

*Making the World Superior: Power with Responsibility*

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Grades: 6-7

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# Introduction

## Rationale

Why are the skills, content, and concepts presented in this unit important for students to learn?

In middle school, students are ready to deepen their understanding of how power dictates justice. Through the evolution of superhero characters students will study how history, politics, culture, and economic systems impact the level of power for social change. The recommended context for this unit is language arts in sixth grade or seventh grade. Students begin their examination by defining characteristics of superheroes and by exploring powers and missions of popular heroes. This exploration is then followed by looking at the history of superheroes as protagonist from its beginnings with Superman. Students are given an opportunity to study a few superheroes and supervillains deeply. This will allow students develop higher levels of critical thinking by considering why society developed heroes, where and when they did and why they are made. Students will analyze the interactions among superheroes through our culture, emphasizing their enduring contributions and the link between power and social justice.

### **Rational**

This lesson will allow students the opportunity to examine the complex concept of power and understand how levels of power dictate types of justice. Students will learn trends and identify patterns of the creations of superheroes around the world. Students will explore the different perspectives of how heroes impact our culture and identify problems in society. Students will learn how the organization of power (politically, economically, and socially) impacts the level of justice. Students will understand their social level influences their level power and shapes their identity. Students will examine their own cultures superheroes and their types of power, as well as develop their own definition of power and design a superhero.

# Differentiation

What elements of this unit make it particularly beneficial or appropriate for gifted learners? (Be sure to discuss the dimensions of differentiation: Content, Process, Product, and Learning Environment AND the features of differentiation: Complexity, Challenge, Depth, Creativity, and Acceleration)

## **Differentiation for Gifted Learners**

### Content

- Students will begin unit with a pre-assessments
- Students will present facts and knowledge about topics from variety of resources
- Students will read passages that have advanced vocabulary

### Process

- High level-question that requires unexplored
- Students will have exploration activities to build student interest
- Students will collaborate and have the opportunity to research based on their learning preference

### Product

- Students will present their understanding on tangible objects
- Students will have the opportunity to express their understanding creatively and innovatively by developing a superhero

### Learning Environment

- Student-centered learning environments
- Provide students with routines that allow them to move freely throughout the classroom

# Goals and Outcomes

## Content Goal

### **Content Goal**

Goal 1: To develop an understanding of the power superheroes in American and the social, economic, and political impact they have on justice.

## Outcomes

Students will be able to.....

1. Analyze the levels of power and discover how it influences the economic, social, and political structure in the United States.
2. Examine the roles of power and how it dictates justice.
3. Compare and contrast how power dictates justice in our culture from 1938 to present.
4. Describe recurring elements of power that influence justice
5. Explain the effects of social justice historical events using tools from comic books

## Process Goal

Goal 2: To develop research skills to learn about superheroes relationships within our culture.

Students will be able to.....

## Process Outcomes

1. Identify and discuss the characteristics or qualities of power and justice.
2. Explain factors that increase levels of powers and give examples how this change lead to change in the justice system.
3. Evaluate and use research to support their understanding.
4. Summarize main points of power and state assumptions to support their thesis.

## Concept Goal

Goal 3: To understand the relationship between power and justice and how the creation of superheroes describe and identifies problems in our culture.

## Concept Outcomes

Students will be able to.....

1. Predict the impact the level of power have on the justice system for the future.
2. Transfer their knowledge about power and justice to influence their own identity.
3. Develop a system to identify important elements within power and justice to shape our culture.
4. Analyze the interaction of power and justice and determine the output it would have on real world.

# Assessment Plan

## Assessment Plan

What evidence will show that students understand? Describe formative assessments and summative assessment (performance task) that will be used to monitor student progress in meeting established goals throughout unit. Include student work samples (copies and/or photos) that demonstrate student content knowledge, skill development, and understanding of the unit's concept.

### Assessment Plan

This unit includes formative assessments that draw on the students knowledges about power and justice. These formative assessments allow you to tailor the instruction to meet the needs of the students. The ongoing assessments will evaluate the students on four levels: attitudes towards the concept, perception, skill level, and effectiveness. Throughout the unit these assessments give you feedback of the student's progress to identify their learning needs and shape their learning for the independent performance task at the end of the unit.

#### Pre-Post Assessments

- [Superhero Assessment](#)
- Determine meaning of unknown words
- Event Sequencing (comic books)

#### Ongoing/ Formative

- Concept Map
- Gallery Walks
- [Exit Slips](#)

#### Summative

**Performance Task:** After reading a teacher selected [Batman the Killing Joke](#) students will research and create a map of a country that their superhero can recede, identifying the country's demographics, social, economic, political status and compare it to North Carolina. Students will outline how their superhero can build their strength and the country's level of power through justice.

**TEACHER NAME**

Danielle

**GRADE LEVEL**

6th grade

**NC CURRICULUM STANDARDS****CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RL.6.1**

Cite textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RL.6.4**

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative and connotative meanings; analyze the impact of a specific word choice on meaning and tone

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**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.6.9**

Compare and contrast one author's presentation of events with that of another (e.g., a memoir written by and a biography on the same person).



**CONCEPT**

Power

**ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING**

Power dictates justice

**ESSENTIAL QUESTION**

*How does power dictate justice?*

## CRITICAL CONTENT - Students will know that...

- Students will know what empowers the word power
- Students will know the restrictions within the levels of power: external (me), exploitive (limitations), reciprocal (what's in it for me), cooperative ("us"), synergistic (new world), and creative (inventor) power
- Students will know the meaning of the word power, change, and justice
  - power-act in a particular way
  - change-become different
  - justices- a judge
  - justice-treatment
- Students will know the different levels of strategies of gaining power (locally, nationally, and globally)
- Students will know that superheroes powers dictate justice based on one's identify.
- Students will know the theory of change
  - Hearts and minds
  - Government
  - The playing field
  - Help the individual

## PROCESS SKILLS - Students will be able to...

- Students will be able to analyze human actions
- Students will be able to analyze how social, economic and political status influences the justice system
- Students will be able to give reasons why power dictates justice
- Students will be able to discuss how the a person's status determines their level of power
- Students will be able to explain what power would create change (socially, economically, or politically)

## MATERIALS

[Superhero Assessment](#), [Union Graphic organizer](#), [The Concept of Power](#), [Movie: Truth, Justice and the American Way](#), [Additional Text: Three-Theory of Power](#) and [Myer Briggs](#)

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

| Pre-Lesson Questions   | During Lesson Questions  | Post Lesson Question  |
|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• What does the word <i>power</i> mean?</li><li>• What does the word <i>justice</i> mean?</li><li>• How does power shape the world?</li><li>• What aspects of power influence a person's identity?</li><li>• How does power affect the justice system?</li><li>• How does justice influence power?</li><li>• What does the table represent?</li><li>• What happened to the group's power when multiple people stepped away?</li><li>• How did the power of one create productivity?</li><li>• Why was the structure of power important for your group's success?</li></ul> | <p>What words come to mind when you think about power?</p> <p>What symbolizes power?</p> <p>What about the power symbols commands justice?</p> <p>How do you know something is fair or has power?</p> <p>How did you group these items?</p> <p>Can we put these same items in different groups?</p> <p>Why would you group them that way?</p> <p>What are some characteristics of power, based on the ideas you wrote?</p> | <p>What concept about power is always true?</p> <p>What statements generalize your understand of the word power?</p> <p>How does diversity dictate justice for superheroes?</p> <p>What are the relationships between justice and power?</p> <p>How does power dictate justice?</p> |

## PLANNED LEARNING EXPERIENCES

### Explore

Students will be introduced to the word power

- Have students generate ideas about power in their notebooks.
- What words come to mind when you think about power?
- What kinds of things symbolize power?
- What about the power symbols commands justice?
- How do you know something is fair or has power?

Use the following article to guide a discussion about the first amendment.

### Listing

- Students will read one article related to the early history of superheroes [\*The Concept of Power\*](#) by Robert Dahl. Students will have access to a dictionary if they need help with understanding vocabulary. Students will read the article. While students are reading the article, they will underline any words or phrases related to the word power and social justice. Students will discuss shared ideas with the class. The teacher will record these ideas on the board.

### Explain

#### Grouping

Students will categorize the idea that were written down and put them into groups. Allow students time to give each group a title. After students have grouped and made titles, have them explain their reasoning.

- How would you describe your categorizes about power?
- Which words belong in more than one group?
- How else might you group your ideas?
- What are some characteristics of power, based on the ideas you wrote?

### Elaborate

#### Subsuming, regroup, and renaming

After the teacher has meet with each group, have students regroup the items. Tell the students the new groups must be in new categories. Each group must have at least four items in a category. Each new category must be based on the word power. The teacher will move through the room and ask all groups to share their categories.

- How did you group these items?
- Can we put these same items in different groups?
- Why did you group them that way?

- What concept about power is always true?
- What statements generalize your understand of the word power?
- Students will research and share their generalizations about power. When student's ideas have been shared and recorded explain that the list with be used as the core set of generalizations that will allow them to explore *how power dictate justice*.

Discuss with the students how things that have diversity are different from the groups of things that are not diverse. From the discussion, students should generalize the word diversity.

## ASSESSMENTS

### Evaluate

Allow students time to research two different superheroes from Marvel or DC comics. Students will investigate the superheroes level of power, identify the level of change, and analysis how the characters power dictated justice for their community. Allow students time to share their findings. After students have presented ask the class the following question:

*How does power dictate justice?*

When students finish post a reflection question on the board.

Students will explain their new thinking and summarize the new information.

Example: At first, I thought that power was \_\_\_\_\_, but now I think that power \_\_\_\_\_ . At first, I thought that justice was \_\_\_\_\_, but now I think that justice \_\_\_\_\_ . Together power and justice \_\_\_\_\_ .

# DIFFERENTIATION

## CONTENT

Students will read passages that have advanced vocabulary that is specific to being a superhero.

## PROCESS

Students will manipulate information to gain a clear understanding.

## PRODUCT

Students will have the opportunity to use the Internet or books to develop their own understanding of justice.

## LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

**TEACHER NAME**

Danielle

**GRADE LEVEL**

6th Grade

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**CONCEPT**

Power

**ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING**

Power dictates justice

**ESSENTIAL QUESTION**

*How does power dictate justice?*



### CRITICAL CONTENT - Students will know that...

- Students will know heroic acts that develop power
- Students will know what factors employ power in our society: society, economics and the political structure
- Students will know types of justice superhero
- Students will know the meaning of social responsibilities
- Students will know how to evaluate levels of power
- Students will know the different levels of superpowers and the reasons for why it is used authorize justice
- Students will know that superheroes powers dictate justice based on identify.

### PROCESS SKILLS - Students will be able to...

- Students will be able to analyze power
- Students will be able to discuss types of justice
- Students will be able classify comics
- Students will be able research
- Students will be able to explain the development of heroes

### MATERIALS

Google Maps, [Article: Culture and the Problem](#), Pop Rocks, and [superhero flash cards](#)

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

| Pre-Lesson Questions   | During Lesson Questions  | Post Lesson Question   |
|--|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• What are the origins of power?</li><li>• What weaknesses are in power?</li><li>• How does power influence justice?</li><li>• What characteristics of power shaped our culture and views on justice?</li><li>• How did the superhero's power dictate justice in their region?</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• What is the reason behind the power?</li><li>• Why is power needed to influence justice?</li><li>• How power dictate justice on Earth?</li><li>• Why did your group decide on these powers to dictate justice?</li><li>• What are other factors did you have to consider when choosing this power?</li><li>• What power do you intend to gain by using the materials selected?</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• What challenges did your power encounter?</li><li>• How would you improve your power?</li><li>• If you could change one thing about your power, what would it be?</li><li>• How did you use your power to dictate justice?</li></ul> |

## PLANNED LEARNING EXPERIENCES

### **Engagement**

Students enter the room to find a picture of the world map divided into four regions. On the map are superheroes with a description of their superpowers. The teacher stands in front of the room in front of the class dressed as a superhero. The teacher will walk the classroom and prompt students with the following questions:

- What was the origin of this hero's superpower?
- What are the weaknesses of this power?

Next, give students a large sheet of chart paper and allow them to document their ideas to answer the following questions:

- What are the traits or characteristics of these heroes?
- What characteristics about these heroes have shaped our culture?
- What do you notice about the development of each power in the superhero?

Allow students time to discuss the development of superheroes, how they have shaped the environment, and how their power dictates justice in their community. Explain to students that they will create and explore the science story of superpowers.

### **Explore**

Explain to students that superpowers have an origin that explains how and why the hero came to be. The origin story tells the heroes superpowers and explains how their experiences influence their worldview on justice in society.

### Mess Finding

- What makes your character, who they are? Is it genetic?

The teacher will provide students with the challenge of creating a backstory and superpower for a character. Students will design a superpower using information about the Avengers, Fantastic Four, Shazam, X-Men, and Justice League.

Student will have a bag that includes various items (fruits, string, flower, ink pen, stickers, and rubber bands) that students can use to create a superpower.

### Data Finding

Allow students time to draft up possible ideas from the information and facts that are available. Students will have a list of guideline to follow in order to complete the task. The teacher will go over the rules and procedures with the students for creating a superpower. Students will examine the following questions while developing a superpower:

- What is the reason behind the power?
- Why is this power needed to influence justice?
- How does this power dictate justice on Earth?

### **Explain**

#### Problem Finding

Students will begin to determine different ways for creating a superpower from the items in the brown paper bag. Students will work together in teams, they will determine:

- Rationale for the power
- The origin of power
- Contributions the power will make to society (long-term)
- How will this power dictates justice
- Students will decide on a common objective and determine different ways their superpower would be distinguished for advocating for justice in society.

#### Idea Finding

Teams will be given 30 minutes to outline or sketch their design based on their creativity, innovation and materials provided. Students must meet with the teacher and present their idea from the checklist about their superpower. The checklist will include that elements of superpowers:

type, source, strengths and weaknesses. The teacher will walk the classroom and act as a facilitator.

## ASSESSMENTS

### Evaluate

Each team will develop a work plan for developing an origin story and a need for their superpower. Students will be given 30 minutes to build a superpower (symbol). One student will be the materials manager and go to the table to get additional supplies. The teacher will circulate the room and monitor group participation.

- Why did your group decide on these power to dictate justice?
- What are other factors your concerned when choosing this power?
- What power do you intend to gain by using the materials selected?

At the end of 30 minutes the teacher will unveil the team's superpowers and describe the innovation they had for creating their power. Students will be asked to reflect on their experience and explain the materials chosen for their power. Students will then be asked to go through a mini obstacle course and see if their superpower dictates justice. Students will be provided with a rubric to reflect on their experience.

- What challenges did your power encounter?
- How would you improve your power?
- If you could change one thing about your power, what would it be?
- How did you use your power to dictate justice?

# DIFFERENTIATION

## CONTENT

Students will read passages that have advanced vocabulary and use the information as a tool for creating a superpower.

## PROCESS

Students will use the creative problem- solving model.

## PRODUCT

Students will have the opportunity to express their understanding creatively and innovatively by developing a superhero with power.

## LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

**TEACHER NAME**

Danielle

**GRADE LEVEL**

6th Grade

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**CONCEPT**

Power

**ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING**

Power dictates justice

**ESSENTIAL QUESTION**

*How does power dictate justice?*



### CRITICAL CONTENT - Students will know that...

- Students will know the types of justices:

commutative, distributive, legal and social

- Students will know the forms of power: legitimate, reward, expert, referent, and coercive
- Students will know society responses to power
- Student will know how power and justice developed superheroes
- Student will know how power influences the superheroes responsibility for justice
- Student will know the influences of ethnicity and gender on the role of power and justice

### PROCESS SKILLS - Students will be able to...

Students will be able to analyze media text in context o

Students will be able to communicate an understanding of historical development of superheroes

Students will be able to debate the relationships between power and culture

Students will be able to research

Students will be able to evaluate research

### MATERIALS

[Luke Cage video](#), [Fantastic Four video](#), [Article: Comic Books and Ideology](#)

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

| Pre-Lesson Questions  | During Lesson Questions   | Post Lesson Question   |
|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are different ways to communicate power?</li> <li>• How does power synthesize new forms of justice?</li> <li>• How does gender influence a superhero's role of power?</li> <li>• What are examples of superheroes in the real world demonstrating the need for justice?</li> <li>• How does a power dictate justice?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Were there any difficult vocabulary or interesting words that related to POWER or Justice?</li> <li>• What does the text say about power? What are new concepts you learned about power?</li> <li>• How would you describe power?</li> <li>• What causes the gain power?</li> <li>• How does power build the need for justice?</li> <li>• What factors does a superhero consider before advocating for justice?</li> <li>• What connections were developed for the text?</li> <li>• How does the combination of power and justice create societies?</li> <li>• What are ways the arise of power creates “justice problems”?</li> <li>• How does your experience affect the function of power and justice?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What challenges did you experience in the seminar?</li> <li>• How did your role in the seminar impact your feelings?</li> <li>• What is a big idea you can use from the seminar?</li> <li>• What concepts did you explore in the seminar?</li> <li>• What changes can be made about their perspective on power and justice?</li> <li>• How does gender influence a superhero's role of power?</li> <li>• How does power dictates justices?</li> </ul> |

## PLANNED LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Show students a video clip from *Luke Cage* and the *Fantastic Four*, ask students to discuss the types of power observed in the movie segments. Once students provide examples, hand out a concept map with the word POWER. Next, ask students to reflect on the word power and identify at least four objectives for power. Ask students to make additional branches from the objectives of power and identify details for how power influences the type of justice people seek.

### Explore

Ask students the following questions:

- What are different ways to communicate power?
- How does power synthesize new forms of justice?
- How does gender influence a superhero's role of power?
- What are examples of superheroes in the real world demonstrating the need for justice?
- How does a power dictate justice?

Explain to students that they will be exploring the types of power in superheroes. Show students the guidelines for a Socratic seminar. Go over each guideline one with the students. Explain to students that the job of the teacher is to facilitate.

Students will be provided with a copy of the *Power of Comics* Chapter 11 (Superheroes and Ideologies). Each student will be asked to read the chapter silently. When all students have read the chapter, the teacher will facilitate a "close reading" of the text.

- Students will paraphrase the text and make notes on what they read.
- Ask students: Were there any difficult vocabulary or interesting words that related to POWER or Justice?
- Ask students: What does the text say about power? What are new concepts you learned about power?

When students have finished discussing the questions divide them into four groups. Each group will be assigned to read a set of comic books. Students will be instructed to read the comic books silently and independently. Each student will employ the "close strategy" when reading the text. When all group members have read the comics, the group will discuss notes and questions they have written during their close reading. Each group will craft five high level thinking questions as a result of their reading.

### Explain

When students have completed their task, the teacher asks the following questions:

- How would you describe power?
- What causes the gain power?
- How does power build the need for justice?
- What factors does a superhero consider before advocating for justice?

- What connections were developed for the text?

Students will respond to the questions orally. Allow for multiple responses to represent different perspectives.

### **Elaborate**

Divide students into two groups. One group will compose the inner circle of the Socratic Seminar and the other group will form the outer circle of the Socratic Seminar. The inner circle members begin the dialogue while the outer circle members take notes about the dialogue. The teacher will post the questions:

- How does the combination of power and justice create societies?
- What are ways the arise of power creates “justice problems”?
- How does your experience affects the function of power and justice?

And the students will have a dialogue and observe one participant of the inner circle. The leader, one student assigned by the teacher will begin the seminar with insight to the questions. Inner circle students will respond in a dialogue fashion throughout the seminar. Students will follow the expectations for participation and guidelines which was discussed prior to the seminar.

Students will have a dialogue for 10 minutes and then inner and outer circles will change places. The new outer circle will now be taking notes, crafting questions, and observing their partner in the inner circle.

When students have completed the seminar, the teacher will pose the following questions:

- What challenges did you experience in the seminar?
- How did your role in the seminar impact your feelings?
- What is a big idea you can use from the seminar?
- What concepts did you explore in the seminar?

After students have responded orally, students will return to their small groups.

## ASSESSMENTS

### Evaluate

Have students think about the comic books and the article read. Ask students:

- What changes can be made about their perspective on power and justice?
- How does gender influence a superhero's role of power?
- How does power dictate justice?

Have students reflect on what they learn. Student's reflection can be a list, paragraph or a graphic organizer.

## DIFFERENTIATION

### CONTENT

Students will present facts and knowledge about topic from a variety of resources.

### PROCESS

Students will collaborate and have the opportunity to research information based on their learning preference.

### PRODUCT

Students will present the understanding on a tangible object.

### LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

**TEACHER NAME**

Danielle

**GRADE LEVEL**

6th Grade

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**CONCEPT**

Power

**ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING**

Power dictates justice

**ESSENTIAL QUESTION**

*How does power dictate justice?*

### **CRITICAL CONTENT - Students will know that...**

- Students will know the meaning of justice
- Students will know what dictates ethical decisions
- Students will know society responses to power
- Student will know patterns of power
- Student will know the meaning of ethical and unethical
- Student will know the types of villains

### **PROCESS SKILLS - Students will be able to...**

- Students will be able to analyze patterns
- Students will be able to reflect on data
- Students will be able categorize information
- Students will be able to research information to decide solutions
- Students will be able to create outcomes using information

### **MATERIALS**

[Graphic novel: Batman the Killing Joke](#)



# GUIDING QUESTIONS

| Pre-Lesson Questions   | During Lesson Questions  | Post Lesson Question   |
|--|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where does justice lie?</li> <li>• How can justice without power equal happiness?</li> <li>• How does injustice with power equal happiness?</li> <li>• How does power dictate justice?</li> <li>• How can justice without power equal happiness?</li> <li>• How does injustice with power equal happiness?</li> <li>• What are examples power appeals to your sense of justice?</li> <li>• How does power govern justice for villains?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Why did you consider some crimes ethical and unethical?</li> <li>• What types of crimes would you describe were the most frequent?</li> <li>• What patterns of power did you discover with the villains?</li> <li>• How would you compare the villains use of power to superheroes?</li> <li>• How do villains and superheroes both fight for justice?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How did your role of power dictate justice for the villains?</li> <li>• How would you describe the act of justice (evil) compared to the crime?</li> <li>• How does power dictate justice?</li> <li>• How did you analyze the information to categorize the level of justice?</li> <li>• What issues of justice cause conflict in society?</li> </ul> |

## PLANNED LEARNING EXPERIENCES

### **Engage**

Students will enter the classroom which will look a jail cell. On the walls of the classroom for be the following questions:

- Where does justice lie?
- How can justice without power equal happiness?
- How does injustice with power equal happiness?
- How does power dictate justice?

Standing in the middle of the room is Batman with the book *Batman: The Killing Joker*. Students will be divided into groups and read sections from the text. As students are reading ask them to highlight examples of *where does justice lies* for Joker and Batman.

When students finish reading, have students Think-Pair-Share what they have from the text. The teacher will walk around the classroom as the students share their answers.

The teacher will instruct the students to the last section of the comic book. Have students reread the text and explore the question:

- How can justice without power equal happiness?
- How does injustice with power equal happiness?

Allow students time to discuss their answers. Handout out a thinking sheet for students to write a reflection. Ask students the question:

- What are examples power appeals to your sense of justice?
- How does power govern justice for villains?

- **Engage**

Students will enter the classroom which will look a jail cell. On the walls of the classroom for be the following questions:

- Where does justice lie?
- How can justice without power equal happiness?
- How does injustice with power equal happiness?
- How does power dictate justice?
- Standing in the middle of the room is Batman with the book *Batman: The Killing Joker*. Students will be divided into groups and read sections from the text. As students are reading ask them to highlight examples of *where does justice lies* for Joker and Batman.

When students finish reading, have students Think-Pair-Share what they have from the text. The teacher will walk around the classroom as the students share their answers.

The teacher will instruct the students to the last section of the comic book. Have students reread the text and explore the question:

- How can justice without power equal happiness?
- How does injustice with power equal happiness?
- Allow students time to discuss their answers. Handout out a thinking sheet for students to write a reflection. Ask students the question:
- What are examples power appeals to your sense of justice?
- How does power govern justice for villains?
- Show students a brief PowerPoint presentation on superheroes and supervillains. Have a class discussion about how heroes and villains power change the world.

### **Explore**

Count students off to make 4 in each group.

### **Problem Engagement**

Pose Question #1 to class:

Batman has just summoned for all superheroes to meet at the Durham County Sheriff Department. Last night there was a riot of supervillains. This riot resulted with a numerous about villains eligible for prisons sentences. The Sheriff Department would like your team's help with categorizing the crime data of the villains. Investigate how many villains rage of power justifies their acts of evilness. Could there be blurred lines between good and evil. Can you help and reduce the prison sentences of these villain?

Have students review the key components of the problem. Lead students to discuss and explore the ethics of crime-fighting and ways to organize their data in graphic display.

### **Inquiry and Investigation**

Students will work collaboratively within groups to solve the problem. They will address the following questions in their groups:

- What do you already know to solve the problem?

Students will have to discover how many villains committed ethic and unethical acts of crime for the justice of humanity. The process in which students will organize their information will be up to them. Students will be provided with a list of villains and case files to all them to categorize the types of crimes.

## **Problem Definition**

Following inquiry and investigation of the problem. Groups will debrief and identify ethical, unethical, and gray areas of the villain's crime. Students will then identify solutions that will address the prison sentence problem and prepare to present their solutions to the class.

- What do you already know in order to solve the problem?
- Discuss possible resources
- Assign task and responsibilities; set deadlines
- Research the knowledge and data that will support your solution

## **Explain**

### **Problem Resolution**

After students have worked on the problem for **45 minutes**, the teacher will facilitate a class discussion about the student's findings.

- Why did you consider some crimes ethical and unethical?
- What types of crimes would you describe were the most frequent?
- What patterns of power did you discover with the villains?

The teacher will display student's collection of data around the classroom for all students to gallery walk and make post-it notes during the class discussion. Let students share their answers and strategies for coming up with their solutions for prison sentences. The teacher will ask:

- How did you analyze the information to categorize the level of justice?
- How would you describe the act of justice (evil) compared to the crime?

Allow students time to respond to the discussion. Ask students:

- How would you compare the villains use of power to superheroes?
- How do villains and superheroes both fight for justice?

## **Elaborate**

The teacher will go over the key elements of categorizing data. She will ask the class:

How did your role of power dictate justice for the villains? Students will reflect on their learning and how power dictates justice.

## ASSESSMENTS

Students will be assessed formatively throughout the lesson by their explanations and discussions in their small groups.

## DIFFERENTIATION

### CONTENT

Students will present facts and knowledge about topic from a variety of resources.

### PROCESS

Students will collaborate and have the opportunity to research information based on their learning preference.

### PRODUCT

Students will present the understanding on a tangible object.

### LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

## Unit Resources

Provide a listing of books, Web sites, videos, and/or other instructional materials that are intended to supplement the unit. Include resources intended for both teacher and student use. Be sure to use APA style for books/articles and provide a brief (1-2 sentence) annotation for Web sites and instructional materials.

### Unit Resources

Dahl, R. A. (2007). The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, 2(3), 201-215. doi:10.1002/bs.3830020303

Behavior professor analyze the concept of power. Drawing on ideas from the three-theory process that states how features of power influence human's life and social structure. The author analyzes the levels of power and discusses how the challenges of social relationships defines the external force of the need for social change.

Hero-Me. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://hero-me.com/about.html>

This website provides individuals with a Myer Brigg personality assessment. This personality inventory measures one's individual traits and assesses how they view the world. The inventory evaluates needs, interest, values, and motivation. When the assessment is completed students will be able to identify which "Big Five Personality Traits" align with their inner superhero.

F. (2015, November 16). Marvel Comics: Luke Cage Explained. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9rFMIF6EQ0&t=7s>

This video focus on the social influence Luke Cage had on Marvel comics. It looks at the origin and the development of the character. The video discusses how the civil rights movements created a need for an American-African superhero and how marvel wanted to persuade people of the importances of fighting for equality.

Moore, A., Bolland, B., & Starkings, R. (2008). *The killing joke*. New York: DC Comics.

The author creates a graphic novel that tells the origin story of the Joker. In the comic, the reader understands the motives and wants of Joker and Batman.

*Truth, justice, and the American way*[Video file]. (1963). University of Southern California, Division of Cinema.

This video focus on the creation of the superhero in the United States. The documentary begins with the

creation of Superman and why our country needed a hero. The movie discusses how heroes and villains have been an essential part of storytelling. The movies shows how superheroes are reflections of the current times and are the newest mythology. They provide forms of entertainment and are ways to bring awareness to issues in world.

*What is a superhero?; ed. by Robin S. Rosenberg. (2013). NEW YORK: OXFORD University Press.*

Rosenberg analyze the meaning of a superhero. Drawing on data from comics he explores the context, culture, and the problems needs to be classified as a superhero. He discusses their mission, power and responsibility towards society and the interdependent relationship with villains that must be maintain.

Y. (2018, May 11). Who Is Black Panther: Fantastic Four 52-53/ FIRST APPEARANCE (#1). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=39qNCFS3w9g>

This video focus on the social influence Black Panther and the celebration of the Black Panther Party. Marvel comics created Black Panther as a way to inspire the black community and protect their dignity. The video shows how the Fantastic Four discover Black Panther and how this lead to Black Panther getting his own series in 1973.

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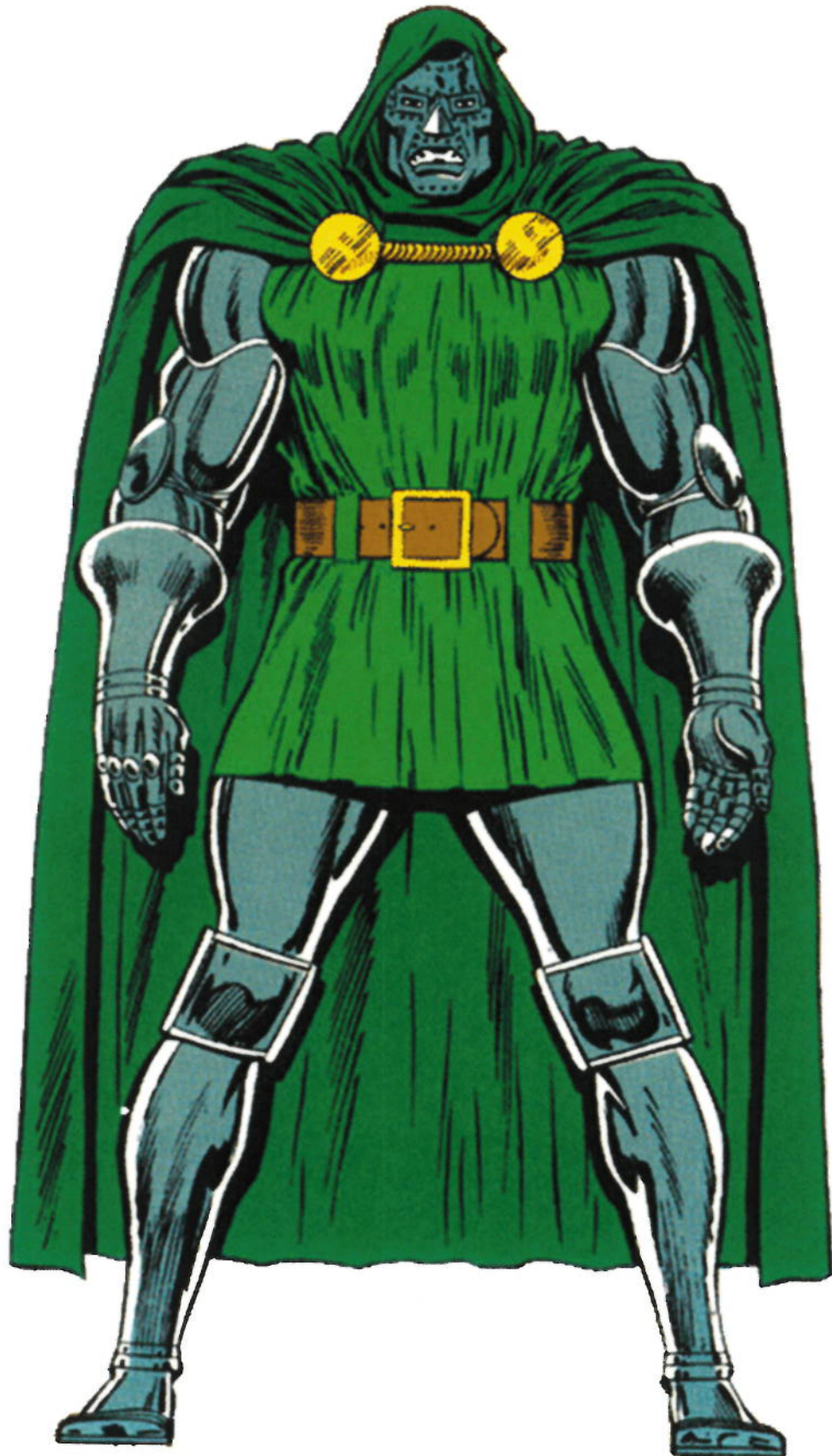
















## Superheroes by Design

John Jennings

John Jennings holds an MFA in art and design with a concentration in graphic design and is both a comic book professional and a scholar. He is a comic book illustrator (and has designed superhero and other comic book characters), as well as co-author of the graphic novel *The Hole: Consumer Culture* (Volume 1) and co-editor and designer of *Black Comic: African American Independent Comics, Art and Culture*. He curates art exhibitions of the comics medium and teaches various courses related to design.

There are few visual symbols that communicate as effectively and with such consistency as the American pop-culture invention of the superhero. Indeed, it would be difficult to find someone in modern society who has never been exposed to the idea or representation of a superhero or the conventions of the genre. In my opinion, a superhero is one of the most effective visual communication vehicles ever designed.

Building on the fact that the superhero is a visual artifact, it is my aim to point out several formal qualities that help to solidify some of the reasons that superheroes resonate with us so intensely. The visual signifiers of symmetry, design, the reified body, costume, and color symbolism play vital roles in distinguishing characters who are superheroes from characters who aren't. Although the meaning of the superhero has been discussed for many years in various contexts, we must not forget that the superhero is first and foremost shorthand for conveying particular meanings in a visual mode.

### SUPER IDEAS/SUPER BODIES

The superhero is a symbol of power that is reified as the hyper-physical body, and that body then comes to be a visual representation of that power. In *Practices of Looking* by Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *reification* is defined as the "process by which abstract ideas are rendered concrete. This means that material objects, such as commodities are awarded the characteristics of human subjects."<sup>1</sup>

The perfect body of the superhero is an object of cultural production that stands for many socially constructed ideas regarding power, justice, and morality. Possible antecedents of the superhero's body might be the beautiful sculptures of ancient Greece and Rome, which depicted beauty that was then thought to be classic and therefore perfect in mind and spirit. In a sense, the superhero is exactly that, an illustration of the perfect fusion of mind, body, and spirit. The superhero body performs and displays these reified ideas to a public that still values these basic tenets today. The superhero is an embodiment, but not just of an individual. It is an embodiment of cultural and social values—a *gestalt* of various belief structures in physical form.

In addition to being a metaphorical body, the superhero body is one seen in motion. It leaps, crushes, crouches, pounces, and flies. Superheroes are meant to be virtuous,

selfless, brave, strong, and honorable. These qualities of the hero are displayed, acted, and explicitly executed. To match the ideas and beliefs that motivate the superheroes' behaviors, the body must be shown to be powerful and perfect.

The most prominent superheroes use their muscles and their minds in tandem to achieve their goal of saving the day. These qualities are laid out very successfully by Peter Coogan in *Superhero: The Secret Origin of a Genre*.<sup>2</sup> Coogan states that superheroes can be identified by a selfless mission, powers, and a distinct identity composed of a code name and an iconic costume. If you look at the three tenets of mind, body, and spirit, they align quite nicely with Coogan's categories. A focused mind relates to mission. The mind's thoughts spark the beginnings of the superhero's mission. The body—reified power—relates very closely to superheroes' physical display of might. Lastly, the idea of a living spirit can also relate to the individual *essence* or *soul*. Therefore, spirit can possibly be equated with identity. I imagine this trinity to be in the shape of an equilateral triangle. The triangle is a testament to the idea of the divine body and an example of how symmetry plays an important part in superheroes and their formally communicative properties.

### SUPER SYMMETRY

The principle of *symmetry* can be found everywhere in nature. It is part of our environment and our very bodies. In addition to this ubiquity, it can affect our very notions of what we deem important. Symmetry comes in various forms. It is a perceived notion of balance and harmony. Bilateral symmetry, in which the two sides of a form are mirrored, is very common in all forms of life. In *Making Comics*, Scott McCloud<sup>3</sup> refers to this visual principle and its importance in his chapter on basic character design. He states, "Symmetry is life's calling card, the way we've learned to recognize each other in the wild. It's that bit of ourselves that breeds affection when we see it in our nearer relatives (simians) and makes us uneasy when we see it in our more distant ones (insects). It's the key ingredient that says 'Yes, this is an animal like me. This is a living thing.'"<sup>4</sup> Bilateral symmetry is useful for conveying information because the brain tends to remember it more clearly. McCloud states that in fact, "no matter how abstract or stylized a piece of art is, if it displays that basic arrangement, humans will see themselves in its features."<sup>5</sup>

In nature, certain animals take symmetry into account when choosing a mate. The female house sparrow uses the relative symmetry and size of the male's black bill in choosing a mating partner.<sup>6</sup> Symmetry is an important component of displays of strength and fitness in the Japanese scorpionfly when it competes for food to give as tribute to potential mates.<sup>7</sup> Also, a male blue peacock's chance of mating with a female is based on the number of eyespots, or *ocelli*, coupled with the relative perception of symmetry attributed to the *ocelli* patterns.<sup>8</sup> Symmetry is beautiful and desirable. Individuals we humans consider to be beautiful or attractive are likely to have faces and bodies we perceive as symmetrical. This, of course, suggests that people we think of as attractive would receive more attention from potential sexual partners and more opportunities to mate. It is also important to note that the various forms of life on our

planet aren't actually bilaterally symmetrical, and that perfect bilateral symmetry is perceived and therefore contextual. In fact, if life forms were perfectly symmetrical, the resulting images would look odd and artificial. Therefore, this perfect symmetry isn't actually attainable physically, but it is very much desired.

For a discussion of superheroes, it is important to consider symmetry because it is a primary property of the chevron designs of the most memorable and lasting superhero characters.\* Batman, Wonder Woman, Spider-Man, the Silver Age Green Lantern,† the X-Men, Iron Man, Captain America, Captain Marvel (from Marvel Comics), and many others use symmetry in their iconic symbols. Even Superman's "S," though asymmetrical in design, is presented within a symmetrical diamond shape. This simple and elegant design strategy is a key element in a strong formal presentation of the superhero body and its implied connotations of balance, justice, goodness, strength, power, and perfection. Symmetry, both physical and metaphorical, is the language of the superhero in various ways.

It is also the language of various cosmologies and belief structures. Scott McCloud states in *Understanding Comics* that "symbols are the stuff from which gods are made."<sup>9</sup> It is fascinating that the connections among superheroes, ancient mythology, and religion are inferred by comics scholars and fans alike. Bilateral symmetry is a major component of religious and metaphysical iconography. The Christian cross, the Christian fish symbol, the Jewish Star of David, the *veves* used in Haitian Voodoo,‡ Buddhist mandalas, the infinity symbol, and the Egyptian *ankh* all employ this type of imagery. Perhaps the term "hero worship" isn't too far-fetched in this context? Superheroes are our modern messiahs, and they can represent clarity of vision, heroism, balance, sacrifice, and rebirth. These are qualities that people have valued both in our contemporary society and throughout human history.

Even the superheroes of the decidedly deconstructionist *Watchmen*, by Alan Moore and Dave Gibbons, employ various levels of symmetry to show the interlocking concepts of chaos and order.<sup>10</sup> The Comedian's "smiley face" button, Rorschach's heat-sensitive mask, and Doctor Manhattan's forehead chevron all use symmetry in their designs. Those symmetrical visual aspects, plus the nature of these superheroes' histories and personal relationships, make these three the most memorable characters in the graphic novel.

In addition, the classic "Superman pose" reifies these ideas about symmetry and "goodness." We have all seen this pose performed and sometimes lampooned. The feet are far apart. The body is facing forward in order to maximize the physical nature

\* Editors' note: *Chevron* is comic book artist Jim Steranko's term for the superhero chest symbol or insignia, such as Superman's "S" shield, Batman's bat, Spider-Man's spider, or the Fantastic Four's "F."

† Peter Coogan popularized the use of *chevron* in *Superhero: The Secret Origin of the Superhero*.

‡ Editors' note: The Green Lantern of the Silver Age generally refers to the character of Hal Jordan from the 1950s and 1960s.

§ *Veves* are the written symbols used during ceremonies in the religion of Voodoo (Voodoo). Each corresponds to a particular god or spirit (loa) and is used to call that particular spirit to ask its aid or blessing.

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of the pose. The chest is lifted high to show the symmetrical chevron as clearly as possible. The fists are placed on the hips with the elbows locked at a 90-degree angle. This stance can be read as an amplified *performance* of symmetry and all it implies. Scott McCloud references this type of body language in *Making Comics*. He states, "A ramrod straight posture, like the one seen in a lot of superhero books, will communicate strength and confidence by being symbolically taller."<sup>11</sup> The image of McCloud's avatar demonstrates the pose with the labels "chin up," "chest out," and "back arched" as performance signifiers. He goes on to state that asymmetry can connote various negative emotional traits and that this principle can be used by comics creators to create tension and display conflicts of various kinds.

Well-thought-out costume design can help magnify this performance. The amplification of visually symmetrical qualities is evident in details of certain superhero costume designs such as Wolverine's mask, the winged helmet of the mighty Thor, Doctor Strange's huge collar, and Batman's pointy ears on the side of his cowl. These are deliberate displays of symmetry and power that are reminiscent of the aforementioned blue peacock and his self-conscious strutting for attention.

### COSTUMES AND COLOR SYMBOLISM

Superheroes wear costumes. The costume is the most recognizable visual aspect of the genre and of the characters. The rationales for these costumes are as varied as the characters themselves. The skintight costume seems directly connected to the display, performance, and execution of the reified connotations of the culture that are represented by the perfect physique of the superhero. Those bodies must be seen. The skintight costume is a medium for displaying the superhero's physicality. This visual convention has significantly affected the depiction of these characters for decades. In *The Power of Comics*, Randy Duncan and Matthew J. Smith state, "In the 1960s artists like Neal Adams and Jim Steranko revived (Burne) Hogarth's flayed look, in which every muscle stands in sharp relief, as if the covering skin had been removed."<sup>12</sup> They go on to state that "because comics are a visual medium, the ritualistic display of a hero's power has become another stylistic convention of the superhero genre."<sup>13</sup>

Another component of the costume is, of course, color. Superhero costumes tend toward the primary colors of red, yellow, and blue (and, conversely, supervillain costumes tend toward the secondary colors of orange, green, and purple, though these tendencies are by no means absolute or universal). Many historians, including Scott McCloud, attribute this color preference to the need of comics creators to differentiate their protagonists from the rest of the characters. McCloud states in *Understanding Comics*, "These colors objectify their subjects. We become more aware of the physical form of objects than in black and white."<sup>14</sup> Duncan and Smith echo this observation by saying that "the connection between color and superheroes is so prominent that some creators working in other genres have consciously avoided the use of color, choosing to work in black and white in order to distance themselves from the (potentially) juvenile connotation of bright color."<sup>15</sup> A connection between particular colors with bright tonal ranges and the superhero genre can be made in certain contexts.



In summation, the superhero is a compelling visual communication vehicle that utilizes tried and true design elements coupled with powerful social connotations in order to convey specific ideologies connected to our society's beliefs and cultural practices. The visual signifiers of the superhero resonate with us—the physical performance of the powers, the superhero costume (which highlights the design element of color and the principle of symmetry), and the display of the physically fit body. We sense the inherent combination of these qualities and respond accordingly. As a result, the visual cues of the superhero are learned, processed, and disseminated in our culture and transmitted as modern mythology via various media. The superhero is a classic American visual convention that has stood the test of time. The form persists today because of great conceptual design and application by generations of comics creators. Superheroes represent what we want to be, either physically or spiritually. As long as there is evil to conquer and injustices to make right, the superhero will be there to symbolize the struggles we all must endure in our personal journeys to vanquish the foes within ourselves.

NOTES

1. Lisa Cartwright and Marita Sturken. (2001). *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 364.
2. Peter Coogan. (2006). *Superhero: The Secret Origin of a Genre*. Austin, TX: MonkeyBrain Books.
3. Scott McCloud. (2006). *Making Comics: Storytelling Secrets of Comics, Manga and Graphic Novels* New York: HarperCollins.
4. McCloud, *Making*, p. 59.
5. McCloud, *Making*, p. 60.
6. Jeffry B. Mitton. (2000). *Selection in Natural Populations* New York: Oxford University Press, p. 136.
7. Mitton, *Selection*, p. 136.
8. Mitton, *Selection*, p. 136.
9. Scott McCloud. (1993). *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* Northampton, MA: Kitchen Sink Press/Harper Perennial, p. 188.
10. Alan Moore and David Gibbons, *Watchmen*. New York: DC Comics, 1986.
11. McCloud, *Making*, p. 106.
12. Randy Duncan and Matthew J. Smith. (2009). *The Power of Comics: History, Form, and Culture*. New York: Continuum Press, p. 235.
13. Duncan and Smith, *Power of Comics*, p. 236.
14. McCloud, *Understanding*, p. 189.
15. Duncan and Smith, *Power of Comics*, p. 236.

# MBTI Personality Type Test

1. **At a party do you:**
  - a. Interact with many, including strangers
  - b. Interact with a few, known to you
2. **Are you more:**
  - a. Realistic than speculative
  - b. Speculative than realistic
3. **Is it worse to:**
  - a. Have your "head in the clouds"
  - b. Be "in a rut"
4. **Are you more impressed by:**
  - a. Principles
  - b. Emotions
5. **Are more drawn toward the:**
  - a. Convincing
  - b. Touching
6. **Do you prefer to work:**
  - a. To deadlines
  - b. Just "whenever"
7. **Do you tend to choose:**
  - a. Rather carefully
  - b. Somewhat impulsively
8. **At parties do you:**
  - a. Stay late, with increasing energy
  - b. Leave early with decreased energy
9. **Are you more attracted to:**
  - a. Sensible people
  - b. Imaginative people
10. **Are you more interested in:**
  - a. What is actual
  - b. What is possible
11. **In judging others are you more swayed by:**
  - a. Laws than circumstances
  - b. Circumstances than laws
12. **In approaching others is your inclination to be somewhat:**
  - a. Objective
  - b. Personal
13. **Are you more:**
  - a. Punctual
  - b. Leisurely
14. **Does it bother you more having things:**
  - a. Incomplete
  - b. Completed
15. **In your social groups do you:**
  - a. Keep abreast of other's happenings
  - b. Get behind on the news
16. **In doing ordinary things are you more likely to:**
  - a. Do it the usual way
  - b. Do it your own way
17. **Writers should:**
  - a. "Say what they mean and mean what they say"
  - b. Express things more by use of analogy
18. **Which appeals to you more:**
  - a. Consistency of thought
  - b. Harmonious human relationships
19. **Are you more comfortable in making:**
  - a. Logical judgments
  - b. Value judgments
20. **Do you want things:**
  - a. Settled and decided
  - b. Unsettled and undecided
21. **Would you say you are more:**
  - a. Serious and determined
  - b. Easy-going
22. **In phoning do you:**
  - a. Rarely question that it will all be said
  - b. Rehearse what you'll say
23. **Facts:**
  - a. "Speak for themselves"
  - b. Illustrate principles
24. **Are visionaries:**
  - a. somewhat annoying
  - b. rather fascinating
25. **Are you more often:**
  - a. a cool-headed person
  - b. a warm-hearted person
26. **Is it worse to be:**
  - a. unjust
  - b. merciless

54. Are you inclined more to be:  
a. fair-minded  
b. sympathetic
55. Is it preferable mostly to:  
a. make sure things are arranged  
b. just let things happen
56. In relationships should most things be:  
a. re-negotiable  
b. random and circumstantial
57. When the phone rings do you:  
a. hasten to get to it first  
b. hope someone else will answer
58. Do you prize more in yourself:  
a. a strong sense of reality  
b. a vivid imagination
59. Are you drawn more to:  
a. fundamentals  
b. overtones
60. Which seems the greater error:  
a. to be too passionate  
b. to be too objective
61. Do you see yourself as basically:  
a. hard-headed  
b. soft-hearted
62. Which situation appeals to you more:  
a. the structured and scheduled  
b. the unstructured and unscheduled
63. Are you a person that is more:  
a. routinized than whimsical  
b. whimsical than routinized
64. Are you more inclined to be:  
a. easy to approach  
b. somewhat reserved
65. In writings do you prefer:  
a. the more literal  
b. the more figurative
66. Is it harder for you to:  
a. identify with others  
b. utilize others
67. Which do you wish more for yourself:  
a. clarity of reason  
b. strength of compassion
68. Which is the greater fault:  
a. being indiscriminate  
b. being critical
69. Do you prefer the:  
a. planned event  
b. unplanned event
70. Do you tend to be more:  
a. deliberate than spontaneous  
b. spontaneous than deliberate

## Agenda 2005

### Explaining the nature of power: A three-process theory

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#### *Abstract*

*Power is an inescapable feature of human social life and structure. This paper addresses the nature of power. The standard theory is that power is the capacity for influence and that influence is based on the control of resources valued or desired by others. However, there have always been problems with this theory and new ones have appeared. The paper summarizes the standard theory and its problems, outlines the different meanings of power and presents a new theory emphasizing group identity, social organization and ideology rather than dependence as the basis of power. It proposes that power is based on persuasion, authority and coercion. A key point is that the theory changes the way these processes have been understood by reversing the causal sequence of the standard theory. The latter argues that control of resources produces power; power is the basis of influence and that mutual influence leads to the formation of a psychological group. The three-process theory argues that psychological group formation produces influence, that influence is the basis of power and that power leads to the control of resources. Implications of the theory for social change, coercion, prejudice and the extent to which power is a social evil are briefly noted. The challenge is to study how power emerges from and functions within social relationships with a definite social, ideological and historical content rather than reifying it as an abstract external force producing generic psychological effects. Copyright © 2005 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.*

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Few would deny that power is central to human affairs or a key concept in the social sciences. Roberts (2003) argues that it is the basis of society: 'The ability of one person to make a hundred others do his [sic] bidding is the basic building block upon which all collective human endeavour is based' (p. xv). Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson (2003) state that it is 'a basic force in social relationships' (p. 265). It appears to be a universal and indispensable feature of social organization, at work in all political, organizational and institutional life and, in some views, in every social relationship. Every group, organization or society must solve the problems of power to achieve its goals or risk failure, dysfunction or even extinction. But what exactly is power? How should it be defined, what are the processes through which it operates, what are their distinctive effects on attitudes and behaviour, and

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been problems with the standard theory and over the last 30 years additional ones have emerged. The most important can be summarized as follows.

1 First, the field has never agreed on one view about how the dependence-influence relationship works and the differences between the classic theories are not trivial. The seminal theorists disagree about whether there is one (Festinger, 1950), two (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955), three (Kelman, 1958) or five, six or more (French & Raven, 1959; Raven, 2001) kinds of influence process. They disagree about the role of group cohesion in compliance. For Festinger (1950, 1953, 1954) being attracted to the group leads to private acceptance of its influence by members and public compliance reflects dislike for the influencing group. For Deutsch and Gerard (1955) attraction to the group leads to 'normative' not 'informational' influence (i.e. compliance). French and Raven (1959) and Kelman (1958) explain compliance in terms of rewards and costs which are distinguished from both informational processes and attraction to others ('referent power' or 'identification').

Even more fundamentally they disagree about the relationship between informational and social processes of influence. Festinger (1950, 1954) regards them as inseparable and assumes that people form groups because of their need for information. Deutsch and Gerard (1955) split informational from group influences, while French and Raven (1959) and Kelman (1958) identify social processes of influence which are neither informational nor merely compliance (i.e. a kind of acceptance based on emotional ties). Also highly confusing is that the latter theorists both specify rewards and costs as the basis of compliance as if other kinds of power did not also involve rewards and costs. In dependence theory all influence is shaped by rewards and costs (see Keltner et al., 2003). In informational influence or social reality testing, for example, one shifts towards people with information or expertise because they provide information which is rewarding in reducing one's uncertainty. How the rewards and costs specified as the basis of compliance in these theories differ from the rewards and costs in other kinds of influence is never explained.

Second, the basic idea that influence reflects dependence is highly problematic (see Moscovici, 1976, and Turner, 1991, for detailed critiques). If one considers the popular dual-process theory of Deutsch and Gerard (1955), for example, which contrasts an informational process with normative influence in which one conforms to the expectations of others to gain their approval, neither process provides an adequate description of the phenomena they are meant to explain. Private conformity is not a function of people who lack information shifting to people who have it. In fact, even people confronting an unambiguous stimulus (as in the Asch paradigm) become uncertain when similar others disagree with them and what reduces uncertainty is subjectively valid information, not information in the abstract. The perceived validity of information is always a function of social and relational factors such as the perceived source of a message, the degree to which it has consensual support and the degree to which the target defines the source as a positive reference group, that is, the degree to which it is in line with ingroup norms. So-called informational influence is not purely cognitive but also social and normative. There is in fact no way of defining persuasive or valid information independently of the social context within which it is apprehended. The same information which persuades one group will fail to persuade another. One group's expert is another's crank. One does not accept influence from experts because of the information they provide (if one is not an expert, how can one judge its quality?), but accepts the information as valid because one defines them as an expert (Moscovici, 1976).

Similarly, the idea that normative influence in the Asch paradigm is non-informational group pressure is inconsistent with classic findings such as the importance of unanimity rather than group size in producing conformity and the fact that conformity is still strong even when group surveillance is removed. Basic findings and indeed basic phenomena (conformity in the classic paradigms, group polarization, minority influence) do not fit and remain unexplained by the dual-process theory (Turner, 1991). These and other considerations imply that neither cognitive nor group aspects of influence can

the standard theory is there a place for the sharp antagonism between influence and power commonly found in everyday discourse, as persuasion versus naked force or domination. The attempt to deal with this issue through the idea of compliance based on reward and coercive power (French & Raven, 1959; Kelman, 1958) fails theoretically since all influence is based on rewards and costs in the dependence formulation. There is also the problem that the conventional concept of compliance does not capture the idea of naked force or compulsion as a strongly conflictual process. It is still seen as a form of positive influence in which the powerless are shaped by the powerful, as a form of 'going along with the group'.

It is also worth noting that although coercive power is grouped with reward power as a component of compliance, it functions very differently and produces different results (Festinger, 1953; French, Morrison, & Levinger, 1960). Further, research on attitude change in the reinforcement and dissonance traditions has long shown that both rewards and costs can affect private attitudes, each able to increase or decrease attitude change under specific conditions, which is problematic for this whole approach to compliance (as *public* conformity). Even in the power literature, rewards and costs can sometimes increase and sometimes decrease private attitude change (e.g. Leet-Pellegrini & Rubin, 1974; Veenstra, Turner, Reynolds, Haslam & Burgess, 2004). Neither is supposed to happen in the compliance formulation. Although compliance based on rewards and costs appears as a common-sense process under the influence of the standard theory, there is some doubt as to whether the process as defined actually exists.

There is also evidence for the idea that what compels outward compliance may ensure private rejection (i.e. attitude change in the opposite direction to that intended; e.g. Brehm & Brehm, 1981; David & Turner, 1996; Moscovici, 1980; Raven & French, 1958; Veenstra et al., 2004). The standard theory barely acknowledges the notion of private rejection since it is inconsistent with its basic thrust that control of rewards and costs provides power and power is 'the production of intended effects'. A theory of the nature of power must explain how and when the demands of the powerful are rejected as well as when they are effective.

In sum, in the standard theory all forms of influence, from the private to the public, reflect power based on control of resources and social interdependence for positive outcomes is seen as the basis of the psychological group. But, in fact, there is no unanimity about how different types of resources produce different types of influence and the general analysis is problematic. Persuasion is assumed to flow from informational dependence on others to satisfy some purely individual need when the very need for and definition of information arises from group and social relationships. Persuasion is not a process of submitting to people with superior resources, but one of negotiating and validating reality collectively within one's reference groups. The standard view also paints a picture of compliance which fails to distinguish between going along with people one likes and being coerced against one's will. All influence is conceptualized as if it were a kind of submission, moving in the direction dictated by those with resources, because one has no choice, because one is dependent, at the same time as real coercion (force, domination, compulsion) is lost sight of. The standard theory fails to deal adequately with the role of psychological group membership and the facts of social and historical change as well as with the nature of persuasion and coercion. To go beyond the standard theory we need to begin by considering what a theory of power is meant to explain. What do we mean by power?

## THE MEANINGS OF POWER

Defining power has long been a murky business. As Fiske and Dépret (1996) comment, we use the term in ordinary parlance confident that we know what it means until we are asked to define it. It has

This idea that relative prototypicality is the basis of individual differences in relative influence or leadership (Turner, Reynolds, Haslam, & Veenstra, in press) has proved extremely important. It was developed to explain group polarization (Turner, 1987), showing how extremists gained in influence over moderates as the group defined itself in contrast to an outgroup (e.g. McGarty, Turner, Hogg, David, & Wetherell, 1992), has been used to explain how leadership emerges in crowds where there is no organization (Reicher, 1987), how minorities can influence majorities as they gain in relative prototypicality in certain social contexts (David & Turner, 1999) and how political leaders become persuasive by using rhetoric to shape the degree to which they are perceived as prototypical by an audience of a common identity (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a, 1996b). More recently, the relative prototypicality hypothesis has generated much research in the area of organizational leadership (see Haslam, 2004, for an overview).

This is a very brief summary of the whole analysis, which is of much importance to power. Also highly relevant is the self-categorization work on group consensualization, schisms and changes in the social identity of crowds as a function of the actions of the police (e.g. Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Reynolds, 1998; Sani & Reicher, 1998; Stott & Reicher, 1998). In essence, persuasion and leadership flow from a shared social identity and changes in the relative prototypicality of individuals, groups and roles explain how power can be won or lost independently of the resources that they control.

2 Where persuasion is the power to get people to believe that certain things are correct, authority is the power to control ingroup members because they are persuaded that it is right for a certain person to control them in certain matters. Thus legitimate authority is a product of influence and the formation of norms within the group. Authority is based on ingroup norms that a person, role or group has the right to prescribe appropriate beliefs, attitudes or behaviour in certain areas. The group agrees (by custom, experience, or formal decision) that they ought to follow a specific person or position (that it has the role of leadership or authority) to express their collective will and short-circuit what might be futile, divisive and time-consuming arguments about what is the right course of action. It is assumed that an individual can gain authority from their consistent and successful leadership where he or she persuades the group of the validity of their point of view over a series of tasks and acceptance of that leadership becomes normative, or that authority can be conferred directly by formal agreement, custom or the norms inherent in group identity.

A person's authority varies flexibly with the identity, norms and goals of the group, its beliefs and the situation in which it finds itself, in the same way that conformity to any ingroup norm varies. Given an established authority, all the factors which enhance conformity to the group enhance acceptance of authority. Given influence within the group, any factor which makes an individual more influential than another will tend over time to confer authority (including their perceived relative prototypicality, Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Weber, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2002). Authority is not direct persuasion but groups confer authority in order to get things right. Thus acceptance of leader authority carries a presumption that the leader is likely to be right about the matter in hand and can lead to validation and internalization of the leader's view under certain conditions. Authorities can have the direct right to prescribe private beliefs but this will depend on the nature of the group and the specific authority conferred. Because the power of authority flows from its designation as expressing the collective will of the group, obedience can produce pride and a sense of empowerment when one's collective identity is salient.

This analysis is in line with French and Raven's (1959) concept of legitimate power and Tyler's (2001) relational model of authority. It agrees with the former that authority is based on social norms and values and with the latter that acceptance of authority is not a social exchange or dependence process (although it does assume that authority serves collective self-interest, that it must get things 'right' to be able to lead effectively). Tyler's model stresses the importance of procedural fairness for encouraging identification (respect and pride) with authorities, enhancing

requires surveillance, which in turn enhances the target's perceived loss of freedom and fosters mistrust (Kramer, 1999). It is a divisive, destabilizing and counter-productive means of control. The more coercion is used the more it must be used, since it undermines influence and authority and leads to attitude change away from the source at the same time as it provokes resistance and reactance to the loss of freedom (Taylor, 2000). The more it is used the more it brings into being a countervailing source of power as the targets develop a collective identity defined by their rejection of coercion and the goal of defeating the coercive agents who threaten their freedom. The rewards and costs which encouraged obedience at the outset quickly lose their sting as coercion is persisted in and increased. Freedom from coercion becomes more important and whatever advances one's freedom is redefined positively, even when before it was a cost. The ineffectiveness of such a strategy should be self-evident. What chance compliance when the target is being motivated to go the other way, evade surveillance and undermine the power of the coercive source at every opportunity? At the extreme, coercion threatens the power of the source itself, since it brings into being an enemy dedicated to its downfall.

3 Coercion is the power one uses when one does not have power. One resorts to power as 'impact' when one does not have power 'through' (influence and authority in relation to the target), but even here one must have influence and authority of some kind (over coercive agents). But the paradox is apt. Coercion is the weakest and least effective process of power defined as getting the target to act as an extension of one's will. That the opposite is frequently thought is because coercive 'impact' can be extreme and dramatic and because it always implies power 'through' those that carry it out. Destroying an enemy is a sign of great power in both senses, but it is also a confession of complete failure in terms of influencing and controlling the actions of the enemy.

Returning to the general causal scheme of from group to influence to power to resource control, it can be elaborated in several ways. Group identity unifies and empowers people by giving them a common self-interest and vantage point. It produces influence and influence enables a group to act as a unified, coordinated, organized body. Group identity and influence give people the power of collective action and cooperative endeavour, a power to affect the world and pursue shared goals much greater than any member wields in isolation. Influence also makes possible authority whereby a group can function effectively and efficiently through centralized leadership and control, accepted by the members without the necessity or impossibility of seeking everyone's agreement on every relevant matter. Then there is the fact that influence and authority create the possibility of coercion since only through influence and authority can the human and material resources be deployed to constrain others against their will. Even where one person confronts just one other, an attempt at coercion reflects a judgement of relative power, which is always influenced by people's judgements about the likely reactions of others, whether they will support or oppose the actor and target, which in turn is a matter of their identities, norms and values. Finally, there is the critical point that it is influence, its presence or absence, its effectiveness or not, its intended or experienced use, that determines whether control will take the route of authority or coercion. The same commands can be experienced as either legitimate or coercive. Authority can be and frequently is transformed into coercion and coercion can be and frequently is cloaked in legitimacy and transformed into authority. What matters is the subjective experience of the target. Does he or she feel that the source is seeking to persuade on the basis of a common identity, values and interests, with no ulterior motives, or not? All these are routes whereby influence is the basis of power.

That such power leads to the creation and control of human and material resources has been argued in passing. What are called 'resources' often on closer inspection turn out to be people, organized for particular purposes and subject to some social authority. Even material resources almost never exist independently of the organized bodies of people who use them,



hypotheses which are not only counter-intuitive but paradoxical from the standard perspective. What is supposed to be 'strong' power turns out to be weak and the recipe for success turns out to be a prescription for failure.

The theory has three aspects. First, it argues that causality runs in the exactly opposite direction from the standard view, that psychological group formation, understood as the development of a shared social identity, gives rise to influence between group members, that mutual influence is the basis of power (the capacity to persuade and/or control others to carry out one's will) and that it is power which enables people to gain and control resources. In the standard theory influence depends upon power. In this theory power and control of resources depend upon group influence. Second, it explains that the link between influence and power needs to be understood in terms of three basic and interrelated processes, influence itself (here meaning persuasion), authority and coercion. The idea that influence is the basis of power is both a general proposition and a more specific one with varying meanings depending on the specific process of power being discussed. Third, the theory distinguishes between the different meanings of power in terms of these three processes.

3 Only the general scheme can be put forward in the space available. It is worth noting at the outset, however, that the idea that psychological group formation reflects the development of social identity and not dependence for resources is a key proposition of self-categorization theory which has much evidence in its favour. It is now widely accepted that shared social identity plays a crucial role in psychological group formation and in group processes of influence, cooperation and cohesion (Turner, 1999). This does not mean, however, that group formation is purely subjective and unconstrained by social reality. People become a psychological group as they shift to defining themselves as members of a social category rather than in terms of personal identities as a function of their goals, expectations, background theories, knowledge and ideologies and the social comparisons they make with others within the specific social situation (see Turner & Bourhis, 1996; Turner & Onorato, 1999; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994, for discussion of how group identity forms). Also, the theory proposes that self-categories exist at many different levels of inclusiveness. Thus a point which applies to the self at one level can also be applied to higher and lower levels. The same theoretical points can be made about a leader and a group, a subgroup and an organization, and an organization and society.

People influence and control others through persuasion, authority and coercion. These processes are distinct but can all be defined in relation to group identity and the influence process which flows from it. Persuasion is the process of influence outlined in self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987). It is explained as arising from the collective attempt by a group to develop a consensual response to some stimulus situation. Neither group formation nor influence is based upon resource dependence. It is assumed that where group members agree about some stimulus their judgement is validated by the group consensus and becomes normative. Thus a judgement is assumed to be informational, to provide evidence about reality, precisely to the degree that it has ingroup consensual support. Where members disagree, they become subjectively uncertain, since similar perceivers confronting the same stimulus ought and expect to agree. To reduce uncertainty, which is cognitively inconsistent and impedes confident action, they must either differentiate the stimulus situation ('we are talking about different things'), categorize themselves as different ('our goals are different') or engage in mutual persuasion to reach agreement ('if we approach it in this way we can see that our views are actually compatible').

Since the perceived validity of any judgement is a function of the degree to which it embodies an ingroup consensus or norm, it also follows that where group members seek to influence each other they will tend to be more persuasive to the degree that they are perceived as relatively prototypical of the emerging consensus (Turner, 1987). Moreover, the relative prototypicality of a member will vary with group identity which in turn varies with the social comparative context within which the group is defined (Turner et al., 1994). Both the persuasive power of the group and of individuals within it are a function of group identity and consensus.

rightness of some action, then they are likely to act on it as a matter of their own volition, as free, intrinsically motivated and willing agents. The capacity to influence and persuade, to change people's private attitudes, values and beliefs, is one basis of 'power through' and although often regarded as 'soft' is in fact, I shall argue, the decisive process. Influence in contrast to control is not the same as the exercise of social power in general but is the much more specific idea of changing people's private beliefs and attitudes through persuasion.

Power as *control* is here defined as the capacity to get people to do what one wants where they are *not* persuaded of or are *uninterested* in the validity of the specific belief or act. I suggest it takes two forms. Legitimate *authority* is control based on the acceptance by the target of one's right to prescribe their beliefs, attitudes or actions. One may not be persuaded that some action is right but one is persuaded that some person, group or role has the right to prescribe it, by virtue of their position within the group structure, by virtue of the group norms and values which legitimate such control. Such control is based on voluntary deference to and private acceptance of ingroup authority. It is not experienced as an oppression of self or loss of power, but as voluntary submission to a collective will with which one identifies and can result in a sense of empowerment and pride (Dépret, 1995; Tyler & DeGoeij, 1995).

Finally there is control as *coercion*, attempting to control others *against their will*. In this case some individual or group, being *unable or unwilling to exert influence or authority* over a target, resorts to deploying the human and material resources it controls to constrain, block, compel and manipulate the target's behaviour without any effort at persuasion or appeals to legitimate authority. Coercion is an unusual or one might say a limiting case. It is power 'through' in the particular sense that it is directed to making the target an extension of one's will on an involuntary basis. It attempts to get the target to act in line with one's own will by forcing them to act against their own, by restricting or opposing the freedom of the target to pursue its own goals. It shades into power as impact, in affecting but not converting the target, and betokens a more or less conflictual stance which can rapidly degenerate into open conflict. Traditionally the distinctions between persuasion and control and between voluntary and involuntary action have been equated in the contrast between private acceptance and compliance, but in fact these are not the same. Acting without knowing what is the correct response can be voluntary. Being controlled is not the same as acting against one's will. Thus neither control nor coercion as here defined can be equated with the traditional notion of compliance. The latter obscures the crucial process underlying social organization that people are able to act in terms of a collective rather than personal will.

Others may prefer different terms to those above but it is the substance of the analysis which matters. All the meanings of power in current use are specified in relation to each other. As we move from power in the most general sense down to coercion, we have illustrated the particular characteristics of each meaning and the level at which it has diagnostic value. Having suggested that the core problem to be addressed is 'power through', we can now outline and explain the processes of persuasion, authority and coercion by means of a unifying causal scheme.

### A THREE-PROCESS THEORY OF PERSUASION, AUTHORITY AND COERCION

The proposed causal scheme turns the standard theory completely upside down (see Figure 2). It is power and resource control which are assumed to follow from influence rather than vice versa. Influence in turn is seen as a reflection of social identity not dependence. The unifying framework here is self-categorization theory, which provides an explanation of psychological group formation in terms of self-categorization rather than dependence (Turner, 1985). The proposed scheme advances

## SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE THREE-PROCESS THEORY

### Social Change and the Basis of Power

The idea that resource control is the basis of power tends to imply that differences in power between individuals and groups are relatively static and enduring. So long as one controls sufficient resources, it seems, one has power and those without resources have little option but to submit. It is difficult to see how power ever changes hands in this view. In practice there are many examples from real life of relatively rapid gains and losses in power where individuals and groups without initial resources become more powerful and those with overwhelming resources suddenly lose power.

The three-process theory makes perfect sense in this context since it assumes that power reflects group identity and that all self-categorizing is relational and dynamic, varying with social comparisons within and between groups, the specific social context, and the collective goals, values and beliefs of group members. Thus for example, as intergroup relations change, so that cooperation between groups is replaced by conflict, then group identity is likely to polarize to emphasize differences from the conflicting outgroup and more extreme, conflictual members will tend to become more prototypical of each group than will more moderate members. In consequence, the more extreme members will gain in influence and authority over moderates. History records endless examples of groups which rapidly change their leaders in line with changes in group identity as they enter into conflict or conclude a peace with an enemy and where seemingly secure control of resources suddenly evaporates as the collective goals, beliefs and even mood of the group change.

The general implication is that power differences in society are constantly shifting and that power change is as normal as stability. The power of leaders and groups depends on identity, organization and ideology and these foundations are always being built up or torn down, being developed creatively or deteriorating in indifference, as a function of partisan interests, collective experience, new tasks and problems and the endless battle between belief and reality. The power of leaders will rise or fall with any factor which makes them more or less representative of ingroup identity and authority. Changes in the collective goals, beliefs, attitudes, circumstances and even mood of the group, in fact any factor which leads the ingroup to define itself and its collective interests differently, can have implications for which members will have influence and power irrespective of the resources they control. What matters for social change is that some subordinate group can develop a distinct identity through which to develop its own goals, values and beliefs and contest the power of the hitherto dominant group, that it should come to reject as illegitimate the authority of the social order which subordinates it (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Spears, Jetten, & Doosje, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The three-process theory helps to understand how this happens (where a dominant group, for example, acts selfishly rather than for the collective good, violates core societal values and beliefs, shows disrespect, arrogance and coercive brutality). One aspect of this knot of issues is the process of coercion.

### The Nature and Effects of Coercion

Coercion is the paradigmatic power process in the standard theory. It evokes an image of control which cannot be resisted because it is based on overwhelming resources, an image of dependence *in extremis*. However, the standard theory gets coercion wrong in reducing it to compliance, which confuses two different forms of control. Once coercion is seen as a distinct process, as proposed here, we find that it has quite unique effects. Far from being impossible to resist, a useful if unpleasant form of influence, it is coercion which is the least effective and most counter-productive form of power (understood as getting people to do what one wants). It is, I have suggested, the mirror image of authority. It is

in society whilst it undertakes coercion of some other group. Where one coerces a target, I have suggested, the result is rejection and resistance by the target, one's influence and authority over the target is directly undermined. If the experience of a specific target becomes a collective experience of one's group or society, then coercion will directly undermine one's power over the group or society. But it follows from self-categorization theory that any human being can identify with another and experience their emotions collectively on any number of bases and any feelings of empathy, sympathy, of shared social identity, with the target by the group will therefore undermine the authority of the coercive leadership over the group which is the source of its power.

It is obvious that where coercion is exercised against any dissident subgroup by coercive agents who are members of the same society or subscribe to belief in a common humanity, there is a real danger that the agents will identify with their victims unless this outcome is prevented. Coercion can therefore only be exercised by a dominant group without undermining its own power by negatively categorizing and stereotyping the target as different from the group as a whole, to break down and prevent any identification with the former by the latter. This is especially necessary where the target is a dissident member or subgroup of the very group which is the source of one's power. It is most important that those carrying out the coercion feel no identification or they may be transformed from agents to opponents of one's power.

This strategy can be taken a step further. If one can categorize the target as a threat, danger, enemy to the group as a whole, creating an implicit or explicit intergroup conflict, and involve other group members psychologically in the coercion of the target, then, far from undermining one's authority, coercion may work to enhance one's legitimacy and power, appearing as if for the collective good. At the extreme, the strategy of demonizing the target to legitimize its coercion can become a strategy of creating and achieving power over the group by inventing or finding a common enemy that redefines the group identity to place one at its core and one's opponents beyond the pale (thus Hitler's invocation of 'race' and the Jewish 'threat' to replace the class ideology of his social democratic and Marxist opponents).

Far from being merely an expression of power, therefore, prejudice can provide and maintain power. This is related to but different from the idea of prejudice as a rationalizing justification of power differences or as scapegoating to avoid blame or that creating intergroup conflict necessarily enhances loyalty to leaders. This is prejudice to avoid the destabilizing effects of coercion or to gain power through redefining group identity. This analysis is in the intergroup conflict of interest tradition in that it takes for granted that a dominant group which has power to pursue its interests in society as a legitimate authority will nevertheless to some degree always face opponents from subordinate groups who reject its policies and which it must deal with through coercion. The prejudice does not cause the coercion, which is undertaken for reasons of political and economic self-interest (slavery, for example, was a highly profitable institution for the slave-owners). The prejudice is used by the dominant group to deal with the political dangers to its authority which would arise in society from those who would be opposed to its coercion but for the prejudice. Thus it is the coercion which makes the prejudice necessary and politically the prejudice is directed not just against its victims but also against any of the dominant group's own supporters whose loyalty might be less than rock solid. A power analysis of prejudice requires that it be put in the context of a multi-group social system in which there is a constant struggle between groups to define society in such a way as to strengthen their own power and position.

### **The Evils of Power**

Power has had a bad press. It is believed to corrupt, lead to abuse, stereotyping and prejudice (Keltner et al., 2003; Lee-Chai & Bargh, 2001). These notions flow from the confounding of power with the dominance/submission relationship implicit in dependence and the failure to distinguish coercion

A strength of the three-process theory in this respect is its focus on group identity, organization and ideology as bases of power, since the emergence of immorality and abuse in its exercise cannot be divorced from these things. From a social psychological perspective, no power is absolute, all power is constrained, both what can be done and what should not be done reflect the substantive beliefs and values of people with specific identities in a definite place and time. These brief remarks hardly do justice to the issue of the evils of power, but they do illustrate the rich possibilities of a fresh approach to power in considering a question of such import.

## CONCLUSION

The standard theory of power tends to conflate all the varieties of influence into one relationship of dependence for resources. Power is provided by control of resources and those without such resources are in the power of those who have them. In this view power is like some abstract commodity which exists in principle outside of social relationships and which can be used by the lucky few to impose their will on such relationships. I have tried to suggest that this is a reification of what is actually going on. Power is an emergent property of specific social and psychological relations between people and these relations shape the form it takes. It emerges from group formation, social organization and the shared beliefs, theories and values (the culture, ideologies, etc.) which shape social and personal identity and perceived self-interest. These are the foundations of persuasion, authority and coercion, the processes by which people are able to get others to carry out their will and have a collective impact on the world. An implication is that power relations always have a definite social, relational and ideological *content* which directly affects how power is gained, lost and used. Leaders gain power not by possessing resources in the abstract but by standing for, representing, believing, working for something, or being perceived to do so, with which at least some others concur. Power is never absolute but always socially constrained and conferred. The social psychological study of power therefore must put it into the context of the group and societal relationships from which it emerges and the theories which deal with such relations.

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