

The “Lucifer Effect” and “The Established and Outsiders”: Different power practices or facets of the same contract?

O "Efeito Lúcifer" e "Os Estabelecidos e os Forasteiros": Diferentes práticas de poder ou facetas de um mesmo contrato?

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ABSTRACT

Power is defined, like everywhere, as asymmetric control over valued resources in a social relationship. This paper aimed to discuss the concepts of power from the perspective of the "Lucifer Effect and the "The Established and the Outsiders: Sociology of power relations from a small community". The methodology is composed by bibliographical research Scopus Database. Based on the performed analysis, it was observed that the concepts of power determined by the informal relationship in the workplace, power

determined by leadership, rational-legal authority coercive power and referent power were found both in Lucifer Effect and in Elias' work. Furthermore, the concepts of power determined by the environment, power determined by the authority in charge and charismatic authority were only found in the Lucifer Effect. In Elias' work, the concepts of power determined by the society, traditional authority and legitimate power were found.

Keywords: Lucifer Effect, The Established and the Outsiders, Power, Power Relations.

RESUMO

O poder é definido, como em toda a parte, como um controlo assimétrico sobre recursos valorizados numa relação social. Este documento visava discutir os conceitos de poder a partir da perspectiva do "Efeito Lúcifer e do "O Estabelecido e o Exterior": A Sociologia das relações de poder de uma pequena comunidade". A metodologia é composta por pesquisa bibliográfica Scopus Database. Com base na análise realizada, observou-se que os conceitos de poder determinados pela relação informal no local de trabalho, poder determinado pela liderança, autoridade racional-legal poder coercivo e poder de referência foram encontrados tanto no Efeito Lúcifer como no trabalho de Elias. Além disso, os conceitos de poder determinado pelo ambiente, poder determinado pela autoridade no comando e autoridade carismática só foram encontrados no Efeito Lúcifer. Na obra de Elias, foram encontrados os conceitos de poder determinado pela sociedade, autoridade tradicional e poder legítimo.

Palavras-chave: Efeito Lúcifer, The Established and the Outsiders, Power; Power Relations.

1 INTRODUCTION

Is every human being born good, but ends up being corrupted by the society and institutions? Or perhaps is everyone born partly selfish and evil, and the circumstances just reflects it? These questions have been controversial both in psychology and in sociology. In light of the Stanford Prison Experiment it was argued that under certain contexts behaviours, good or bad, are legitimized and accepted by the Society. For Zimbardo, depending on the type of situation we find ourselves in, we put aside our personal convictions, our moral values, and we act in a never imagined manner.

In "The Established and the Outsiders", Elias discusses the rules of socialization and power relations in a small community of England in the surroundings of an industrial area. The results showed that the community supported a latent plurality in their practices and precepts of socialization, reproducing feelings of discrimination, delinquency, and exclusion among residents of different groups.

Some other previous researches have mentioned the power of influence exerted by a given situation in the decision making of an individual. For example, Asch (1956) showed that by feeling pressured by a group that always had wrong answers, a person can

be tricked into choosing wrong answers too. Milgram (1963) suggested that, in each context, ordinary people would cheat/lie to their pairs.

Based on the aforementioned research, it is observed that the individual's behaviour can be influenced by circumstances at the time of decision making. In other words, the action of the same individual may be different whether he is in power or not. These issues are discussed in the book "The established and Outsiders" and in "The Stanford Prison Experiment", already analysed individually by sociologists and psychologists.

However, a little explored possibility refers to the search to identify whether the Lucifer Effect and the work "Established and Outsiders" are different practices or refer to the same power construct. In this sense, this study emerges from the following starting question: What are the similarities and distinctions in relation to the concepts of power that exist between the Lucifer Effect and the work "The Established and the Outsiders"?

In addition to being an original approach to their analysis, the present study allows us to advance the discussion about the consequences of structural power in human behaviour, making it possible to identify reflections, such as whether deep structural differences in the power relationship are necessary for changes in the individual's behaviour and the role of the status symbol in the social context.

Furthermore, the concomitant analysis of both works allows a comparison to be made about the main findings of this research, in which it will be possible to present common points and tensions that contribute to the elucidation of some reflective questions, and, therefore, raising other issues related to power structures and human behaviour.

In respect thereof, this paper discusses the concepts of power from both perspectives: Stanford Prison Experiment and the Elias' work "The Established and the Outsiders: Sociology of Power Relations from a Small Community".

2 FORMS OF POWER AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH SOCIETY AND BUSINESS

The concept of power remains elusive and obscure. According to Galinski et. al (2015), the word has been broadly problematized, from Shakespeare to Nietzsche. Some researchers have declared that power is not something one can possess – indeed it must be treated as a consequence rather than as a cause of an action (Latour, 1984; Osirio, 2016).

Basically, power is “asymmetric control over valued resource in a social relationship,” (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), be it physical control, money, or information.

The study of power and its relation had its climax during the Nuremberg Trial, where most Nazi soldiers based their defence claiming that they were just following superiors orders, hierarchy power relation. Documentaries were able to show that during the Second World War (1939-1941), ordinary people, ordinary citizens, were able to commit the most diverse atrocities, justifying the execution of orders.

Power is not about letting live or die. Foucault has restrictions about power and all the universe surrounding it: the power of men over women, parents over children, and of Government over people's lives and will (Foucault, 2000). Power produces knowledge, and knowledge is traversed by power relations. In this sense, Foucault finds in his philosophical task that power acts positively, complementing the essentially repressive, coercive notion and exclusive of it (Osorio, 2016).

Still today, power relations are everywhere. In negotiations, the strength of two parties define the power relationship between them (Galinski et. al, 2015). In business, institutional theory clarifies the way organizations create an institutionalized environment favourable to action. Such activity, when legitimized by the social members, can dictate behaviours (Leftwich, 2010; Slimane et al., 2019).

Particularly in the Non Profit Organizations, it is suggested that the collaboration between these organizations, within an institutional arrangement of power influence - collection of regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2008) - is able to embed the mentality donation in the community (Klafke et. al, 2019). In marketing, Rucker and Galinsky (2008) suggested that status is correlated with signals of power (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), especially when individuals may compensate lack or loss of power by obtaining objects associated with status. Whereas status reflects one’s respect and admiration in the eyes of others, this respect may have little or no bearing on control over important resources, which is definitional to power (Drucker and Galinski, 2012).

2.1 POWER RELATION

The main idea of the term “power” points to obedience and authority (Recuber, 2016). In other words, the best way to explain the principle of power is the role of a sovereign. Machiavelli (2001) explained it, as enlightened despot so that king should impose his power in order to be obeyed and to manipulate his disciples. The concept of power presented by Machiavelli (2001) was required to help the despot control his

vassals, because he needed to be feared in order to be respected. Zimbardo (2000) related the main contribution of what he called Milgram's paradigm – a method to measure the violence and obedience with a simple technology. It aimed at the explanation of why good people who were inside of the Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE) started doing evil towards other good people, even though they were as good as others. Thus, the people in the experience react as the environment seems to legitimize every action now approved by the socially context which they were able to follow the roles, rules, and norms. The result from this experiment was that the humanity depends on the society in that it is included in order to develop the principals of right and wrong.

Brown et al. (2015) pointed out another example in a social environment that changed people, namely the hospitals and how medical professionals can be rude to their patients, which led the patients to give up their treatment. Another problem showed that professionals in charge tend to be impersonal or aggressive towards the other members. In this case, the boss does not recognize the good job of his medical team. The leading doctor considers his job more important than others', so he assumes the "wrongs and rights" for the team.

Also, Recuber (2016) in his interpretation of Zimbardo's prison study, describes the environment in which someone is found when he talks about the simulation. Even during an experiment, such as the Stanford Prison carried out by Zimbardo and his team, people assumed the role they were playing, and they forgot who they really were.

Power can result from different sources; it can determine by the environment; Power determined by the society; Power determined by the authority in charge; Power determined by the informal relationship in the workplace; Power determined by leadership; Charismatic authority; Traditional authority; Rational-legal authority; Reward power; Coercive power; Legitimate power; Expert power. For comprehension purposes, we already introduce one of the most influencers of power: the environment.

2.1.1 Power determined by the Environment

Zimbardo (2007) in the SPE defines exactly how an environment can give power to someone. In the experiment, the volunteers started their role, which was pre-determined by Professor Zimbardo. The new environment, whose underlying rules differed from those of the society the volunteers came from, changed all the characteristics noticed in every individual. Brown's et al. (2015) explanation for that was that an environment could drastically change everything about one's perception, as it was observed during the SPE,

when the prisoners' and guards' uniforms had been designed in order to humiliate the prisoners and increase the power of guards.

In another context, Przepiorka (2016) observed the changes in Poland from socialism to capitalism. There was a dissemination of entrepreneurship, and Poland did not know exactly the best way of doing it, because their environment was new. In the Poland context, when a person becomes a new entrepreneur, he starts a sadist web of command and nobody can do the work as intended. So, the better entrepreneur was the one who had a launching time to indicate better goals and work together with the group, not commanding it.

In Weber's (2015) view, every society is divided into groupings and strata with distinctive lifestyles and views of the world, just as it is divided into distinctive classes. While at times status as well as class groupings may conflict at others, their members may accept fairly stable patterns of subordination and super ordination (COSER, 1977). For Weber (2015), authority is a synonymous of power.

In this respect, there are other classifications identified by the Institute for Social Research (1959) as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1 - Types of Power Definition

Types of Power	Descriptions
Reward power	The target person complies to obtain rewards he or she believes are controlled by the agent.
Coercive power	The target person complies in order to avoid punishments he or she believes are controlled by the agent.
Legitimate power	The target person complies because he or she believes the agent has the right to make the request and the target person has the obligation to comply.
Expert power	The target person complies because he or she believes that the agent has special knowledge about the best way to do something.
Referent power	The target person complies because he or she admires or identifies with the agent and wants to gain the agent's approval.

Source: Institute for Social Research (1959)

As the explanation of the Table 1, types of power depend on the environment or norms expressed by society. People make use of power in order to feel better than others when they are in a position of authority, and for sure, they can impose what others must do.

3 METHODS

This work starts with a bibliographical research on the data base Scopus. That research was the structure of Bibliography. In the Scopus database, the process used in

the data collection stage of this study was as follows: a) On the Scopus website, "Document search", all types of documents were maintained; b) In the "Search" field, the keywords "Elias Power" (or the other words shown in table 2) were added; c) In the language option, "any language" was selected.

The keywords chosen to find similar papers was explained by Table 2.

Table 2 - Similar Studies to Established and Outsiders

Keywords	Results	References
"Elias power" "Outsiders"	11	Brown, P., M. A. Elston and J. Gabe (2015); Coelho, M. C., J. T. Sento-Sé, R. B. Fernandes and F. Rios (2016); Connolly, J. and P. Dolan (2013); Dias, C. N. and S. Darke (2016); Engh, M. H., S. Agergaard and J. Maguire (2013); Lake, R. J. (2013); Maguire, J. S. and M. Lim (2015); Marin Thornton, G. (2014); Paulle, B., B. van Heerikhuizen and M. Emirbayer (2012); Scott, J., K. Carrington and A. McIntosh (2012); Velija, P. (2012).
"Outsiders" "Elias power"	19	Baines, R. (2013); Brown, L., S. Richards and I. Jones (2014); Conrad, H. (2016); Donnelly-Drummond, A. (2014); Engh, M. H., S. Agergaard and J. Maguire (2013); Evans, A. B. and D. E. Stead (2014); Forbes-Mewett, H., C. Nyland and B. Thomson (2013); Fuhse, J. A. (2012); Lake, R. J. (2013); Marin Thornton, G. (2014); O'Connor, H. and J. Goodwin (2012); Ortiz, F. T. (2015); Scott, J., K. Carrington and A. McIntosh (2012); Scott, J. and R. Hogg (2015). Shilling, C. and P. A. Mellor (2015); Tronconi, F. (2014); Velija, P. (2012).
"Power relationship" "Outsiders" "Elias"	12	Baines, R. (2013); Barbosa, W. F. and L. D. de Sá (2015); Brown, P., M. A. Elston and J. Gabe (2015); Connolly, J. and P. Dolan (2013); Dias, C. N. and S. Darke (2016); Engh, M. H., S. Agergaard and J. Maguire (2013); Evans, A. B., A. Carter, G. Middleton and D. C. Bishop (2016); Evans, A. B. and L. Crust (2015); Lindberg, C. and M. Schneider (2013); Powell, R. (2013); Pratsinakis, M. (2014); Testa, F. (2012).
Total Papers		42
Research without duplicated file		32

Source: Authors (2018)

The references found, as depicted in Table 2, were used to explain part of research focused on the Elias and Scotson (1994).

Below, Table 3 presents the second part of bibliographical research.

Table 3 - Similar Studies to Lucifer Effect

Keywords	Results	References
“Stanford Prison”	7	Bartels, J. M. (2015); Bartels, J. M., M. M. Milovich and S. Moussier (2016); Crotts, J. C. (2015); Griggs, R. A. (2014); Griggs, R. A. and G. I. Whitehead (2014); Petrova, V. (2014); Tolich, M. (2014).
“Work” “Relationship”	12	Acosta, N. A., L. E. Rodriguez Gómez and M. Á. Daz (2012); Delgado, M., O. Carpintero, P. Lomas and S. Sastre (2014); Erichsen, J. T., N. F. Wright and P. J. May (2014); Gu, W. G., D. T. M. Ip, S. J. Liu, J. H. Chan, Y. Wang, X. Zhang, Y. T. Zheng and D. C. C. Wan (2014); Iglesias, G. R., L. F. Ruiz-Morón, J. D. G. Durán and A. V. Delgado (2015); Kim, J. H. and D. E. Ganella (2015); Lussier, A. L., K. Lebedeva, E. Y. Fenton, A. Guskjolen, H. J. Caruncho and L. E. Kalynchuk (2013); Orón, J. V. (2014); Rashid, T. and H. M. Asghar (2016); Reynolds, R. E., T. C. Howard and T. K. Jones (2015); Rugani, B., D. Panasiuk and E. Benetto (2012); Shahidian, S., R. P. Serralheiro, J. R. Serrano and J. L. Teixeira (2015).
“Zimbardo”	19	Anagnostopoulos, F. and F. Griva (2012); Barnett, E., D. Spruijt-Metz, J. B. Unger, L. A. Rohrbach, P. Sun and S. Sussman (2013); Braitman, A. L. and J. M. Henson (2015). Carmi, N. (2013); Chiu, F. C. (2012); García, J. A. and B. Ruiz (2015); Jowsey, T., N. J. Ward and K. Gardner (2013); Lezaun, J., F. Muniesa and S. Vikkelsø (2013); Mermillod, M., V. Marchand, J. Lepage, L. Begue and M. Dambrun (2015); Ortuño, V. E. C., M. P. Paixão and I. Nunes Janeiro (2013); Przepiorka, A. (2016); Recuber, T. (2016); Seema, R., A. Sircova and A. Baltin (2014); Sergienko, E. and Y. Kireeva (2015); Spencer, M., V. Chambers and B. Benibo (2014); Sword, R. M., R. K. M. Sword, S. R. Brunskill and P. G. Zimbardo (2014); Taber, B. J. (2013); Usart, M. and M. Romero (2014); Zhang, J. W., R. T. Howell and T. Bowerman (2013).
Total Papers		38
Research without duplicated file		0

Source: Authors (2018)

Table 3 presented the second part of research, searching for similar papers to contribute to this study. In the analysis stage, it is a classification doing by the authors, in which the relevance of the articles is ordered in a qualitative way, following: “Included by title”; "Articles included by abstract"; and “Articles included by reading”.

Limitation of the research was the use of the film “The Experiment” as our second source of analysis. The film portrays beyond reality, showing fiction and alluding to the spectator audience. Therefore, some facts demonstrated in the film may have been

inserted to make the film more attractive to the public, and not have represented the Zimbardo experiment with complete veracity. However, all scenes are related to the scope of the experiment and portray a possible scenario within the environment in which the characters were considered.

4 RESULTS

4.1 REPORTS ABOUT ZIMBARDO'S EXPERIMENT

This section is based on the documentary *The Stanford Prison Experiment* (original description of the experience) and American feature film *The Experiment* with direction and script of the American Paul Scheuring, produced by Aldestein Productions, Mercator, Natural Selection Production and Hell/Manget and released in 2010, dealing with "Lucifer Effect." This work, attributed to the drama and thriller genre, was based on the German "Das Experiment", published in 2001 and written by Mario Giordano, Christoph Darnstadt and Don Bohlinger. This, in turn, was based on the novel "Black Box", written by Mario Giordano and released in 1999.

Led by Professor Philip Zimbardo, it is a behavioral experiment of situational assignment that reproduced the environment of a prison to understand the causes of conflict between guards and prisoners in the United States. In this context, the purpose of that experiment was to investigate the effects on human behavior caused by social role assigned to an individual, either guard or prisoner.

The film "The Experiment", in turn, basically followed the plot described by the "Zimbardo Experiment" and addressed the power relations and the reactions of the oppressed. Everything is portrayed within the context of the experience, the behavioral changes of the human beings under stress, human irrationality in obsessive quest for power and confrontation groups in the oppressor and oppressed condition.

In the said film, instead of passivity exposed by prisoners as in the original experiment, the prisoners rebelled against the guards, leading to a chaos that forced the interruption of the experience. Interestingly, the search for maintaining the stipulated rules in the experiment, eventually culminated in the chaos situation. Although this outcome does not faithfully reproduce the original experience, it was also possible because of the conditions to which participants were exposed.

The group selected to role play prison guards should ensure the compliance with 17 rules:

1. Prisoners should maintain silence during periods of rest, after lights were off, during meals and when they are out of the prison (in the yard).
2. Prisoners should eat only at the time of the meal.
3. Prisoners should participate in all activities of the prison.
4. Prisoners should maintain their cells clean.
5. Prisoners should not damage the prison.
6. Prisoners could never operate the lighting of the cells.
7. Prisoners should be treated only by the identification number.
8. Prisoners should always address the guards "Mr. Correctional Officer "and the director as "Mr. Chief Correctional Officer".
9. Prisoners should not refer to their condition as an experiment or simulation.
10. Prisoners have five minutes to go to the bathroom and could not go to the lavatory after the deadline.
11. Prisoners could smoke only after meals or at the discretion of the guards.
12. All letters sent to prisoners would be inspected.
13. Prisoners should meet their visitors outside their cells, under the supervision of a guard.
14. Prisoners should always stay in the cells when a superintendent reaches the site.
15. Prisoners should always obey the orders of the guards.
16. Prisoners should report all rule violations occurred to the guards.
17. Failure to comply with any of the above rules could result in punishment.

The guards did not receive any clear information on how they should act in order to maintain order. However, the guards group knew that they could not make use of physical violence to punish prisoners. In the methodological strategy used by Professor Philip Zimbardo, the individuals in the experiment would react according to the stipulated roles: guards and prisoners.

The results of Lucifer Effect indicated that the social role of each individual influenced their behaviors within the prison environment. However, the prison was internalized by both groups, which adopted contrasting behaviors. In general, both guards' and prisoners' negative emotions were accentuated and, therefore, the overall attitude of the participants became increasingly negative.

As portrayed in "The Experiment - Das Experiment", the real-life experiment had to be stopped in just six days, because of the pathological reactions of the participants. In this sense, five prisoners were also released before due to the development of severe emotional depression frame.

Regarding the prisoners, Zimbardo explains that their behavioral changes resulted from the Pathological Prisoner Syndrome. At the beginning of the study, the prisoners tried to rebel, but they were impeded by the guards. A group of prisoners, in response, acquired diseases and were released before the end of the study. The prisoners became passive, dependent and had their emotions suppressed.

In "Lucifer's Effect", the concepts of "power" revealed the "prisoner of the pathological syndrome". The "power" appreciated by the guards refers to the ability to control life, decisions and routine human beings within the same environment without the need to justify themselves before others. The "prisoner of the pathological syndrome" refers, in turn, to passive or unhealthy response of individuals living in extreme conditions of oppression.

4.2 REPORTS ABOUT "THE ESTABLISHED AND THE OUTSIDERS: A SOCIOLOGICAL ENQUIRY INTO COMMUNITY PROBLEMS"

The book *"The Established and the Outsiders: the inquiry sociological into community problems"* (English version published in 1994), written by the German sociologist Norbert Elias and primary school teacher and the delinquency scholar John Scotson, focused on studying the sociology of power relations from a small community, described notionally as Winston Parva. The work was first published in 1965, the only text that Norbert Elias brings a case study with descriptive scene of ethnic groups, its anthropological and social characteristics of a society.

"The Established and the Outsiders" originated from a study by Professor John Scotson, who was interested in juvenile delinquency in a community near Leicester, England, between 1950 and 1960. The field study lasted about three years. Later, in Elias' work, he redirected the study to address broad social aspects, including the monopolization of power by a group of people to marginalize and stigmatize members of another very similar group, using gimmicks like gossip, crime and social cohesion.

According to Elias and Scotson (1994), the problem to be explored was not to know which side was wrong and which was right, but to know that the community structural features in development of Winston Parva linked two groups of such members

of one of them that felt compelled - and had for that sufficient power resources - to treat in comparison the other collectively with some contempt, as people less educated were considered less human value. Restricting the analysis of high levels of juvenile delinquency, researchers maximized the reflections on society itself. In the center of their discussions were the power relations within a community.

Comprised of approximately 5000 inhabitants, Winston Parva was composed of three distinct zones: Zone 1 was a residential middle class; Zone 2 and 3 formed by workers' areas, whereas Zone 2 housed almost all structure. In Zones 1 and 2 lived the so-called "Established", while Zone 3, built some 80 years after the other two in a region infested by rats, it was occupied by the Outsiders.

In general, the inhabitants of the three areas of Winston Parva perceived themselves and each other in a conventional manner. Zone 1 was perceived as a higher-class area or residential area, while the zones 2:03 were considered as workers' quarters, although the inhabitants of the Zone 2 saw their area as vastly superior. However, it was soon discovered that each area had its minority group. Zone 1 had a row of modest houses inhabited by menial workers, as well as some middle-class homes that belonged to families of workers who had acquired their property in Zone 1 with the help of war bonds savings or joint couple's income.

The society of Winston Parva presents thus a division between the group of residents from long time (Established) and the group of residents from short time (Outsiders).

While the group of "Established" felt endowed with virtues such as group charisma, belonging to the village, whose streets were cleaner and pointed out to their different status, the "Outsiders" they felt in need of such virtues, feeling excluded, group cohesion. They felt as possessors of dishonorable characteristics, anomic and lower human value. Elias and Scotson (1994) described that the Established groups who have a high degree of power tend to experience their outsider groups not only as troublemakers who break the laws and regulations (laws and regulations Established) but also as not being particularly clean. Despite this distinct feeling of the residents "Established" and "Outsiders", Winston Parva had no distinct housing standards, such as nationality, ethnic origin, "color" or "race", occupation, educational level or income of either the "Established" or the "Outsiders" residents.

In order to keep an active pattern of group cohesion generated by the Established group, two mechanisms were often employed: gossips (for adults) and crimes (for children and youth).

The gossips were mainly used by adults in factories and weekly meetings provided by families or when leaving the church. "A cohesive community as the" village "needed a steady stream of gossip to keep the mill running. It had a complex intrigue centers system. After the religious services in the church and in the chapel of the visits to clubs and pubs, the plays and concerts, it was possible to see and hear the mill wheel in action. It could be seen as the relatively high organizational level of the "village" provided word of mouth gossip and allowed the interesting news to spread by the community with considerable speed "(Elias, Scotson, 1994, p. 120). The mechanism of gossip kept the "Established" cohesive, preventing the approach of the group "outsider".

In addition to identifying a figurative society model, Elias and Scotson present two aspects relevant to social understanding: i) the challenge of empirical research when dealing with conventional analytical categories such as ethnic, social class, income, educational level, among others. However, in Winston Parva these differences were nil, forcing researchers to look for alternatives to explain the presented social fact; ii) the reflection of the society from the perspective of its ethnic equality, social class, income and other factors, but with structural differences in power relations, which dictated in this case the cohesion of interrelated groups.

4.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN LUCIFER EFFECT AND THE ESTABLISHED AND THE OUTSIDERS

Table 4 compares the concept of power obtained in literature to the concepts showed in Zimbardo's work versus The Established and the Outsiders.

Table 4- Lucifer Effect X the Established and the Outsiders

Concepts of power presented in the literature	Concept of power observed in Zimbardo's Experiment	Concept of power observed in "The Established and the Outsiders"
Power determined by the environment (i)	✓	Not identified
Power determined by the society (ii)	Not identified	✓
Power determined by the authority in charge (iii)	✓	Not identified
Power determined by the informal relationship in the workplace (iv)	✓	✓
Power determined by leadership (v)	✓	✓
Charismatic authority (vi)	✓	Not identified
Traditional authority (vii)	Not identified	✓
Rational-legal authority (viii)	✓	✓
Reward power (ix)	Not identified	Not identified
Coercive power (x)	✓	✓
Legitimate power (xi)	Not identified	✓
Expert power (xii)	Not identified	Not identified
Referent power (xiii)	✓	✓

Source: Authors (2018)

Table 4 compares the concepts found in the literature with the main works for this study. As seem, each work can be compared to 13 definitions, only two of the definitions (Reward power and Expert power) have not been found in those studies, at least in a clear way of explanation.

The concepts of power observed in the Zimbardo experiment were:

Power determined by the Environment (i)

In Lucifer Effect, researcher Dr. John Archalata selects individuals for a behavioural experience that did not show hierarchy among themselves. However, the place where the experience was developed had characteristics of a prison environment, which already generated a hierarchy based on the roles that were established (police and detainees). Nevertheless, the characterization of individuals in their uniforms led to the hierarchy between those who should maintain order and those who should follow the established rules.

In turn, in the work of Elias, Winston Parva was composed of three distinct zones, in which Zone 1 and Zone 2 were the Established, and in Zone 3 the Outsiders. Zone 3, which was built 80 years later, was characterized by a region with poor cleaning and infested by rats. In Zones 1 and 2, individuals had a high degree of power, and held Zone 3 residents responsible for their problems. However, there were no distinct housing patterns between regions, such as naturalness, ethnic origin, education, among others.

In this sense, it is observed that in both cases the environment influenced power relations. In Zimbardo's experience, even though individuals lived in the same environment (the prison), within this physical space there was a place for detainees (the cell), and another place for police officers (the control room).

Power determined by the society (ii)

In Elias' work, Winston Parva had its power relations defined by social relations, in which the residents of these distant times had the power of control over the group of newly arrived residents. In Lucifer's Effect it is not explicit. It was a dyadic relation.

Power determined by the authority in charge (iii)

This form of power was not identified in the analysed works.

Power determined by the informal relationship in the workplace (iv)

In professor Zimbardo's study, legitimate power is visible in terms of the definition of roles. Within the group of policemen, in the informal relationship of the characters, one of them adopted a stance of loyalty towards the others. Nevertheless, police officers used their position in the hierarchy to keep detainees from carrying out their duties and complying with the rules.

In Elias' work, the informal relationship of the ladies of society is reported when they attend church. At the exit of the church, the ladies of the established group used to gossip about the outsider group, not allowing an approach for conversation and coexistence.

Power determined by leadership (v)

In Zimbardo's experiment, within the group of police officers, leaders emerged. During the recreation of the prisoners, a basketball hits police officer Bosch. Under the influence of Officer Chase, the officers stipulate a punishment of ten push-ups for the aggressor. Friction arises between the person responsible for the alleged aggression and Chase, and because of this, all prisoners have been subjected to punishment. The relationship of power and oppression becomes clear at this point in the film. The officers praise Chase's performance and feel like they own the space where the experience took place. Chase, in turn, becomes a leader of the police group. In this case, considering the literature by Emmett (2006), power came about through the charismatic authority of a

leader, who managed to lead the decision-making process in the quest to fulfil the group's objective. Considering the relationship between prisoners and prisoners, power is established in a rational-legal manner.

In the community of Winston Parva, the power of established leaders is legitimized by outsiders themselves, by allowing established ones to feel empowered and not claiming a position in the group.

Charismatic authority (vi)

In *Lucifer Effect*, a small group of individuals managed to influence others and make decisions. However, the "charisma" does not necessarily refer to something positive. In the case of *Lucifer Effect*, part of the decisions made by charismatic individuals made the coexistence between the group even more difficult. In the case of prisoners, some individuals were also able to exercise charismatic authority in order to promote a rebellion because of the conflicts that were taking place.

Traditional authority (vii)

Identified only in Elias' work, the traditional authority passed down from generation to generation is represented by the permanence of those established in power, as they managed to perpetuate an order created within the group, which was not broken by the outsiders.

Rational-legal authority (viii)

In Zimbardo's experiment, the form of legal-rational authority power is accentuated. Faithfully representing what happens in society, the simple fact of being a policeman implies having power over the group of detainees. The relationship between police and an individual is cited by Emmett (2006) as an example of this concept. In theory, in this case, even though individuals did not have an established hierarchy outside the environment, from the moment the roles are taken, detainees should obey the police.

Reward power (ix)

This form of power was not identified in the analysed works.

Coercive power (x)

Coercive power was perceived when the Established group punished a member of its own group for not complying with the rules. Such coercive power was legitimized by both the Established and Outsiders groups, generating legitimate power (xi).

In Lucifer Effect, within the relationship between police and detainees, there were differences in certain situations. On the second day of the experiment, conflicts occurred because of the food quality. The prisoners' difficulty in eating all the food generates conflicts with the police, which results in a food war, in the character of rebellion. Barrels (police), as a punishment, suggests that, in order not to use physical violence, police should humiliate prisoners. The police fired fire extinguishers at the prisoners and Travis (prisoner), being considered a leader, was abused. In order to maintain order and seek to uphold the rules stipulated at the beginning of the experiment, the police employed punishments, sometimes humiliating, against the group of prisoners. To some extent, this action persuaded other prisoners to comply with the rules in order not to be punished.

Legitimate power (xi)

Power in a work or social environment can exist in several ways. One of these forms is through legitimation. In Elias' work, the power of the established is legitimized by outsiders. The author himself emphasizes that the power of the current order exists only because it was legitimized by the group of outsiders.

Expert power (xii)

This form of power was not identified in the analysed works.

Referent power (xiii)

In the evolution of interpersonal relationships between police officers, leadership was established. This leadership had its orders carried out by the other colleagues because there was a certain admiration and identification. This portrays the existence of the concept of Referent Power in the Lucifer Effect.

In Elias' work, the group of established (and not a single person) holds the form of referent power, because it has strong characteristics of interpersonal relationships and prevents the current social norm from being dismantled.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper aimed to discuss the concepts of power from the perspective of the "Lucifer Effect" and the "The Established and the Outsiders: Sociology of power relations from a small community".

In total, four similar types of powers were identified in both works analyzed, being Powered by the informal relationship in the workplace (iv), Power determined by the leadership (v), Rational-legal authority (viii) and Referent power (xiii).

In "The Established and the Outsiders", the concepts of power observed were:

Power determined by the society (ii) and Power determined by the informal relationship in the workplace (iv). They were observed when the Established formed a cohesive group, avoiding relationship with the Outsiders. Power determined by leadership (v), that is, the "Established" group felt endowed with virtues such as group charisma, while "Outsiders" felt the lack of such virtues, feeling excluded, lack of group cohesion, anomic and lower human value. For this reason, the Outsiders admired the Established and ascribed them a "Referent Power" (xiii).

Both Lucifer Effect and Elias's study were experiments on power that examined the consequences of structural differences in power for behaviour. The first one showed that that power does not need to be embedded in deep structural differences but can be created by temporary or assigned structural differences. The latter observed social relations and their interdependencies from the status and prestige symbols in social contexts. Either group assign identification categories for their results.

It was observed, based on the analysis performed, that the power concepts determined by the informal relationship in the workplace, power determined by leadership, rational-legal authority coercive power and referent power were found both in the Lucifer Effect and in the work of Elias.

Both studies analyse power relations and present a group's search for the maintenance of power. In addition, segregation is maintained through the different concepts of power.

The segregation existed between the groups caused, in both cases, the rebellion of the dominated groups which culminated in acts that violated the rules imposed by the dominant groups. On the other hand, the differences between Lucifer Effect and Elias' work are a consequence of the type of study carried out, considering that Zimbardo created a scenario to make his observations, removing individuals from the society in

which they were inserted, whereas Elias observed the behaviour of individuals within an already established society.

In this perspective, it is understood that Lucifer Effect and the Established and the Outsiders share the same practice, in which dominant groups try to maintain power over dominated groups. What happens, through existing conceptual differences, is the presentation of different facets or concepts existing within the same construct, which would be power relations.

Although the conclusions of the Stanford Prison Experiment (Lucifer Effect) and The Established and the Outsiders have been accepted, social scientists do not agree with generalizations, such as the one that everyone is evil; a lot of people remain good even in the worst conditions. This simply implies that human behaviour is more complex than any psychological or sociological theory.

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