller, 2004; Beristain, Paez, & González, 2000; Elovitz, 1999);

WHEREAS the struggle against genocide requires continued active resistance through science and practice that promotes social justice and human rights globally (McMillion, 2005; Howe, 2004; Foa, Keane, & Friedman, 2004);

WHEREAS passive observation of violent acts (the "bystander effect") has negative consequences on individuals and communities (Lippman, 2007; Fischer, Greitemeyer, Pollozek, & Frey, 2006);

WHEREAS the American Psychological Association opposes all manifestation of hate, prejudice, discrimination, and violence and affirms the basic human rights of all people for survival, equality, dignity, respect, and liberty (Kahn, 1985);

WHEREAS psychological science and practice can inform reconciliation processes (Staub, 2006; Munn, 2006; McMillion, 2005; Suedfeld, 2000);

Therefore be it resolved that the American Psychological Association condemns genocide wherever it occurs across the globe and confirms that all people have the right to survival and safety;

Be it further resolved that the American Psychological Association will recommend:

- (1) That the international community, professional organizations, and individual psychologists work toward the development of policies that work to eradicate and prevent genocide and to ameliorate its impact on individuals and communities.
- (2) The development of research that fosters our understanding of the causes, effects, and solutions to race-based and ethnicity-based hate crimes.
- (3) The implementation of interventions that promote equality, social justice, and reconciliation across cultures.
- (4) The exploration of the gendered experience of genocide including systematic rape.
- (5) The awareness raising of psychologists and psychologists-in-training about the prevalence and impact of genocide through curriculum development, conference presentation, research dissemination, and use of media outlets.
- (6) The promulgation of psychological strategies to promote the recovery of victims, community reconciliation, and human rights for all persons.

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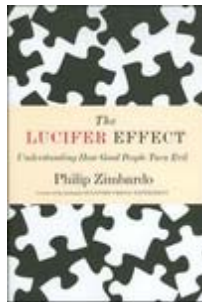
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Evil: Understanding Bad Situations and Systems, But Also Personality and Group Dynamics

A review of



The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil

by Philip Zimbardo

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Reviewed by

[Ervin Staub](#)

Philip Zimbardo's book *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil* is a well-written, engaging, and passionate book about evil in the world. It is a highly personal book in many ways. A large portion of this long book (234 out of 488 pages of text) deals directly and specifically with the Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE), describing the project in detail, including Zimbardo's role as principal investigator and prison superintendent and the impact of the study on the participants, with many references to the SPE throughout the rest of the book. Zimbardo describes the way in which he was caught up in the situation he created and how he failed to stop it as its destructive effects on prisoners (and guards) unfolded. The book describes research by others that supports the theoretical view that has guided the SPE—the powerful role of situations, rather than dispositions or personality, in creating evil.

Another large portion of the book deals with the abuse of prisoners in Iraq in general, and in Abu Ghraib in particular. Zimbardo had an immediate emotional connection to Abu Ghraib, both feeling outrage and seeing similarity to the SPE. He had an additional connection to Abu Ghraib as an expert defense witness for Sergeant Fredericks, whom the media and the literature about Abu Ghraib have identified as one of the ringleaders of the abuse of prisoners. At the end, the book moves from evil to goodness and discusses heroism, offering a classification of types of heroism as well as a categorization of heroes' motives.

The book ranges from social psychology and psychological knowledge in general to varied examples of and writings on evil (such as Jonestown, where a religious leader led a large group of people to mass suicide), drawing on many sources, including classical Roman writers. It offers concepts, examples, and descriptions of personal engagement by the author with issues and people, often related to the SPE.

I am substantially in agreement with the book's theoretical position, consistently stated throughout the book, about the great importance of situations and systems in shaping people's behavior and creating evil. But I believe it significantly understates the role of personal characteristics. I also have questions about the way the SPE was set up, maximizing the chances for abusive behavior by the guards. Reviewing this book calls for an exploration of the role of situations and the systems of which they are a part, of personal characteristics, of group dynamics, and of their interrelation, both to highlight issues in the book and to further the understanding of the roots of evil. The author is very knowledgeable and obviously knows about and writes about all of these, but with an overriding emphasis on the power of the situation.

The SPE

There is a lot of material already available about the SPE, through publications and media projects (a video, TV programs, and a Web site). The study also received a great deal of attention soon after it was conducted, according to Zimbardo because of two large prison riots at the time, and after Abu Ghraib as an explanation of what has happened there. In this book, Zimbardo reviews the prison study in great detail. He uses written material from prisoners and guards and from the staff of the study, videos about life in the prison and audiotapes of conversations among prisoners in their cells, and information collected before the study from the participants using psychological measures such as the F test for authoritarianism and the Machiavellian test, on the basis of which they were

selected for the study.

As is widely known among psychologists, college students responded to a newspaper ad looking for paid participants for a study of prison life. On the basis of various measures administered to them, 24 out of 75 applicants were selected as normal individuals who had no mental health problems and were not antisocial. They were randomly divided into prisoners and guards. Like real prisoners, those designated to be prisoners were arrested by the Palo Alto police and brought to the prison set up in the basement of the Stanford Psychology Department.

Immediately, the guards began to treat the prisoners badly, and their bad treatment soon escalated. On the second day, the prisoners rebelled, to which the guards responded with greater harassment and abuse. They conducted "counts" during the night, going on with them endlessly. They continually harassed and punished prisoners (e.g., by making the prisoners learn the 17 rules early on that they were to follow and punishing them when they made mistakes in recalling the rules). The guards made the prisoners do many push-ups, put them into isolation in a small room that they called the Hole, made them go naked, and deprived them of their beds. They berated and ridiculed prisoners. If one prisoner resisted their orders, they punished them all, both to make the resistant prisoner cooperate and to have the other prisoners turn against him. They deprived the prisoners of sleep; they awakened them and kept them awake for long periods during the night.

Some prisoners were soon strongly affected by this and appeared very distressed or depressed. As a result, before the study was terminated on the sixth day, five of them were "released." In spite of this, the prisoners' psychological state seemed affected by the belief that, contrary to the original agreement, they could not choose to get out of this prison until the end of two weeks. This was the result of one of the prisoners saying to the others that he tried to get out and those in charge of the study would not let him. This belief was reinforced when in "parole hearings" a prisoner would say that he would forfeit his pay to be able to get out, but because he did not make a straightforward statement terminating his participation, his parole would be denied. The prisoners who remained and replacement prisoners became increasingly despondent and passive over the course of the six days.

The system created in the prison included "degradation rituals... [such as having prisoners]... stand naked for a long time in uncomfortable positions" (p. 47). Over time, the prison guards became increasingly abusive and established firm dominance over the prisoners. Both research and the study of genocides and mass killings (Staub, 1989) have shown that once violence begins, when

there are no restraints or inhibiting influences, it is likely to evolve and become more intense. It is likely that a combination of changes in the perpetrators (increasing devaluation of the victims, changed self-concept) and changed group norms account for this.

As Zimbardo describes it, he did not expect the prison situation to have these dramatic effects on either the guards or the prisoners. He also notes that not only prisoners and guards but everyone else was also caught up in this situation. For example, they instituted "parole" hearings, and the head of their parole board, a former inmate in a real prison who had hated his situation in the prison and the way his parole board operated, became very rough on the prisoners during their parole hearings. Zimbardo himself was caught up in his roles as researcher and superintendent, without responding to the plight of the prisoners and the behavior of the guards.

The author accounts for the transformation in everyone by the power of the situation. Zimbardo recognizes the role of personality but believes that dispositions have been greatly overemphasized and that the power of the situation primarily creates evil. He created the SPE to show the power of the situation. He powerfully advocates the role of both the immediate situation and the system that creates the situation, in which the situation is embedded and that justifies it through ideology, as sources of evil. Ordinary people are led by situations, especially "total situations," a term coined by Robert Jay Lifton, to engage in evil, and thus all of us are capable of evil actions. The book describes many psychological principles to explain what happened in the study, such as the roles people assume, the way rules guide and transform people, compartmentalization, deindividuation, cognitive dissonance, and dehumanization (both by guards of the prisoners and by the prisoners of themselves). Especially in later sections of the book, Zimbardo also writes about various group processes. He also provides an exploration of the ethics of the SPE.

The prison study was ended when a person not previously part of this system entered it and was upset and outraged by what she saw. Christina Maslach, who had just finished her doctorate at Stanford and was at that time romantically involved with Zimbardo (they married a year later) was asked to be a member of the parole board. She saw glimpses of how the prisoners were treated. She especially reacted seeing them chained together and hooded as they were taken to the bathroom. Her very strong reaction and demand that the study be stopped brought Zimbardo to his senses. At the end of the book, he uses her action as an example of heroism—speaking out in the face of wrongdoing.

Other Research Showing the Importance of the Situation

The book reviews important studies, demonstrations, and research programs that show the influence of situations, including other people exerting influence as part of the situation, on harmful behavior. These include research on conformity, such as the Ash experiments in which a number of people judged two lines that were obviously very different in length as being the same length and led study participants to make the same judgment. They include Stanley Milgram's studies of obedience, in which many participants acting as teachers obeyed the experimenter in administering what they believed were increasingly powerful shocks to learners. Zimbardo reviews research by Albert Bandura and his students Underwood and Fromson in which they found that overhearing statements that devalued or positively valued a person strongly affected the intensity of shocks that study participants administered to that person. He also reviews his own work on deindividuation, in which hoods and anything else that hides a person's identity leads that person to behave more aggressively under aggression-generating conditions. In the prison study, the guards wore uniforms and sunglasses that could not be seen through. The book also notes the research by Latané and Darley that showed that with increasing numbers of people present, each bystander to an emergency is increasingly less likely to take helpful action.

Personality and Group Dynamics

There are a number of issues about the prison study that seem not to have been addressed in the literature. I, however, first address the issue of personality, which has recently been examined. I personally agree to a substantial extent with Zimbardo's view of the power of the situation, and he quotes my book *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Staub, 1989) to that effect. In fact, in a recent article I included a statement I made to national leaders in Rwanda trying to help them understand the genocide they suffered and to prevent new violence. I said, in conclusion,

All this makes it psychologically understandable what they did [*they* refers to young men who were part of the militias that perpetrated much of the killings], horrible as it was; being part of the Interahamwe made it difficult for them to

resist what they were asked to do. It is important, of course, not to take this understanding as an excuse for what they were doing, since people make choices. But to prevent violence, to practically enable people to make different choices, it is essential to inhibit the development of the kind of societal system and process that came into being in Rwanda. (Staub, 2006, p. 883)

I referred here both to the overall societal and cultural conditions in Rwanda and to the system and circumstances that young men faced in the Interahamwe, youth groups initially associated with political parties that were turned into killing militias.

However, I also believe that there is usually, if not always, self-selection among people who enter into certain situations and roles that are potentially violence producing. Then, given their characteristics, these situations and roles are more likely to move them to violence. (There is also selection by authorities of people with certain characteristics for roles that may or definitely do require violence.) Carnahan and McFarland (2007), in their recent exploration of the potential role of personality in the SPE, quoted me in their introduction as suggesting that the characteristics of those who would want to participate in a study of prison life may have predisposed them to aggressiveness: "Self-selection may have played a role in the prison study discussed earlier (i.e. the SPE)... . the personal characteristics of those who answered the advertisements may have been one reason for the intensifying hostility" (Staub, 1989, p. 70).

Carnahan and McFarland (2007) attempted to show the role that personal characteristics may have played in the SPE by putting two ads into papers around Western Kentucky University. In one ad, they were looking for participants for a "psychological study of prison life"; in the other, they left out mention of "prison life." Interestingly, they had more trouble getting responses to ads for the study of prison life. They administered personality measures to study participants on the basis of their relevance to predicting dominance and aggressiveness, although they believed these measures were also relevant for predicting the behavior of the prisoners. They found significantly higher scores on aggression, authoritarianism, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and social dominance and significantly lower scores on dispositional empathy and altruism among those who responded to ads about the study of prison life, all consistent with their expectations. They added groups and asked participants to fill out the questionnaires as if they wanted to participate, responding to the two different ads. They found that respondents motivated by the desire to be accepted for the advertised study were unlikely to account for the personality differences.

Although Carnahan and McFarland (2007) were cautious in their

interpretations, they suggested that people entering the SPE with personal characteristics like those who in their study responded to the ad for the study of prison life, and the resulting group dynamics among them, might have contributed to what happened in the SPE. They also noted that the mean authoritarianism F-scale scores for participants in the SPE, 4.57 (reported by Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973), is higher than the mean for 27 of the 28 subgroups on which the scale was originally developed and that “it is most similar to the 4.73 mean reported for a sample of 110 San Quentin male prisoners” (Carnahan & McFarland, 2007, p. 611).

The imprint of personality is quite evident in the book. There was significant variation in behavior and mood among both guards and prisoners. For example, one prisoner protested by refusing to eat some of his food and continued to do this in spite of intimidation, punishment, and, under the instigation of the guards, pressure from the other prisoners and even the attempt to force feed him. Some of the guards were especially abusive; others simply enforced obedience and the rules they had created, and some tried to act in somewhat kinder ways and felt guilty about what was happening, although, as Zimbardo emphasized, they never spoke out against the actions of the more abusive guards. Although Zimbardo stresses this more in his discussion of Abu Ghraib, he regards their passivity under conditions that urgently require intervention by bystanders as evil—as do I (Staub, 1999).

The behavior of some of the more abusive guards, the norms they established, and the dynamics they created—including the reactions by the prisoners—may be important to understand the evolution of increasing aggressiveness. The most aggressive guard was Hellmann, a guard on the night shift, who because of his toughness came to be referred to as John Wayne by the researchers. On the first night,

Hellmann has come up with a creative plan to teach Jerry-5486 [the prisoners had numbers on their “uniforms” and were addressed by those] his number in an unforgettable way. “First five push-ups, then four jumping jacks, then eight push ups, and six jumping jacks, just so you will remember exactly what the number is, 5486.” He is becoming more cleverly inventive in designing punishments, the first signs of creative evil. (p. 50)

One of the other guards on this shift, Burden, competed with Hellmann, which required him to be increasingly aggressive. This is consistent with a great deal of research on and observation of how in groups, members striving for dominance and influence tend to move the group in an already-established direction. One

group of social psychology research studies has referred to this phenomenon as group polarization, but the phenomenon has also been observed in mob violence (Staub & Rosenthal, 1994) and in terrorism (McCauley, 2004).

Other Issues Surrounding the Prison Study

One cannot evaluate this book without examining the prison study. It is often referred to as an experiment (also on the book's cover). However, in essence, this was a case study. Zimbardo mentions that it was a demonstration, with plans to follow it with more controlled research. In an experiment, the impact of a particular treatment or condition (or situation) is repeatedly examined to see if it creates similar effects. Here the impact of a particular situation was examined only once. We don't know whether, with the next group of participants, the results would have been the same—especially if in this next group participants had had different personal characteristics, or if because of the initial actions of guards or for other reasons different group dynamics had developed.

Second, there were no comparison or control groups. Although it may be difficult to have an appropriate control, comparison groups or variations in the treatment condition could have been created. In this particular treatment group—in the actual study—the guards were given no rules; they made up their own rules. They received no training. To create deindividuation, which increases aggression, they wore uniforms and sunglasses. There were no authorities who made them accountable—apart from physical aggression, they could do anything they wanted. In a couple of instances when they were physically aggressive, there was no reaction. When at the time of the prisoner riot on the second day they turned to the “prison authorities” for guidance, they received none—and the actions they then engaged in were highly aggressive, thus shaping further events.

The prisoners were intentionally degraded from the start. Their heads were covered with women's nylon stockings. They wore what looked like sack nightgowns, without underwear, so that “when they bend over their behinds show” (p. 40). Day and night, a chain was attached to the prisoners' ankle. All of this functions to dehumanize people and makes those with power more likely to devalue them, see them in a negative light—and abuse them.

The initial guidance by the “superintendent,” not reproduced in this book, had to affect the guards' orientation to the prisoners. Haslam and Reicher (2007, p. 618) quoted from Zimbardo's (1989) “Guard Orientation” on August 14, 1971:

You can create in prisoners feelings of boredom, a sense of fear to some degree, you can create a notion of arbitrariness that their life is totally controlled by us, by the system, you, me—that they'll have no privacy at all... . There'll be constant surveillance. Nothing they do will go unobserved. They will have no freedom of action, they can do nothing, or say nothing that we don't permit. We are going to take away their individuality in various ways. In general what all this leads to is a sense of powerlessness.

Haslam and Reicher also note the use of *we*, which puts the researcher—superintendent into a shared ingroup with the guards. Perhaps Zimbardo's directions, his seeming identification with the guards, were the result of what he writes in the book, that his initial interest was in how prisoners are affected by their prison experience.

The prison in the SPE was not a “neutral prison.” The conditions that were created made violence by people who had power or authority more likely. In writing this review, I wondered, did I learn this, acquire this belief, from the SPE? Although the SPE reinforced it, I think I learned it from my study of genocide, mass killing, and torture. Of course, this was just the point of the study—that when people are put into a certain kind of situation, this will affect their behavior. However, comparison with varying conditions—including a “good prison” in which guards are trained, there are clear rules for their behavior, and there is supervision and accountability—would have been important. With such conditions, even without guards selected for positive characteristics (low on authoritarianism and hostility, and so on), the guards on the first day and night might have acted in a firm but fair and at least neutral manner. The group dynamics among the guards and between prisoners and guards would probably have evolved differently. Zimbardo was led by his experience with the SPE to suggest such conditions, including good supervision, to improve prisons.

Zimbardo refers to two other prison studies and reports that one of them, a study conducted at the University of New South Wales in Australia, replicated his findings and that a second one was too different to serve as a replication. He describes the first study in only a brief paragraph but notes that it included several conditions, one of which replicates the findings of the SPE. This second study was a demonstration by Reicher and Haslam (2006) created to be aired by the BBC. It has interesting and useful elements, but it was not intended as a replication. Instead, it shows that given a different setup or conditions, people will behave differently. The study had several phases. At the start, participants were told that in the course of the first three days prisoners could be promoted

to guards. This should have made the psychological differentiation between “us” and “them” less sharply drawn. The guards did not establish dominance over the prisoners. One other interesting difference was in clothing. The prisoners were nicely dressed in sporty sleeveless T-shirts and shorts, and the guards were well dressed in shirts and ties. The knowledge that people would see them on TV may also have constrained the guards. (Some of the most abusive behavior by guards in the SPE took place when they believed no one could see them.)

Abuse in Iraq and Abu Ghraib

In a long psychologically, politically, and societally important section, the book addresses the extensive abuse of prisoners in Iraq. It describes the many aspects of the situation at Abu Ghraib under which the abuse by military guards, well documented in photographs, took place. All the violence-generating influences that were present in the SPE were present at Abu Ghraib, and much more. There was overcrowding, bad food supply, a dirty environment, constant mortar attacks with people injured and killed, and escape attempts and revolts by prisoners. At the SPE, the prisoners' revolt intensified the guards' abusive behavior, and at Abu Ghraib some of the famously documented abuse took place after prisoner revolts.

As in the SPE, there was a lack of training of guards, a lack of established rules (the guards never received standard operating procedures in writing and whatever rules existed were word of mouth), and a lack of supervision and accountability. Prisoner interrogations were conducted by military intelligence and private contractors who used interrogation techniques that were extremely abusive, which the guards knew about. In addition, Zimbardo convincingly shows, interrogators asked the guards to soften up prisoners for interrogation and, according to various testimonies, even directly instructed them to engage in some of their abusive practices. Even the picture taking was probably initiated by interrogators. The varied situational influences reviewed earlier and the psychological processes they generate—the total environment and the influence of authority, conformity, and other group dynamics—were all present, as well as the frustration created by the existing conditions, including danger and attacks.

The book shows that abuse of prisoners extended much beyond the seven defendants at Abu Ghraib. There were more than 600 documented instances in Iraq. Using a variety of reports commissioned by the military and the government, the report by Human Rights Watch, a number of published books,

and statements by individuals including interrogators and military police (guards) at Abu Ghraib and other prisons, Zimbardo shows the responsibility of interrogators and officers all the way up to generals, the Department of Defense, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, Vice President Cheney, and President Bush. It was one of the generals who brought interrogation techniques approved by Rumsfeld for Guantánamo to Abu Ghraib. Zimbardo draws on memos prepared by the president's lawyers and circulated in the White House by Alberto Gonzales, who later became Attorney General, arguing that the president is not bound by the Geneva accords and existing laws on the treatment of prisoners. Zimbardo notes the focus on the few bad apples rather than the bad barrel (situation or system), as he calls it, or those who were responsible for creating the bad barrel. (I also was an expert defense witness at Abu Ghraib for Sergeant Davis. In my testimony, when I began to talk about the role of the higher-ups, e.g., the Gonzales memos, the prosecution challenged its relevance, and the judge upheld their challenge.)

The book is compelling in indicting the government and the military for all the abuse that has taken place in Iraq, as well as for the policy of extraordinary rendition—capturing suspected terrorists and handing them over to countries that use torture for interrogation. In writing about evil in bureaucratic systems (see also Darley, 1992, for a discussion of such evil), Zimbardo coins the term *administrative evil*. He also writes about the nature of war and its effects—another situational influence—in explaining some of the killings of civilians by American soldiers. Again, to a substantial extent, the focus on the situation, the system, and the role of the higher-ups (lack of supervision, establishing abuse-generating policies and practices, the overall situation) is correct. The extent of the abuse in Iraq supports this view. I took the same perspective as a defense witness for Sergeant Davis (see Staub, 2004, 2007).

However, from a conceptual point of view, there is again insufficient consideration of personality or disposition. Not everyone volunteers for the military; just as with police officers, there must be selective factors, including personality. Moreover, it is important to look at guidelines by which soldiers are selected for the military police (who served as guards), as their selection may put potentially aggressive persons into guard roles. Might they have a greater tendency to use power or, a less likely but important attribute, to devalue the other, the enemy?

The people who set the tone on the night shift at Abu Ghraib volunteered (self-selected) for their job. The two who became leaders in the abuse, Fredericks and Graner, had both been prison guards. Both the media and a superior who expresses regret for choosing the people who volunteered for the

job (Reese, 2004) believed that Graner had engaged in such behavior as a prison guard and that he was even fired from his job. Another author (Saleten, 2004) wrote that

the soldiers implicated at Abu Ghraib, however, were led by two veteran prison guards, one of whom had received three court orders to stay away from his ex-wife, who said he had thrown her against a wall and had threatened her with guns. (¶17)

However, Zimbardo refers to what was said about the two as rumors and innuendo. He writes that an examination of Graner's performance file in his job as prison guard "reveals that he has *never* been accused, suspected of, or disciplined for any offense or maltreatment of any inmate" (p. 361). He does not discuss the court orders. Zimbardo's description of what he learned about Fredericks presents a very positive picture, except that he may have been too easily influenced by others.

The issue of personality enters into who creates violent systems. Usually people create them in response to social forces or situations of various levels of generality. In the case of genocide and in response to difficult life conditions, including economic problems, political disorganization, and great social change, some people create ideologies and social-ideological movements that progressively lead to extreme violence (Staub, 1989). Such people may be led by a combination of their social roles (protecting privilege, etc.) and their personality. As a situation, 9/11 did not create the policies and practices of our administration. Values, beliefs, worldviews, and other dispositions or personalities of people at the top, which then led to group and social dynamics, were involved. Nelson Mandela, or even Al Gore, might have led us in a different direction.

As further evidence for the effect of situations, Zimbardo notes that the guards in his prison study have lived good, respectable lives since the SPE. However, he describes a study of Nazi SS men conducted by John Steiner after the war. Many of them were high on the F-scale measure of authoritarianism. Steiner considered some people as "sleepers" whose violent tendencies would be expressed only when "particular situations activate" them (p. 287). This is a perfect example of personality-situation interaction.

Once these men entered the SS, they received training and engaged in behavior over a long time period that not only set group norms (the situation) but also had to affect their personality. The evolution of increasing aggression (and helpfulness; see below) is not only a matter of changing group norms but

also because people are affected by their own actions. In the case of aggression, they come to devalue their victims (and progressively other people as well) more and more, their values change, and they come to see themselves as capable of great violence for the right cause, the cause they believe in (see Staub, 1989). It is also likely that under certain conditions people change in positive ways, making such future behavior less likely—for example, when people are immersed in a situation that leads them to behave in ways contrary to their self-image but not too extreme and only for a limited time and are subsequently offered mirrors through which they can see themselves. This seems to have been a result of the “experiment” with brown-eyed and blue-eyed children, which Zimbardo describes.

One problem is that in most societies there are some people with dispositions who, given the right situation, will respond with aggression. In most societies, many children are not treated in ways that lead them to care about other people and their welfare and to resist situations and authorities that generate aggression. Although this book does not address child rearing, it does concern itself with resisting aggression-producing situations and with heroism.

Resistance and Heroism

In the last section of the book, Zimbardo discusses ways in which people can be helped to resist the negative influence of situations and to see ways in which they can become heroes. As Zimbardo correctly notes, heroism has been a relatively unexplored topic, and this section is primarily exploratory. He describes some research in which altruism has been promoted, such as the foot-in-the-door technique (asking people to do something small makes it more likely that they will later do something bigger), altruistic role models, and identity labels (when people are told that they are helpful, they are more likely to later act in helpful ways).

Zimbardo provides a 10-step technique to resist unwanted influences. Then he discusses various types of heroism—military, civil, and social—and creates a categorization with 12 types. He gives examples of some of these types, ranging from well-known people such as Gandhi to people who should be well known, such as Ron Ridenhour, a soldier in Vietnam who was not at My Lai but heard about the massacre of civilians there from fellow soldiers and could not rest until he brought it to the world's attention.

One issue that is occasionally discussed throughout the book, something that has become fashionable to write about, is the banality of evil and the

ordinariness of both evildoers and heroes. Hannah Arendt's (1963) book about Adolf Eichmann, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, started this. But what do we expect? Do we expect that people who are evil—or who do good—will be brilliant, or diabolical (whatever that means), that they will be people who stand out much of the time? Many evildoers and heroes do, such as Hitler and Nelson Mandela. Eichmann actually was much less banal than what Arendt (who left after the first two days of his trial in Jerusalem) saw (Haslam & Reicher, 2007). But hostility, caring, morality (and their absence), and becoming part of a system can be everyday matters. I believe that “evil that arises out of ordinary thinking and is committed by ordinary people is the norm, not the exception... . Great evil arises out of ordinary psychological processes that evolve, usually with a progression along the continuum of destruction” (Staub, 1989, p. 126). If so, then the “banality of evil” is a misnomer. Sometimes perpetrators of evil, or of goodness, are extraordinary because of their ordinary personal characteristics, such as devaluing or valuing people, and more often because of their actions.

The author refers to the ordinariness of Joe Darby, who provided his higher-ups with a copy of a CD with photos taken at Abu Ghraib and put himself in danger as a whistle blower whom some people see as a traitor. There has been substantial research about the roots of helping, and more is needed to understand such extraordinary behavior. Joe Darby acted even though he was concerned about the danger to his future and even to his life (see also Thalhammer et al., in press). The situation might have had a role. Darby had been away on leave, away from the Abu Ghraib environment, and he learned about the photos and the abuse on his return. Shifts in perspective do affect people's reactions to the plight of others (Aderman & Berkowitz, 1970). However, with both Ridenhour and Darby, their values and other aspects of their personality had to be involved. Many soldiers knew about My Lai, but Ridenhour acted, with commitment and persistence.

Zimbardo has made a strong commitment to a focus on the power of the situation and writes that the “doers of heroic deeds at the moment are not essentially different from those who comprise the rate of easily seduced” (p. 487). But he struggles with the issue of personality. Both his suggestions to increase resistance to the power of the situation and his suggestions to increase helpfulness—by having people engage in small positive actions and move on to larger ones—have to do with changing persons. This latter suggestion is consistent with existing research, for example, that guiding children to engage in helpful behavior increases their later helpfulness (Staub, 1979). In this context, it is important to consider child-rearing practices that make people more likely to

resist negative influences and to engage in helpful behavior (Staub, 2005). A great deal of research over the past several decades, including research on real heroes such as the rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe (Oliner & Oliner, 1988), has pointed to child rearing that promotes caring and helping.

A review of this length and detail would be incomplete without noting Zimbardo's discussion, which runs throughout the book, of his relationship to the SPE. The prison study has clearly been a pivotal experience for him, and he specifically discusses significant ways in which it has shaped his research, teaching, and involvement in advocacy and social change. He expresses, in various ways, guilt over having done wrong by allowing the distress and suffering of young men to continue. He also expresses pride in the wide exposure that the SPE has gained and the influence it has had. He believes that it has done much good in showing people in prisons and the military what a bad system is and what they need to do to make it better.

This book makes a valuable contribution. People interested in evil should read it, but in the same way we must approach, consistent also with Zimbardo's thinking, any situational influence: with a critical consciousness, understanding and evaluating what we encounter. Readers should aim to develop the complex understanding that goodness and evil require—of the person, the immediate situation and the larger social conditions, the culture, political conditions, the psychological processes of individuals and groups, the dynamics of small and large groups, and the dynamic interrelation of these different elements. Developing such complex theories and deriving actionable knowledge from them are urgent tasks, given what has been happening in our society and in the world.

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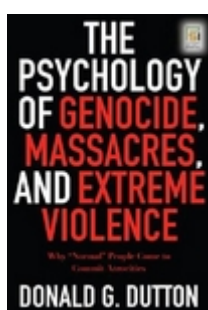
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Journey Into "The Heart of Darkness" REDUX

A review of



The Psychology of Genocide, Massacres, and Extreme Violence: Why "Normal" People Come to Commit Atrocities

by Donald G. Dutton

Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2007.

199 pp. ISBN 978-0-275-99000-8. \$49.95

Reviewed by

[Anthony J. Marsella](#)

With the publication of *The Psychology of Genocide, Massacres, and Extreme Violence: Why "Normal" People Come to Commit Atrocities*, Donald Dutton, a distinguished professor of psychology at the University of British Columbia, joins Joseph Conrad, Francis Ford Coppola, and a host of professional peers as a commentator on the nature and origins of human evil. Dutton's volume, however, is neither fictional prose nor cinematic image; nor is it a study of a particular historical act. Rather, it is a carefully documented work that leads the reader on a journey into humanity's "heart of darkness" through a chapter-by-chapter

account of the brutal litanies of genocides, holocausts, military massacres, lynchings, prison riots, rapes, serial killers, and wars of the 20th century.

Each page in Dutton's volume is filled with description and analysis of horrible events of the 20th century we choose to forget, distort, or deny because of their sheer brutality. In Dutton's volume, the "nobility" of the human spirit is pitted against the reality of the 20th century's unconscionable acts of murder, torture, and atrocity. Like the characters in Conrad's novel and Coppola's film, Dutton's compendium takes us on journey into the "heart of darkness" within each of us.

The tragedy of human history is that in spite of episode after episode of violence and brutality, we continue—as individuals, societies, and nations—to engage in genocides, massacres, and extreme violence even as we cloak our acts under the virtues of freedom, morality, and noblesse oblige. "We come to free you from your ignorance"; "We come to bring you the virtues of civilization"; "*Arbeit Macht Frei*" read the signs above the entrances to Nazi concentration camps. "We come to bring you democracy," the U.S. government asserts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and a host of other countries. And the carnage continues. Why can't we cease this killing and brutality? Is there something inherent in our nature and our cultures that continues to overwhelm our conscience and to release it from its normal constraints? Is there an impregnable evil in our hearts, readily freed as selfish interests, perverted impulses, and lust for power, dominance, and wealth come to the fore?

Heart of Darkness: The Novel

In Joseph Conrad's novel, *Heart of Darkness* (1902/2006), the reader is taken on a journey into the wilds of the African Congo through the perceptions of Marlow, a "decent" but naïve man, initially ignorant of the dark mysteries of the African Congo and

the darker mysteries of the human heart. Marlow journeys up the Congo River toward a meeting with a shadowy figure named Kurtz, the ivory-trading company's most successful trader living in a distant jungle outpost. In the course of his journey, Marlow witnesses many African natives being beaten, starved, and killed with no remorse or hesitation by Whites claiming to be their superiors in nature and culture. To Marlow's shock, the natives are often killed or tortured for the sheer blood-lust delight of the Whites, who are drunk with their own power, immune to any remorse, and committed only to the certainty of their superiority.

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go send your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

—Kipling, "The White Man's Burden"

Marlow's illusions of the "civilized" virtues of the Whites ultimately collapse when he encounters a dying Kurtz in his remote jungle outpost, surrounded by impaled heads and other obvious signs of barbarism. As the dying Kurtz is taken aboard the boat to bring him back to "civilization," a bitter irony is revealed. Unlike others, Kurtz no longer has any pretense of being civilized. Amid the darkness of the Congo, Kurtz has encountered the darkness in his own heart. Resigned to his mortality, Kurtz affirms the savagery of what he has seen and done. With a mixture of "somber pride, ruthless power, craven terror," and "hopeless despair" he utters his final words "The horror... the horror" (Conrad, 1902/2006, p. 69).

Heart of Darkness: The Film

In 1979, Francis Ford Coppola directed the film *Apocalypse Now* (Coppola, 1979) based on Conrad's earlier exploration of the darkness in the human heart. In the film, Capt. Benjamin Willard (Martin Sheen) is assigned to assassinate Capt. Walter Kurtz (Marlon Brando), a rogue officer who has abandoned the civilized savagery of the U.S. military in Vietnam in favor of primitive fighting methods considered to be unacceptable by his military superiors. In parallel with Conrad's novel, a dying Kurtz utters the words that remain the hallmark of the film and the novel—“The horror... the horror.” Within minutes of Kurtz's death, Willard calls in napalm bombs on Kurtz's isolated jungle camp, destroying everyone and everything in apocalyptic horror.

Like readers of Conrad's novel, the viewers of Coppola's film are compelled to confront the issue of evil within their own heart. The illusion of civilization we hold before us as the justification for our own acts of evil is exposed in both the novel and the film, revealing a savagery that remains even as we speak pretentiously of human evolution and civilization's progress. Yet at no point in human history has this savagery been more demonstrated than in the 20th century, when wars, massacres, democides, genocides, torture, and atrocities have left hundreds of millions dead and an endless number injured and scarred forever by trauma.

If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and to destroy them. But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being, and who is willing to destroy his own heart?

—Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*

Heart of Darkness: Dutton's Volume

Dutton's volume is neither the first to address the topics of genocide, massacres, and extreme violence, nor is it likely to be the last. Other volumes abound (e.g., Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Chirot & Seligman, 2001; Conroy, 2000; Kressel, 2002; Newman & Erber, 2002; Waller, 2002; Zimbardo, 2007). But what makes Dutton's volume unique and, in my opinion, essential reading for everyone is its straightforward, clear, and unadulterated presentation of the panorama of brutality that marks the 20th century. It is all here—the familiar names, places, and events. Dutton's volume is not bedtime reading, but it is, in my opinion, required reading because it asks repeatedly "Why did this happen?" and "How did we let this happen?" The answers Dutton provides are an interaction of biological, psychological, and social determinants that result in a loss of conscience and moral responsibility within the context of situations that unleash normal human restraints and judgments. Dutton is clear in his contention that we live closer to the primal limits of our nature than we are often willing to acknowledge.

The belief in a supernatural source of evil is not necessary; Men alone are quite capable of every wickedness.

—Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*

After trying a number of approaches to present the volume's contents in an accurate and thorough manner, I concluded that the extensive material is best served by a traditional chapter-by-chapter summary.

"History of Violence"

Dutton begins with a discussion of the medieval history of genocides, massacres, and extreme violence. He takes us through the slaughter of the Crusades in the Holy Land, pointing out the strategies of thought and persuasion used by the popes of the day to justify the war and its atrocities. The formula they used was quite simple: They called the Crusades a “just war”—a “holy war”—in which a Christian god condoned the killing of the infidels because they challenged his dominance in his holy land. The brutalities were approved, sanctioned, and encouraged. They were authorized brutalities; therefore, those who did the killing and torture were absolved from any personal responsibility.

The authorization to kill is often followed by remarks that denigrate and dehumanize the outgroup, which is depicted as trying to destroy the ingroup. In the Crusades, the outgroup was the Muslims. Interestingly, Muslims have once again been cast as an outgroup. This approach to justifying the slaughter of others through authorization and vilification has been used across the ages—it is used because it works. The medieval popes, as Dutton points out, were clearly defining and identifying the “other”; the “other” is not us and thus can be destroyed with impunity and with no regret.

We cannot turn our backs on the tendency to turn the world and its beings into objects which we call ‘other.’ We are called more than ever to realize the obvious, that we are not, nor were we ever, living in a world of isolation. We are completely and inescapably interconnected and interdependent.

—Joan Halifax, *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*

“Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century”

In this chapter, Dutton presents extensive historical material that affirms that violence and atrocity have occurred throughout human

history and has occurred among virtually all human societies. However, Dutton notes that instances of democide (murders of more than one million people by governments) and genocide (acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group) increased dramatically in the 20th century.

Citing the scholarly work of Rudy Rummel (2005), a political scientist who has tracked deaths and violence across time, Dutton notes that 169,198,000 victims were killed in the 20th century by democide and genocide led by megamurderers (e.g., Stalin, Mao, Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek) and by other individual (e.g., Hirohito, Pol Pot, Milosevic, King Leopold of Belgium) and national (e.g., imperial Britain, colonial France, and a militaristic United States) villains of history.

"Genocides and the Holocaust"

The litany of genocides in the 20th century is discussed (Armenia, the Ukrainian starvation [this is called the Holodomor and resulted in seven million deaths], Cambodia, Rwanda, and Bosnia). The facts and figures presented are almost too shocking to believe. Is it possible that human beings did this? And, of course, there is the Jewish Holocaust committed by the Nazis and Eastern European collaborators. Of special note in this chapter is an analysis of the systematic steps used by the Nazi leaders to defuse any perception of the violence they were committing (i.e., begin with verbal assault and then progress to physical assault, physical separation, deportation, slave labor, genocide, and death marches).

The persecution and killing of homosexuals, gypsies, and undesirables are summarized in Chapter 4, which was the most difficult for me to read and reflect upon. The horrors of the Nazis turning on their own women and child soldiers in the final days are further testimony of the implosion that occurs with a society's preoccupation with violence and destruction. Perhaps there is a

warning here for the United States, certainly the most militaristic nation today and a society that is rampant with examples of violence as a norm.

"Military Massacres"

The militaries of the world have been a major source of massacres throughout history. In the 20th century, the slaughter, rape, and atrocities in Nanking, China, in which there were more than 250,000 victims, were perpetrated by the Japanese Imperial Army in 1937; and more recently, the brutalities in Rwanda, in which more than 800,000 people were killed, most by machetes. The list of places is well known: Bosnia, El Mozote (El Salvador), Germany in final days of World War II, Russia, My Lai (Vietnam), and on and on. These massacres involved more than shooting or stabbing; they also included vivisection, mutilations, insertions, sodomy, disemboweling, burying alive, burnings, and beheadings. While not noted in the book, to this list of savagery must be added the U.S. soldiers' murder of Filipino soldiers and civilians at the turn of the century because the Filipinos were considered subhuman.

I cut their throats, cut off their hands, cut out their tongue,
their hair, scalped them.

—Varnado Simpson, U.S. Infantry

My Lai, South Vietnam, May 16, 1968

348 killed, most of them women and children.

"Lynchings"

In this chapter, the frenzy of mobs bent on killing is described in all of its gruesome horror. For example, there is the early 1900s' case of Sam Hose, a Black man who killed his employer when the former threatened to kill him. The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*,

today a respected Southern newspaper, inflamed the public passions for violence at the turn of the century by writing of the possibilities for lynching, torture, and burning that would exist when Hose was captured. Dutton also points out that lynchings are linked to economics, population density, political machinations, and racism. Of the 3,724 people killed by lynching, the vast majority were African Americans; 94 percent of these were killed by White mobs, many of whom were churchgoers in the morning and lynchers in afternoon and evening. Dutton provides vivid descriptions of the brutality used in these lynchings of Black men that I simply cannot repeat. Know this: Racism remains alive and well, and its brutal consequences continue often in the disguised form of poverty, disenfranchisement, and the abandonment of societal conscience and responsibility.

"Prison Riots"

In most discussions of extreme violence, prison life and prison riots are often ignored. It is simply accepted that violent individuals can engage in violent acts, since that is why they are incarcerated. What I learned, however, from this chapter is much more than what occurred at Attica or Santa Fe penitentiaries or other well-known prison riots. I learned how authorities can create cultures that provoke, sustain, and exacerbate violence by encouraging distrust among groups, creating scapegoats, and using unnecessarily oppressive control methods.

"Societal Transitions: Normative Shifts in Genocide"

In this fascinating chapter, Dutton identifies those conditions that shift people from their normal social restraints to a willingness to participate in genocide and other acts of massacre. His analysis of

the Rwanda massacre is best understood through his own words because they reveal the complex forces that act to encourage and sustain genocidal brutalities. Dutton writes:

Killer groups engaging in group think have an illusion of invulnerability and moral righteousness that leads to excessive risk taking, a collective rationalizing of warnings that might temper position, and unquestioned belief in the group's moral superiority, negative stereotypes of out-group making negotiation unfeasible, direct pressure on dissenters from group ideology, self censorship of deviation from apparent consensus, a shared disillusion of unanimity, and the emergence of self-appointed mind guards to protect the group from adverse information. (pp. 102–103)

I am compelled to cite this quotation because of its relevance to current situations in the Middle East on all sides of the brutal struggles that have resulted in the destruction of Iraq and Afghanistan as nation states, and the deaths of more than 650,000 people on all sides. This is a brilliant chapter—one that alone warrants owning this book.

"Individual Transitions (Soldiers)"

Using analyses of the World War II German Battalion 101 atrocities in Poland and the U.S. military's My Lai massacre in Vietnam, Dutton examines the "overkill" principle that characterizes these situations and is found in so many others. Dutton points out that a lethal combination of a leader who is prejudiced, a power imbalance or hegemony, expected obedience to authority, xenophobia, "deindividuated aggression" (i.e., pleasure is derived from violence), and "moral disengagement" can explain some of the most brutal acts of killing and destruction.

"Rape, Serial Killers, and Forensic Psychology"

This chapter analyses rapes by serial killers (e.g., Gary Ridgeway, mutilation murders, lust killers), soldiers (e.g., Nanjing [Nanking] China, My Lai, Soviet soldier rapes in Germany), and others and includes a discussion of rape motives and behavior patterns. Sexual murderers are also discussed (e.g., Caligula, Gilles de Rais). This topic is one of Dutton's professional areas of expertise, and the depth of discussion and analysis is excellent.

"Individual Differences in Violent Aggression"

At the heart of this chapter is a discussion of those people who kill, torture, and maim with abandon, and those who resist in spite of group pressure and order. A discussion of "infamous" figures who have engaged in brutality and atrocity (e.g., Josef Mengele, Adolf Eichmann, Franz Ziereis [Mauthausen concentration camp], and Lt. William Calley) is presented. Making use of a multifactor model, Dutton notes that although powerful situational factors may operate, there are individual differences in the propensity for atrocity. Dutton contends that some of the individual variation may be linked to differences in neurobiological structures and chemistry.

"Final Thoughts"

A summing up by Dutton gives extensive attention to the role of evolutionary neurobiological factors in extreme violence. He concludes that war crimes trials will never be sufficient retribution for the acts of violence committed. In doing so, Dutton raises a critical issue for many contemporary conflict situations, and that is

the debate about retributive justice versus restorative justice.

Closing Comments

Dutton begins his volume by stating clearly that his purpose is "to describe human violence in all its horrors, not the sanitized version studied in academic psychology labs where the delivery of low level electric shocks or punching bags is as severe as it gets." He notes that it was his "hope... that, fully appraised of what can occur, we can be more mindful as humans in preventing its recurrence" (p. xii).

Dutton holds back little in presenting the cold, harsh, and brutal facts of genocides, massacres, and extreme violence in paragraph after paragraph of detailed description, analysis, and commentary. If a simple reading of this horror could deter violence, then Dutton's book would accomplish this end. I am grateful to Dutton for writing this volume and for reminding me and other readers of the legacy of horror we have wrought under the guise of national necessity, religious self-righteousness, and the delusions of demonical leaders. It is not simply a question, however, of being "reminded"; it is the necessity that we never forget what has occurred and that we act to ensure that it will not occur again.

There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil, to one
who is striking at the root.

—Thoreau, *Walden*

Are there any topics missing from Dutton's volume? Four topics come to my mind: (a) genital mutilation, (b) murder of female newborns and fetuses, (c) human trafficking, and (d) slavery. Please know that their absence does not detract from Dutton's work, but I feel that they deserve mention and perhaps inclusion in future editions. Genital mutilation is a practice in some

Middle Eastern and Sub-Saharan African societies in which female genitalia (e.g., clitoris, labia) are removed, often with stone knives. The alleged purposes are at odds with any reasonable explanation and with international human rights, even for cultural relativists. It is, ultimately, a misogynous act. This is true also of the widespread murder of female newborns and fetuses, a practice prevalent in India and China, where males are considered to have more "functional" value.

Human trafficking for sweatshop labor and prostitution is also an act of extreme violence. The smuggling of workers from Asia and Latin America to work under oppressive sweatshop conditions cannot be excluded, especially since some of these shops have been affiliated with major international business corporations. In addition, human trafficking of women from eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and Latin America to terminals in Turkey, Israel, and southern Europe is a despicable crime that destroys millions of lives. These women are kept under harsh and cruel conditions that often become abattoirs from which there is no escape. Last, though it is hard to believe, domestic slavery continues to exist in Middle Eastern and African societies, and in the United States. The victims are men, women, and children bought and sold as chattel, brutally treated, and often murdered (Bales, 2005).

Are there any scholarly issues that Dutton may have missed or given only limited attention? The only concern I had, and it is, at best, minor, is that I wish Dutton had done more to integrate the many biological, psychological, and social determinants he discusses. In the closing chapter, Dutton does discuss emerging evolutionary biology models of human aggression in which inborn instinctual and neurological capacities for violence are juxtaposed against situations in which there is the risk of abandoning normal social restraints.

I appreciated this discussion and learned much from it—but it was all too brief. I say this only because Dutton may well be the best person to offer an in-depth analysis, given the scope and

breadth of his knowledge. But this is at best a selfish wish and in no way detracts from the intelligence of Dutton's work. In my opinion, Dutton has written a book for our era that should be read by everyone. It compels us to explore the human heart of darkness.

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