The Study of Language in Laboratory Based Interactions- The Stanford Prison Experiment

Hannah Anderson

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University of York

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Abstract

This paper aims to re-evaluate the Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE) using a conversation analytic approach to analyse talk-in-interaction between experimenters and participants. This analysis re-evaluates this experiment and analyses how language is used as a tool in the interactions to elicit social actions. The analysis examines a meeting between Zimbardo and the guards in the preparation stages of the experiment. The experimenter in this interaction was able to use rhetorical devices such as extreme case formulations, listings, contrast devices and categorisations amongst others to construct varying descriptions of the participants, past experiments and the experiment itself through a speech. The significance of this paper challenges statements Zimbardo made in which he concluded how both guards and prisoners had fallen into roles assigned to them and violence escalated quickly. These devices help the speaker to persuade and recruit his audience and encourage specific behaviours that this type of experiment is designed to elicit. These devices helped the experimenter to mitigate the artificiality and short time frame of the experiment before it had started. Using conversation analytic methods to examine audio extracts from the experimental archives provides a scaffolding that highlights patterns in data as a rhetorical matter. The results showed significant patterns occurred in the talk-in-interaction. These patterns challenge statements made by Zimbardo, which reflect on the notion the participants fell into their roles naturally.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter One - Introduction

This research analyses the interactions that took place in Phillip Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment (1971). This analysis examines how language is used during the turn by turn unfolding of conversation in the preparation stages of the experiment to create experiment-related identities of prisoner and guard. Psychological experiments are of scientific status and experimenters giving information in these types of experiment is not considered to be part of the findings. By identifying the way language impacts on psychological experiments will in turn show how interactions influence the way individuals socially respond to one another and how they respond to the experiment itself. It is important to show how Zimbardo uses language in the preparations stages of this experiment to guide the audience and mitigate the artificiality of the experiment to ensure a successful outcome. The interaction being discussed in this analysis encourages and promotes particular behaviours designed for this type of experiment and modulates the severity of the experiment by using various conversation analytic devices. This is significant as it illustrates there is evidence of interactional orientation through his speech and findings such as these should be considered when analysing psychological experiments.

Laboratory based experiments using scientific methods were starting to emerge frequently as a result of the atrocities of World War II to try and understand the mind and behaviour. It is argued these experiments were a way for researchers to find out about thoughts, beliefs and assumptions of the world (Gagné and Radomsky, 2020). However, scientific approaches that test through method and analysis did not employ sociological approaches. Sociological approaches consider beliefs, norms, values and the culture of the society the individual is living in. Critical perspectives on scientific approaches have challenged conclusions and introduced re-evaluations to offer new perspectives. These criticisms outline this research that adopts a sociological approach such as conversation analysis (CA) to identify the way language impacts on a classic psychological experiment. I will reanalyse data from the Stanford Prison Experiment (1971) and offer a new perspective on the original findings concluded.

The Stanford Prison Experiment (1971)

The Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE) was conducted by Zimbardo and colleagues and was drawn from a class project developed by David Jaffe (Zimbardo, 2007). This experiment was one of the most famous, discussed publications in the history of psychology (Bartels, 2015). Zimbardo wanted to study a prison environment to assess the power of social forces on behaviour in a simulation (Haney, Banks and Zimbardo, 1973). He wrote *The Lucifer Effect* in 2007 in which he reported how most of his career was based on the psychology of evil, violence and anonymity. This prison study was conducted to find out what happens if good people are required to act badly and raised the question of whether humanity or evil will prevail (Haney et al., 1973).

The experiment analysed the behaviour of a group of male students who were assigned to play the role of prison guards and prisoners. In a document created for the Naval Research Office patterns of behaviour and emotional attitudinal reactions were observed and noted from the experiment (Haney et al., 1973). The researchers collected data through observations of relationships and interviews in the simulated prison. They reported participants ceased to distinguish between prison role and their previous self-identities. The guards' found ways to punish the prisoners if they misbehaved and exerted their power whilst humiliating them. Whilst the prisoners initially showed disbelief and rebellion to what was happening they soon started to show self-depreciation. They become submissive and adopted their respective identities turning passive, dependent, and depressed (Haney et al., 1973). Zimbardo and colleagues were surprised both by the intensity and the speed of the guards' domination (Zimbardo, 2007). In analysing these relationships Zimbardo could see how social structures evolved in this simulation, he then applied those findings to individuals in society. He concluded the relationships that occurred in the experiment were similar to those internal relations of real prisons, and the difference in power and status of the groups distinctively moved a divide between the two.

Around the time Zimbardo and colleagues published their findings the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge (SSK) was starting to emerge with a view of how scientific knowledge is socially shaped. This new knowledge was starting to draw implications for the organisation of science and laboratory based experiments.

One of the key ideas from the SSK is the concept that science has moments of openness or uncertainty followed by closure (Pinch, 2015). Researchers were beginning to criticise methods used in psychological experiments and make way for scientific methods to consider new perspectives. More recently social psychology has suffered with a loss of credibility associated with scientific fraud and the ability to replicate findings (Brannigan, (2021). Researchers report how suspicions on datasets and data fabrication had emerged with some of the most accomplished researchers acknowledging their involvement in publishing papers with fraudulent data. Brannigan (2021) describes how this crisis could contribute to the way social psychology is conducted in the future and provide a base to make positive advancements for future research by considering alternative prospects.

Criticisms on laboratory based experiments came early surrounding the SPE and its explanations of human behaviour. Banuazizi and Movahedi (1975) describe the strong demand characteristics in the procedures of the SPE methods. Demand characteristics in social psychology have shown to be problematic when conducting psychological experiments (Orne, 1962). Through their own analysis they sent a questionnaire to students similar to that of the SPE. Through responses they determined participants guessed how they were supposed to behave with focus on those who were assigned to play the role of guards. This drew one of the first implications when analysing behaviour and re-evaluating Zimbardo's conclusions. However, others challenged the reports made by Banuazizi and Movahedi as weak and describe there is a difference between the dispositions of mental sets of real-life novice guards and college research participants reporting they are not comparable (Thayer and Saarni, 1975).

Further questioning of Zimbardo's conclusions that claimed participants fell into the roles they were assigned to also raised doubts. This claim has been under scrutiny as it is unclear whether this was due to Zimbardo and colleagues orientation or this was a natural acceptance of the participants role requirement (Baron, 1984). Bartels (2019) highlights experimenters of the SPE held an orientation session for the guards to communicate expectations for hostile guard behaviour. He conducted a study that randomly assigned guards to an orientation session that included similar expectations to those expressed in the SPE. Across three studies he found participants exposed to similar expectations of the SPE in the orientation stage reported greater expectations of hostile and oppressive behaviour.

This demonstrates communicating expectations may impact on social experiments especially in the orientation stages.

Another re-evaluation of the SPE involved the *BBC Prison Study* in 2002. Reicher and Haslam (2006) conducted this study to understand how tyranny is outlined. Based on direct evidence of tyrannical behaviour drawn from the SPE they broadcast their findings to show the differences between someone imposing a group role on an individual rather than the individual seeing themselves in that role. The researchers reported how group identification, organisation and power are key elements in how people behave (Reicher and Haslam, 2006). Reicher, Haslam and Baval (2019) again revisited the SPE and suggested rather than the guards being cruel because of the role they were assigned to, it is related to the direct encouragement the guards were given to adopt roles in such a manner. They analysed an interaction between the warden and one of the participants playing the role of guard and were able to provide sufficient evidence showing behaviour exhibited was due to forces of identity leadership. They reported the establishment of shared identity was not only to persuade them they were part of an important scientific contribution but to encourage the participants to behave in a certain way. Participants were persuaded to conform to the group norms assigned to them. New perspectives on social experiments raise implications for scientific methods. Growing criticisms of laboratory based experiments advocate a sociological approach is more appropriate and should be considered when analysing these types of experiments. More recent criticisms of the SPE continue in the work of Le Texier (2019) who went on to suggest criticisms of the SPE have largely been ignored and have led to misconceptions that may mislead students using the SPE in their own research. Le Texier interviewed fifteen of the original participants from the SPE and reported the guards in the experiment were instructed how to behave. Zimbardo and Haney (2020) responded to Le Texier (2019) and stated his report wilfully distorted what actually happened reporting inaccuracies and misinterpretations in his findings.

However, it is not just criticisms of the SPE that have highlighted the need for scientific methods to adopt a new perspective when analysing data. Through a rhetorical lens Gibson (2013) revisited Milgram's (1963) *Behavioral Study of Obedience*. He produced a qualitative analysis of audio recordings taken from the original study. Using a discursive approach to assess if participants were willing to obey authority he observed the use of prods spoken by the experimenter such as 'you have no other choice' and 'you must go on' (p.2).

He found the prods led to negotiations between the experimenter and the participant over the continuation of the session. He concluded experimenters were able to elicit obedience through the use of prods without giving direct orders. More interestingly when direct orders were given obedience failed and became ineffective. Gibson (2015) later reported on his findings and described how participants argued their way out of requests from the experimenters, this provided a platform for the experimenter and participant to negotiate.

Rhetorical functions and the context of their use have shown their importance when analysing data within the SPE. Banyard (2007) describes how the use of pronouns in interactions such as 'we' helped Zimbardo to align with his audience and give clear instructions to the guards on how to behave. Linguists have described how language patterns, which include pronouns, have a positive effect on responders. They reported companies that use the word 'we' in their text increases a positive perception to its customers (Packard, Moore and McFerran (2018). Whilst questions were now being raised on the impact language has on communicating expectations researchers had already started to look at the properties of interactions in other types of experiments. Wooffitt (2007) examines the effects communication has on experimenter-participant interaction in parapsychological experiments. He found the way in which the experimenter acknowledges the participants through interaction may have had an impact on the trajectory of the experiment. He reported the subsequent behaviour of the participants after the acknowledgment from the experimenter may have been influenced by interactionally generated contingencies. Similar work, which concentrates on the design of an interaction to elicit a particular response from participants, has identified how replies from individuals can often be in response to pre-set questions set by an experimenter. Huma, Stokoe and Sikveland (2020) highlight how persuasive conduct enables an experimenter to manage responses in order to deal with any resistance by analysing cold calls and pinpointing where and how a sales person secures an appointment through persuasion. They reported how resistance within an interaction is dealt with through persuasive techniques in a setting that matters. Research has shown how language power has unique characteristics that can influence individuals involved in social interactions using persuasion processes (Areni and Sparks, 2005).

Methods that are suitable to analyse interactions provide an approach to offer new perspectives on classic social psychological experiments. Conversation analysis examines peoples' own interpretations through the analysis of interaction.

This method is suitable for analysing language as it identifies what and where actions are happening that may not be recognised by other analytic approaches. Pioneered by Harvey Sacks, CA provides a fine detailed account of what is being produced in each turn of talk. Using an approach such as CA can guide us to ask specific kinds of questions about the design of the turn. It shows us the turns at talk and how they can create a particular action. For example, we can see how identities are displayed in turns by using a particular choice of words, which identify requests, responses and rejections. In addition, proposals, accusations and complaints are amongst a few social actions that are examined using methods such as CA (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). Drew, Raymond and Weinberg (2006) describe how diverse CA can be when analysing interactions. They highlight its methods can be applied to ordinary conversation but also to different forms and genres such as a meeting with a doctor or as a witness in court. They discuss how CA shows the way people construct, establish, reproduce and negotiate their identities, roles and relationships through conversational interaction. This method is an established suitable approach that offers a way to identify new perspectives when analysing interactions such as those that occur in classic social psychological experiments.

Through identifying patterns in talk and analysing how we begin to explicate talk in interaction we can identify how everyday utterances are produced to achieve social and practical accomplishments (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). For example, Wooffitt (1992) examined interviews about paranormal experiences using conversation analysis. He examined how people describe and communicate verbal accounts of events and their own experiences of parapsychological encounters. The interviews revealed how activities accomplished in talk are located at a sequential and interactional order in which the speaker orients their speech to the possibility of a sceptical response to their claim of a paranormal experience. Other analytic actions such as laughter can also demonstrate ways in which utterances display an individual's orientation to generate and achieve multiple goals (Ragan, 1990). These analytic actions offer new perspectives when studying language and identify how interactions contribute to social actions that occur in everyday life.

Successful revisitations and conversation analytic research demonstrate the power of using conversation analysis when analysing interactions. By analysing the turns-at-talk in an interaction we can see how a speaker can manage specific sequences in a conversation.

Similar to Wooffitt (2007), I will examine the effects of language in an experimenter-participant interaction using conversation analysis. I will analyse this experiment through a rhetorical lens similar to Gibson (2013), who examined how participants responded to the experimenter's prods with negotiations. This was in addition to the original findings that reported participants were willing to obey authority. I will use conversation analysis to identify the way language is used to orient the audience through a speech in the preparation stages of the SPE. I will aim to assess if the experimenter participant interaction (EPI) impacts on how participants respond to each other and how they respond to the experiment. This will be done by taking a view of the social actions that occurred in the talk-in-interaction and answer the following research questions:

- How does the experimenter mitigate the artificiality of the experiment through interaction and persuade participants in the preparation stages of the experiment?

- What rhetorical devices are used to encourage and organise the interaction to promote behaviours designed to elicit the successful outcome of the experiment?

- How is the use of laughter used to modulate the severity of the behaviours required for this type of experiment and create an affiliation with the participants due to play the role of guards?

I will look at the construction of descriptions made by the experimenter in his speech about participants, past experiments and the experiment itself to answer the research questions above. I will show how these descriptions impact on how participants respond to one another and to the experiment itself. Through analysing the preparation stages of the SPE I will use these findings to offer a new perspective that will inform scientific methods to adopt an empirical analysis of language use in laboratory based experiments. Answering these research questions will challenge limitations that discuss the neglect of the active and constructive nature of language use in experimental psychology (Gibson, 2013). It will help build new frameworks that will guide future scientific experiments and highlight the importance of analysing interaction between experimenters and participants.

Chapter Two - Literature Review

In the last chapter we identified the importance of language and interaction in social psychological experiments. In this chapter I will examine methods suitable for analysing language and interaction to answer my research aims and objectives. I will discuss research that has drawn upon conversation analytic methods and discursive psychology to identify key findings and use these to frame my choice of method for this analysis. The key argument I will discuss is, despite empirical differences, these approaches share a common focus on the rhetorical impact of talk-in-interaction. Access to recordings of actual psychological experiments provide a window into the social structures and processes of scientific activity supporting key ideas that show science as a social activity. I will outline the differences between both approaches, which bring interesting empirical opportunities when analysing narrative data.

Discursive Psychology

Discursive psychology is the way that psychological matters are handled in observable spoken or textual conduct in interaction between people. This is a form of discourse analysis that is used to study the way talk and texts perform a particular action by a speaker. The main components of discourse analysis are described as concentrating on psychological issues old and new and analysing interaction for the ways it pertains to traditional psychological phenomena. This approach highlights how psychological objects are constructed, understood and displayed within interactions (Potter, 2003). Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) highlight the need for a form of sociological analysis to focus on the organisation of discourse. Their analysis was set out in a series of steps, which consisted of obtaining statements from scientists and listening to data. They looked for similarities in the data by observing how speakers accomplished actions at specific points. They identified two linguistic repertoires and found scientists accounted for error. These techniques were used when needing to account for their own actions. The scientists would shift between repertoires to maintain their description of science as an objective world. This research identified how people change their line of discourse to suit a particular action they wish to interpret. They found speakers could produce diverse accounts of actions and beliefs in contextual social situations.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) provided a similar argument using discourse analytic work to reconceptualise the topic of social psychology. They outlined components of discourse as function, construction and variation and describe how a person's account will vary according to its function (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Potter and Wetherell (1988) outlined the construction of race relations by studying data taken from New Zealanders' accounts of racial inequality. They analysed sequences of talk on various topics from each instance, which was coded based on ten stages. For this description I will point out the stages relevant to this discussion starting with stage seven that searches for patterns in data. This stage has proven its success as discussed in the earlier work of Gilbert and Mulkay (1984). They found consistent patterns in data relating to two contrasting interpretative repertoires. Stage eight is described as the validation component of the analysis and has four further sub-sections: coherence, participants orientation, new problems and fruitfulness (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). These sub stages are techniques used to validate findings from the patterns found in the analysis. Stage nine is described as the stage of report that confirms and validates procedures and presents the research findings for a reader to interpret. These stages provide an alternative approach to analyse different sources such as questionnaires in experiments and data in psychological work (Wiggins and Potter, 2007). Outlining components of discourse is an appropriate way to understand how accounts are put together by speakers to portray their actions and beliefs.

Furthermore, Potter and Edwards (1992) wrote about a key concept of discursive psychology based on action orientation. They highlight people's use of descriptive discourse is a way of establishing or proposing objectivity through psychological consideration. Potter and Edwards take their ethnomethodological views on this matter from the work of Garfinkel (1967) and look at discourse as a study in its own right. Garfinkel describes how language is a central means to make sense of the world and 'creates' it. He describes how "words are not just symbols of what is going on but they are the very means by which things get done, and by which society functions" (Garfinkel 1967, p.105). Identifying how language is a central means to making sense of the world is framed by studying discourse in its own right. Potter and Edwards (1992) proposed the 'Discursive Action Model' (DAM) to help explicate their findings and address discourse as a discursive psychological alternative to the more traditional theories that state language is a cognitive entity relating to memory and attribution. The DAM model consists of three components, which are action, fact and interest and accountability.

Action represents language is an action and reports are described as accounts. This is followed by the descriptions and formulations of peoples versions of events, which are made through the inferences they make. Fact and interest highlights a dilemma that an individual may have a stake or interest and engage in stake inoculation in their talk constructed from their own personal attributions. Finally, accountability attends to what a speaker is doing in their action, and highlights how reports attend to the accountability of the action being reported. This framework is built to aid the analysis of what people accomplish through social interaction. The success of research utilising methods such as the DAM has been identified in data obtained from nurses. Data showed how nurses construct and orient their interaction in ways that attend to interactional concerns of theirs relating to implicit accountability (Robertson et al., 2010). Identifying actions embedded in language through these models is important as it uncovers the action carried by the talk and provides us with knowledge of the rhetorical work featured in spoken and written text.

Discursive psychology was developed along with rhetorical psychology to develop new principles when analysing discourse. Rhetorical psychology describes how talk is often argumentative and rhetorical (Billig, 1991). Gibson (2013) used discursive methods informed by rhetorical psychology to examine recordings from Milgram's (1963) psychological experiment to provide an analysis of the interactions. He reported participants used discursive strategies in the interactions to enter a process of negotiation over the continuation of the experiment. The findings demonstrate the importance of rhetoric in experiments, Milgram's experimenter elicits obedience without issuing direct orders. As mentioned earlier, Gibson (2013) reported that when direct orders were given to participants obedience failed, this identified new perspectives on the data. These new perspectives support the rhetorical nature of argumentation can be used for exploring an individual's issues of ideology and opinion (Billig, 1991; Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

This discussion has demonstrated a view of analysing talk and text from a discursive perspective. It describes how the application of different methodological approaches such as discourse analysis can help us understand how we construct meaning through talk and text. Using research to identify language to have a function, construction and variation shows us what a speaker is doing. Identifying what a speaker is doing through talk and text can also be analysed using other methods such as conversation analysis.

Conversation analysis is an approach that studies social interaction between members of the conversation and looks at how they manage it. Studying interactions that have taken place in classic experiments using a methodological approach such as conversation analysis (CA) can be done in its own right to generate new perspectives (Wooffitt, 2005).

Later research using discursive psychology adopts methods of conversation analysis to draw its conclusions. Pomerantz (1984) describes how a speaker performs an action that solicits a response that may or may not succeed. Pomerantz is a well- known conversation analyst who has shown the different ways in which speakers make sense of what is happening through talk-in-interaction, and has refined knowledge about the sequential organisation of talk using conversation analysis. In her work she has pinpointed when speakers pursue a response and fail to do so at certain times in the interaction. Potter and Edwards (1992) drew on this work to talk about the attribution management in everyday talk in their book, which discusses discursive psychology. As discourse analysis was focusing on psychological themes in talk and text researchers were drawing upon conversation analytical approaches to obtain a more refined approach to explain their theories.

Discursive psychology combined with conversation analysis has shown its combined success when studying various phenomena. As discussed earlier, Huma et al (2020) went on to study persuasion in interactions comprised of 'cold calls' in sales. They use both methods to explain persuasion and how it happens by analysing various extracts. These methods were used to pinpoint where and how the sales person secured an appointment with the customer by using persuasion. They concluded people try to persuade others in settings that matter and they do this by making requests using discursive and conversation analytic strategies.
For example, the sales person would self-invite themselves to the home of the customer to display their knowledge and build mutual responsibilities between them. If the invite was challenged the speaker would use interactional activities identified by CA, such as closing down the sequential space and not allowing a gap in the talk where the recipient could refuse the request. Persuasion is used in everyday interactions and rather than being pinpointed down to one word it can be stretched over several turns at talk between the speaker and the respondent (Gibson and Smart, 2017).

I have discussed various research that identifies the success of discursive methods combined with conversation analysis. I will now examine research that uses conversation analysis for their methods and draw upon those findings to make an informed decision of which approach is best to use for this analysis.

Conversation Analysis – Conversational Structures

Pioneered by Harvey Sacks, conversation analysis was created to identify the study of social action from analysing verbal and non-verbal talk-in-interaction (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). Sacks and Schegloff attended the University of California and took part in a research programme that stood on the perspectives of social theorists Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. Goffman (1967) describes how the external normative order of language provides a sequential ordering of action. Conversation analysis provided a method to study people's own interpretive skills as displayed in the design of their talk. CA framed the way for social interaction to be studied in a way that helps understand what language was doing in interactions.

Harvey Sacks developed CA based on a series of recorded telephone conversations to the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Centre (Wooffitt, 2005). He used audio recordings of the things people do and say in their actual life circumstances and gave this the term 'naturally occurring' as a form of validation (Coulter, 1995). Sacks worked as a Fellow of the Center for the Scientific Study of Suicide in Los Angeles. This gave him access to materials for his published doctorate 'The Search for Help; No One to Turn To' (Coulter, 1976). Whilst working for the Center Sacks examined calls between the Center workers and callers with suicidal thoughts. Sacks found that a caller would often give their name if the person who worked at the Center gave theirs first. However, in one of the calls Sacks noticed this did not happen and the caller proceeded to claim he could not hear the Center worker. It was this sequence that led to the study of talk-in-interaction (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). Sacks observed there was nowhere to tell in the course of the conversation that somebody will not give their name and if that person declares they cannot hear then this was a way of avoiding giving their own name. Sacks was able to show how people organise and design their utterances to achieve an action such as to handle or resist requests.

After Sacks' death colleagues Schegloff and Jefferson continued to analyse his lectures with Jefferson transcribing them.

Conversation analysis is an approach developed to allow us to build collections and identify phenomena that provides us with the ability to produce an analysis of patterns in the sequential organisation of talk (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). Conversation analytic procedures are appropriate methods that can utilise recorded data as it can be replayed and analysed over and over again. The right approach can highlight details in data of social events and conduct and build a science of social action (Drew, 2005). Conversation analysis can analyse talk by looking at each turn specifically and highlight what is happening and at what point. Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) emphasise that talk is produced and determined through practical, social and interactional accomplishments of members of a culture. Schegloff (2007a) explains the generic orders of organisation in interaction that is informed by the use of language highlighting who should talk next, when they should do so, and how this affects the construction and understanding of the turn the person is taking themselves. Unlike discursive psychological methods that focus on psychological themes CA identifies what is happening in each turn. This helps the analyst identify what the speaker and responder are achieving and negotiating and at which point in the data. Other generic orders listed are descriptions of topics such as action formation, sequence organisation problems, dealing with trouble in speaking or hearing, the word selection problem, how components of talk get selected and overall structural organisation (Schegloff, 2007a). Drew (1984) analysed turns-at-talk to describe the phenomena of how people can indirectly reject requests by reporting some circumstances or an activity the individual is involved in. He found through analysing talk-in-interaction the speaker may take the view their request would be declined.

Further research that draws upon CA for its method identifies other ways of making explicit requests. Kendrick and Drew (2016) use CA to discuss the phenomena of recruitment, co-operation and social cohesion. They describe how 'recruitment lies at the heart of co-operation and collaboration in our social lives' (p.2). Through analysing video recordings they were able to show the organisation of asking for assistance, and how it was requested or solicited. For example, they highlighted how people construct their utterances when reporting of their needs, difficulties and troubles. They highlighted how requests such as 'does anybody have a light' implies a speaker is in need of a light for a cigarette. The researchers discussed how this is not reporting the problem directly.

A more direct way of requesting this action would be to say 'I need to light my cigarette'. Kendrick and Drew show how the speakers 'need' is not a psychological disposition due to the indirect request of the practical course of the action, the request constitutes an indirect practice for recruitment.

Researchers have also applied CA to intersect and manage specific sequences of interactions. Wooffitt (1991) describes how participants design their utterances to address possible sceptical responses to claims of paranormal experiences. He demonstrates this by drawing on conversation analytic methods due to their ability to analyse data in a finer detail. Jefferson (1984) identified a descriptive device, which she terms 'At first I thought…but then I realised'. This device highlights how people present the first thought as an incorrect one before then reporting the correct thought. In examining paranormal experiences Wooffitt was able to use this device and demonstrate these types of devices are used in the likelihood of an unsympathetic response. He describes how speakers use 'I was just doing X…then Y' when describing paranormal experiences to provide a background to their account.

An example of using this device is shown below, and is taken from a speaker's husbands funeral:

X: and I was looking at the coffin
Y: and there was David standing there

(Wooffitt 1991, p.270)

In the extract above the component 'X' describes what the speaker is doing at the time of the event. The component 'Y' describes the paranormal experience giving a description of what the speaker is doing at that time. This provides a 'mundane' scenario for the event, and by only 'looking at the coffin' creates a normal backdrop to a description of an experience to which a responder maybe hostile, sceptical or suspicious of this type of account. Wooffitt (1992) goes on to provide a further analysis of paranormal experiences using accounts generated from interviews. He draws attention to the speaker referring to a noise being heard that is described using a three-partedness list device originally identified by Jefferson (1990).

Conversation analysts describe the social actions that can be identified in interactions through the use of conversation analytic devices. Methods such as CA are available to re-evaluate interactions and provide new perspectives on already established conclusions in the scientific field. Past psychological studies that involved social interaction were approximated using statistics with researchers in sociology and psychology arguing around the key topics that support the best method to use for research. It is argued CA does not take into account discursive strategies such as the argumentative nature of talk because it looks at the technical side such as the sequential organisation of turn taking. This means to some that it cannot address the wider historical, cultural and political context (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). However, discourse analysis has drawn upon the success of CA as a method to combine a better understanding of interactions in various settings.

I have discussed the available approaches that offer empirical opportunities to this analysis. Whilst there are two successful approaches both of slightly different but similar common analytic focus I have taken the view of how they both identify talk as an action and not as an exchange of information. Researchers who use discursive methods have drawn on the successful use of conversation analytic methods to refine their analysis and highlight the importance of language to be understood as an action. These re-evaluations have shown the importance of taking a rhetorical approach and one approach in particular will offer this study a more refined and technical way of understanding how an action is achieved through interaction. The way people interact to persuade and recruit in everyday interactions for the gain of a particular social action has become an issue when re-analysing psychological based experiments. Based on this discussion for this analysis I will use conversation analysis. I have discussed various research that has successfully demonstrated the positives of using discursive psychology and conversation analysis to analyse talk-in-interaction. Both methods clearly point to a particular set of themes that we can explore using the SPE data. However, conversation analysis will offer a more refined, detailed account of the data.

The aim of this research is to identify how the experimenter in the preparation stages of the experiment delivers a speech that recruits and persuades the audience to exhibit specific behaviours for the study. Researchers have been concerned with how public speakers hold the attention of an audience and how they make it hearable and persuasive (Atkinson, 1984).

Looking at the way the speaker produces the speech in the preparations stages of the SPE will identify how the speaker uses talk as an action to encourage the kinds of behaviours needed for this particular design of experiment It will show how it helps him to promote a successful outcome considering the artificiality of the situation. Conversation analysis is a more appropriate method to use when analysing these types of interactions as it provides for a technical empirical account not associated with forms of discourse analysis. I will discuss this more in the methodological chapter and describe this approach highlighting conversation analytic devices to establish the influence language has on an interaction. By pinpointing what the experimenter is achieving through the sequential organisation of talk this method will provide a framework to support my research aims and interests. It will show how the language used by Zimbardo in the preparation stages of the Stanford Prison Experiment clearly predisposed particular assumptions/actions by the guards.

Chapter Three - Method

Identifying how language is used in interaction allows us to reinterpret how we understand social actions in psychological experiments. To understand the meaning of talk-in-interaction and the link to social actions can be done using various methodological approaches. Methods that use a rhetorical approach in the analysis of language understand talk as an action not as an exchange of information. This chapter will discuss the method it will use based on the discussion in the previous chapter. This analysis will provide a revaluation of experimental data examining the turn by turn unfolding of conversation enacted by the speaker in the preparation stages of the Stanford Prison Experiment (1971). Using conversation analysis as an approach I will identify the way language impacts on psychological experiments and in turn show how the interactions may influence the way participants respond to the experiment.

Data Sources

Zimbardo has given full permission for the public to access the exhibit. This includes images, audio-visual recordings and documentation published on the Stanford University website (Stanford Libraries, 2011).

The data selected is taken from the original Stanford Prison Experiment, which recruited male participants through extensive interviewing and diagnostic testing who had no specific training in these roles (Haney et al., 1973). For this particular analysis the data selected is from a meeting called 'The Orientation Of The Guards'. The meeting is between Zimbardo and colleagues and the audience who are participants due to play the role of guard once the experiment starts. It is to be noted at this point in the data the participants in the audience are not yet playing the roles as it is prior to the start of the experiment. The other half of participants who are due to play the role of prisoner are not present. This meeting was selected because it has interactional orientation through Zimbardo's speech. Although it is a speech the audience are responding and interacting through various ways. This speech is produced for an audience who are there with the speaker and occasionally responding. This gives evidence of an interactional element to the data. Atkinson (1984) describes audiences at public meetings produce a display of affiliation such as laughing and clapping in response to something said by a speaker.

Two audio files from this meeting are identified as suitable for this analysis as they take place in the preparation stages of the SPE. The first tape is a length of 45 minutes and 44 seconds and was selected for its suitability as it provides enough data to analyse and support my research objectives. This tape was selected for its content that contains data of Zimbardo describing past experiences, criminal behaviours and how he obtained grants to support his work. He describes how the experiment will start and what he expects to happen and discusses behaviours he anticipates to occur from participants. In addition he discusses finances and how they are spent in running costs. This data contains enough content to show various instances where the experimenter interacted with his audience on different subjects and sequentially organised his speech to achieve an action (Stanford Libraries, 2011).

Data Management

A database was made for quick reference, and provided a base to log and order all files retrieved from the Stanford University archival website. The files retrieved met the criteria of conversations that took place between experimenters, guards and prisoners. All files are stored on the Stanford University website with full public access. Names of participants and experimenters are visible on files for reference.

Transcription

The initial audio file was uploaded onto ELAN (Version 6.2) [Computer software] (2021). This software is a coding software, which makes it possible to precisely annotate, document and analyse communication and language. Using the Jefferson Transcription System (Jefferson, 2004) tape one was individually transcribed and typed up onto a word document whilst listening through the audio computer software (See Appendix 1). This type of transcription system was selected as it provides a method to analyse and code speech patterns. This system benefits conversation analysts as they analyse recordings aided by the transcription to study written words ready for analysis. Park and Hepburn (2022) discuss the benefits of the Jeffersonian transcription by its ability to provide a clear picture of how things get done in interaction, which provides this analysis with an approach best suited for it.

Analytic Approach

Using a conversation analytic approach in laboratory based social experiments enables us to analyse interactions and examine speaking positions of an experimenter or a participant to highlight what is happening in the interactions they are involved in (Leudar and Antaki, 1997). Qualitative methods allow us to explore data using methods such as conversation analysis to offer a way that studies human behaviour and can make sense of narrative data (Cobb and Forbes, 2002). These approaches analyse language as a social action by focusing on talk and text emerging as new ways to develop psychological and sociological methods. Different methods can influence how we analyse interaction and for the purpose of this analysis various literature was drawn upon to make an informed decision on which method was best for this evaluation.

Discursive psychology and conversation analysis were evaluated for this analysis on their ability to analyse written or spoken language. Conversation analysis was considered for this analysis as it focuses on talk as action. It can show the systematically organised and ordered nature of talk-in-interaction (Wooffitt, 2005). Wooffitt (1992) has shown its success by examining the implications of parapsychological research using CA. He highlights features of naturally occurring talk is overlooked in a discourse analytic research analysis. Having reflected on the literature a decision was made to use conversation analysis.

This approach was selected for its ability to provide a useful discipline that offers an appropriate method to study the data and understand how the speaker constructs his turns at talk to achieve a social action. Following guidance from Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) I will identify what is accomplished through the turn taking in this ordinary conversation.

For the purpose of this study I examined patterns in the data for their inferential impact. I looked for conversation analytic devices within the turns to identify how the experimenter encouraged a particular social action and its relevance at various points in the interaction. The extracts selected for this specific analysis range between 03:44 until 07:46 minutes from a file selected from the SPE archives. The recording extends to 82 lines of transcription (See Appendix 1). The first step was to read through the data a number of times for familiarisation. A distinction was made between groups, these include experimenters and participants assigned the role of guard. Once this was established the specific context of utterances that were used as an action were noted. Topics and themes that stood out were noted and patterns and actions were highlighted to analyse in a more finer detail. Topics identified were based on any descriptions the speaker made of participants in both groups, past experiments and the experiment itself. In addition, I looked at descriptions that stood out that may have helped the speaker to encourage the kind of behaviours this type of experiment is designed to elicit. Other devices were highlighted to show how they were used in the interaction to help the speaker achieve a specific action. These devices consisted of contrast devices, listings, ECF's and the use of pauses, along with laughter. Laughter from the audience was noted for its relevance in creating responses and a mutual understanding between the speaker and his audience. For this analysis I noted at which point the laughter was initiated and where the audience responded to the laughter. Points in the transcript where I felt there may have been discrimination or affiliation made between any of the groups present or not present in the interaction were also noted. In addition, the transcript was analysed through each individual line and turn at talk for anything that felt relevant to the topic that may have constructed a possible action.

Next the transcript was broken down into six separate extracts. It is important to examine singular sequences of conversation this way to be able to separate the analysis and find some rules that may help observe singular features and handle particular events (Sacks, 1989).

Examining the recorded conversation in shorter pieces will offer a way to analyse the stance the speaker has taken on reporting to his audience whilst offering an interpretation and description of the events he is describing. Each extract includes details of particular actions identified to support my research objectives and provide a finer more detailed approach. Extract one was taken from (lines 1-13), extract two – (lines 15-41), extract three – (lines 23-46), extract four – (lines 38-55), extract five – (lines 53-62), extract six (lines 59-81). For the purpose of this analysis the six extracts are numbered similar to that of the main transcript for ease of reference and to give a simpler understanding of which order the extracts were placed in and where they originated from in the original transcript. Analytic devices were highlighted, these comprised of extreme case formulations, three-parted listings, contrast devices and laughter. These were analysed to illustrate how the experimenter used descriptions of participants, past experiments and the experiment itself in his speech to achieve a particular outcome. Each extract was worked on individually noting down what the speaker said about each particular group of participants and the context it was in. From this I identified the actions that were emerging and noted how the speaker constructed the interaction to achieve an action.

Literature that identifies the use of extreme case formulations was utilised to identify features such as complaining, accusing, justifying and defending. Pomerantz (1986) identifies extreme case formulations to determine whether the speaker is making a case to his audience in the anticipation of a non-sympathetic hearing. Further literature I have drawn upon to build my analysis suggests list construction in talk has interactional relevance in accomplishing certain tasks in conversation. Jefferson (1990) was referenced for her descriptions of list construction used by a speaker. For example, lists often occur in basic three-part structure and can constitute a task for a speaker to accomplish an action through talk. Actions such as the organisation of turns can be managed through listing and can enable the achievement of transition from one speaker to another whilst serving as an interactional resource for negotiation (Jefferson (1990). Transcription systems such as the one developed by Gail Jefferson have also been used when studying laughter. Glenn and Holt (2013) invite us to address why studying laughter is linked to the way social action is constructed. This data examines various instances of laughter initiated by the speaker with a response from the audience.

The significance of highlighting these actions and the phenomena around them will demonstrate how the speaker creates affiliation between himself and the audience to encourage specific actions. Each extract is separately described in the analysis to demonstrate clearly what is happening at each point in the data and helps explicate the phenomenon inside the interactions.

By demonstrating reoccurring patterns this analysis helps build a case to support my research objectives. This approach will identify how the experimenter mitigates the artificiality of the experiment and recruits rhetorical devices to organise the interaction that promotes particular behaviours and social actions designed to elicit the successful outcome of the experiment.

Ethics

This research received ethical approval from the University of York and the Department of Sociology Ethics Committee (See Appendix 2). Data has been accurately replicated with names kept the same as the data that has been released from Stanford University. Permission for this study to use the publicised data has been acknowledged via email from the Special Collections & University Archives Department at Stanford University (See Appendix 3). Ethical guidelines have been followed according to the University of York and the British Sociology Association statement of ethical practice (British Sociological Association, 2017). Guidelines followed include professional integrity, data storage and confidentiality of all aspects. Archiving in appropriate measures will be taken to adhere to the professional guidelines.

Chapter Four – Analysis

Initial Description of the Data

In this chapter I examine data taken from a meeting titled '*Orientation Of The Guards*' between Zimbardo and participants due to play the role of guards. For the full transcription please see Appendix 1. At the start of the transcript PGZ: Zimbardo (also referred to as speaker or experimenter) addresses the guards (also referred to as the audience) in the room. Participants in the audience had not started their assigned roles in the experiment.

Prior to the start of extract one Zimbardo had been talking about the history and design of the experiment. He lets the audience know they are welcome to have access to the tapes after the experiment and also welcomed participants to invite their friends to the experiment after it had finished. He proceeds to officially introduce himself and colleagues and shares information about his career in psychology informing them of his interest in prisons and behaviour. Zimbardo describes his involvement with an ex-prisoner and describes how confessions were coerced in prisons. He talks about meeting with the ex-prisoner Carl Prescott and informs the audience how this individual had his own personal prison experience describing it as 'prison is a physical metaphor for loss of freedom'. Zimbardo informs the audience this meeting with Carl had sparked his interest in recreating a prison based experiment.

The transcription for analysis starts with Zimbardo explaining to the group how he expects the experiment to proceed. The interaction in this analysis will be analysed through the conversation that occurred between the experimenter and participants due to play the role of guards. Conversation is a common way to report or describe purportedly objective matters such as what is and what has happened (Pomerantz, 1984). The following extracts are in the order they were uttered in the meeting with line numbering kept similar to the main extract for easy reference (See Appendix 1).

Analysis

In this extract we will be looking at how social order is produced through interactional work by the speaker (PGZ: Phillip Zimbardo). For the following analytic theme I will be concentrating on how alignments and divides are made between the speaker and his audience (the guards) and the group that are not in the audience (the prisoners).

Extract (1) – Data from 03:44 – 04:24 Tape 1

```
1  PGZ:  in ↑general wha what all this leads to is a sense of powerlessness
2        that is (0.3) we have total power of the situation and they have
3        ↑none(0.9)and the question is what will they do t::o try to
4        (0.4)gain some power to gain some individuality=gain some freedom
5        to gain some privacy (0.5) a:hh t:o (0.2) a:h (0.4) essentially
6        (0.5) #ah (1.4) work against (.) us (0.4) t:o re↑gain some of what
7        they have ↑now    (  ) really moving outside (0.6) and we're gonna
8        take aw:ay whatever freedom (they bring in)(.) privacy they have
9        (.) ah (.) so ↑essentially that's (0.6) what we're doing a:nd (0.7)
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10 er Curt and Craig will describe the kinds of ↑data we will be
11 collecting n that's the experiment part (with that were) collecting
12 data (0.3) ah:m ↓I described some it before what we want from ↑you
13 °kinds of observation° ( ) (0.6)ah:m

At the beginning of this extract the speaker outlines the end goal of the experiment. He states the differences in power both groups of participants hold associated with the experiment. At line one the speaker starts with a generalisation the experiment will lead to 'a sense of powerlessness' but has not said where yet. At lines two to three the speaker uses two extreme case formulations within a contrast device 'we have total power of the situation and they have ↑none (0.9)'. Pomerantz (1986) describes some examples of words that formulate an ECF, these are words such as 'brand new', 'forever', 'nobody', 'always' and 'never'. Extreme case formulations can help maximise or minimise the object quality or state of affairs to which the speaker refers to. Other researchers identify ECFs as semantically formulated to invoke maximum or minimal properties of events or objects (Whitehead, 2015). Pomerantz (1986) discusses how a speaker can use an ECF when preparing for others to scale down their losses. They can also be used to strengthen claims when interacting such as when a speaker is selling, convincing, and arguing. ECFs are used to defend, justify, accuse and complain and are often used for justification of the rightness or wrongness of practice.

Researchers have shown participants design their utterances with a view a recipient may be hostile, sceptical or suspicious of what they are going to say. In the descriptions of paranormal events Wooffitt (1992) describes ECFs can be used by a speaker when they have grounds to suspect their accounts will receive an unsympathetic hearing. ECFs are also used when interactants may anticipate their claims may be undermined or when the speaker has grounds to think their accounts will not receive an agreement. Pomerantz (1986) identifies ways in which ECFs are produced, understood and responded:

1) To defend against counter challenges to the legitimacy of complaints, accusations, justifications and defences.

2) To propose phenomenon is the object or the objective rather than a product of the interaction or circumstances.

3) To propose that some behaviour is not wrong, or is right, by virtue of its status as frequently occurring or commonly done.

(Pomerantz 1986, p.219-220)

The two extreme case formulations and contrast device enable the speaker to form a relationship with the participants in the audience and inform they are the ones with power. Both groups are students and general citizens entering an experiment and neither hold any power at this point, the power is only held by the experimenter. Using an ECF in this context gives the speaker the ability to mitigate the artificiality of the setting and address the possibility the participants may be sceptical and not align with the behaviours this type of experiment is designed to elicit. The speaker is able to construct a hierarchy between both groups of participants and himself on the topic of power, these devices help frame the way for a 'sense of powerlessness' (line one) to be accomplished. The first ECF 'we have total power' consists of a positive description for himself and the guards whilst the second ECF 'they have none' is a negative description of the other group. The use of an extreme case formulation has created various intergroup differences. By creating these differences the speaker is able to address any doubt from the audience and mitigate the artificiality of the experiment. It is argued the membership of groups is occasioned with how a speaker may align themselves with a group through social and interactional context (Sacks, 1995). By using ECFs the speaker has created a 'them and us' situation that has given the speaker the ability to address any scepticism the audience may hold and the possibility they may not agree with his claims. He addresses both groups of participants as 'we and they' rather than one group of participants in an experiment. This makes relevant which experiment-related identities both groups of participants are to play.

Through the interaction the speaker can manage a person to have a membership with a wide range of characteristics belonging to a particular category. A description of someone's activities may be used to invoke category membership (Widdicombe, 1998). For example, if we know an individual is cabin crew we will ascribe certain characteristics for example, knowledge of aircraft. Schegloff (2007b) developed on membership categorisation and went on to describe how supposed identities in talk and interaction are formed when they seem to have some visible effect on how the interactions turn out.

These interactions can inform an audience of a person or groups identity without directly saying which one they are ascribed to. They can enable a speaker to 'hold off' from saying a person is doing something in particular because they are that supposed identity.

Five General Principles of Identity

- for a person to 'have an identity' – whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about - is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features;
- such casting is indexical and occasioned;
- it makes relevant the identity to the interactional business going on;
- the force of 'having an identity' is in its consequentiality in the interaction; and
- all this is visible in people's exploitation of the structures of conversation

(Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998, p. 3)

I have discussed how the speaker has accomplished creating separate role-identities through the use of ECFs. In addition, the use of ECFs can also be discussed in the form of a contrast device (Heritage, 1986). The two ECFs start with 'we' and 'they' at lines two and three, they can be seen as a contrastive structure 'we have total power of the situation and they have ↑none'. This provides further support that argues the speaker is using this interaction to create a separation of groups. Contrasting devices can be used to do certain things in talk for example, they can be used to boast about the speakers own view whilst undermining another person's view.

These structures can also be described as persuasive devices and have been shown to be effective for eliciting applause in situations such as political speeches (Atkinson, 1984). The ECFs used by the speaker employ a similar structure as described by Atkinson (1984). The utterance 'we have total power' is a boast about 'us' that identifies a common ground between the experimenter and his audience, whilst on the other hand the utterance 'and they have none' identifies with the group who are to play the role of prisoner (not in the audience). First the speaker allocates to his recipient the claim of power that then leads the speaker to un-allocate power from the other group using the second ECF.

This device allows the speaker to persuade the audience to agree with his claims that are designed to elicit the kinds of behaviours designed for this type of experiment. Contrastive devices are commonly used to make a point and can be often used to handle scepticism (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). Extreme case formulations used in contrast can move an audience to become sceptical of someone's version of events such as public statements. The statement 'we have total power' on line two could constitute a possible complete turn'. When dealing with the possibility of scepticism from the audience the speaker continues with 'and they have ↑none' this completes his claim of where the power lies. This helps to dismiss any scepticism of potential threat from the prisoners owning any power in this experiment. In addition the speaker has proposed a particular characterisation of the prisoners by constructing a version of events that discredits them and influences the audiences' understanding of events (Pomerantz, 1988).

This utterance also illustrates the use of silences and pauses ranging from 0.3 and 0.9. The distribution of pauses even as short as two or three tenths of a second in conversation have been demonstrated to have analytic significance in conversation (Jefferson, 1989). The pauses are situated to break up a series of events and are not situated to prompt or wait for a response from the recipient. The pauses can be described as 'theirs' (the speaker's pause) this gives the speaker a way to continue and manage his speech whilst describing events important for encouraging and promoting behaviours to promote a successful outcome. A longer pause of (0.9) at line three is more noticeable it enables a pause so the speaker can continue on the theme of power and follow the pause with a non-standard question 'what will they do t::o try to (0.4) gain' (line three to four). This question is raised as everyone's question and the speaker has not put possession of the question to himself or anyone else he has asked the question openly. The content of the question implies the other group will try to gain something.

The speaker has used the question to cast negative characteristics of the other group and describe a possible threat that implies the other group may be motivated to resist. The speaker has constructed an action through stating an unfavourable identity of the participants playing the role of prisoners.

The next part of the extract takes the form of a listing structure. As described earlier they are normally analysed using a three-parted structure. However, this listing is in a different format to the normal three-part structure described by Jefferson, (1990). She describes when lists are used recipients normally foresee the end of a unit when a speaker utters a list often in three parts (Jefferson, 1990). However, listings can be uttered in different formats and for the accomplishment of different interactional achievement. For reference, one example of analysing lists in three-parts is as follows:

Example 1.

(1) [MC:1] – Sidney (SID)

SID: While you've been talking tuh me, I mended, two nightshirts, a pillowcase? enna pair'v pants.

(Jefferson 1990, p.64)

The above extract shows a 'triple single' format listing. The listing informs the recipient how time has been used constructively, and is related to mending some clothing. Listings can do different things, and by presenting the events in the form of a list the recipient can use this as a focus for arriving at their own judgement to respond.

In ordinary conversation three-parted lists can be used to indicate a general quality that is common to the items in the list. Components placed in a list have interactional relevance and often speakers are not interrupted until the last unit of the list is complete, which is usually the third part. List construction can do two things it can accomplish something or it can be put to a recipient as a resource where they can respond accordingly. The listing runs through line four to five 'try to (0.4) gain some power to gain some individuality=gain some freedom to gain some privacy'. This list suggests that different norms would apply when a speaker is uttering a list comprised of four parts. In addition, this list has an acoustically repetitive theme where the speaker uses the word 'gain' in each unit of the list.

Jefferson (1990) describes when repeating a word speakers are able to gain acoustic consonance and flow in each unit expanding to a listing. The four components of the list comprise of power, individuality, freedom and privacy. Each of these components represent a concern of the speaker that surround the success of the experiment.

Jefferson (1990) explains when speakers search for a third list item a speaker may construct a list with acoustically similar words for example, ‘adultery, murder and thievery’. The first and third unit in this example show acoustic similarity with a similar ending ‘ery’. Having an acoustic similarity in an utterance helps the speaker to gain acoustic flow this can be likened to when the speaker repeatedly uses the word ‘gain. Jefferson (1990) draws upon the work of Harvey Sacks where he proposes words can be selected as they have similar sounds and have reference to the prior and projected events. The speaker has presented the list as four units where we have identified earlier this is different to the norms of a three-part list. In addition, the speaker gains acoustic flow through the list. These units are positioned for the recipient to use as a resource and understand the manner the experiment is to proceed in.

After the listing the speaker pauses for (0.5) and utters ‘a:hh t:o’. There is an additional hesitation of (0.2) seconds, which then prompts a further ‘a:h’. After a pause of (0.4) he takes a longer pause for (1.4). This length of pause or silence in the middle of speech fragments are relevant as they let the speaker display he is continuing to talk. Jefferson (1989) published some preliminary notes on the relevance of systematic, silence-relevant phenomenon. On researching the timing of a silence in tenths of a second she describes how silences such as inbreaths and prolonged ‘pause fillers’ support the notion that one second is a possible metric for a ‘standard maximum’ silence whilst in conversation. Jefferson noted pauses of nearly one second are ‘noticeable’ to an audience as they can indicate interactional trouble. The presence of pauses and silences serve as a tool that help manage who the next turn stays with.

After the long pause the speaker utters ‘#ah (1.4) work against (.) us’ (line six). This orients the audience to be aware the other group may be motivated to resist. In addition, the speaker uses the word ‘us’ to establish a familiarity with himself and the audience whilst pigeonholing the prisoners as a set of individuals who may resist. The speaker’s stance has changed from the earlier question raised on line three ‘the question is what will they do t::o try to (0.4)gain’. He is now structuring his questions to inform his audience the other group will resist and ultimately ‘work against (.) us’. After a pause of (0.4) at line six the speaker continues his speech to show the other group will try ‘t:o re↑gain some of what they have ↑now’. The speaker emphasises the word ‘regain’ continuing an acoustic flow using the word ‘gain’.

His concerns are what the other group will try to regain, and this refers to their life as a student with individuality, freedom and privacy. From line seven the speaker moves to state some actions that himself and the audience will do. He does this using the word 'we're', which unites himself with his audience. He states 'and we're gonna take aw:ay whatever freedom (they bring in) (.) privacy they have (.)'. Listing words such as 'freedom' and 'privacy' highlights the features that are integral for the successful outcome of this laboratory based experiment.

In this extract we have shown how the speaker has used various devices to make different types of descriptions of both groups of participants. Devices such as ECFs, listing and contrast devices have helped the speaker invoke experiment-related identities and create a separation of groups before the experiment has started. He has raised concerns on how the prisoners may behave whilst encouraging certain behaviours designed for this type of experiment to be successful. He has addressed participants may resist and has minimised the likelihood of being undermined. He has informed his audience they possess power that in turn takes it away from the other group before the experiment has started.

In the following section I will look at how the speaker makes use of laughter. I will look at how he uses laughter to modulate troublesome subjects, encourage a successful outcome and address the artificiality of the experiment.

Extract (2) – Data (04:38 – 05:46) from Tape One

```
15  PGZ:  you asked the question about money (0.4) a:h for this ↑study (0.6)
16        #↓ah it runs (0.3) two weeks we'll we'll cost this (0.8) oh
17        somewhere between five and eight thousand dollars °#that's for two
18        weeks° (0.4) ahm (0.9) #↓now (0.2) we using <money> kind of
19        subverted from [£ah::m£              ]=
20  GUA:                 [((laughter from all))]
21  PGZ:                =[£↑government ↑grant £]=
22        (( group laughter carries on))
23  PGZ:  =£↑I gotta£ grant to study(0.9) oh conditions which lean too ah:m
24        (0.3) ah mob behaviour ↑violence (.)loss <of> (0.2) ↑identity
25        feelings of anonymity (0.2) ah:m (.)I had done some previous
26        studies with this before on ahm (.) ↑oh vandalism (0.8) putting
27        <cars out> in  Palo Alto New York maybe you've read about
28        th[at          ]
29  ( ):    [oh yeah (  )]
30  PGZ:  yeah and just observe the studies I did (.) an we just set people
31        up with cameras just observing you know [↑now              ]=
32  GUA                                           [((group laughter))]
```

PGZ: = [↑now middle class people became] vandals came and stripped the cars and destroyed them (0.3) well this is a similar kind of thing (0.7) ahm (0.2) <and> (.) you know we started up here we're interested in setting up prisons see how ↓°people ° would act with ↑roles in ( )(0.7) ↑a:nd they went along with it <so> (0.2) #aah (.) that's why we are doing this in grand style you know rebuilding downstairs paying you fifteen dollars a-piece (0.3) the prisoners we have to feed them through meals °we

At line 15 the speaker refers to a question that was asked earlier by the audience 'you asked the question about money'. He lets his audience know the experiment will be running for two weeks (line 16) and proceeds to highlight a vague costing 'we'll cost this (0.8) oh somewhere between five and eight thousand dollars'. Vagueness is demonstrated to be more effective than being precise in conveying the intended meaning of an utterance. When expressing quantities vagueness may convey assumptions about a speaker or a recipients beliefs, and rarely leads to misunderstandings (Jucker, Smith and Ludge, 2003). After a longer pause of (0.9) the speaker moves to the next topic of where the money has come from. He continues to let the audience know '#↓now (0.2) we using <money> kind of subverted from' (line 18-19). The word 'subverted' gives an indication to the recipient that somebody has been undermined in order to obtain something. It gives the notion of undermining somebody with power and authority in a system or institution. The speaker ends this unit of talk in a smile-voice '£ah::m£' (line 19). This helps the speaker to prompt an affiliative response of laughter (line 20). Research has shown how smiling has a positive effect on friendly and non-hostile attitudes (Hoof, 1972).

The speaker is on the topic of subverting money that may be seen as a troublesome subject. The speaker uses '£ah::m£' to wait for a response, which in this case is an overlap of laughter. Jefferson (1984) laid the foundations for her pioneering work on laughter in troubles telling sequences. She describes how people who tell of troubles often laugh as a way of coping with their troubles. Schegloff (1995) refers to laughter at the end of a turn as a 'post completion stance maker' these points help the speaker construct a possible completion and are used to manage trouble at the end of a turn or unit. Whilst the room is consumed in laughter the speaker overlaps and utters '£↑government ↑grant £' (line 21) this is also in a smile-voice and of a louder pitch that is in unison with the laughter that has already occurred. Initiating laughter at this point makes light of the dishonest subject at hand whilst helping the speaker to mitigate the severity of the matter.

The speaker continues '=£↑I gotta£ grant to study(0.9) oh conditions which lean too ah:m (0.3) ah mob behaviour ↑violence (.)loss <of> (0.2) ↑identity feelings of anonymity' (line 24-25). The speaker uses a listing device here to present units that describe unfriendly past experiences. He implies the funding had been secured under less than ethical means and recruits his audience to be in a scheme that gains an advantage over authorities. In a breakdown of the list the first part describes 'mob behaviour violence' this demonstrates the speaker has dealt with particular behaviours involving dangerous groups. The second and third part of the list reflect on a psychological theme and adopts a significant acoustic flow 'loss <of> (0.2) ↑identity feelings of anonymity'. Sacks (1995) describes how listings, which have acoustic consonance between a word and the prior series of initiated words such as identity and anonymity are linked by their similar endings 'ity'. The third list item has a historically sensitive relationship to the prior second list item. This relationship enables the use of a similar ending in the third part to become the list completer.

Jefferson (1990) highlights how three-parted list construction has a programmatic relevance that can constitute turn-constructional components. She describes related phenomenon that suggest three-partedness can be 'poetically' implicated in list relevant talk. He continues and asks a question 'maybe you've read about th[at]' (line 27-28). Pomerantz (1984) describes how speakers expect a response from a recipient that supports or agrees with what is being said. If this is not done there are remedies that speakers adopt to then obtain a response. One of the recipients overlaps the last part of the unit and responds with '[oh yeah ( )]' (line 29). This confirms to the speaker the audience has acknowledged what he has said.

For the next part of the analysis I will concentrate on lines 30-35. The speaker describes 'we just set people up with cameras just observing you know [↑now]' (line 30-31). The speaker uses the word 'just', which helps minimise the operation he is describing and undermines the severity of the trouble. Researchers have described how the production of sentences that include the word 'just' can be used in an affiliative environment to minimise topics that demonstrate troubles-telling and advice giving (Holmes, Toerien and Jackson, 2017).

The audience overlap his speech with laughter, which stops his line of talk (line 32). Once an affiliative response has been actioned this can propel the troubles-telling further. The speaker goes on to overlap the audiences laughter to continue with his sentence and continue with the last word he was initially overlapped with '↑now' (line 31). He continues to overlap with his description of his past work '=[↑now middle class people became] vandals came and stripped the cars and destroyed them' (line 33-34). The speaker has described how he was able to show people of a certain class are able to change and exhibit negative behaviours. Describing middle class people that exhibit these types of behaviours helps the speaker relate these types of behaviours to this experiment, and it formulates the notion that anyone, of any class, can do bad things.

This extract has shown how the speaker has used laughter and a smile-voice to manage troublesome subjects whilst creating an affiliation with the audience. He has modulated the severity of troublesome behaviours that are required for this type of experiment to be successful using laughter. This creates an affiliation between himself and the audience. The speaker has used descriptions of past experiments as a tool to frame participants in an unfriendly way. Using these experiences and making light or fun of them helps the speaker modulate the severity of the behaviours he requires for type this experiment, and encourages a successful outcome whilst addressing the artificiality of the experiment.

In the following section I will continue to look at how the experimenter uses past experiences to build credibility based on past experiments and the experience he has gained. I will look at how the speaker addresses any scepticism the participants may have on how they are expected to behave whilst invoking an obligation to conform. I will look at how he addresses the artificiality of the experiment and the realism this is not a real-life situation.

Extract (3) – Data from 05:42 – 06:03 Tape One

```
23  PGZ:  =£↑I gotta£ grant to study(0.9) oh conditions which lean too ah:m
24        (0.3) ah mob behaviour ↑violence (.)loss <of> (0.2) ↑identity
25        feelings of anonymity (0.2) ah:m (.)I had done some previous
26        studies with this before on ahm (.) ↑oh vandalism (0.8) putting
27        <cars out> in  Palo Alto New York maybe you've read about
28        th[at           ]
29  ( ):    [oh yeah (  ) ]
30  PGZ:  yeah and just observe the studies I did (.) an we just set people
31        up with cameras just observing you know [↑now                ]=
32  GUA                                           [((group laughter))  ]
33  PGZ:                                        =[↑now  middle  class  people
34        became] vandals came and stripped the cars and destroyed them(0.3)
35        well this is a similar kind of thing (0.7) ahm (0.2) <and> (.) you
36        know we started up here we're interested in setting up prisons see
37        how ↓°people ° would act with ↑roles in (  )(0.7) ↑a:nd they went
38        along with it <so> (0.2) #aah (.) that's why we are doing this in
39        grand style you know rebuilding downstairs paying you fifteen
40        dollars a piece (0.3) the prisoners we have to feed them through
41        meals °we have° <beds> ah <bedding> <laundry> <towels> (.) ah (.)
42        this (.) prisoners are bringing nothing into the situation (0.8)
43        ahh (0.5) you know I think what I can (       ) and he's going to
44        take over (0.8) cause I have to  go to the ↑police department °now°
45        (0.5) the ↑important thing  obviously is (0.6) the prisoners will
46        all think
```

This extract will be discussed from line 36 onwards in which the speaker describes his interest in setting up prisons and putting people in roles. He builds his credibility as a famous researcher expecting the audience to know him (lines 23-31). At line 35 he starts by making a comparison to a previous experiment 'well this is a similar kind of thing'. The experiments he has previously conducted are based on criminal activity and negative attributes of individuals such as mob behaviour, violence and vandalism. Using a comparison at this stage of his speech creates a sense that he has experience in this line of research that helps to persuade the audience to trust him.

From line 36-37 the speaker describes what they (as experimenters) are interested in 'setting up prisons see how ↓°people ° would act with ↑roles'. He informs the audience '↑a:nd they went along with it' stating a national funding agency or type of authority had made a decision to fund the research. From line 39 the speaker continues with a three-parted listing device that is based on positive descriptions attributed to the participants in the audience. The speaker starts with '(.) that's why we are doing this in grand style', he then utters the second unit of the list 'rebuilding downstairs', and then follows with the third part 'paying you fifteen dollars'.

Using words such as ‘grand style’, ‘rebuilding’ and ‘paying you’ constructs a positive situation for the guards that invokes obligation. This encourages the participants to agree with roles in the preparation stages of the experiment.

After a short pause of (0.3) on line 40 the speaker continues with a second listing device that is associated with the other group who are assigned to play the role of prisoner. The list starts after a negative statement about the prisoners ‘the prisoners we have to feed them through meals’. He uses the word ‘we have to’ this indicates they have no choice and is a direct statement. He continues and assumes an exhaustive list of the prisoners needs, this adopts an acoustic flow similar to the first negative statement ‘°we have° <beds>’. This leads to a three-part listing ‘ah <bedding> <laundry> <towels>’ (line 41). This is a continuation of the listing and is similar to the one used by the speaker in extract one in which he adopts an acoustically repetitive theme using similar sounding words to gain acoustic flow throughout the sentence (Jefferson, 1990). The speaker lists units that again are beyond that of a three-parted list and beyond the norms of three parts ‘<beds> ah <bedding> <laundry> <towels>’. This is to address the programmatic relevance in which the speaker uses listings to describe to the audience the impact the prisoners will have on the experiment just in their everyday needs. Jefferson (1990) describes how three-partedness can be a problem for speakers in which listings can have different structures. The relevance of why this device is constructed this way is allocated to produce an exhaustive list of needs that are attributed to the participants playing the role of prisoners.

In addition, the first part of the listing includes an ECF as a maximum case formulation. This helps justify his earlier claim of securing a grant to fund this experiment and how the money will be used. He utters ‘we have to feed them’ stating there is no other choice but they have to feed the other group. The way the speaker structures his talk with the use of devices such as ECFs creates an awareness of how the other group will be exhaustively dependent on them and will come with needs. The speaker has used listings to describe negative and positive role-identities of both groups. The descriptions of both groups have created a social stereotyping of a prisoner that helps the speaker frame his appeals to the audience. Social stereotyping is often warranted by social identity theorists who invoke a particular social identity. These frame conversation, identities and descriptions that never appear directly, and are used in interactional structures indirectly (Antaki, Condor and Levine, 1996). What follows after the listing is a second extreme case formulation (line 42).

He states ‘prisoners are bringing nothing (into) the situation’. This formulation is uttered at the final stages of his list of negative descriptions of the other group. By stating the other group will be coming into the situation with nothing helps the speaker work to undercut resistance to the idea people playing the role of prisoner are like them. This holds the ‘prisoners’ responsible for a portion of the funding for the experiment.

In this section we have looked at how the speaker has used past experiences to build credibility. We have shown how the speaker has mentioned factors such as money to invoke an obligation to participate. The speaker has addressed any scepticism the audience may have on how to behave in the role ahead of them. The speaker is aware the audience know this is not a real life situation and by constructing his speech through various descriptions he is able to encourage participants to enter the experiment and behave in a way the experiment is designed to elicit.

In extract four I will focus on the transcript from line 44 where the speaker talks about what he thinks the participants once in their new role as prisoners will expect and do. The speaker describes how funding for the experiment has been obtained and where it will be spent. I will continue to look at how the experimenter mitigates the artificiality of the experiment and persuades his audience what types of behaviours may occur in the experiment from the participants playing the role of prisoner.

Extract (4) – Data from 06:08- 06:24 Tape One

38 PGZ: along with it <so> (0.2) #aah (.) that’s why we are doing this in
39 grand style you know rebuilding downstairs paying you fifteen
40 dollars a piece (0.3) the prisoners we have to feed them through
41 meals °we have° <beds> ah <bedding> <laundry> <towels> (.) ah (.)
42 this (.) prisoners are bringing nothing into the situation (0.8)
43 ahh (0.5) you know I think what I can ( ) and he’s going to
44 take over (0.8) cause I have to go to the ↑police department °now°
45 (0.5) the ↑important thing obviously is (0.6) the prisoners will
46 all think this is gonna be all fun and games the signing up the
47 fifteen bucks a day to sit ↑around (0.3) you know °and not do
48 anything for two weeks° (0.8) ahm (0.2) now ↑we don’t know how long
49 its gonna run it can run as much as two weeks=every prisoner said
50 he has two week’s time ( )(live here)(0.4) <i:f> (0.4) ah if it
51 looks like it’s (0.2) too ↑heavy we might have to end earlier (.)
52 if something else happens (0.2) we’ll run (.) up to two weeks so we
53 have we have the space and freedom to do that (0.8) ah:m (0.6) ↑the
54 problem we (were) facing as ↑how do we make it ↓start (0.5) ( )
55 suppose you are prisoners and you

In the extract above the speaker orients his audience around topics relating to the start of the experiment. He mentions 'cause I have to go to the ↑police department °now°' (line 44). Mentioning the police lends some realism to the experiment and may reassure what they are doing is not unlawful. Sacks' (1989) analysis of identity through membership categorisation shows us how people categorise individuals. Through categorical attributions such as those related to the police we can make assumptions about people, their motives and their anticipated actions. The speaker has associated himself with the police, which in turn builds confidence and affiliation between himself and the audience.

After the speaker has informed the audience where he needs to go he moves to an 'important' point he wants to raise (line 45). After a pause of half a second he utters 'the ↑important thing obviously is'. Using the word 'obviously' creates a concept or an idea the members of the audience already know what he is talking about or will be in agreement with. The speaker uses an ECF 'the prisoners will all think this is gonna be all fun and games' (lines 45-46). Using this formulation here the speaker is able to address the issue of how the prisoners may act when they come into the experiment. This also implies they may not take the experiment seriously. He has let the audience know it is not just one or two that may think it's fun and games but actually it is 'all' the prisoners. The speaker describes what they will 'think', and when we describe what someone thinks it is often speculation only. The speaker cannot for certain say what they are thinking however, he is able to legitimise and strengthen his claim by using a maximum case formulation.

The speaker has strengthened his case using a formulation that helps convince the audience to agree with his claims especially if the audience may have a non-sympathetic reaction to what he is saying. After the speaker has oriented his audience this way he moves onto his next utterance that takes the form of a listing device. The first unit of the list states 'this is gonna be all fun and games' (line 46). The second unit continues with 'the signing up the fifteen bucks a day and the third unit finishes with 'to sit around'. After the listing the speaker continues with describing what the prisoners will do 'you know °and not do anything for two weeks'. This list helps the speaker to accomplish a particular description of the other group and their motivations to resist, be lazy and not take the experiment seriously.

By categorising the other group we are able to make sense to ourselves why something has occurred for example if someone commits a crime people may ask 'did he have a criminal record' if this is confirmed then people may understand why it had happened because of the category they are ascribed to (Sacks, 1989).

In addition these utterances can be discussed as being used in a contrasting way to frame an injustice. The utterance 'the prisoners will all think this is gonna be all fun and games' (lines 45-46) is used by the speaker to imply quite the opposite of this and it is actually not going to be 'fun and games'. The second unit of the list focuses on the other groups pay 'signing up the fifteen bucks a day'. The speaker uses the topic of pay to explain the prisoners also get paid to be there however, not like the guards who are paid to work in the experiment, the prisoners will think they are being paid 'to sit ↑around'. This creates an injustice to the participants playing the role of guards and the interaction is managed to show they will be the ones required to work for their money. The devices used enable the speaker to portray the participants playing the role of prisoner to have a naïve and optimistic identity. He uses the devices to construct a theme that persuades participants in the audience to be very much aware the other group may not take this experiment seriously and could therefore jeopardise the outcome. The speaker has given a resource for the participants to use and respond accordingly by creating a negative resource attributed to the other group. A contrast is made between what the prisoners think and what is actually going to happen by injecting realism into the experiment, involving the police and stripping the prisoners of their general citizens' rights. This helps the speaker to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and build an affiliation with his audience. He has used descriptions to persuade participants of how the other group may behave. This in turn may promote certain behaviours from the guards designed for this type of experiment.

In the next extract I will look at how the speaker mitigates the artificiality of the experiment and the short time frame he has to conduct this study. I will look at how the speaker manages a successful outcome by addressing the issue the participants are not real-life criminals and are citizens who may not conform to the expectations of this experiment.

Extract (5) – Data from 06:38 – 07:03 Tape One –

PGZ: have we have the space and freedom to do that (0.8) ah:m (0.6) ↑the problem we (were) facing as ↑how do we make it ↓start (0.5) ( ) suppose you are prisoners and you came in and said ok <man> we're in prison °here it is you know take every cross belief (why not)° (0.3) ↑still kn ↑know you're <person> a <subject> a:hm (.) you know were you're(under or) you're an individual (0.7)and it's gonna take some long time to take that ↓away=and that's not what really ↑happens °when you get picked up° (0.5) so what's gonna ↑happen ↑tomorrow i:s (0.2) we told ss=students to wait (0.3)in their houses ( ) rules ( )° (0.9) ↑squad cars gonna pull £↑up£

In the above extract the speaker raises a difficulty he mentions '↑the problem we (were) facing' (line 53-54). He follows with a description '↑how do we make it ↓start' (line 54). The difficulty he raises helps him engage the audience along a particular theme. The difficulty raised in extract one line three 'what will they do' and here at line 54 do not require a response and are used as a device to inform the audience of something. The speaker proceeds to talk about how they would make the experiment start and continue 'suppose you are prisoners and you came in and said ok <man> we're in prison °here it is' (line 55). Here the speaker changes his strategy and invites the audience to imagine themselves in the identity of a prisoner. This strategy helps the speaker strengthen his claims made or is about to make about the participants who will play the role of prisoner. The audience are made aware of how they might behave if they went into this experiment as a prisoner rather than a guard.

Next the speaker uses an extreme case formulation '°here it is you know take every cross belief' (line 56). By maximising this formulation the speaker is able to defend against any counter challenges that may arise in the experiment and advises the audience what they need to be aware of in terms of the other participants having cross beliefs and resisting. Using the word 'cross' frames the notion there will be resistance that may lead to conflict. This orients the audience to establish a negative characterisation of the other group. By reporting negative descriptions of the other group the speaker is able to encourage behaviours from the audience that are designed for this type of experiment. The speaker continues to explain to his audience '↑know you're <person> a <subject> a:hm', this utterance includes a self-repair (line 57). The speaker describes the components of the utterance as '↑know you're <person>' to which he then refers to them as 'a <subject>'.

The self-repair reminds the audience the other group are subjects, this draws a distinction between what the prisoners think about themselves as a person, subject or citizen and what is going to happen in the experiment. Self-repairs are used rhetorically as an action, in this instance the components of the repair are used to describe a particular identity of the other group to the audience. Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) describe repair as the temporary suspension of a turn or sequence in order to attend to a certain troublesome feature.

Example 2.

(22) [T1:SA:F:F]
1 A: .h>Well<>yu've<actually wro(t)-
2 rung the wrong number

(Hutchby and Wooffit 2008, p.62)

In the above example Hutchby and Wooffit (2008) illustrate how a speaker may correct themselves mid-way through a turn. The speaker initiates a self-repair and replaces the words 'wro(t)' to 'rung'. This type of repair is used to correct themselves when they have acknowledged the correct words they would like to use. Here we see the speaker changes his description of the individual from 'person' and substitutes this reference for a much more informal and impersonal reference 'a subject'. By stating to the audience they are 'subjects' takes away any realisation the audience may have had that they are all of equal power and helps guide the audience to cooperate with what is expected of them for the experiment.

The speaker moves on 'its gonna take some long time to take that ↓away' (line 58-59). Here the speaker orients the audience to a theme similarly discussed in extract one (line one) in which describes 'in ↑general wha what all this leads to is a sense of powerlessness'. The point he makes about powerlessness being imposed on the other group is supported by the point he is making here about taking away a person's personal attributes. The speaker knows it will take a long time to take certain attributes away and needs the experiment to lead to one group of participants becoming powerless in the short time he has for the experiment.

At line 59-60 the speaker goes on to claim 'that's not what really ↑happens °when you get picked up°'. This utterance takes the form of a comparative structure that produces a comparison for the audience to a real life scenario. He highlights to the audience what the other group may come into the experiment with in terms of beliefs and attitudes and proceeds to compare it to what will happen to the participants playing the role of prisoner. This comparison draws attention to the concept that being arrested is not normally a nice experience and is not at the choice of the recipient. The speaker has structured his talk to help him build a case to address the issues that may arise as stated on line 56 that there will be resistance from the other group to conform. The speaker has used descriptions of the prisoners to help him address the issue of how to make the experiment start whilst managing the issue of the short timeframe they have.

In this extract the speaker has asked the audience to put themselves in the role of the other group and assume an identity, which goes with it. This has framed the way for the speaker to address the audience in a way that mitigates his claims and requests of the audience whilst dealing with the short time frame he has for the study. The speaker is aware it is not a real-life situation and there is a possibility none of the participants will conform. He reminds the audience to know the other group as subjects not citizens, which helps the speaker to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment. These initial points construct a framework for the audience to become aware of what is expected of them in their impending roles. It addresses possible issues that may arise in the experiment and therefore encourage certain behaviours from the guards.

In the next extract I will continue to look at how laughter is used to modulate the severity of the behaviours required for this type of experiment. I will look at how the speaker takes the form of storytelling to modulate the interaction and create an affiliation with the audience.

Extract (6) – Data from 07:01 – 07:46 Tape One

59 PGZ: some long time to take that ↓away=and that's not what really
60 ↑happens °when you get picked up° (0.5) so what's gonna ↑happen
61 ↑tomorrow i:s (0.2) we told ss=students to wait (0.3)in their
62 houses ( ) rules ( )° (0.9) ↑squad cars gonna pull £↑up£
63 ((loud laugh from one of the group then group laughter joins))
64 GUA: ((loud laughter from group))
65 PGZ: £somebody (0.3) the police are gonna come o:ut a:sk£ the guys name

66 ( ) say he's been suspected of a crime I don't ↓know (0.4)
67 they'll just leave a (b:ang) (as) he dropping some↑thing
68 (0.6)
69 GUA: [((progressive laughter from all rising in pitch once all laugh))]
70 [((four loud banging noises))]
71 PGZ: [↑come with ↑us]=
72 ( ): [((background giggling)]
73 =[and ↑handcuff him] ↑put him in the ↑car =↑take him
74 do:wn to the police station take him to <security> underground
75 entrance (0.5) contain him (think what were gonna do) book him
76 blindfold him and then Kurt and Craig are going to pick him up
77 (0.2) ah cause they'll be blindfolded they won't be able to see
78 moving out (0.2)and bring em do:wn here (.) and take their
79 blindfolds off and they'll be imprisoned and we're going to take
80 their clothes off delouse them with ah powder spray ah put on a
81 uniform we'll have some people making uniforms
82

I will concentrate on lines 59-74 in which the speaker describes a line of events on the first day. Sacks (1995) describes how telling things that happen to individuals offers a way for the speaker to describe, explain and account for current circumstances. The speaker describes 'so what's gonna ↑happen ↑tomorrow' (lines 60-61) and moves on to describe 'we told ss=students to wait (0.3) in their houses'. In this utterance we see a prolonged 's' that starts at the beginning of the word 'students' the speaker has proceeded with the word students and then stumbled on finishing it. This indicates a self-repair was initiated and when describing participants he proceeds with the word 'students' this repairs the source for the recipient (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). In previous extracts the speaker has referred to the other group as 'they' or 'prisoners' this is the first time in this part of the data he refers to them as 'students', which is their true identity.

After a long pause the speaker uses a higher pitch and emphasises his next utterance '↑squad cars gonna pull £↑up£' (line 62). The final word of the turn is said in a smile-voice, this is indicated within the pounds signs '£↑up£'. Hoof (1972) describes how smiling with baring of teeth shows a positive effect on friendly and non-hostile attitudes. Laughter is not just a reaction to humour it can be used to regulate an ongoing interaction (Chen, 2016). Here the speaker has prompted a response of laughter from one person in the audience (line 63). Additional members of the audience join in the laughter (line 64) and laughter follows increasing in volume. The speaker has initiated laughter at the point in his speech to deal with the possibility the audience may not agree with troublesome subjects. The topic of being arrested could cause some concern with participants however, this is not a real life situation and it is in the speaker's interests to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment.

Making light of what is happening to the other participants will help the speaker persuade participants to accept what is happening.

After the laughter has finished he uses a smile-voice to continue his speech to the audience '£somebody (0.3) the police are gonna come o:ut a:sk£' (line 65). Here the speaker has used a self-repair device in which he has temporarily suspended the turn to repair himself. He has changed the identity of 'somebody' to the identity of the 'police' to orient the audience in a way that provides him with some credibility. It attends to how the audience may feel around this troublesome feature (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). After the repair the speaker describes the police will 'come o:ut a:sk£ the guys name' (line 65). He uses the word 'guy' to describe the participants, which detaches personal attachment or the fact he is part of the experiment just like himself and the audience. The speaker continues to describe how the police will let the participants know they are suspected of a crime (line 66-67). The speaker follows this with 'I don't ↓know (0.4) they'll just leave a '(b:ang and so your) dropping some↑thing'. This unit enables the speaker to provide a description of events to the audience of the other group getting arrested on the first day. He finishes this turn and pauses for just over half a second (0.6) which allows for a response from the audience. The response starts with quiet laughter and then progresses to more people joining in. Glen and Holt (2013) describe how speakers can signal to recipients they are not seeking to speak next which could also indicate there is a pause left for laughter. Shaw, Hepburn and Potter (2013) describe how laughter fills a particular transition relevant place in interaction and suggest how laughter fills the space where a delay maybe ensued. Referring to this as turn-initial laughter they describe how the acoustic quality of laughter is also referred to as 'step-up' laughter that has interactional relevance in talk. This type of laughter is more recognisable through an increase in the volume of laughter particles and creates a united response from the audience.

The speaker continues to describe the next events and takes a different stance that uses a storytelling theme. He takes the identity of a police officer and raises his voice to say 'come with us' (line 71). Researchers have identified how story telling is designed to implement a range of actions and can highlight interactants use ways to communicate like storytelling to implement social actions such as make fun of someone (Mandelbaum, 2013).

In a chapter on the organisation of laughter in talk about troubles Jefferson (1989) describes how storytelling of troubles can be done in an affiliative way to respond to the troublesome subject at hand. Adopting an affiliative response from the recipient can help propel troubles-telling further. Storytelling enables the speaker to manage his utterances and the events he is describing and he continues with listing the events of the first day.

Over background giggling the speaker continues with his story that overlaps the audience. He emphasises the word '<u>handcuff</u>' and raises the pitch so he can be heard over the giggling. From line 73 the speaker uses a listing device to describe what will happen once the other participants get arrested. The listing that also does not take the normal structure of three parts consists of five units and describes '=[and ↑<u>handcuff</u> him] ↑<u>put</u> him in the ↑<u>car</u> =↑<u>take</u> him do:wn to the police station take him to <security> underground entrance (0.5) contain him'. As described earlier this extract makes use of an acoustic flow using the word 'him' in the five components (Jefferson, 1990). Using a similar sounding word helps the speaker flow through simple statements that describe what will happen to the other group. The speaker continues by adding two further units that also contain the word 'him' he utters '(think what were gonna do) book him blindfold him'.

This extract has shown how various devices that are embedded in the description of the first day of the experiment such as listings, laughter, and smile-voice have been used to mitigate the severity of this type of experiment. The speaker has used a self-repair to orient the audience in a way that provides credibility for this type of experiment. The speaker has used laughter to take the seriousness of it away. Using laughter has helped modulate the interaction and helped the speaker realise an affiliation with the audience. The speaker has used a strategy of storytelling to manage troublesome features and create an affiliative way to manage his need to recruit specific behaviours designed for this type of experiment.

This chapter has provided an analysis of data that has identified various conversation analytic devices used by the speaker to accomplish a particular social action. I have highlighted where and how the speaker has mitigated the artificiality of the experiment and managed the issue of the short time constraints the experiment has.

Through all six extracts I have shown where the speaker has used various descriptions of participants, past experiments and the experiment itself to encourage the kinds of behaviour this experiment is designed to elicit. I have also highlighted how laughter has been used to modulate the severity of the behaviours required for this type of experiment whilst creating an affiliation with the guards in the audience before the experiment has started. In the next chapter I will look at the literature drawn upon earlier along with the findings in this data analysis to discuss how the function of language and design of Zimbardo's interaction in the preparation stages of the experiment impacted on this laboratory based experiment. This will highlight the challenges of social organisation in experiments. It will focus on the implications social psychological experiments face when drawing their conclusions.

Chapter Five – Discussion

This study contributes to understanding the role of interaction in social psychology experiments. I have examined Zimbardo's briefing to participants in the experiment to expand our understanding of how the function of language and design of a person's utterances through talk-in-interaction can impact on the trajectory of psychological experiments. This analysis gives evidence of interactional orientation through a speech in a meeting before the experiment had started. When analysing the data the research questions I have focused on are:

- How does the experimenter mitigate the artificiality of the experiment through interaction and persuade participants in the preparation stages of the experiment?

- What rhetorical devices are used to encourage and organise the interaction to promote behaviours designed to elicit the successful outcome of the experiment?

- How is the use of laughter used to modulate the severity of the behaviours required for this type of experiment and create an affiliation with the participants due to play the role of guards?

This discussion will summarise key findings found in the data to support my research questions. It will focus on these findings to provide a structure that shows the importance of language and how it is used in the preparation stages of the experiment. I will discuss key conversation analytic devices used by the speaker in relation to the literature and reflect on the methodological approach I have chosen to study this interaction.

Summary of Key Findings

In all extracts I identified various devices and focused on what the devices were being used to do in relation to my research questions. My first question was answered through extracts one to six. I found the experimenter mitigated the artificiality of the experiment by using devices themed around the topic of power to create intergroup differences. In extract two the speaker uses a contrastive device that helps the speaker to make a comparison between real-life and this experiment to mitigate the artificiality of the study. In extracts two and six the speaker uses laughter and a smile-voice again to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and address the severity of the troublesome subject at hand. In extract five the speaker uses a self-repair to remind the audience the other group are subjects and take away any personal attributes, which helps to mitigate the artificiality of this experiment. The speaker repeatedly made various favourable descriptions attributed to participants playing the role of guards and unfavourable descriptions attributed to participants playing the role of prisoner. Another way the speaker was able to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment was in extracts four and six. Here the speaker talks about his relationship with the police and their role in setting up and playing a part in the study, this helped the speaker to bring some realism to the experiment. Using membership categorisations such as the police can encourage people to make assumptions of that categorisation and their motives and actions (Sacks, 1989). The membership categorical work used here invites trust and empathy from participants in the audience whilst creating an affiliation between the speaker and the audience.

These descriptions throughout all the extracts help the speaker to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and encourage the kind of behaviours needed whilst addressing time constraints. In extract five the speaker changes how he refers to the participants and refers to them as a 'subject' this takes away their personal value as a US citizen. He is reminding the audience this is what the prisoner's think they are.

Taking away someone's personal value strips them of their personal identity and makes way for a new identity to be constructed. The speaker has taken away their personal value to help mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and help encourage the participants to conform with their new roles in a specific manner.

My second question was also answered throughout all six extracts. In extract one the speaker uses ECF's with a contrast device on the topic of power to address any scepticism the audience may have had on taking part in the experiment and exhibiting the behaviours this type of experiment is designed to elicit. The speaker addressed the power was with 'them' which helped encourage participants to be confident in the process as they had the power. In extract one the speaker talked about a motivation to resist and raised concerns on how prisoners may behave. Through his speech the speaker constructed a hierarchy using ECF's to help him persuade participants through his speech to exhibit particular behaviours needed for the experiment. Listings helped the speaker to create an unfavourable identity of the prisoners that contributed to structuring separate role-identities. This separation made clear the types of behaviours that are associated with both specific roles the participants were to play in the experiment.

Through extract three the speaker uses a listing to invoke obligation on the guards. He mentions he is paying the audience to work in their given roles. This may make the guards feel obliged to agree with the roles and exhibit behaviours designed for this type of experiment. The speaker talks about past research and uses this to build credibility that helps to encourage the audience to trust he is experienced in this field. In extract four the speaker uses a contrasting device to make a distinction between what the prisoners think will happen and what is actually going to happen. What is clearly shown throughout the data is the listings contain unfavourable descriptions of the prisoners and favourable descriptions of the guards that help to encourage behaviours from the guards once the experiment starts. Through extract five the speaker mitigates the reality this is not a real-life situation and the guards may not conform to the behaviours associated with their role. He does this making the audience aware the prisoners may do something. He also uses a self-repair that refers to the participants as subjects, and this helps to address the issue the guards may not conform if they know these are not real criminals.

My third question was answered through extracts two and six where I concentrated on how laughter is used in the speech. In extract two the speaker uses a smile-voice and laughter to modulate descriptions of troublesome subjects. He was able to use descriptions of participants in past experiments whilst initiating laughter to make light and fun of these experiences. The speaker receives a response of laughter from the audience that indicates the speaker is managing the interaction and has regulated the troublesome interactional business at hand (Chen, 2016). In extract six the speaker uses storytelling to describe the events of the first day and to minimise the severity of what will happen. The speaker uses a smile-voice to generate laughter between himself and the audience whilst telling a story. Again the speaker generates a response of laughter from the audience that forms an affiliation. By generating laughter and making light and fun of the troublesome subject at hand the speaker is able to modulate the severity of what behaviours are actually going to happen once the experiment starts.

The speaker has used various devices to manage the interaction. The speaker was able to encourage participants to exhibit particular behaviours this type of experiment is designed to elicit whilst addressing any scepticism from the audience. All extracts support the speaker's agenda to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and the short amount of time they have for this research. The speaker has modulated the severity of certain behaviours to ensure these types of behaviours are produced, which ensures a successful outcome.

Methodological Reflection

Based on the literature review I have discussed two available approaches that could offer this analysis empirical opportunities. Evaluated for their contributions discursive psychology and conversation analysis draw meaning from language as an action. After reviewing the literature I selected conversation analysis as a more appropriate method for its ability to show a more refined analysis of what is accomplished through exchanges of talk between experimenters and participants. Conversation analysis provides this analysis with an approach to highlight conversation analytic devices used by the speaker to form descriptions of participants, past experiments and the experiment itself to help him achieve an action. The speaker was able to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and address the short timeframe they have by encouraging participants to agree and associate with roles they are to be assigned.

Conversation analysis has provided this analysis with an approach to work through data and recognise facets of conversation that the speaker uses to manipulate the interaction. Conversation analysis reveals how the speaker made use of specific devices to create a divide and hierarchy between groups.

This approach has provided a method for this analysis that identifies how the speaker determines social and interactional accomplishments through his talk. For example, the ECFs show the speaker asserted a strong case to his audience that proposed a particular phenomenon. He was able to use these to persuade the audience and justify his case, which claims the other group will exhibit certain behaviours. This in turn persuades and encourages the participants in the audience to respond and exhibit behaviours required for this type of experiment. Conversation analysis also identified the frequent use of other devices such as the reoccurrence of listing devices that helped the speaker to describe elements of the experiment. This method identified some of the lists were out of the normal three-part structure and adopted different structures to accommodate claims the speaker was making at that point in the interaction. What worked well using this method was being able to identify a particular phenomenon that was happening in the interaction through identifying various devices such as lists. The lists included mundane aspects of the experiment such as building the set or listing things the participants needed throughout the study. These descriptions showed how the speaker described elements of the experiment differently for both groups of participants to achieve a specific outcome. Conversation analysis has shown how the speaker persuades the audience to have particular pre-conceptions of the other participants playing the role of prisoner before the experiment has started. Conversation analysis demonstrates how conversation analytic devices serve as a resource that help the speaker to manage this interaction.

In earlier chapters the literature framed the decision of which approach to use for this analysis. This approach has shown how the speaker constructed different descriptions of the participants, past experiments and this experiment through the use of conversation analytic devices. It has provided a method that demonstrates how devices work and shows how the speaker uses these devices to manage whether he wants a response from the audience or not (Atkinson, 1984). The literature provided a framework that supports the way conversation analysis identifies how individuals design their utterances to address possible sceptical responses (Wooffitt, 1991).

Contrast devices show a key part in identifying how the speaker constructed a hierarchy between participants. The speaker boasted about himself and the audience whilst using undermining descriptions of the participants not in the room. The speaker used devices as an action to help him handle any scepticism that may have arisen from the audience about the conduct of this experiment (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). This method identifies how the speaker addressed issues that surround this type of experiment. For example, this experiment is based around troublesome subjects and there is the reality that this is not a real life prison.

Conversation analysis has been a successful approach used in this analysis. It has provided an insight into the actions constructed by the speaker through the interaction. This approach supports extensive re-evaluations and critiques of past laboratory based experiments (Reicher and Haslam, 2006). It provides a method that demonstrates the importance of using sociological approaches when examining scientific methods. Other approaches such as discursive psychology have shown their significance in the research field. For the future of analysing language it is argued how success in the field would be to bring both disciplines further together (Huma et al., 2020). I have identified how using methods such as conversation analysis can allow us to look at these interactions in finer detail and identify various problems in scientific experiments that would not be identified from a scientific analysis only.

Implications For Our Understanding Of Social Psychology Experiments

Conversation analysis has identified the way language impacts on a classic psychological experiment and informs us of the necessity to engage with new methods. One of the consequences that arose from the SSK was an emphasis on the importance of language in resolving scientific disputes and how this has implications for laboratory based experiments. This analysis has provided a rhetorical lens into scientific methods using conversation analysis as an approach to investigate the sequential organisation of talk as way of studying social interaction. Based on research I have used conversation analysis to provide an analysis of data taken from The Stanford Prison Experiment. This method has identified how the speaker used varying descriptions of both groups of participants, past experiments and the experiment itself using conversation analytic devices to achieve a specific outcome. These devices included extreme case formulations, categorisations, laughter, listing and contrasting devices.

The speaker made use of self-repair throughout extracts and changed descriptions to suit, this in turn helped him to orient his audience for the interest of the experiment. The descriptions formed by Zimbardo in his speech were used to create a hierarchy between both groups of participants whilst aligning himself with participants in the audience. Conversation analysis has identified how the speaker is able to persuade certain types of behaviours that fit this type of experiment therefore generating implications when conducting social psychological experiments.

Criticisms on scientific methods have challenged the strong demand characteristics that surround psychological experiments (Orne, 1962). This analysis provides evidence the language used in this particular interaction was constructed in a way that may impact the trajectory of the experiment. This analysis is critical in the development of future social psychological research as it supports criticisms that challenge social psychological methods. The language used in this interaction forms particular actions made by a speaker to clearly predispose a particular outcome. The guards will enter the experiment with particular pre-conceptions of what may and is about to happen. With little analysis of the way language is used in social psychology experiments this research continues to widen and support the debate that challenges the way these types of experiments are conducted. Wooffitt (2007) examined the way an experimenter acknowledges participants may have an impact on the trajectory of an experiment. In his findings he describes how an experiment may be influenced by interactionally generated contingencies. This analysis provides evidence that identifies how language persuades certain behaviours influencing how participants may respond and change the trajectory of the experiment.

I have answered the research objectives outlined in this study that contribute to the challenges raised when drawing conclusions from laboratory based experiments. In support of early criticisms this analysis challenges how experiments were a way for experimenters to find out about thoughts, beliefs and assumptions of the world around us (Gagné and Radomsky, 2020). This re-evaluation of the SPE challenges conclusions drawn from scientific research and contributes to the notion these conclusions are not solely related to cognitive processes. I support research that suggests there are strong demand characteristics in psychological experiments (Banuzzi and Movahedi, 1975). Wooffitt (2007) describes the importance of distinguishing between experimenter effects and demand characteristics.

All talk is a form of demand characteristic and in all experiments any talk or text through interaction may impact on how the experiment unfolds. This is rarely acknowledged in psychological literature. This analysis provides recognition of the demand characteristics of talk as investigated in Zimbardo's orientation of the guards. I have shown how an interaction is mediated by language. Participants are guided through an experiment through some form of interaction that may orient the way something happens. Although I have studied one particular part of a particular experiment I have illustrated that all experiments are subject to demand characteristics. The implications of this reaches out to all psychological research and illustrates language as a strong demand characteristic that should be considered in its own right especially when conducting research that involves some type of interaction between people whether it is through talk or text.

Revisitations of past influential psychological experiments have framed the way for replications and re-evaluations of data. The BBC Prison Study 2002 followed the framework of the SPE. This re-evaluation challenged the original findings that concluded participants had their roles imposed on them rather than seeing themselves in those particular roles. The researchers concluded individuals do not conform blindly or mindlessly in roles however, they see the role as part of an identity. Social identity is described as belonging to a certain group and behaviours exhibited are attributed to that particular group. Le Texier (2019) criticised the findings of the SPE that claim natural role adoption, he reported the guards in the experiment were instructed how to behave. I have provided support that identifies where in the data the speaker uses devices to make analytic descriptions of participants, past experiments and the experiment itself to encourage particular behaviours this type of experiment is designed to elicit. The interaction persuaded participants how to behave by creating membership categories and separate identities of both groups. Descriptions made by the speaker implied the prisoners would work against the guards and become exhaustive dependants on the experiment itself. Persuasive conduct in a laboratory setting was managed through the interaction by the speaker. Similar to Huma, Stokoe and Sikveland (2020) Zimbardo was able to mitigate the severity of the troublesome subject at hand in order to deal with any resistance from participants. Gibson and Smart (2017) highlighted persuasion is not pinpointed down to one word it is stretched over several turns at talk. Through persuasive techniques the speaker was able to mitigate factors of the experiment that may cause challenges. Cues that may indicate the studies aims to participants are clearly demonstrated in this interaction through the use of language.

This can be problematic when trying to generate naturalistic conclusions and highlights the importance of revisiting past social psychological experiments.

Gibson's (2013) successful revisitation of Milgram's (1963) experiment examined data using a rhetorical psychological approach. He examined how psychological experiments are conducted and what impact experimenter-participant interaction has on the trajectory of the experiment. Using a discursive approach Gibson assessed if participants obeyed the authoritative figure giving the orders and found participants entered a process of negotiation over the continuation of the session. Gibson's analysis examines how experimenters made use of verbal prods that were implicit in the speaker encouraging particular behaviours. He reports how the experimenters and participants used rhetorical strategies to elicit obedience. Milgram stated when a participant administering the shocks would not conform it was not because they were demonstrating disobedience but rather the participants would only listen to the demands of the participants receiving the shock. Gibson makes clear the fourth prod used in the experiment was ineffective at eliciting obedience from participants, which challenges the original conclusions drawn from Milgram's experiment. Similar instances occurred in this analysis of the SPE where instances show the speaker was able to persuade the audience to exhibit certain behaviours through describing varying descriptions that suggest some participants may behave in a certain way. The speaker was able to persuade the types of behaviours designed for this type of experiment.

This analysis provides a rhetorical lens into the use of language and the impact it has when used in interaction. A choice of words by a speaker can influence how a participant may proceed within an experimental environment and ultimately orient the experiment a certain way. This analysis has shown how diverse conversation analysis is as a method to analyse language. It can be applied to ordinary conversation such as a meeting prior to an experiment and can demonstrate how individuals use language to construct, establish, reproduce and negotiate roles and identities (Drew et al., 2006). Using CA can demonstrate how a speaker constructs their language for a social action. The meeting between participants and the experimenter is an opportunity for the speaker to use devices to encourage particular actions. The data shows how the speaker constructs two separate role identities through using a listing device and categorising the group in the audience with a positive identity and the other group with a negative identity. The descriptions of the participants at home are based around motivations to resist and work against the guards and the experiment itself.

Bartels (2019) reports findings from across three studies that show how participants exposed to similar expectations in the orientation of those three studies did report greater expectations of hostile and oppressive behaviour. This analysis supports in the preparation stages of the SPE the speaker persuaded hostile and oppressive behaviour through varying descriptions made of both groups. He was able to create hostility between both groups of participants, and this was evident in the behaviour of the guards reported from the experiment itself. I have shown how Zimbardo persuades participants in the audience for example, he creates the notion the prisoners will have an easy life and will be motivated to resist. Zimbardo's speech was designed to engender hostility between participants by persuading the audience through various language practices and prepping the guards interactionally. In addition, the use of smile-voice and laughter affiliated the speaker with the audience to mitigate the severity of the hostile and oppressive behaviour being discussed.

Baval (2019) revisited the BBC Prison Study conducted by Reicher and Haslam (2006) and suggested rather than the guards just being plain cruel because of the role assigned to them it was to do with the direct encouragement of identity leadership from the researchers. Similarities to those suggestions are shown in this analysis using CA, it shows how diverse CA is with its ability to demonstrate how a speech was formed to create a hierarchy and persuade the audience to participate in a way that ensures a successful outcome. The data also examines the way conversation analytical devices are used when the speaker thinks the audience maybe sceptical or offer a hostile response towards the experiment and its requirements. Wooffitt (1991) describes how speakers design their utterances to address possible sceptical responses. The SPE is designed based on a prison that holds people who are punished for a crime, this type of environment may elicit a sceptical or hostile response from a participant who has not committed a real crime. Further analysis of the data highlights the process of recruitment. The speaker recruits students to come in as participants and exhibit particular behaviours attributed to the role of guard and prisoner. Kendrick and Drew (2016) discuss the use of CA in recruitment and demonstrate how requests made can indirectly project an action. This can be done by putting the responder in a position that anticipates the need for the responding individual to assist without their assistance being directly sought. This analysis identifies how the speaker uses devices to form descriptions that persuade a particular social action, this generates implications when conducting and revisiting social psychological experiments.

Recruiting participants in the audience to embrace their role-identity helps the speaker to mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and the possibility the participants will not exhibit behaviours that are needed for this type of experiment. This analysis has shown sufficient evidence that supports people not only recruit but try to persuade others in particular settings that matter. Persuasion is used in everyday interactions and research suggests if a person closes down a sequential space and inhibits a gap in the talk for someone to respond and refuse a request they are able to use this to their advantage (Huma et al., 2020). This analysis examines how the speaker manages silences and pauses to break up a series of particular events based on the notion participants in the other group may resist the experiment. The analytic significance of the way this device is used shows the pauses in extract one are stationed within the speakers line of talk and don't prompt or wait for a response (Wiggins, 2017). These pauses are owned by the speaker, which prompts the audience to let the speaker continue with his list of negative descriptions.

Conversation analysis has provided a method for this analysis that identifies how conversation analytical devices are used by the speaker to deal with challenges within the experiment such as scepticism and hostility. It has provided a lens to identify how the speaker manages the interaction so he can clearly communicate his claims and mitigate the artificiality of the situation. This analysis demonstrates how the use of listings adopted an acoustic flow to help the speaker create a persuasive resource that encourages particular behaviours designed for this type of experiment. Whilst analysing the data and noting down how the speaker makes varying descriptions of participants, past experiments and this experiment using various devices I noticed how the speaker moved his descriptions to take the form of storytelling in extract five. By changing his style and telling an animated story he is able to deal with the troublesome subject at hand. The speaker uses the style of story-telling to create an environment for his speech to encourage affiliation with the audience. Whilst story-telling the speaker makes use of a smile-voice that prompts laughter from the room. Ragan (1990) describes how an individual's orientation to generate and achieve multiple goals can be demonstrated through laughter. The speaker describes unfavourable descriptions to the audience whilst adopting a smile-voice that accomplishes a response of laughter from the audience and a mutual understanding. The speaker has managed the interaction by accomplishing a mutually accepted response from the audience. It is not him simply giving a speech or parting information, it is interactional and the audience are being guided in this interaction.

This analysis supports criticisms which surround the debate of the challenges associated with experimenter-participant interaction within social psychological experiments. It provides support to demonstrate the existence of strong demand characteristics in social organisation. Language is shown to have an impact on psychological experiments through interaction by its ability to orient participants to exhibit types of behaviours these experiments are designed to elicit.

Conclusion

This analysis has demonstrated the function of language and design of a person's talk through interaction can have a social impact on psychological experiments. Using data from the preparation stages of the Stanford Prison Experiment (1971) I have used conversation analysis to show how the speaker interacts with participants in his audience to persuade and encourage particular actions through the use of different rhetorical devices.

The speaker has used various devices to describe important elements to participants to ensure success before the experiment has started. Negative descriptions of prisoners and positive descriptions of guards accomplish a persuasive action to encourage participants to adopt their roles. They help the speaker to align with participants playing the role of guards in the audience and create a hierarchy. He is able to encourage behaviours and illustrate a preconception of what types of behaviours may arise when the guards enter the experiment. The speaker makes use of pauses and laughter to manage varying descriptions that enable him to manage the interaction and keep control of the speech. He is able to minimise the severity of the troublesome subjects he is describing and scale back the seriousness. The devices help mitigate the artificiality of the experiment and manage the short timeframe they have to achieve a successful outcome. Offering this type of analysis using data taken from the preparation stages of a social psychological experiment has provided a lens to show the impact language has on encouraging particular social actions from participants.

The debate that surrounds criticisms of psychological based experiments and the need to consider experimenter-participant interaction when reporting findings has framed my choice of research objectives. This analysis demonstrates how the speaker has produced specific actions through talk-in-interaction to orient the participants to behave in a certain way.

The speaker uses devices to persuade participants in the audience to expect certain behaviours from the other group of participants based on motivations to resist. What I did not contemplate before this analysis was how the speaker used particular devices to construct a framework of descriptions that varied between both groups of participants. Most of the descriptions made by the speaker were based on making different attributions of both groups. The speaker used laughter not only to create an affiliation between the audience and the speaker but it was also used in the form of a smile-voice at a particular moment in the interaction so the speaker could manage a response at that particular time. The speaker was able to promote laughter as and when needed to mitigate the severity of some troublesome subjects at hand. The literature reflected on in earlier chapters demonstrates how laughter is displayed to achieve multiple goals. This has been clearly shown in this analysis. The research objectives have framed this study to show how specific actions through interaction can orient an audience a certain way and in this case it was for the successful outcome of the Stanford Prison Experiment (1971).

The potential limitations of this study may arise in the types of data that are suitable for methodological approaches such as conversation analysis. Audio and video recordings provide data to show how interactional social order is achieved. It can be argued analysing talk and text does not provide answers based on scientific research. The difficulty with this data is that it is presented as a speech and the only response from the audience is laughter. The evidence we can show the speech may have worked in respect of creating a hostile environment is that when the experiment was conducted the participants were hostile in their respective roles.

In this paper I have examined data from a social psychological experiment using conversation analysis to provide an analysis that supports the importance of studying science as a social activity and draws upon its value in psychological experiments. Methods such as conversation analysis can identify what is happening in interactions between experimenters and participants and can show the impact language has on the trajectory of an experiment. Future research could draw upon these methods to analyse talk and text used in the various stages of communication within experiments. This would encourage moving away from the more conventional ways of analysing behaviour and offer new perspectives on the original conclusions reported. Combining these methods will move research towards achieving more naturalistic conclusions from its data.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Tape One – Audio One

Tape 1 - 3:44 – GUA- Guards INT – Transcribed from audio tape, referred to pre typed transcripts to see who speaker is only.

PGZ: in ↑general wha what all this leads to is a sense of powerlessness that is (0.3) we have total power of the situation and they have ↑none(0.9)and the question is what will they do t::o try to (0.4)gain some power to gain some individuality=gain some freedom to gain some privacy (0.5) a:hh t:o (0.2) a:h (0.4) essentially (0.5) #ah (1.4) work against (.) us (0.4) t:o re↑gain some of what they have ↑now ( ) really moving outside (0.6) and we're gonna take aw:ay whatever freedom (they bring in)(.) privacy they have (.) ah (.) so ↑essentially that's (0.6) what we're doing a:nd (0.7) er Curt and Craig will describe the kinds of ↑data we will be collecting n that's the experiment part (with that were) collecting data (0.3) ah:m ↓I described some it before what we want from ↑you °kinds of observation° ( ) (0.6)ah:m (1.6)

PGZ: you asked the question about money (0.4) a:h for this ↑study (0.6) #↓ah it runs (0.3) two weeks we'll we'll cost this (0.8) oh somewhere between five and eight thousand dollars °#that's for two weeks° (0.4) ahm (0.9) #↓now (0.2) we using <money> kind of subverted from

[£ah::m£]=

GUA: [((laughter from all))]

PGZ: =[£↑government ↑grant £]=

((group laughter carries on))

PGZ: =£↑I gotta£ grant to study(0.9) oh conditions which lean too ah:m (0.3) ah mob behaviour ↑violence (.)loss <of> (0.2) ↑identity feelings of anonymity (0.2) ah:m (.)I had done some previous studies with this before on ahm (.) ↑oh vandalism (0.8) putting <cars out> in Palo Alto New York maybe you've read about th[at]

( ): [oh yeah ( )]

PGZ: yeah and just observe the studies I did (.) an we just set people up with cameras just observing you know [↑now]=

GUA [((group laughter))]

PGZ: =[↑now middle class people became] vandals came and stripped the cars and destroyed them(0.3) well this is a similar kind of thing (0.7) ahm (0.2) <and> (.) you know we started up here we're interested in setting up prisons see how ↓°people ° would act with ↑roles in ( )(0.7) ↑a:nd they went along with it <so> (0.2) #aah (.) that's why we are doing this in grand style you know rebuilding downstairs paying you fifteen dollars a piece (0.3) the prisoners we have to feed them through meals °we have° <beds> ah <bedding> <laundry> <towels> (.) ah (.) this (.) prisoners are bringing nothing into the situation (0.8) ahh (0.5) you know I think what I can ( ) and he's going to take over (0.8) cause I have to go to the ↑police department °now° (0.5) the ↑important thing obviously is (0.6) the prisoners will all think this is gonna be all fun and games the signing up the

fifteen bucks a day to sit ↑around (0.3) you know °and not do anything for two weeks° (0.8) ahm (0.2) now ↑we don't know how long its gonna run it can run as much as two weeks=every prisoner said he has two week's time ( )(live here)(0.4) <i:f> (0.4) ah if it looks like it's (0.2) too ↑heavy we might have to end earlier (.) if something else happens (0.2) we'll run (.) up to two weeks so we have we have the space and freedom to do that (0.8) ah:m (0.6) ↑the problem we (were) facing as ↑how do we make it ↓start (0.5) ( ) suppose you are prisoners and you came in and said ok <man> were in prison °here it is you know take every cross belief (why not)° (0.3) ↑still kn ↑know your <person> a <subject> a:hm (.) you know were your (under or) your an individual (0.7) and its gonna take some long time to take that ↓away=and that's not what really ↑happens °when you get picked up° (0.5) so what's gonna ↑happen ↑tomorrow i:s (0.2) we told ss=students to wait (0.3)in their houses ( ) rules ( )° (0.9) ↑squad cars gonna pull £↑up£ ((loud laugh from one of the group then group laughter joins))

GUA: ((loud laughter from group))

PGZ: £somebody (0.3) the police are gonna come o:ut a:sk£ the guys name ( ) say he's been suspected of a crime I don't ↓know (0.4) they'll just leave a (b:ang) (as) he dropping some↑thing (0.6)

GUA: [((progressive laughter from all rising in pitch once all laugh))]
[((four loud banging noises))]

PGZ: [↑come with ↑us]=

( ): [((background giggling)]
=[and ↑handcuff him] ↑put him in the ↑car =↑take him do:wn to the police station take him to <security> underground entrance (0.5) contain him (think what were gonna do) book him blindfold him and then Kurt and Craig are going to pick him up (0.2) ah cause they'll be blindfolded they won't be able to see moving out (0.2)and bring em do:wn here (.) and take their blindfolds off and they'll be imprisoned and we're going to take their clothes off delouse them with ah powder spray ah put on a uniform we'll have some people making uniforms

Appendix 2

Ethics Approval

2021/22

UNIVERSITY of York

Department of Sociology

This certifies that

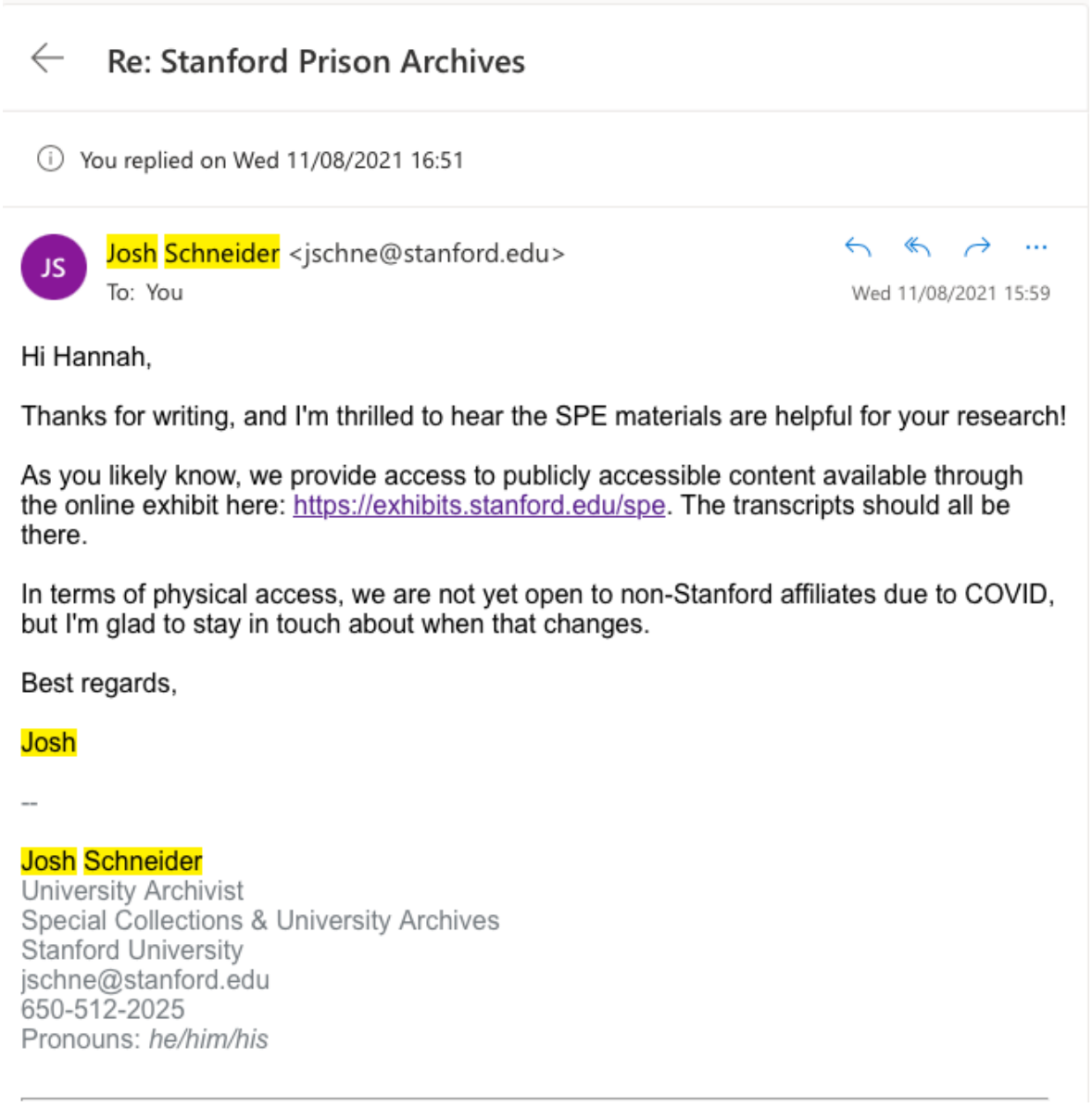
Hannah Anderson

has obtained approved research methodology for their postgraduate dissertation following the ethics approval process in the 2021/22 academic year

Dr Peter Gardner
Ethics Committee Chair

Appendix 3

Email confirmation – Stanford University



Re: Stanford Prison Archives

You replied on Wed 11/08/2021 16:51

JS

Josh Schneider <jschne@stanford.edu>

To: You

Wed 11/08/2021 15:59

Hi Hannah,

Thanks for writing, and I'm thrilled to hear the SPE materials are helpful for your research!

As you likely know, we provide access to publicly accessible content available through the online exhibit here: https://exhibits.stanford.edu/spe. The transcripts should all be there.

In terms of physical access, we are not yet open to non-Stanford affiliates due to COVID, but I'm glad to stay in touch about when that changes.

Best regards,

Josh

--

Josh Schneider
University Archivist
Special Collections & University Archives
Stanford University
jschne@stanford.edu
650-512-2025
Pronouns: *he/him/his*

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