iZ	This is an interview with
-/	Informer 8612 Dave Juffe.
	What do you know he's not going to tell me right (loud laughter) (said by one of the interviewers)
	(Garbled because of laughterall talking at once)
	(Someone says"Come may pay attention")
	More laughter Tape #8 - fair qual
	Garbled
	- garbled paranoid. These guys are paranoid.
	Question - garbled you don't think we should take them upstairs?
	- I don't knowI mean that's up to you.
	Question Everybody that has been in here (garbled) and others said (interruption is garbled) For sureyahfor sureokay (interruption garbled)
	Noit's like saying I talked to (interruption garbled)
	Question - Did anyone question your?
	Garbled interruptions)
	f - Likethe guy said to me (interruption by interrogator)
	Question - Which one?
	- (garbled) he said to me you can take a long time to fill out the formsthere are at least 3 prisoners maybe 4 who are trying to play it straight who really believe they'll be parolledbe parolled. FG Z Question - They want to quit?
	- No they think it means if they'd be good they'll get off early.
	Question - And yet get paid for the full time?
	- At this point—every single one of them—every single one of them—is positive he said to them—he said to them—you can go home now but you won't get paid for anything—(garbled) by would do Question — Not get paid for anything?
	Not get paid for anything, right. (garbled interruptions)
	PG Z Question NoNo he said not get paid either for what they put in (garbled interruptions)
	Garbled

(Same garbled interruption) They couldn't do that--they're already paying. They'll have to do a report of the study.

- Z: At the same time we could let out 2 but we can't let out everybody obviously. Another good thing is you could say that you were good in but you had nothing to do with the study, and that since I and the other psychologists are all part of the -you know -- when we set out we might be biased but you don't know anything about it other than we have a prison down where--you haven't even seen it--so-that-you also can get the men--what is their reaction?
 - I wouldn't say I haven't seen it (interruption)
- Ζ. No--no (interruption)

- I'll say I'm one of the psychology students with department garbled

conversations to make out this section.

(graded) the one I'm with now said he's writing letters in code and he's (interruption) - Like this guy

Question - (garbled) Solution to relate wall?

-- Ahh--well you see the one between 2 and 3 is broken through (garbled) so they re broken through -- but the one between 1 and 2 isn't, so we can't talk and my Lee Ross

Question -- I' curious (garbled)

doesn't this look strange to you--I mean how much do you think knowing experience? what's happening --being in on it--(garbled) Did it make a big difference?

-- No (garbled) like they said that today (garbled) (garbled)

main thing

Question _ - Do they say it?

-- Well yah -- they're saying it's become of the writers

Question -- They know that.

-- Yah--they know that.

(garbled)

Ross Question -- (garbled) in an attempt or (garbled)

I'm curious - isital part of simulating a prison or

- (garbled)

Question -- What about the (garbled)

(garbled interruption) guys resent it?

-- No, not really --it's like they think it's terrible (garbled) they think Philipper pretty cool guy you know he seems pretty reasonable.

	Interruption is (garbled)
	- the guards (another interruption)
	Question Is the WArden a bad guy?
	- The warden justification important he slinks around and (interruption) (garbled interruption) become day he said subject (garbled) - Well they said (garbled) subject (garbled)
	Question - Most of the guards who do they like?
	- They like and they like
	Zimbardo - (interruption) are you sure they like them?
	- Well they (interruption)
1	Zimbardo - I mean do they tell you (garbled)
	- Well like when theywhen they ahhwhen they were blocking the
	thing with their beds he gave them poems and (garbled)
	them.
	Question - Did they tell them the names too?.
	What? (garbled interruption)
	Susie John Marks went to high school with one of the guys so they think.
	Zimbardo - What about the ther guardsI mean how did they know the names?
	f - I don't know they don't know their namesexcept John Wayne.
zim	Question - (garbled) what have you (garbled) described
	- Well there's the guard with the beard who looks like Zimbardo.
	Zimbardo - What about the black haired buy who is a tough buy on the afternoon show?
G	- He's not a tough guyhe tries to be a tough guyhe's not a tough guy.
Ross	<u>Question</u> - Are there any bad guys(garbled) why do they dislike him
	why do they dislike him because - (garbled)
	- They don't reallyit's not that they dislike himhe's kind of a pain in
Ro	the assif you smile he'll ask you why you smiled.
1/10	Zimbardo - All I'm asking is 9garbled) over certain things you have to do
	the year have to dotherefore they do if they are good guys and worst

if they are bad guys?

- Yah--well--it's funny they don't--I would have thought they would--that by liking the guards they would have to attribute what they are doing to their roles but they (garbled) they're really--it's like John Wayne is an asshole and they believe that he is an asshole and when he leaves here and I imagine everywhere else--and the other guys are nice guys--and the dark haired guy during the afternoon--he's playing the same and he's really not any worse than the other guys--the other guys (garbled) he makes you say rules over, but that's not hard.

<u>Zimbardo</u> - I raise at this point--obviously we can't tell what it is going to be worth (garbled interruption)

- Well there's this guy Rich who he peached up to last night--I mean he said--first thing he said when I came in here--he said, "do you know that your're really a prisoner, that you can't get out if you want to get out?"

- What do you think about the guy who got out--what do they think happened

Question - What do you think about the guy who got out--what do they think happened to him?

- They think he got out because (garbled) the was Rick

Zimbardo - (garbled)

f - Yes

(voices all at once--garbled)

Question - Are you expecting a visitor tomorrow?

Voices garbled.

- There's this guy —-he said--his parents came in today to visit him and he said--he told his parents they were hinting about working out an escape for him and he mentioned two of his friends--(garbled) they were going to try and break him out in 2 days. And I said how--and he said "While we're eating or something they'll just come in and take me out."

And the guards can't really do anything. They can try and stop them but if there are 2 or 3 big guys there's nothing they can do. And I said how can

they even get to the prisoners?

(Interruption garbled)

- He said, "gee I don't know--I hadn't thought of that." But the other guys I've talked to so far say no trouble-- play it cool get a parole.

 Nobody wants to go 2 weeks (garbled) I mean it's kind of like
- one guy said "Look you know if you break I've got \$45. You know that's not worth that stuff. On \$15 a day some of them planned to get \$200 bucks and to get \$45 for this shit--one guy who was in here said--yah he's from Canada--and he said "I don't want to break--if the others break I'll help them but I won't go out." And I said if you help them that's almost as bad as breaking (garbled) punishment.

Question - Let me ask you something--What do you think about the idea of _____ with David the notion of a break. That is having David say--that ____ what we're doing (garbled) there is nothing apparent in the break--you know they've heard about the break--nothing but rumors.

Zimbardo I think we should suggest this one, but I don't know---(interruption)

Interrupt. I don't think maybe we shouldn't do it tonite if were worried about it, but at some point I think that would be a very nice thing to do. Rumors--what do you think?

Zimbardo Yah--well there are rumors now---the thing---organize (interruption)

Interrupt. (garbled)

rumors spread through the guards--they are about to break.

rrupt. This guy is the weirdest guy--he's a robot.

Susie Isn't he weird--they call him Sarge?

Zimbardo - He's a prisoner?

-- Yah. He's just so weird like--we rather get the feeling like that he looks on it as a challenge not a break. I think he should crack-up.

	Zimbardo - Yahhe's the onekind of a chubby guy?
	f - Yah.
	Zimbardo - Yahhe's the one (garbled)
	Question - Everyone dislikes him?
	- No, it's not that they dislike himthey just think he's nuts.
	Susie - (?) the guy that got out last night said that this guy wants to be
	in the Army and the other guards (interruption)
	- Somebody else told mesomebody else told me (garbled) some
	Poss guy (garbled because of noises in background)
	Question - What do you think Ph il?
	Zimbardo - I don't know.
	Zimbardo - The question is what should we do tonight?
A	Interruption (garbled) demerol?
4)	Zimbardo - Oh fuck youwe're not going to need any of that shit. (garbled)
1	Susie - You know what we could do (interruption)
	Interrupt - We might use a little John Wayne treatment. (all talking at oncenoises)
	That really bummed everyone up. I thought the last one was very soft
	and (garbled) situational with this guy you can get away with it
	with the other guy you can't.
	Zimbardo - That's what happened (interruption)
	<pre>Interrupt Shall we be very straight today?</pre>
	Zimbardo - That's what happenedpart of the rebellion thingthe 10:30 count was
	really brutal (interruption garbled)
19	<pre>Zimbardo -= (garbled) came on at 2 was very weak (interruption)</pre>
	- They I meantoday they justthey were just kind of sick of fucking around
	They figurewell plus the factplus the fact that they knew you could hold

ROPS

(garbled) You know--it's like they figure if you goof around tonight or tomorrow you can't (garbled) Thursday (interruption) (garbled) Think of it the other way--with visitors coming they won't fool around now.

F. Dowe

(garbled) Anybody who has gotten really singled now and fears punishment by our standards or put in the hole for 45 minutes or having a different dinner like tonight has immediately wanted to come (garbled) (interruption)

Zimbardo The guy who came to see me was the one who yesterday said being in the hold was not too bad--he doesn't really mind it (garbled interruptions) none of them minded it -- they mind it now -- today he minds it.

Well anyway all of us back there were pissed because (garbled)

Zimbardo he thought he was being singled out--it's not the whole per se. But he thought he was being singled out (interruption)

> (garbled) straight work--what are you going to do?

No--I just said--I said--look when you tell us it's not bad it's likely Zimbardo the guards might do things like put wood chips in or what--did you hear anything else?

Put a mouse.

Zimbardo Put mice or rats from the lab down the hall. The guy said you can't do that that's unsanitary. I said, "no their all album rats the only thing is if you provide them they bite--but other than that (interruption)

You know what you might want to do is plan a girl friend for Dave--you Susie know he's going to do some funny things (garbled)

What about the escape for tonight?

I don't know. Zimbardo

You want to plant a rumor for escape? Yah, I think you should go back and say there is a pattern for escape and

they've been really pumping you and (garbled--all talking at once)

Zimbardo

Another thing they're saying--they're saying that it will end early if nothing is happening--you'll keep it going if there are long range things you what to observe about guys, so some of these guys are thinking--well if we don't do anything for a couple of days then you'll end it.

Ross This gets awfully complicated.

I know its got everything if nothing happens it will end if too much happens it will end. You know --you know the interesting thing was that the guys who came in yesterday--the two guys came in and said they wanted to leave.

And I said no--you know--there are only two conditions under which you can leave--in other words--medical health or psychiatric and that's the condition under which this other guy left. But if there is something medically or psychiatrically we'll attend to it immediately--we have a staff from the sail Health Center--we have the emergency room alerted at the hospital and I think just the fact that we said we had made all these other provisions short of that--nothing--I think they really believed they can't leave.

(garbled) grievance thing is why we got seconds--went over like a watered balloon.

Zimbardo We told them they couldn't function (garbled interruption)

Zimbardo Well we wanted them to think garbled hypocrisy but (interruption)

Interv. This is true I mean--built-in hypocrisy--blatant hypocrisy is (interruptions

Dove garbled) Ross: - but I don't see the hypocrisy as trying to capture the hypocrisy of the prison--you see they are trying to cool it for the parents. Make it look better for the parents.

Zimbardo Which is exactly --if you were in prison--(interruption by Susie)

Susie But that's (garbled)

Zimbardo If you were in prison they would try to cool the visitors in the same way.

But we were thinking of moving everybody up to the storage room upstairs for

a couple of hours just in case. We heard there was going to be a break at ten.

Question Who did you hear this from?

Zim. That was the rumor.

Ouestion It is a rumor?

Zim. Yah.

Question How did we get that rumor started?

Zim. One of the guards came out and said (garbled interruption) one of the guards came out (garbled interruption) no--this morning when I came in--one of the guards--the guard was (garbled interruption) no--no (garbled) I was going to say long blonde hair on the earlier shift(garbled) anyway he said he overheard them.

Susie What was (garbled) Foun Littus

The thing is--well the only guy that has been doing anything--okay-there's that oriental guy whose name I don't know and Paul the guy--Paul
Barron I guess is his name and I haven't been in the sun but a couple of
other guys who were in cell I and stuff (garbled) screwing around and
as far as they know there's nothing, (interruption by Zimbardo)

Zim. But I think it would be interesting (garbled) to bring them all up together -- all in that room together (all talking at once--garbled)

Did anyone say anything about a movie? They think there's going to be a movie tonight.

forchoff There is?

2039

Zim. No we said we 'd have entertainment. They'll be a movie tomorrow night.

Interr. We're going to play pingpong.

Question What will (garbled)

Zim. (gaebled) No, we'll say we're going to bring them upstairs.

They would like it. They really--you wouldn't believe how much they'd enjoy it. How exciting it was--really--really--I was sitting there--I was really

getting depressed because all the guys were having a good time and I had to stand by the door and watch just to get (garbled)

Zimbardo Well thats what I did--I wanted to muss it up as mucy (garbled) I went around to each guard and I said "did you get a visitor tonight?" "No" (garbled) I went to each prisoner and said "did you have a visitor tonight?" He said, "no." I said, "How come?" Well I didn't write or I didn't know anybody here (garbled) check on them

Thursday--(interruption)

Ross Inter. Why don't w

Why don't we do the charitable visitor (garbled) perhaps we could do that with Susie--to visit the people who don't get visitors--to visit the people who don't get visitors.

Zim. Yah, if anybody wants a visitor--you know they come in to visit and nobody talks to them--Interruption.

Interr. That would be a beautiful way of introducing--interruption by Susie.

Susie You'd rather I did that than the thing tonight (interruption)

Zim. Oh we can get someone else to do that--this is more important.

All talking at once (garbled)

I think you should be there and take notes--just don't say anything and I'll leave --and I'll leave and then you say "what's going on."

Zim. You know what we can do just to make it easier why don't we have (interruption)

I don't think we'll have to worry about the prison break.

Zim. Why don't we take two guys up with you and we sit one guy outside with the guard and then you do your thing with one of the guys, then when you leave she can interview the other guy. We take seven guys up to the big room and you take two guys into your office. One guy sits outside with the guard (garbled) and then you do your technique with one guy and you walk out leaving her and then you go interview the second guy.

Yah--I'll talk in your presense with the first guy then I'll leave you with

something that would

that guy.

Then you talk (interruption) Zim

But I'm not going to abuse her or anything like that--I'm just going to treat her like she's (interruption by Susie)

some rationale (garbled)

(garbled) make (interruption)

Well I don't think that (interruption)

Why would you and your secretary be here at 9:15 (interruption)

I don't think that's important.

Zim. No.

Susie

Your just a student hired to take some notes (interruption)

That is a definite defect because they have some idea that it is about

9:15 (interruption)

That's okay--I'm in Psych--always in the department. Inter.

Zim. (garbled)

> that's a little bit more questionable (garbled) (garbled)

human subject. (interruption garbled) I'm on the human subject thing.

Human subject for and we're here to find out. Inter

Susie I think that would be very good.

Ross And that gives you a good rationale too--you're the student. You want to be the student representative or do you just want to be the secretary?

Student representative? Susie

Are you going to tell them you're making an investigation?

No--just routine

Zim. Why don't we take two up there now and take the other seven up the other thing and then we can switch them around.

Their all through--it's the same thing as waiting up for (garbled) Koss

like what did you have for dinner tonight? dinner (garbled)

What did the students have today? Ques.

Inter. Stop worrying they all went to the bathroom to get washed.

Int garbled

why take them up? garbled.

Zim

Garbled

somebody has to be in there--the guards have to be

in there--one tabe recorder--

Susie

I think it would be real interesting (interruption)

Inter.

You're not going to be able to identify (garbled)

seven voices

on a tape recorder (interruption)

Zim. There's no tape recorder good enough that could pick up (garbled)

and

a guard has to be there--we get it from him.

end.

343 10:00 AM - Wednesday, August 17 - Tape of 8 - fair gon

, Prisoner 8612, is about to be brought in to the Councellos. Our informer. in the Testing Office for debriefing. He has said that he has an 11:00 AM appointment so I plan to relieve him after the debriefing Lescon.

- were What was your reactions of the whole experience - being a prisoner and being an accomplice.
- I'm very glad that there really wasn't anything that I could spill because it wouldn't have felt too good.
- Would you have done it do you think if there was a break. Z:
- At the time probably I would have, yes,
- Would you have felt bad about it.
- G: Yah-Idow Know G: It depends. I think if I thought there was going to be a break and it wasn't going to work I would have told you. I'm really not sure. Im really not sure at all (garhled)
- Did they talk about excaping a lot?

 Not too much. This guy that you're going to let out now, Stuart, what getting to him?
- It's any number of things = it's like. Nobody anticipated anything they were going to do. How they could have imagined it - they didn't imagine it would be this way. They imagined that the money would reconcile everything. Things that people talked about is really bothering them - like you heard about not having any fresh air; one of the guys came down last night and said did you feel that fresh air for about 2 seconds. I think to, that he was getting a little depressed and what happened the visitors would come up and he was really up - but after that we was really down.

Z: He had his whole family visit.

Ves. 16e had his parents a friend - yah, a about a believe. Before we were the key to

G: By the way, each of the handruffs is in cell 1 in the grating - dropped

Q: Do they know it. G- what? - I - do they know B- yah - the publithere.

Z: Ditgedown on it?

G: Yes! I think you could get it, have whoo he down there.

Z: Would they havedone something y

Like I said to them - hey listen maybe we could try to make a deal and we'll tell you where it is ----I guess Paul knew you had keys and felt like if Paul wants to tell then he will except that I said he might be worried about screwing you up. But we fell asleep before I knew that they were open.

- Z: I was told earlier that one of the guards left the key in the door.
- G: I almost escaped last night.
- Z: When
- G: When we up in the boiler room and my chain was lose and I got it off and I was going to hide behind the boiler while I got everybody down.
- Z: But you thought about it
- G: Yes.
- Z: But in a sense you were figuring you
- G: Yes. When I go in there I'm not any different than anybody else
- P. Some of the guys on this shift wern't really sure what you were they heard a little rumer about you being an informer but they said who is this guy, he really is one of the worst prisoners we've got to really punish this guy.
- G: q It's really bad. They generall, anyway, if somebody was screwing around punishing him really doesn't do anything but if you punish the other guy back off. So with Stuart they took me and another guy who was in the cell with him and had us moving stuff from one closet to another and saying they're moving us back and I quit. I said, fuck it and I figured if everybody gets -- enough and not do it, it would be interesting to see what would happen.
- Z: I was just remarking that Lee and Susie were interviewing the prisoners yesterday and noted how easy it was to get them to confess to not only everything that happened down here but things that occurred in their real life., such as Paul Baron told them that he was a reported for the Berkeley Barb and was studying --- reserrach, and they all told their story in a short period of time and it was noted that Paul was interviewed at almost midnight and he didn't question the fact that was what / the Human Subjects' Committee be doing here at midnight.
- G: Nothing is going to seem inconsistent, really. It would have to be really totally weird.
- Z: Why/
- G: I don't know.
- Z: Because everything is done consistently
- G: You have to kind of turn off some of your questioning. Like last night we got moved into the boiler room, nobody knew why, a couple thought it was to get showers. But they didn't even ask the guards. Those bags are really worse than the blindfolds.
- Z: Why

- G: Well, you can see through the blindfolds sort of, but you can't breath in those bags. You feel hot and trapped.
- Q: Can you see through the bags.
- G: No. You can see changes of light and dark.
- Z: The kind of thing that's really important -
- G: I don't understand who that lady was that came in and brought us cupcakes and why she was still doing it. Who was she.
- Z: Well, she was down here and I thought I was really crazy to have her walk into the room with cupcakes.
- G: But nobody questioned that. Like the whole outside world goes on but we don't know what's going on.
- Q: Any thank you.
- G: We were totally out of it. People stick their heads out of the hole in the wall and talking back *************** there and everything, but why bother to listen, even if the guards were ---
- Z: You know you were being oberved and it doesn't make a difference.
- G: No
- Z: How long does it seem you've been in there. Does it seem like a long time.
- G: Yes it does. It's kind of like time goes really slow, when you're just sitting there. But when you think back since you haven't done anything it doesn't seem its a very long time. Like driving a car for a long time. It's tedious but its --
- G: You haven't done anything your visitors come and say what have you been doing all day - and you say sleeping.
- : You're talking about conception of time.
- G: That's pretty weird you have a general idea but it's like a bird.

 Yes, we can tell time. Like last night it was weird because with
 the handcuffing and everything we didn't sleep at all. When somebody
 sees a clock they come back and tell everybody what time it is., and
 Paul saw a clock when he went into Lee's office. But so there wasn't a
 count during the night so it wasn't clear whether we were woken us up early

del or --

Q: But you got to bed about count time?

Davesoffe

G:

After they got us up a lot of the guys couldn't keep their eyes open. Last night Stuart had decided before he went to sleep - he thought there was going to be an early morning count - he wasn't going to get up for that and he checked with me and said what are you going go do - I said like I'd probably go along with him. He tried to get the other guys to do it. It's weird - like Rich after he talked to Lee, came down and said it doesn't seem to be any parole thing, I think we got mixed up. I talked to him and he knows nothing about theparole thing. The guys refused to believe him. They cling to the idea that there was parole and if they go along with everything they were going to be paroled. They absolutely, religiously believed that.

DJ

- : How many of them who are there that believed this.
- G: Most of them. Williams, Jim (he was my cell mate), Jerry does to a certain degree, Rick does he's doing pushups all the time he's really a scatter=brained kind of guy,

DJ

- : How about Sarge.
- G: Mes, that Williams. That recreation thing was best for him better than anybody. He was able to be a human being for awhile. If he doesn't crack --

DJ

- : What do you think of him, what is your impression of him.
- G: He seems to really look on this whole thing as a challange of his stamina He's really digs that kind of thing. He's a very compulsive sort of person. Even playing cards, you have to play the right rules when you' playing Black Jack and the whole thing. He's playing with guy Jim, who doesn't know --

A: Do you think he's like this all the time?

- G: Yes. this seems to be a good extension he talks about his father who won a lot of money playing Blackjack in the service and was supposed to be cheating - he's a physics major.
- Z: He's been in the prison for a day now was wondering if there was some kind of things you could ask him.

C: Did you have a change to talk to your family.

- G: No, but I'm leaving.
- G: Yes, and I got a chance to let my wife know.
- C: How did she take it.
- G: Oh, she was thrilled!

Calonet C: Which role are you in here.

- G: Well, I'm a stoolie. What happened I called my wife and said
 I'm going to go in and she just assumed naturally that I a professor
 here talked into doing this and I said I volunteered, she found it
 very hard to believe.
- C: Seriously, you did establish some kind of contact before you came in or at the time you came in, so that the family essentially did know you were here.
- G: Yes . Most of the guys got visitors and were expecting to call and tell somebody they were there. A lot of them were expecting calls. So it ended that Sunday they were able to write letters and they wrote home (most of them).
- C: They had an opportunity to write home?
- G: Yes. But one guy's parents didn't show up and he didn't really know why. But he thinks that it took a long time to mail the letter and they didn't get the letter. The visitors. it's amazing how important the visitors were, even in a short period of time. It's just like it was so good to see my friend's face and to talk to someone from the outside. They were up so much. Even talking to Lee was a real break and was a contact with something.
- C: I'd say the principles/in a jail when is awaiting family contact then you listen to his request, but the thing you open with is a phone call I find.

Z: Are you going to make these calls.

C: If they ask me to make it, sure, whatever they want me to do. So then the next step would be is what you want, over and above the offered call. It could be almost anything. Some of the requests are outragious. Do things for the judge; raise money for a lawyer --

End of tape -

For . Contract / PGZ D. Jayle

Tape \$8 - fair qual

Priest

D.Jaffe

Thanks for coming down (leaves)

What else shall I....?

D.J. Well, why don't you talk about any specific reactions or prisoners that you think ... you know....

Last night at the recreation thing--I don't know what was in mind, but it looked like well, number one, that room's like, kind of a bummer--it's a nice change at first, but then it's really hot and that asbestos stuff is really shit, and it's kind of like the first half hour is cool and the rest of the time everybody would have been happier down here

Interruption

PGZ

Come in!

And... as far as that goes, and the fact that garbled that he's never seen before and he's got a half hour to read a part of it—like I had a book of this weird poetry and everybody's talking and playing cards and stuff, and I can't read this shit. But moving around, everybody likes....you know it's really hard—again you might not think about it, is doing the bathroom trip. It's really hard, it's really hard to shit in five minutes—it's really hard to piss when you've got a paper bag over your head and somebody's telling you where the urinal is—you don't know I mean I couldn't piss like that. I just can't do it—in fact I couldn't even piss in the urinal....I had to go to the john and close it up and know that somebody's not going to jump on me.

D.J.

So it's kind of a harassment (garbled)
Yeah, for sure. Well, like this morning, there was an incident
harassment that I got. They had me carry a coffee pot to the john
and had me fill it up with hot water then I went into the john—
while I was in there they dumped out the hot water and put in

pgz

(038)

cold water and said "I thought I told you to put in hot water in there." And then I had to dump it out and put hot water in there.

D.J. Does that really bother you?

Yeah, you know, it was kind of funny!

D.J. What do you think of the guys who do that?

> Like most of the guys--mostly, you could get really pissed, but these guys--it's just about the time when you're ready to say "fuck it" that they stop. I mean it's like this morning -- we had to hold our arms out waiting for somebody to do pushups, and it was like, if I had to do it for a minute longer, I would have put my arms down and said I was too tired, I can't hold them up any more, but they stopped. You know. It's like moving that stuff back and forth. I'm mean obviously, this arbitrariness and idiot work grates on you.

Yeah, but what do you think, you....alright, you quit. Who are you pissed at, that's the question.

Yeah, yeah, okay. It's really strange because I got pissed at the guards, I did, okay, I mean, it's very difficult for me when I come out here and all of a sudden everybody's kidding around to feel any different toward them, it's really hard. In fact on the way out here I said to "Mr. Correctional Officer, do you think when this job ends you're going to have a hard time becoming a human being again?" No, I know, I thin everybody knows that it has come from these guards. Probably, mainly because they're exposed to them enough where they're individuals. If they were regimented and they were virtually identical, which is kind of what you'd aim for with guards, where they were almost indistinguishable, then I think you could hate them, but they are individuals and they're individuals that are in kind of the same spot as you are, and it's hard to be pissed, but so you think, okay, that 'You're not pissed at them, you'd be pissed at the people who are putting them up to it but you're not. Nobody's pissed at Zimbardo, nobody's even pissed at you -- they don't even care about you -- you're just some cackling over the loudspeaker, you know. So it's really

D.J.

weird, it's kind of like everybody feels like personally they wished they hadn't done it, but it's not as if they can get together and say "We none of us should have done it. We should all get together and do something about it." It's like each guy is saying "______, I really shouldn't have done this!"

It's almost like they're taking it out on themselves ---- and I think that might be why they get so depressed. tomorrow, Let's say that you saw one of these guards on the campus,/not in his guard suit but you recognized him as one of the guards.

What would be your reaction?

I'd just stop and talk to him. Really, though, the guard who is most convincing is Duke, John Wayne--that rascal. I don't think I'd talk to him. I/d think I'd walk right by him. The other guys show signs of being human beings, which doesn't mean they don't make you do everything you're supposed to do. But in a sense I guess it means - - - -

D.J. Do you think they need to be tougher?

D.J.

D.J.

I don't know. Like, I really start to think, where are we hoping to bring these guys to, and I'm not sure that, I mean, it seemed to me for a while like okay, when I refused to do the work they put me doing another work because I said I hurt my back, which I did. But then they wanted me to get up, and somebody said to me I didn't say "Yes, Mr. Correctional Officer," so they wanted me to stand up and I just ignored them, so they had these guys standing out there arms again, and they did it for a long time, and I didn't say anything. But then he started breaking a little bit and said "Why don't you try and persuade... you can try persuade 612 to stand up, and I just kind of said to him, you know "Listen brother, if I were you I'd put my arms down, forget it." But they didn't so it ended that I compromised and I said "Mr. Correctional, if you'll help me up may be I can get up with this injured back I have. That was the closest thing to a compromise I could get, but it's kind of like I was hoping those guys would get pissed enough to do something but it's really, it's really

But they did manage to even control your behavior to that extent.

Right, right. It seems as if--I mean the interesting thing would be if they

D.J. That's what I...you say what are we bringing them to. We're not trying to bring anybody to a nervous breakdown--but to bring it to a rebellion....

. . . . like lately the communications lines have been severely limited when everybody's screaming it's hard to stop it, but somehow it's been stopped, and you have these silent periods when you can talk to your cell mates—one of my cell mates was always in the Hole so I never got to talk to him, the other guy who was a drag and not much to talk to, and you know, you can't talk at meals, which would be a good time to talk to guys. When you're doing exercises you should...well, you can't get anything going, so it's kind of like all the energy stays within you and doesn't really get organized

- D.J. But you said they did...
- I know, they've been very resourceful
- D.J. They've been very resourceful for some things, and I'm surprised that they they're not as resourceful with communications.

Yeah.

- D.J. Because, picking the lock, getting the key, you know all that stuff takes a certain amount of bravado and forethought.
- But, it's really, it's <u>really</u> coming to where there's an unwritten law--you know, everybody's on his own trip, and so like
- D.J. That would really split up any group & solidarity
 - Yeah, I mean a guy will say 'I want to get paroled! Don't bug me. If you wadnt to stick your neck out, that's cool, but I'm not gonna.' Maybe it'll change, but I'm not sure how.
- D.J. Any other information sorts of things! that the prisonersknow,do,or anything?

 There was a rumor I didn't mention before. They had thought that the guards got penalized for escaping prisoners.
- D.J. They do.
 - They do. Oh. But now they think they don't.
- D.J. Well they do.

This morning one of the guards came and said 'If you escape successfully, your pay will be docked.' He said if you escape your pay will be docked—even if you were reaeptured, but then he tried to clarify it and said if you escape your pay will be docked, and people really got out at that that was the most everybody was yelling: "No I didn't hear i that way Mr. Correctional Officer." Everybody was saying "Mr. Correctional Officer." but they were still yelling at him!! That pissed people off

mildly....but...

D.J. What gets me is the automatic 'thank you, Mr. Correctional.' Like when I said last night, after I said "everybody stand for the Warden" I said "you may be seated" All the fellows without even telling them said "Thank you Mr. Chief Correctional Officer" Wow!

It's kind of like, how much of a hassle is that, if you set your head on automatic pilot, you just blurt, go out with those things.

D.J. Well, it's a certain change---in self dignity.

Oh, for sure. For sure, I mean switching on to automatic pilot is a pretty heavy thing, it's like switching off a large part of your mind, but it's kind of like when you get worked off and they're insulting you, it's going to effect you more when you've got the adrenalin pumping, you're going to get more pissed...

D.J. How could we...if we wanted to, how could we either facilitate or provoke some sort of either individual or mass escape attempt?

Well, I would think this Grievance Committee if it's going to

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D.J. We're talking about how we might facilitate or provoke an escape attempt.

It would seem like it would come over plausible to the prisoners if some of them if not all of them were allowed—I would think you could cordon off the court down out here, maybe, well enough, lock all the doors and have a couple of guards at the stairs—there's only one stairway going out, and have them in the yard, have them outside you know, and maybe just allowing them to walk around, and maybe having them walk lapse or something, just to ½ get but allowing them to talk, allowing them to communicate something might happen there, but ...

D.J. In other words, make it easier for them to communicate.

Yeah, I mean that's a possibility. the change of environment gets things going. I mean last night we got, we were talking upstairs more than we were downstairs.

D. J. About what?

Well, like, actually the most we did was when guys came back we asked them about what had happened and stuff, and talked about that. But then they told us we can't talk about that, and then there was really that much to talk about.

D.J. And nobody kept on talking?

Not very much. Not very much at all.

- D.J. I'm surprised, because silence is one of the hardest things to enforce, and that's twice in one day that we managed to do that, remember yesterday when we had that enforced silence before dinner.
- Oh, but everybody was just so--I mean--when you've got visitors coming in an hour man, you can get them to do anything. I guarantee
- D.J. Well we didn't threaten them with fisitors, all we threatened them with was (shouting) It was in their heads, and ohhhhhh (laughing) You don't really have to threaten at this point I mean they've seen, pretty well.
- D.J. See now, that's funny because the guards are walking around saying "There's nothing we can do. We have no sanctions that are strong enough to control their behavior. Nothing we can do."
 - That's true. That's true. It's the prisoners that are imposing it upon themselves, but as long as they are..you know.
- D.J. They're imposing it on themselves but what we can threaten them with seems to be working. In other words, like if we ttea/ threaten to take away visiting privileges on Thursday we could probably get them to do almost anything. That's what I get from talking to them.
 - Yeah, that's for sure. That's definitely sure.
- D.J. That would be a pretty heavy sanction.
 - Yeah that would just fuck them up. But I suggest you know that it might be really hard on the parents who have come here to find there are no visiting hours.
- D.J. Well we'd have to call all the parents. We'd call all the parents and then we'd have to turn away friends. Though we'd probably actually wouldnt do taint that, but we could threaten them with it and get remarkable behavior changes.

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- D.J. We were talki-ng about any individual prisoners who may be having a particularly rough time.
- I was talking about 819, It's not that he isn't on the other hand he wouldn't die if he stayed in there, it's just that he's kind of really become numbed to the thing, and as such I don't know what good you're going to be doing, either one of you, but the one guy I've had least exposure to is
- D.J. How about

Well is is very weird.

D.J. Have they told you about his plot?

Yeah. It's really weird.

D.J. Did he tell you about it? Who told you about it?

Yeah. Phil did. For sure he's not told anybody. Nobody knows anything about it. That's quite sure. He's really strong you know. He's using this grievance committee thing to his best advantage, and doesn't use it, doesn't pick up on it unless there's something he feels he can convince ——the thing with the filing cabinet—legitimate—which I thought about beefing about but I didn't... so he's pretty cool

D.J. Scheme like that, it seems so...

What? Oh, the Berkeley...I don't know.

garbled

D.J. I suppose if you think that way, that everything is a facist plot.

One thing that might affect things a little bit is if the word got out that you were giving bonuses to the guards who were being the strongest-because they don't know that. They know there are sanctions, but it seems as if they feel like the guards that don't make it will in/and/go let them go, or something. I was saying to them-because everybody pretty well defends the guards--I said well I can't really defend them too much because

D.J. Defend the guards? How?

it seems like

Well they say, well, they must really need the money, they must really need the money, and as long—at least most of them, they feel they're probably not like this you know, it's just they're being forced into doing it, but it seems like you could find better things to do for \$2.00 or less an hour that might not violate your moral feelings. That's part of the reason why I wouldn't have done it, have gotten into this thing. I thought about it, but if I would have done it, I would have said, you know, "Okay, I'll be randomly assigned prison/jailer,"or if I was randomly assigned jailer, I would say "Forget it," I think. But they're kind of thinking, 'they really need the bread, and they couldn't quit, they're really being pressured that way, but somehow the money thing is really a nebulous thing, it's kind of like people have to remind each other, say "Hey, how much have we made so far," They were asking me "How much have you made in the time you've been here?" They say "Doug made \$30 when Né probably wasn't worth \$30, if he'd

Side 2 D. Jaffe,

stayed a little longer maybe it would have been worth what he had to go through. But it's kind like, it's/always/bad when you are doing it but like I said before when you look back it might bug them that the guards have been this mean sometimes and probably in part to try and get a bonus and are sort of competing with one another.

- D.J. What else does do they know ---
 - Don't know. Sometimes there's a reall dullness like this morning we were trying to gigure out what time it was, me and Jim and I could hear the Xerox machine going and the phones upstairs and they were just starting, and I said, "it's got to be about 8, it's got to be after 8 because stuff is going on. He said, "No, I don't think it is." I said, "There are phones ringing and machines running at 7:30 in the morning in this building." You know what I Mean?
- D.J. Yeah. But those cues, you know, it's interesting that you're attentive to those things when you wouldn't even think of them normally. You find unusual ways to tell time.

 But there was a suspicion we had been gotten up, that we had been aroused earlier. But just generally it seems as if, really, people are pulling into themselves. They aren't aware of anything outseide. When they're walking now with the bags who cares where we're going? Who cares where we are. When we went upstaris I think somebody said "for sure this Jordan Hall, "you know.* It doesn't matter where we are. What
- D.J. In other words, it's kind of like they really don't care any more what happens to them, at least if it's not any worse than it's already been, as long as they can stand it and get out.

 Every single person wants to get out and whether they wanted
 - Every single person wants to get out and whether they wanted 14 days to make the bread, if you told them they could go home they would go.
- D.J. Okay, do you have anything to Not anything I can think.

difference does it make?