Stanley Milgram: Electrifying our Past and Present

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Research Paper
Two days after his inauguration, President Barrack Obama issued an executive order mandating the closure of Guantanamo Bay prison within one year. Soon after, Obama issued another order banning illegal torture, “ending the Bush administration's CIA program of ‘enhanced interrogation’ methods” (Obama; CNN). Harsh interrogation techniques, such as water boarding\(^1\), “…constitute[d] cruel and degrading treatment under the (Geneva) convention” (Ross). Obama maintains the U.S. will continue to fight the war on terror, however, without compromising “our values and our ideals” (BBC). What allowed American soldiers to compromise their individual morality, torturing prisoners at Abu Ghraib? From the gas chambers and mass graves of eastern Europe to the killing fields of Cambodia and the blood-soaked streets of Rwanda, history’s legacy provides hauntingly frequent examples of ordinary people obeying commands from authority figures and committing unimaginable atrocities.

American psychologist Stanley Milgram’s study of obedience provided a horrific glimpse into the darker potentials of social pressure on the human conscience. Milgram’s work explicated myriad historical occurrences, most notably the Holocaust, based on social apathy and unbridled power wielded by authority figures. Today’s generation looks back upon the obedience experiment with considerable hindsight bias, believing the modern generation is much shrewder and morally independent than their 1960s counterparts. Yet, genocides and other human rights violations still occur. Milgram’s obedience experiment can be universally applied to human nature today, as individual morality breaks down in presence of authority figures and stressful

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\(^1\) Water boarding is one of the harshest interrogation techniques utilized by the CIA in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay. In this process, the prisoner is strapped to a board at an incline so that the head is slightly lower than the feet. Then, guards cover the prisoner’s face in cellophane wrap and pour water over it, simulating the sensation of drowning and eliciting gag reflexes. With this terrifying method, guards collect confessions (usually inaccurate) within an average of 14 seconds (Ross).
situations. More importantly, his ground-breaking work proved that, in moral dilemmas, there may be no such thing as “individuality.”

Milgram’s studies stemmed from foundations laid by psychologist Solomon Asch’s 1951 social conformity experiment. Asch showed subjects three lines of clearly different lengths. Then, he showed them a standard line ostensibly identical to one of the three comparison lines and asked subjects to identify the comparison line that matched the standard line. However, Asch devised a major challenge: he placed his subjects with a group of confederates, Asch’s colleagues posing as participants in the study who purposely guessed incorrectly. Surprisingly, most subjects, ignoring common sense and better judgment, answered incorrectly, following the flawed majority (Rathus 485). In fact, “in ordinary circumstances individuals…[would] make mistakes less than 1% of the time [yet] under group pressure the minority subjects swung to acceptance of the misleading majority’s wrong judgments in 36.8% of the selections” (Asch). Thus, Asch proved ordinary people abandon logic and intuition to conform to social norms. Milgram modified Asch’s observation in his obedience studies to be “more humanly significant” rather than a “test of conformity [merely based on] judgments about lines” (Blass 62).

Furthermore, Asch postulated that cultural influences may have affected his subjects, and in Milgram’s experiment, culture may have explained his participants’ obedience, too. America is not typically considered a collectivistic society, yet the 1940s featured Americans joining
together for the war effort while the 1950s similarly emphasized shared “American” attitudes, including anti-communist sentiments and conservative, middle-class values. Artistic backlash, including the emerging popularity of rock ‘n roll and rise of the Beat movement, epitomized aversion to the status quo in America during this era. Perhaps in this ultra-conformist cultural setting, Milgram’s participants were predisposed to obey the researcher’s orders.

Additionally, Asch significantly influenced Milgram personally and academically when Milgram attended Harvard for graduate studies and served as Asch’s teaching and research assistant; Milgram adopted Asch’s unique “ability to combine a deep concern about philosophical issues with an inventive, uncluttered experimental style that enabled clear-cut conclusions to be drawn from…research” as he developed his own scientific approach (Blass 26).

Finally, Milgram’s obedience studies were, largely, a response to the Holocaust, a deeply personal event linked to his heritage. Milgram’s parents were both Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, and he grew up in a Jewish neighborhood in the Bronx, where his identification with Jewish culture strengthened (Blass 1, 8). Through his research, Milgram discovered a means to better understand his culture:

[My] laboratory paradigm…gave scientific expression to a more general concern about authority, a concern forced upon members of my generation, in particular upon Jews such as myself, by the atrocities of World War II…The impact of the Holocaust on my own psyche energized my interest in obedience and shaped the particular form in which it was examined (Blass 62).

Thus, Milgram used his obedience experiment to comprehend the more horrifying aspect of human nature revealed in the Holocaust, during which millions of Jews perished. Combining knowledge gained from superior educational institutions and experience gathered from Asch, Milgram created an experiment that would “shock the world.”
Milgram’s obedience experiment, conducted from 1961-1963 at Yale University, was his most significant accomplishment because it revealed an ugly truth about the fragility of individual morality and rationality when tested under stress. First, Milgram advertised, specifically seeking people aged 20-50 of all educational and occupational backgrounds to participate in “a study of memory” (Milgram, Obedience 15). By masking his true purpose, Milgram studied the participants’ true reactions with minimum bias. Milgram led subjects to believe they were “teachers,” assisting “learners” in memorizing lists of word pairs. In fact, the learner and overseeing experimenter were Milgram’s confederates, trained to play the role (16). When the learner incorrectly guessed the word pair, the “teacher”/subject was to flip a switch on a generator, “shocking” the learner to reinforce memory through punishment. With each mistake, the subject increased the voltage of shocks from 15 to 450 volts labeled in the following order in a sequence of 30 switches: Slight Shock, Moderate Shock, Strong Shock, Very Strong Shock, Intense Shock, Extreme Intensity Shock, Danger Severe Shock, and XXX (Milgram, Behavioral). Before the experiment started, the subject was given a sample shock to reinforce the reality of the situation (Milgram, Obedience 20). Finally, Milgram queried psychiatrists, professors, graduate students, and middle-class adults to predict the experiments’ results. They believed “virtually all subjects [would] refuse to obey the experimenter [and] only a pathological fringe, not exceeding one or two percent, [would…] proceed to the end…” Psychiatrists specifically predicted only .001% of subjects “would administer the highest shock on the board” (31). With the procedures laid out, the experiment within an experiment commenced.
In all experiments, during a situation when the subject sought guidance from the experimenter, the following standard “prods” were given:

Prod 1: Please continue, or, Please go on.
Prod 2: The experiment requires that you continue.
Prod 3: It is absolutely essential that you continue.
Prod 4: You have no other choice, you must go on…
Special Prod 2: Whether the learner likes it or not, you must go on until he has learned all the word pairs correctly. So please go on (Milgram, Obedience 21-22).

These simple assertions formed the identity of the “experimenter” as an authority figure in control of the situation and the subject’s actions exerting influence without being intimidating or threatening. The film OBEDIENCE, a live documentation of the experiments, captured an important part of the experiment: the participants’ reactions. Ranging from profuse sweating to nervous laughter, footage displayed the extreme stress participants felt throughout the experiment as they faced the painful cries of the learner and the insistent, emotionless prodding of the experimenter.

The results of Milgram’s experiments were shocking, proving the fallacy of earlier predictions of predominating disobedience to authority. In the first experiment—testing Remote condition in which the learner could not be heard—65% of the subjects “were fully obedient, continuing to the maximum shock on the voltage scale” (Milgram, Obedience 94). In the second experiment—testing Voice-Feedback condition in which the learner could be heard but not seen
—62.5% reached the maximum; in the third experiment—testing *Proximity condition* in which the learner could be heard and was seated just feet away from the teacher—40% reached the maximum; and finally, in the fourth experiment—testing *Touch-Proximity condition* in which the learner could be heard and was in physical contact with the teacher—30% reached the end (95-96). Thus, Milgram demonstrated a negative correlation between authoritative power and increasing proximity of the person being degraded, tortured, or abused. Moreover, experiments conducted in other locations with different participants, such as women and college students, produced similar results with “at least half the participants obey[ing] the researcher and administer[ing] the entire series of electric shocks,” illustrating the validity and universality of his experiment (Rathus 488).

![Diagram](image)

(Milgram, *Obedience* 91)

Milgram’s shocking revelations, depicting human nature’s darker side, are applicable to myriad situations across cultures and generations because they help explain why individual morality breaks down in the presence of apparent authority figures and stressful situations. One of the most important historical events representing a real-life application of Milgram’s statistics was the Holocaust. Milgram dispelled the myth that only purely evil, sadistic Nazis were responsible for the Holocaust. Milgram emphasized:

The ordinary person who shocked the victim did so out of a sense of obligation…and not from any peculiarly aggressive tendencies. This is, perhaps, the most fundamental lesson of our study: ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process (Milgram, *Obedience* 6).
Next, Milgram exemplified the power of the “foot-in-the-door effect [or] the tendency for people to give in to major demands once they have given in to minor ones” (Rathus 489). The gradual intensification of shocks primed subjects to comply with the experimenter’s directions. Similarly, the Holocaust occurred through a gradual indoctrination of hatred, “a bureaucratic destruction process that in its step-by-step manner finally led to the annihilation of 5 million victims” (Blass 277). Finally, Milgram recognized that “buffers” abetted genocide (Rathus 489). In the obedience experiments, buffers, such as walls, increased the physical distance between the learners and the teachers contributing to increased compliance. With the Holocaust, buffers, such as negative stereotypes and anti-Semitic perceptions, effectively dehumanized Jews. This “us and them” separation helped subvert feelings of personal responsibility among both the subjects in the experiment and perpetrators of the Holocaust (Newman 15). Thus, mass obedience significantly contributed to the Holocaust, as delineated by fundamental psychological principles from Milgram’s experiments.

Little has changed since the Holocaust, and contrary to popular opinion, obedience to authority figures still persists. In 2007, ABC News replicated Milgram’s obedience experiment, enlisting help and expert opinions from university professors and leading psychologists like Philip Zimbardo to recreate the obedience experiment in a modern setting. The program revealed about 70% of subjects reached the maximum voltage, clearly reminiscent of Milgram’s experiment (ABC News; Burger).

Milgram’s findings also explicate the recent prisoner abuse scandals. In 2004, the media released disturbing reports of abuse at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. These infamous photos featured Pfc. Lynndie England grinning while posing with naked, humiliated prisoners. Immediately, England and several other low-ranking officers linked to the scandal were
punished, and Washington apologized for a public relations disaster caused by “a few bad apples.” However, England and Brig. Gen. Janis Karpinski, commander at Abu Ghraib, asserted that they were “scapegoats’ for U.S. interrogation policies” and were simply following orders from higher-ranking officials (MacAskill). According to England, she “was instructed by persons in higher rank to stand there, hold this leash, look at the camera, and they took [a] picture for PsyOps (psychological operations)” (USA Today). A 2009 Senate investigation directly connected Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and other top Bush aides to widespread illegal torture incidents in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay (MacAskill). These “Justice Department memos authoriz[ed] the use of harsh interrogation techniques…such as throwing hooded detainees into walls, …the use of dogs, nudity, stress positions, [and] sleep deprivation,” methods used at Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo Bay, and other prisons. “Though considered illegal under the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), the tactics were put into official use in late 2003” with “Rumsfeld’s approval forwarded from officials at Guantanamo” to Afghanistan and Iraq (White). In an apparent, urgent effort to “find Saddam [and…] the weapons of mass destruction,” Karpinski argues that officials placed “extraordinary pressure…on military intelligence…to get better info” (Barry).
Factors, including the military chain of command, primed Abu Ghraib guards to become “enablers’ for interrogation” (Barry). Psychologist Herbert Kelman identifies three factors facilitating this abuse: “authorization, routinization, and dehumanization.” Prison commanders praised, “Hey, you’re doing great; keep it up,” directly approving all activities, including hoisting prisoners “to sever any empathic human connection with them” (Szegedy-Maszak). Clearly, this degradation reflects Milgram’s application of buffers and the foot-in-the-door effect, allowing guards to become agents of brutality. Although Karpinski recognizes someone must be held accountable for the abuse, she believes “it’s a shared responsibility” owing to the complexities of the military chain of command (Karpinski). According to the UCMJ, which guides the conduct of all members of the U.S. military, personnel may be punished for “willfully disobey[ing] a lawful command of his superior [or…] fail[ing] to obey any lawful general order or regulation” (UCMJ 890, 892). Karpinski notes that “soldiers are all trained and [understand] the appropriate way to follow orders and in certain circumstances what to do if they believe an order is wrong;”1 however, in this situation, the MPs “questioned the people who were issuing the orders and they were reassured and convinced somehow that these [torture methods] were the right things to do” (Karpinski). In retrospect, Karpinski emphasizes that disobedience to authority figures could have avoided the entire situation:

> It’s easy to say with hindsight bias but there are times when you need to challenge your leaders and if that means you’re going contrary to their position, you have to believe in your convictions and persist in getting an answer (Karpinski).

Many believe Milgram’s obedience studies are no longer relevant to the modern generation; yet, events such as the recent issue of torture show we are all potential victims of destructive obedience and psychological phenomena, such as the foot-in-the-door effect and buffers, and “every man is a potential torturer” (Szegedy-Maszak). Milgram’s study clearly

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1 Under the UCMJ, military personnel are morally obligated to disobey unlawful and/or immoral orders.
demonstrates that perpetrators of such atrocities are not sadistic prison guards or highly indoctrinated Nazis but, frighteningly, ordinary men and women. As Milgram warned:

To focus only on the Nazis, however despicable their deeds, and to view only highly publicized atrocities as being relevant to these studies is to miss the point entirely. For the studies are principally concerned with the ordinary and routine destruction carried out by everyday people following orders…The dilemma posed by the conflict between conscience and authority inheres in the very nature of society and would be with us even if Nazi Germany had never existed. To deal with the problem as if it were a matter of history is to give it an illusory distance (Blass 280).

To ignore the ramifications of Milgram’s study is to leave ourselves vulnerable to unimaginable horrors. In most instances of deference to authority, there are some courageous individuals who actually disobey; however, many of these dissidents also fail to reverse the problem, simply removing themselves from the situation. As psychologist Philip Zimbardo concluded, “behavioral disobedience [is necessary]…to correct an injustice,” the step that truly defines disobedience (Zimbardo 458). Traditionally, Americans boast a spirit of rugged individualism since the Revolutionary War and frontier days. Milgram emphasized that overconfidence in individuality elicits dangerous consequences because it so often fails in moral dilemmas. Thus, the legacy of his academic contribution to psychological and historical analysis was revolutionary; however, Milgram’s ability to dispel the myth of moral individualism in intensely stressful situations is even more shocking.
Social psychologist Solomon Asch’s work laid the foundation for Milgram’s obedience experiment. He found that individuals would willingly accept wrong perceptions, against their better judgments and common sense, in the face of social pressure. Understanding Asch’s work and conclusions helped me understand Milgram’s predecessors and context.


This is a transcript of an online questions-and-answers session with Brig. Gen. Janis L. Karpinski, the commander at Abu Ghraib and other prisons in Iraq at the time of the scandal, conducted by the Washington Post. Contrary to my predisposed notion, Karpinski is very objective in this conversation as people from around the world pose some tough questions regarding the prison scandal and U.S. military policies. She discusses her opinions on the extent of responsibility that belongs to high-ranking governmental and military officials as well as to the military police. Her extensive military knowledge makes her an informed expert on this issue.

This is Milgram’s first publication of his obedience experiments in 1963. Though it is a condensed version of the contents in his subsequent 1974 book, this source does contain the experiments’ results and analysis. Because this journal article was published in 1963, it is much closer to the actual time period of the experiments.


This book, originally published in 1974, is the essential guide to understanding the obedience experiment. This was the most helpful resource because it encompassed everything from the experiment’s setup to data analysis—all written by the expert himself. Milgram is a credible, objective scientist, comparing his data to other similar research. He makes the following conclusions from his experiment: we are all capable of following orders from a legitimate authority figure, this experiment is applicable to real life situations, disobedience is easier said than done, and authority figures do not have to be threatening to exert influence over others.


This photo slideshow features some of the first images of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal released by the *Washington Post*. From this specific album, I displayed the photo of the naked pyramid of hooded prisoners with guards Charles Graner and Sabrina Harman posing behind them (originally released by the *New Yorker* and the Associated Press). Additionally, I used the picture of the hooded prisoner hooked up to electrical wiring (also originally released by the *New Yorker* and the Associated Press). According to guards, the electrical source was not actually on during this interrogation; however, the prisoner was told that if he moved off the box, he would be electrocuted. This was an interesting photo to contrast the use of shocks in Milgram’s experiments to promote a stressful environment. Finally, I used the picture of Lynndie England holding a leash attached to a collar around a naked prisoner’s neck. All these photos highlight the scandal at Abu Ghraib, showing ordinary people committing horrific acts.


This is the official executive order issued by President Barrack Obama. It details Obama’s plans to close the Guantanamo Bay prison facility as well as other detention facilities in Iraq and Afghanistan.

This video is a live documentation of Milgram’s obedience experiments, exhibiting experimental procedures. It was interesting to see the subjects’ reactions as they reached higher voltage levels; many of them were nervously laughing, obviously uncomfortable from hearing the “learner’s” painful screams. It did not provide analysis of the data, but it was useful to see the experiment and subjects in the context of that time period. Unless the video was edited by Milgram and his team, this was probably the least biased resource I obtained since it is pure documentation.


This is the official U.S. military code which contains clauses that explain the different duties and regulations officers in the armed forces are obliged to obey. The section related to obedience to lawful orders is of particular interest to my thesis in relation to the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.

Secondary Sources


This article is a well-researched report on the intricacies behind the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, discussing culpability for the illegal torture techniques as well as U.S. military policies. It also lists names of higher commanders training MPs at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay.


In this ABC News Primetime series, anchor Chris Cuomo teams up with Santa Clara University and leading psychologists like Philip Zimbardo to recreate the Milgram obedience experiment in a modern setting. Cuomo proves to be a reliable source, using a number of credible citations and appropriate error analysis. This was a helpful because it proved that obedience to authority figures today has not changed significantly from the 1960s, helping prove my analytical stance. Also, this segment marked the significance of Milgram’s obedience experiment, as applied to more recent events like the Abu Ghraib scandal and the 2004 McDonald’s incident, in which a McDonald’s manager received a phone call from an alleged police officer who claimed her employee had committed theft. In a series of shocking events all caught on a surveillance camera, the manager and another employee molested the young girl accused of robbery while following the strip search orders of the “police officer” on the phone.

Blass’s thoroughly researched biography of Stanley Milgram gives insight into person behind the famous psychological experiments. Providing intimate details of Milgram’s life—from growing up in the Bronx to his obedience experiment—Blass highlights Milgram’s tremendous impact on social psychology and the world, featuring expert opinions and commendation from psychologists like Philip Zimbardo and David G. Myers. Blass also provides unprecedented access to Milgram’s personal life through long-term interviews with Milgram’s wife and family.


Jerry Burger was one of the psychology professors at Santa Clara University who helped ABC News set up and analyze the replicated obedience experiment. In this article, Burger analyzes the results from the modern day experiment, revealing that about 70% of subjects complied and reached the highest voltage level.


This CNN article describes some of Obama’s early executive acts as the 44th president, including his new policies regarding torture and prisons. Obama’s first acts include a government investigation into military tribunals, closing Guantanamo Bay prison in one year, and banning illegal torture methods authorized by the previous administration.


In this recent article, McAskill summarizes the release of a new Senate report under the Obama administration that suggests a direct link from top Bush administration officials to prisoner abuses in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay. This report helps prove my thesis, showing how low-ranking military officials will obey immoral and possibly illegal commands from a legitimate authority figure—the federal government.

This chapter focuses on the social implications of the obedience experiments, particularly in relation to the Holocaust. Also discussing topics such as group psychology, this book provides social psychological explanations of the breakdown of an individual’s sense of accountability.


This BBC article also features Obama’s early executive order to close Guantanamo Bay in a year. It discusses Obama’s rationale for reducing the number of “black sites” (prisons) as he desires to salvage the U.S.’s morale integrity and relationship with the Muslim world.


In this article from USA Today, the Associated Press reporter describes an interview Pfc. England conducted with a local Denver news station. This report features England’s direct comments regarding the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.


This AP Psychology textbook reviews the psychological and scientific aspects of Milgram’s experiment as well as Asch’s social conformity experiment. Its brief overview provided a solid background of both experiments’ setup and results that helped me begin research.


This ABC News article, published just after reports of the prison scandals were released, examines the types of illegal torture methods the CIA and other military groups used in prisons in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Cuba. It also establishes that higher ranking officials within the government and defense organizations approved these techniques, even though they violated the Geneva conventions.

This article examines the psychological aspects behind the prisoner abuses at Abu Ghraib prison. This is a great source that connects Milgram’s premise to the modern day torture scandal. It is also credible with interviews from university psychology and psychiatry professors.


This Washington Post article comments upon the 2009 release of the torture memos and its connection to the Abu Ghraib prison scandal. It particularly notes that the memos generally verify the testimonies of the MPs convicted for the illegal torture methods and prove that they were simply following orders from their superiors.


Zimbardo, a Stanford psychology professor who created the famous Stanford Prison Experiment, compares Milgram’s experiment to his own as well as other psychological experiments and historical events. As a fellow psychologist, Zimbardo’s expertise in analysis clarifies Milgram’s results. And as a long-time friend of Milgram’s (attending high school together), Zimbardo offers unique, personal insight into the “man who shocked the world.”