CORRUPTION: BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE

AND POST-JUNGIAN PERSPECTIVES

C. S. Novaes

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies

University of Essex

February 2020

ABSTRACT

While corruption has been a matter of discussion for many different fields of study, most theories focus on just one part of the problem, placing the responsibility either on the lack of morality of civil servants and politicians or on the inefficiency of political-administrative systems. As a universal example, I present the Brazilian case, in which corruption is a widespread social problem that seems to be directly connected with the collective identity of Brazilians and, for many, it is intrinsic to the 'Brazilian way' (*jeitinho brasileiro*). People's opinions and current interpretive theories are superficial and tend to conclude that corruption is responsible for all national problems. Analytical Psychology can contribute with new approaches to the study of the corruption phenomenon. By applying psychotherapeutic values to political issues, this research proposes a closer look at the relationship between the inner reality of the Brazilian people and the world of politics in Brazil, particularly Brazilian corruption.

The objective of this research is to analyse corruption at its three different but complementary levels: *collective*, *cultural* and *individual*. At the collective level, I dissect corruption as a universal concept in a dialect analysis with its opposites: order, good, conscience, integrity, adaptation and generation of life. At the cultural level, I present historical events and transgenerational traumas that might have influenced the current social-political scene. At the individual level of analysis, I examine the personality characteristics of corrupt individuals, such as the tendency to inflation and moral dissociation. Furthermore, I present a post-Jungian approach to morality and ethics by discussing the influence of the dissociability of the psyche over morality and the non-normative relationship between corruption and individuation, the process of the development of the personality.

Keywords: corruption, cultural complex, cultural trauma, trickster, good and evil, conscience, integrity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

'In the long run a big business is only thriving when it is honest, it cannot thrive on corruption because corruption eats itself' (Jung, Dream Analysis Seminars, Lecture VIII, 13 March 1929, p. 162-175).

'[…] since modern research has acquainted us with the fact that individual consciousness is based on and surrounded by an indefinitely extended unconscious psyche, we must needs revise our somewhat old-fashioned prejudice that man is nothing but his consciousness' (Jung, CW 11, § 140).

'The pendulum of the mind oscillates between sense and nonsense, not between right and wrong' (Jung, 1989, p. 154).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CW*	The Collected Works of Carl Gustav Jung
CGU	Federal Comptroller General's Office (*Controladoria Geral da União*)
FCPA	Foreign Corrupt Practices Act
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association

* *Note on referencing style used*: Citations from Jung's *Collected Works* are referenced in text of this thesis by volume and *paragraph* number, as in (Jung, CW 1, § 93). For its simplicity, the typographical symbol § is used for paragraph. Quotes from Jung's writings which are not included in the Collected Works are cited by year of publication and page number, as in (Jung, 1989, p. 154).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Of all topics, corruption is one of the most elusive despite being

around since the dawn of civilization, and is likely to persist as long

as human beings are imperfect (Caiden, 2010, p. 10).

1.1 Objective and Scope of the Research

Corruption is a complex and evolving phenomenon that takes many forms, but it always involves "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (Transparency International, 2009, p. 14). It is frequently seen as a serious threat to democracy, economic growth and social cohesion. Although corruption is not a problem for every society, it is certainly something that all societies shun.

In Brazil, corruption has been a matter of discussion for many different fields of study, but there is no *interpretative theory of corruption in Brazil* (Filgueiras, 2009a), particularly psychologically-oriented studies with respect to the fundamental unconscious motives and processes related to corruption (De Klerk, 2017; Agbo & Iwundu, 2016). In this sense, the objective of this research is to develop a psychological analysis of corruption in Brazil, from the perspective of analytical psychology, based on Brazilian history, culture, patterns of behaviour and national identity. To this end, I analyse corruption on three different but complementary levels: *individual, cultural* and *collective*. Furthermore, to contrapose the common moralistic view of corruption, I present a post-Jungian approach to morality and ethics by discussing the influence of the dissociative character of the psyche over morality and the non-normative

relationship between corruption and individuation, whose goal is the process of the development of the personality.

While my focus is on *political corruption*, I will often broaden my point of view to include religious, mythological and cultural manifestations related to corruption and corrupt behaviour in order to understand the possible connections between the corruption of human nature more generally and the way corruption manifests in Brazil. The Brazilian situation is referred here not as a specific case, but as a universal example.

1.2 On the Definition and Symbolism of Corruption

Corruption is an umbrella term that 'covers a broad range of human actions' (World Bank, 1997, p. 8), however it has also become *a generic term for wrongdoing in the public sector* (Philp, 2015, p. 27). Although imprecise, the most commonly used definitions of corruption in the literature are '*abuse of public office for private gain*' (World Bank, 1997, p. 8) and its variant '*abuse of entrusted power for private gain*' (Transparency International, 2009, p. 14).

Several crimes are associated with corruption: bribery, white-collar crime, embezzlement, slush funds, nepotism, cronyism, clientelism and patronage, conflict of interests, state capture, irregular contracts or concessions, overpricing of unfinished works and fraudulent bids. Nonetheless, according to French and English dictionaries from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the term corruption did not correspond to the words used to condemn public servants' devious practices at the time: concussion, exaction, peculate, malversation, abuse. The term corruption did not belong to the legal vocabulary but to a politico-moral lexical field drawn mainly from the Bible.

Corruptio, its Latin equivalent, is in effect a biblical word, 'meant to express man's mortality in front of God's eternity and *incorruptio*. Man's corruption therefore signifies his separateness from divinity' (Génaux, 2004, p. 20). In this sense, corruption was originally symbolized by 'the Fall' from the biblical Paradise.

Different meanings associated with corruption can be found in contemporaneous dictionaries[1]: '1) deterioration, physical or organic decomposition of something; putrefaction. 2) modification, tampering of the original features of something. 3) depravity of habits, customs. 4) act or effect of bribing a person for their own benefit or the benefit of third parties' (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001).

There is also yet another meaning that is not usually mentioned, but the content of which can provide a more descriptive image: that is, the word corruption is also used to refer to a terrible disease characterised by rectal inflammation and corrosive wounds. During the period of colonisation of Brazil (16th century), thousands of people – mostly African slaves – died of *corrupção* or *maculo*, a condition characterised by inflammatory proctitis, with loosening of the external anal sphincter, fetid mucus discharge, ulceration and prolapse of the rectum and systemic manifestations such as fever, headache, body aches, prostration and eventually neurological symptoms such as stupor, drowsiness, delirium and coma, culminating with the death of the patient (Rezende, 2009).

Another disease is more commonly associated with political and administrative corruption. *Cancer* is frequently used as a – simple, although effective – metaphor for the devastating effects of corruption over society:

> Corruption is an insidious cancer of a national body politic. It infects elites, metastasizes harshly across classes and castes, cripples institutions, consumes communities, and cuts deeply into the very structure of people's lives. It destroys

---

[1] Throughout this thesis standard dictionaries were used for definitions, word origins and etymologies. While in English the dictionary of reference was the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED, 2012), in Portuguese the most used reference was the *Houaiss* (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001).

nations and saps their moral fiber. Like so many cancers, corruption is invasive and unforgiving. As it spreads relentlessly, it degrades governance, distorts and criminalizes national priorities, and privileges acquisitive rent seeking, patrimonial theft, and personal and family gains over concern for the commonweal. Corruption is the harsh political disease of our era. It must be conquered so that the planet's least well-off peoples can prosper and begin to experience substantially better human outcomes. Combatting corruption and beating back the merchants of sleaze are among the better ways to strengthen overall human outcomes (Rotbe, 2007, p. 2).

The meanings provided above depict the putrid associations linked to the word corruption. After countless scandals involving politicians, one can say that politics in Brazil (and many other countries) steers in the same direction and holds the same connotations: putrefaction and disease. There is, however, still plenty of room for disagreement on whether corruption is a disease or not, although we can definitely consider it a useful symbol or metaphor for it. Most authors condemn any form of corruption, but others consider corruption 'an integral part of the political system' or even 'an informal political system' (Scott J. C., 2009, p. 123). Several authors even mention the possible benefits of corruption, the 'greasing the wheels' hypothesis, which recognises that corruption can improve economic outcomes in developing countries (Nye, 1967) (Huntington, 1973) (World Bank, 1997). Nonetheless, there is considerable discontent among Brazilians (Filgueiras & Aranha, 2011) who blame corruption for hindering the country's development.

Although generally taken as a *problem*, corruption is referred in this thesis as a *phenomenon*[2]: 'a fact or situation that is observed to exist or happen, especially one whose cause or explanation is in question' (OED, 2012). Moreover, we call it a phenomenon in order to observe it from a neutral standpoint. The objective is not to

---

[2] The use of the word phenomenon here differs from the one employed by Husserl, who understood the phenomenological method as to go 'back to the "things themselves"', searching for the essence of phenomena, which are equivalent to the meanings of experiences. Despite characterizing his point of view as phenomenological (Jung, CW 11, § 2), Jung employed the term with the same meaning used by Kant, who takes the phenomenon as a counterpart to the noumenon, that is, that which appears in opposition to things in themselves (Lima & Diogo, 2009).

minimize the effects of corruption, but to emphasise that corruption might also be part of a natural process or even have a function to society. For instance, corruption might be associated with something evil at the same time it can be a necessary step towards development.

When we refer to corruption as a physical or a metaphorical disease, we are making use of a symbolical language. An important method for making sense of the corruption phenomenon is the analysis of its symbols. Therefore, in order to 'decode' the phenomenon, I explore throughout this thesis a variety of symbols together with their meanings, etymological roots, play of opposites[3] and paradoxes – i.e. the psychic background of the symbol and how it evokes psychic processes and dynamics.

Whether in academic writings, in satirical cartoons or in a simple search for images of corruption on Google, certain symbols and metaphors are repeatedly used to describe the corruption phenomenon: bad apples, rats, snakes, money (dirty, washed or leaked), hands holding money (behind someone's back or under the table), the Devil, putrefaction, disease, cancer, chaos, mud (or dirt). The fact that the same symbols keep being repeated is not without reason: we employ symbolic language or images to describe what we cannot fully comprehend (Jung, 1988, p. 21).

> What we call a symbol is a term, a name, or even a picture that may be familiar in daily life, yet that possesses specific connotations in addition to its conventional and obvious meaning. It implies something vague, unknown, or hidden from us (Jung, 1988, p. 20).

Symbols are pregnant with meaning and *every psychological expression can be taken as a symbol* since it 'states or signifies something more and other than itself which eludes our present knowledge' (Jung, CW 6, § 817). They are constantly produced in the psyche and appear in dreams, fantasies, metaphors, myths, art, etc.

---

[3] Cf. The topic 'The Principle of Opposites' in Chapter 3.

Much of what motivates the corrupt behaviour lies below the surface of consciousness. For this reason, we focus here on the unconscious dynamic processes hidden behind society's discourse about the corruption phenomenon – the perspective of the psyche. 'The psyche can also be seen as a perspective on phenomena. That is characterised first by an attention to depth and intensity and, hence, the difference between an experience and a mere event' (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012). The accretion of further layers to reality may help us go beyond the mere conscious description of events and avoid falling victims of them.

1.3 Corruption in the World and in Brazil: the desire for an unfragmented reality

In recent years, the international media has exposed several scandals, which have shown not only the fragility of political systems but also the global scale of corruption. Corruption has been considered 'the world's most frequently discussed global problem' (Scott J. C., 2009), ahead of climate change, extreme poverty, hunger, unemployment, and the cost of food and energy. Similarly, corruption was ranked the 'number one' Brazilian issue in a poll from the Instituto Datafolha (Mendonça, 2015). Corruption is not merely a trend topic, but a global phenomenon of great severity. It is frequently said that what is at stake is the very essence of democracy since corruption threatens the security and way of life of billions of citizens worldwide.

Although a global issue, corruption levels vary greatly among countries. The non-governmental organisation Transparency International measures the perceived levels of public sector corruption through the *Corruption Perceptions Index*, in 180 countries and territories worldwide. The score of a country or territory indicates the perception of corruption levels in the public sector on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0

indicates that a country is considered highly corrupt and 100 means that it is perceived as 'very clean'. A country's rank indicates its position in regard to other countries and territories included in the index. Nonetheless, this does not mean that one country is more corrupt than the other, merely that its citizens perceive it as such. In 2017, New Zealand and Denmark shared the highest position, with scores of 89 and 88 respectively. The countries that ranked lowest were Syria, South Sudan and Somalia with scores of 14, 12 and 9 points respectively (Transparency International, 2017).

In 2012, the index showed that, with 43 points, Brazil ranked 69th when compared to other countries. In 2017, Brazil's score dropped to 96th position with 37 points. These results indicate that Brazilians perceive their country to be extremely corrupt (Ibid.). Brazilians' perception of corruption has changed dramatically over the years, although it is not possible to say for sure if this is because the level of corruption has really increased or if they are simply paying more attention to it. Political events – such as former President Dilma Rousseff's impeachment and former President Lula da Silva's arrestment) and the economic crisis that occurred during this period seem to have influenced Brazilians' perception of corruption and political awareness. Brazilians expressed their dissatisfaction in 2013 in a series of massive protests against corruption and its consequences, such as the inadequate provision of social services. The protests took place in several cities and compelled millions of Brazilians to go out on the streets to express their point of view. They particularly demanded 'the end of corruption'.

Figure 1: A protest sign that reads: 'All against corruption'.

Brazilians seem to want corruption to be eliminated as soon as possible as if this could be done within the snap of a finger. However, 'ending corruption' is a complex process that certainly takes time and effort, although it is not clear how to achieve it. For instance, fighting corruption has been on Denmark's political agenda for more than 350 years (Jensen, 2014), which is an interesting case to depict for comparison. In the 1660s, the King of Denmark began to combat corruption by eliminating the privileges of the nobility and introducing severe punishments for corruption and embezzlement. He wanted to deprive the aristocracy of its former political power but ended up establishing a meritocracy in the recruitment of civil servants (Ibid.). It seems that a royal decree was decisive in the process to end corruption, however the Danish citizens of that time also played a great part in it.

One of the reasons for Denmark's current low level of perception of corruption is the high level of trust among Danes (Graeff & Svendsen, 2012). Corruption and trust are connected, but in inverse proportion, which means that the perception of corruption is lower where the level of social trust is high. In 2012, Transparency International's (2012) assessment of Denmark's National Integrity System considered it to be

'healthy', due to a solid culture of public administration and a strong practice of integrity. Despite that, Denmark's 'cleanness' is still not completely understood.

This idea of a perfect society in which 'everything works'[4], and everyone is trustworthy has become a distant goal for Brazilians (and other developing countries). The more Brazilians compare themselves to developed countries, the more they see themselves as the ugly duckling from the fairy tale written by the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen. They cannot wait to mature into a beautiful (and trustworthy) Danish swan. Although corruption can be found all over the world, Brazilians hold to the belief that corruption has been intrinsic to being Brazilian since colonisation, as if it was a genetic mark. Corruption exists in all countries, what varies is the intensity of the problem and the maturity with which one deals with it (Cavalcante, 2015).

'Getting to Denmark'[5] has become not simply an ideal state of 'cleanness' to be reached, but an ideal of an imagined society with a competent state, a strong rule of law and democratic accountability. 'Denmark' – not the actual country, but an imagined society – 'is a mythical place that is known to have good political and economic institutions: it is stable, democratic, peaceful, prosperous, inclusive, and has extremely low levels of political corruption' (Fukuyama, 2011, p. 14). The 'Denmark ideal'[6] is based on Weber's *bureaucracy* (Pritchett & Woolcock, 2004), 'the most efficient and *formally* rational way in which human activity can be organised, and that

---

[4] 'A place where everything works' is an expression frequently used by Brazilians when comparing Brazil to first world countries. It usually refers to public services, such as transportation, health system and education.

[5] 'Getting to Denmark' is an expression usually attributed to Francis Fukuyama, however he states in his book 'The Origins of Political Order' (2011, p. 14) that this was actually the original title of an article from Pritchett and Woolcock (2004), which was published under a different name.

[6] This idealistic state, or 'Denmark', is not applicable to every society, however. Aiming for the 'Denmark ideal' might influence developing countries to try to mimic developed countries' strategies to deliver key public services to their citizens and achieve high performance (Pritchett & Woolcock, 2004). Hence, the process of ending corruption should be particular to each country, although 'the optimal level of corruption is not zero' (Klitgaard, 1988, p. 24).

it is indispensable to the modern world' (Swedberg & Agevall, 2016, p. 20). It is the result of an efficient administration, where bureaucracy is conceived of as a machine[7].

Turning to the symbolical analysis, Denmark – the imagined society – can be understood as a sophisticated image of *the myth of Paradise*, which refers to an idyllic place, home of Adam and Eve from the biblical story. The myth of Paradise represents the world of wholeness (the intact world). It is a state of freedom from conflict, suffering and deprivation, which symbolises the goal of happiness. Returning to one of the already mentioned meanings attributed to corruption – the separateness from divinity –, we can say that the strive to end corruption may be understood as a representation man's symbolic will of having access to Paradise.

The feeling of separateness from Paradise appears in many forms. According to Jacoby (2006), *the phenomenon of nostalgia* – the longing and yearning feelings of a romanticised past – is an expression of the myth of Paradise. Some people frequently express a dislike for nowadays egotistic, materialistic goals and manifest the willing to return to 'the good old days'. This idea of a previous harmonious time contrasts with the conflict and psychic suffering experienced in the present, however it is an unrealistic picture of the past.

> [The phenomenon of nostalgia] is the longing for oneness with the mother in a state of problem-free containment, where total harmony, full accord, utter security and consolation reign supreme. Ultimately, it is a longing for the mother as the 'containing world', as experienced in the best of circustances in the so called primal relationship, the initial link between mother and infant. (Jacoby, 2006, p. 7)

The phenomenon of nostalgia and the strive to end of corruption are quite similar, however they also keep distinct characteristics. They both speak to a psychic need, in which people seem to be looking for something they have never experienced: a sense

---

[7] Weber's understanding of *bureaucracy* therefore differs from the common usage of the term, which refers to 'excessively complicated administrative procedure' (OED, 2012).

of unfragmented world, the 'unitary reality'. The idea of unitary reality represents a stage in the infant's development when there has not yet been a polarization between internal and external, between subject and object, ego and Self. 'Separation, the "Fall" from the initial Paradise of the unitary reality, is an essential aspect of human experience and development' (p. 8). However, while the longing for paradise entails a strong regressive (therefore, incestuous) tendency, the strive to end corruption reinforces the progressive aspect of development.

Jacoby affirms that 'the world of wholeness exists mostly in retrospect, as a compensation for the threatened, fragmented world in which we live now' (p. 5) – the life 'before the Fall'. 'Getting to Denmark' and Brazilians desire to end corruption represent the same yearning for Paradise although it is a prospective look. They do not long for the time where only native Indians lived in Brazil, but they crave for a future where Brazilians will not suffer with high levels of corruption, violence and inequality. Brazilians do not want a return to nature, but to a futuristic stage of development, 'where everything works'. They strive for a life 'after the Fall'[8].

1.4 Brazilian Culture of Corruption

Brazilians' discontent with corruption is not without cause since, in the worst-case scenario, corruption costs lives (Transparency International, 2015). The Federal Comptroller General's Office (*Controladoria Geral da União* – CGU), the government institution responsible for protecting public assets, transparency and fighting corruption, launched the campaign 'Corruption Kills', which states: 'Bribery kills. Nepotism kills. Over-invoicing kills' (CGU, [s.d.]). The damage caused by corruption

---

[8] For more on the hubris-fall motif and the Devil as the true *principium individuationis* (CW 11, § 470), cf. Chapter 6.

is not just symbolic, it does take lives, particularly when someone dies due to inadequate medical treatment because a corrupt politician has diverted money from a public hospital to support his or her luxurious lifestyle, such as buying jewellery or artworks[9]. The health sector is more vulnerable to corrupt practices, particularly as a result of the great allocation of resources (Avelino, Barberia, & Biderman, 2014). One of the biggest corruption scandals in the Brazilian health sector was the so-called 'leech mafia' (*máfia dos sanguessugas*), in which 72 congress members were accused of receiving kickbacks to write budget amendments for the purchase of overpriced ambulances (Power & Taylor, 2011, p. 3). In the absence of this equipment, there was an increase in the number of deaths in homes and on public roads (Avelino, Barberia, & Biderman, 2014). This is just one example that became public, but it is everyday reality for many Brazilians.

In 2013, Transparency International (2013) conducted a survey to address Brazilians' direct experiences with bribery and their perception of corruption. The results were alarming: 81% of respondents considered Brazilian political parties to be 'corrupt or very corrupt'. This number is considerably high when compared to the world average of 65%. The results indicate that 70% of respondents believed corruption in the public sector to be a serious problem in the country. 'Corrupt or very corrupt' was the perception of respondents regarding the national congress (72%) and of government officials (46%), while 56% did not consider government measures against corruption to be sufficient. The encouraging news was that 81% of Brazilian

---

[9] High-value artworks have been used for money laundering by criminals worldwide. 'Art is an attractive sector for the practice of money laundering because of the large monetary transactions involved, the general unfamiliarity and confidentiality surrounding the art world, and the unlawful activity endemic to it (theft, robbery and forgery)' (De Sanctis, 2013, p. 3). For instance, during the Car Wash Operation, some executives were arrested for corruption, and the artwork they used to launder money was confiscated. The police organised a public exhibition of their artwork at a museum. The artwork differed stylistically, but they shared a common theme: 'they once hung on the walls of a Petrobras executive now serving time in prison' (Cooper, 2017).

respondents believed they could make a difference in the fight against corruption, while the average in other countries surveyed was 65%. These numbers probably show that people believe they can be proactive and change the situation; nevertheless, the proportion of Brazilians willing to report corruption is lower (68%) than the average in other countries (80%). Approximately 44% of respondents said that they refrain from making official complaints out of fear, while 42% believed there would be no effective change stemming from the complaints. A final statistic seems most telling: *25% admitted that they had paid bribes in the past ten months to gain access to public services*, a number that can be considered quite high. In countries like Denmark, New Zealand, Portugal and Spain, less than 5% of people interviewed reported having paid a bribe in the past months. These numbers point to a crisis in the legitimacy of the Brazilian political system since four out of five people were doubtful regarding the politicians in Brazil. This prediction has been confirmed in recent years, since Brazil fell into its worst financial and political crisis in 2016.

Corruption's *universal* features suggest that it is a characteristic of human nature. Corruption, in its essence, stands in opposition to *archetypal* goals like perfection, goodness, efficiency, trust, equality and idealistic states of social organisation. As we will see, corruption's *particular* features, on the other hand, suggest that it differs widely between cultures and social groups. There are distinctive patterns and innumerable influences that shape corruption making it particular to each place. In the case of Brazil, national identity and culture seem to be just as important in shaping corruption as history, economics and political organisation (Lopez, 2011).

Several characteristics of Brazilian society are usually emphasised when discussing corruption and its contributing factors. For example, the *great social inequality* of Brazilian society – resulting mainly from slavery (Souza, 2017) – still

persuades people to see themselves as different from each other, and therefore, with different rights and obligations (as opposed to what happens in an egalitarian society) (Carvalho, 2008). Although the Brazilian Constitution states that 'all are equal before the law' (Art. 5.º, 1988), in practice, the origin and social position of the individual have a great influence on what one can or cannot do, and on whether or not the law is applied fairly. Unfortunately, 'since there is not a culture of all being equal and that all must have rights, a parallel universe of privileges is created: tax immunities, legislative immunities (*foro privilegiado*), subsidized interest, housing allowance, official car, special prison' (Barroso, 2017).

As another cultural contributing factor to corruption, Brazilians seem to have developed *a peculiar way of dealing with the law[10]*, inherited from the symbolic relationship with 'the Portuguese father' – the coloniser. As said by Ferreira Filho, 'Brazilian society seems to lack a sense of respect for the law' (Ferreira Filho, 1991). Obedience is not necessarily the first reaction to a rule; in many instances, the gut reaction is to transgress. Of course, the law has different meanings and values specific to each Brazilian, but the law seems to be discredited and punishments avoided and subverted. Brazilians know that a transgression may come to nothing, particularly if the offender is rich and powerful. The law is constantly bypassed, and Brazilians sometimes do not even realise it. Transgressing is also done in a special way: with sympathy and a smile. This unequal relationship with the law seems to persist in the attitude of Brazilians in many ways. Over time, Brazilians seem to have learned not to fight[11], but to find friendly ways of rebelling against the *father* and the law. This has

---

[10] Some authors are more extreme and affirm that Brazilians have never been able to develop a culture and practice of respect for the law (Carvalho, 2008).
[11] Brazil was not involved in as many wars as other countries were, like European countries or the USA. Nonetheless, some cities in Brazil are famous for the increasing crime rates, with statistics that could characterise a civil war. In 2015, it made the news that the number of violent deaths in Brazil was higher

been an overall ambivalent approach, in which it is impossible to determine whether Brazilians are submissively accepting the law without complaint or opposing it by not doing what they are told – which could be considered a passive-aggressive fighting strategy. Throughout history, the Brazilian way of coping with oppression has frequently been to bypass the law (Carvalho, 2008) – transgression as a survival strategy – , as for example during the military dictatorship (1964-1984) when the army took over the government of the country and established much stricter laws than people were used to. The way people found to dodge the subsequent moral censorship was to create new ways to express themselves, such as through protest songs with hidden revolutionary messages (Langland, 2013). In Brazil, transgression, just like corruption, cannot be separated from resilience and creativity.

Corruption and creativity are also associated with *national identity*, since petty corrupt acts are pejoratively known as 'the Brazilian way' (*jeitinho brasileiro*). *Jeitinho* has become not merely a common habit, but an integral part of the legal culture. It can be defined as 'the practice of bending legal rules to expediency' (Rosenn, 1971, p. 515). However, 'the Brazilian way' is a much broader term that encompasses improvisation, creativity, inventiveness, flexibility and the ability to fix things in an innovative way.

Corruption in Brazil is also related to *the emotional tone of relationships*. Brazil is usually seen as a friendly country with happy people. Although a stereotype, it seems that Brazilians have the desire to establish intimacy and reject any form of relationship not based on an ethos of emotion (Holanda, 2012). Holanda (2012) conceived the term 'cordial man' to explain the character of Brazilians, in which *cordiality* is a common trait that influences not just their personal relationships, but also how they deal with politics and public money. Brazilians tend to judge corruption situations based on their

---

than in Syria (approx. 58,000 and 55,000, respectively). Syria, however, is a much smaller country. While Syria has around 16-20 million inhabitants, Brazil has around 200 million (Worley, 2016).

emotions. When emotionally involved in a situation where corruption is an alternative, they seem to minimise the significance of the transgression, since cultural and social contexts affect perceptions of whether and how much corrupt behaviour is morally or legally condemned (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2009, p. 141). 'Cordiality' here not only means good manners or civility but also includes hospitality, generosity and affability in relationships. One feature of the cordial man is the propensity to afford greater importance to family and personal relationships than to professional or public relations. Brazilians tend, in a way, to reject the impersonality of administrative systems in which the whole is more important than the individual.

In Brazilian society, *there is no clear separation between the family circle and the state*, particularly for the power elite. To become a citizen, one must go beyond the domestic and family order and begin to respect the laws of the city. However, when the political ethic is based on the well-being of a small family nucleus or a circle of friends, social practice outweighs moral norms. Consequently, it is not hard to find civil servants who do not respect the separation between the public and private spheres, and who prioritise personal gains over the welfare of the nation. The blending of the public and private sector is referred to as *patrimonialism*, a form of political dominance in Brazil inherited from Portugal that has been used to explain Brazilian corruption. Different studies (Filgueiras, 2009a; Biason, 2009; Almeida, 2014) on the perception of corruption in Brazil have shown that when it comes to personal issues, interviewees demonstrate more tolerance towards corruption – a bit of corruption is tolerable when it is used to protect the family, for example. The social class to which an individual belongs influences his/her opinion on what can be deemed acceptable (Biason, 2009). Combined, the results of these studies suggest that *affection*, together with *necessity* and *poverty*, can reinforce the practice of corruption. In this sense, Brazilian's

corruption problem can be understood as a result of an antinomy between values and practice, but not necessarily as a lack of character or virtues (Filgueiras, 2009a). However, old individualistic values must be transformed into more altruistic ones, where one's concern does not include simply relatives, but the common good. Most of all, Brazilians are still to learn not to expect any additional compensation or special benefits (either direct or indirect) as this perpetuates a culture of privilege that fosters corruption.

Contradictorily, there seems to be *a great separation between the political and social domains in Brazil* – as if politics only existed in the Congress. This gap might be related to a *lack of political consciousness*, which tends to increase public distrust concerning politics. In Brazil, politics has been understood by many merely as a function and practice of professional politicians and not as an individual responsibility. The population seems to perceive the political realm as a 'necessary evil' that must exist as long as it does not interfere in their private lives. This line of thought finds expression in the normalisation of corruption in Brazil, since it is frequently considered as an unpleasant side effect of politics. Just like the political realm, corruption is also perceived as something exterior, confined to professional politicians.

1.5 Corrupt Individuals

Writing about corruption from the perspective of psychology means writing not only about bribes, but also about those who take them, give them or condemn them. Many Brazilians are vehemently against corruption while, at the same time, they coexist peacefully with gratuities and illicit benefits. Most people do not openly confess to paying bribes, as if doing so were a deadly sin. Paradoxical reactions emerge, such as a mix of indignation and cynicism.

Journalistic texts usually adopt the same angle, the hero-villain motif[12], to report on corruption scandals and the people involved in them. They depict the corrupt actors as egoistic and narcissistic individuals that usurp large sums of money and betray society's trust. Judges and prosecutors are usually depicted as heroes, but only until the next headline turns them into villains who wield too much power. By focusing on the public image of the corrupt individual – not the real person –, the journalistic narrative on corruption leaves no space for subjectivity. Corruption is often associated with something evil and sinful; hence, those who engage in grand corruption are seen as wicked evildoers. Little attention is given to individual characteristics. When describing corrupt actors, we are dealing not only with corrupt men (or women) but also with the image we have of them. In the case of *political corruption*, it is important to discuss politicians and the idiosyncrasies of politics as a profession, as well as the collective (and sometimes distorted) image of corrupt individuals who are supposedly hindering Brazil's development.

The common stereotype is of white men dressed in suits, drinking whiskey and smoking cigars while laughing at society's problems. This stereotype was illustrated in 2009 in a series of photos depicting a banquet at a fine Parisian restaurant, in which Brazilian politicians and wealthy businessmen in suits wear cloth napkins on their heads – a party at the Ritz Hotel in Paris that became a symbol of debauchery (Nogueira, 2017).

---

[12] For more on the hero motif, Cf. The topic 'The Battle Against Corruption' in Chapter 4.

Figure 2 Series of photographs from '*Farra dos Guardanapos*' by Folhapress

(Nogueira, 2017)

'The Napkin Party' may have been an *early* commemoration of the victory of Rio de Janeiro in the election to be the host city for the 2016 Olympic Games, and, possibly, a celebration of the fraudulent biddings that would come with it.

> This story is the quintessence of the orgy with public money, the summit of ridicule to a population massacred daily by public authorities who, as delinquents, act in the shadows when they want to consecrate their misdeeds but act clear when they dedicate themselves to get votes (Pardellas, 2018).

Several people in these photos were subsequently arrested for corruption, confirming the negative stereotype. However, it is not only 'rich white men' who engage in corrupt activities. Corruption is often associated with a crime committed by the power elite against the poor, but corruption is also a petty crime committed by ordinary citizens in their daily lives.

What people do often contradicts what they think about themselves and corruption evokes a common desire to appear moral without actually being moral. Some people even become devoted to what they believe to be good causes but only to

justify their use of questionable means to obtain personal benefits. They come to believe that avoiding obstructive social norms is a special form of knowledge reserved for those that are 'truly' smart and privileged. Corrupt individuals demonstrate characteristics such as narcissism, omnipotence, inflation, greed and arrogance (Rabl, 2008; Levine, 2005). They are immoral egoists in the eyes of others, and yet they cannot see these very traits that have been attached to them and their activities.

The individualistic and narcissistic characteristics seen in corrupt individuals coincide with society's projection of its own unwanted psychological content, their *shadows*. Society uses its politicians to reaffirm its integrity and honesty, disguising its own non-conformity with norms. Brazilians seem to refuse to acknowledge that the despicable side they see in corrupt politicians is also part of themselves. One of the first steps to dealing more maturely with corruption should be to stop seeing it as something distant, always committed by others. Taking responsibility for one's own corruption requires developing a high level of self-perception. Nonetheless, this self-perception should not exempt corrupt individuals from their crimes.

1.6 Rationale

Since the political landscape in many countries is at a breaking point, new ideas and approaches are necessary, and psychotherapy could contribute to a general transformation in politics (Samuels, 2001). The founders of psychotherapy, for example, Freud, Jung, Maslow, and Perls, perceived psychotherapy's social and political potential. They understood that they had in their hands not simply a tool of personal transformation, but also 'a tool of social criticism and a possible agent of social change for the better' (p. 6). In his turn, Freud applied the psychoanalytic point

of view, with its hypotheses and findings, to institutions like religion, morality, justice and philosophy. For him, psychoanalysis could establish an intimate connection between individuals and society, 'by postulating one and the same dynamic source for both of them' (Freud, 1996). Nonetheless, applying individual psychotherapeutic values to societies must be done with care, since 'there is a risk of wrongly equating individuals and groups' (Lu, 2013a).

C.G. Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, has also applied psychotherapeutic ideas to social and political problems. He was more interested in 'what was going on below the surface of everyday political life than in its superficial aspects' (von Franz, 2007, p. ix). Jung was concerned with the situation of the individual in relation to society, particularly the dangers of conforming to the collective. His purpose was 'to add the psychological dimension to an understanding of contemporary politics' (Odajnyk, 2007, p. 44). Analytical psychology can offer a deeper understanding of the corruption phenomenon in Brazil through the analysis of Brazilian culture, history and national psychological characteristics, serving as a basis for an exploration of the implications of individual and collective conflicts in the current political climate.

Andrew Samuels defends the value of an approach to politics deriving from psychotherapy. For him, using psychotherapeutic values and practices with political objectives could help psychotherapists to open a two-way path between 'inner realities' and the 'world of politics' (Samuels, 2001, p. 7). Adopting this approach, this work proposes a closer look at the relationship between the inner reality of the Brazilian people and the world of politics in Brazil. Psychotherapeutic ideas might aid us in developing new approaches to the corruption phenomenon, as a counterweight to the political and socioeconomic emphasis on the study of corruption.

Corruption can have many different forms and cannot be seen *just* as an act that violates morality and the law, since that would limit a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon. 'Corrupt behaviour is extremely complex social behaviour – but even that is only the beginning of the explanation' (de Graaf, von Maravić, & Wagenaar, 2010, p. 166). Corruption is also a psychological construct with emotional contents that are not easily accessed by reason, by consciousness. Analytical psychology offers a systematic framework that concerns the relationship between conscious and unconscious psychological processes. By investigating the unconscious aspects of corruption in Brazil specifically , we might understand the motivations for corruption as human behaviour and the role that corruption plays in society. Furthermore, understanding the concept of corruption as a psychological construct might help us recognise similar processes in patients and groups, and thus, to avoid the devastating consequences for individuals and societies. Understanding the endemic phenomenon of corruption and modifying its reality can be a way of contributing to the development of *alterity* in society. While *individuation* stands as a strong linkage between the individual and the collective, corruption is definitely a rupturing thereof.

This work might also contribute to psychotherapy itself, since it 'tends to side with the inner personal life, and disregard or depreciate objective social and economic development' (Giegerich, 2013). Within the scope of clinical psychology, this research is indispensable because of the need to widen the psychotherapist's perception so that s/he perceives the individual as a totality, in the sense that 'totality' comprehends both the union of consciousness and the unconscious, as well as the relationship between the individual and the society in which s/he lives. Psychotherapists can, moreover, assist citizens to become more aware of the world beyond the consulting room, thereby becoming politically active 'therapists of the world' (Samuels, 2001, p. 159).

Psychotherapists must be able to recognise and help patients to overcome the lack of awareness of their political dimension and even corrupt acts when that is an issue.

Above all, this is not an attempt to reduce all social phenomena to psychic fragments. 'Psychological issues and subjective experiences cannot be abstracted from societal, cultural, and historical contexts. However, they cannot be deterministically reduced to the social. Similarly, social and cultural worlds have psychological dimensions and are shaped by psychic processes and intersubjective relations' (Samuels, 2015, p. xiii).

I realise that there are limitations to this project, since developing an interdisciplinary work is a recognisably difficult challenge. It is not possible to know to what extent this work can help to solve corruption, as a moral change in society takes a long time: decades or, more likely, centuries. My overall hopes are that studying the psychological aspects of Brazilian national identity through symbolic amplification will reveal the extent to which corruption underpins both Brazilian culture and identity; that this work finds a way to cross the borders between fields and can contribute in a transdisciplinary way; and, finally, that this work can help readers to question their corrupt acts and the consequences of them, changing how we position ourselves in the face of corruption by integrating our unconscious contents.

1.7 Summary of the Chapters

The present thesis consists of eight chapters, the first of which introduces the subject of inquiry: the corruption phenomenon (Chapter 1). The thesis is then divided into three parts: Part I, the critical literature review, presents an overview of the corruption phenomenon from the perspective of the different schools of psychology

(Chapter 2). Part II provides a new contribution to the study of the subject from the perspective of analytical psychology (Chapters 3-5). Part III presents a post-Jungian approach to morality and ethics (Chapters 6-7).

More specifically, in Part I, Chapter 2 focuses on corruption from the perspective of different schools of psychology by analysing it as a symptom (of a personality disorder, a *cultural complex*, and/or a social pathology); as a deviant behaviour; as a moral dissociation; or, as a character flaw. Most studies presented were developed by authors from organisational psychology, and they focus on the process of decision-making in ethical-dilemma situations and rule-breaking related to institutional corruption. The unconscious process related to the corruption phenomenon are frequently overlooked.

Part II comprises a three-level analysis of the corruption phenomenon from the perspective of analytical psychology: collective, cultural and individual levels of corruption (Chapters 3-5).

Chapter 3 examines corruption at the collective level as a universal concept in a dialect analysis with its opposites: order, good, conscience, integrity, adaptation and generation of life. I present Thomas Hobbes' e Jean-Jacques Rousseau's comprehension of corruption of human nature to analyse how the corrupt behaviour is deeply connected to the subjugation of instincts and civilization's progress. I demonstrate that there seems to be a general association of corruption with something evil or even as an act of the devil. If considered the extent of the damage that corruption can cause, the adjectives 'badness' and 'wrongdoing', despite being more accurate concepts, cannot comprise society's reaction towards instances of corruption. The collective features of the corruption phenomenon point to archetypal tendencies. At the collective level, corruption refers to a disrupting principle; a collective shadow, a non-

adaptation; a contrary tendency to conscience and moral integrity; and to death. Although corruption carries so many negative connotations, it is also integral to individuation.

Chapter 4 discusses corruption at the cultural level by presenting Brazil's past and modern history as a way to understand how corruption became endemic and how it adhered to the Brazilian collective identity. Some traumatic events have been crucial to the political development of the country and the way Brazilians deal with corruption. Additionally, I demonstrate that the political scene is impregnated with characteristics of the *Malandro*, an expression of the Trickster archetype. At the cultural level, corruption is related to society's symptoms and characteristics, particularly the constitutive events and transgenerational traumas faced by its citizens. Corruption, as a social construct, reveals signs of a disturbed collective identity, branded by an inferiority complex.

Chapter 5 describes corruption as an individual behaviour. The biggest issue when talking about corrupt behaviour is understanding 'why they do it'. I gathered several conversations, confessions, depositions and interviews with several cases involving corruption. Furthermore, I analyse several characteristics of corrupt individuals through three myths: Narcissus, Phaeton and Nemesis. Corruption represents, at the individual level, an archetypal tendency of the ego to inflation and to the transgression of social norms at the expense of public interests. It is a type of neurotic dissociation in the face of a moral dilemma, and a defence mechanism against shadow contents. It seems to be born from the dissatisfaction of the ego with itself and with its inferiority. The act of corruption requires the feeling of immense power and uniqueness in order to justify the enormous desire for personal gain by means of transgression.

Discussing corruption in terms of right and wrong revealed itself to be somewhat simplistic. Part III presents a post-Jungian approach to morality and ethics, which brings a deconstruction of the common usage of these terms by presenting a comparison between individuation and corruption, and by introducing the dissociative aspect of morality (Chapters 6-7).

More specifically, Chapter 6 presents Jung's psycho-ethical paradigm and discusses how corruption and individuation might be opposite tendencies. To contrast both concepts, I indicate four different aspects of the process of individuation: as a psychological imperative; as a political contribution to society; as an ethical goal; and as a religious experience. In Jung's work, individuation cannot be conceived without ethics, since the individuated subject is the ethical subject. Corruption is revealed to be somewhat similar to all behaviour that is contrary to conscious and ethical development – particularly behaviours that make the individual increasingly individualistic, undifferentiated and separated from the whole. In this sense, corruption can be described as a counter-individuation movement. Paradoxically, corruption, like other ethical conflicts, can be a call to initiate the process of individuation.

In Chapter 7, contraposing a moralistic view of corruption, I present a non-normative perspective by examining the dissociation of morality in corrupt individuals, who tend to view themselves as not corrupt. This incongruence seems to be born from the enormous discrepancy between the moral codes they live privately and publicly. I resort to Machiavelli's and Max Weber's conception of ethics in political conduct to investigate the matter. The dissociative aspect of morality is here correlated with the dissociability of the psyche, a normal phenomenon connected with neurotic conflicts experienced by individuals. As an alternative, corrupt behaviour can also be seen as a consequence of a deficient sense of morality of individuals who do not experience

moral conflicts. I present the traditional dualistic approach to morality as a clash of two opposite tendencies of the psyche, but also a post-Jungian approach to morality as a plurality.

Finally, I present concluding remarks and suggestions for further research. Brazilians' relationship with corruption is portrayed as a possible indicator of society's stage of psycho-political development. Some questions about the future of politics in Brazil are made and a few hypotheses are sketched in order to understand 'where Brazil is heading'.

PART I – CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 2: CORRUPTION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PSYCHOLOGY

'There is little as fascinating as the dark side of human nature [...]'
(van Prooijen & van Lange, 2016).

In contrast to the variety of studies on corruption found in the social sciences, the debates on the topic from the perspective of psychology are relatively scarce. The results can be basically divided into corruption as a *symptom* (of a pathological structure, a personality disorder, a cultural complex, and/or a failure of brain development); as a *deviant behaviour* (either counterproductive, customary, or normalised); as a *moral deterioration*; as a *social pathology*; and/or as a *character flaw*. Most studies in the field have been developed by social psychologists and focus on the process of decision-making in ethical-dilemma situations and rule-breaking. Corruption is frequently explained in terms of levels (or psychic spaces), which usually include the individual (or personal) and institutional (or organisational) levels.

Here, I present the perspectives of psychoanalysis, organisational psychology, social psychology, and analytical psychology, which explore the psychological elements of corrupt behaviour. These elements, coupled with the perspective of the social sciences, form the basis for my analysis of the corruption phenomenon described in the following chapters.

2.1 Psychoanalysis

2.1.1 Corruption as a fracture of symbolic systems

Marion Minerbo (2016) offers a tripartite classification for a psychoanalytical understanding of corruption. She understands the phenomenon of corruption as 'a process that is produced and perpetuated in the intersection of three *psychic spaces*': individual, intersubjective, and transsubjective (or institutional). Each of these spaces originates a distinct form of corruption. At the individual level, corruption is seen as a symptom of a pathological structure; at the intersubjective level, as the result of a more or less transitory state of madness; and at the transsubjective level, as a way of life. Minerbo's analysis is based on the corruption (fracture) of symbolic systems.

In Minerbo's perspective (2014), at the *individual* level or psychic space, corruption can be 'a symptom of a paranoid illness', since this space is 'marked by a paranoid mental functioning'. For her, paranoids have a simplistic binary view of the world, in which good or bad are experienced as absolutes. Minerbo describes paranoids as individuals who perceive themselves as perfect, better than others. They have 'a sincere expectation that others will recognize their superiority and submit themselves to them, renouncing their own needs and desires. They expect unconditional love. They are authoritarian, have ideas of greatness, absolute truths and do not admit criticism' (2015). For her, paranoids are unable 'to empathize with the suffering of others; They do not see others as equals, who have the same needs and the same rights'. Minerbo's definition of the paranoid functioning resembles, to some extent, the narcissistic functioning, since paranoids have high self-esteem and their overestimation can lead to

megalomania. Furthermore, for her, paranoids also experience great pleasure in power, as dictators.

At the *intersubjective* level or psychic space, individuals with power abandon reason and go mad with the help of the people around them, as the intersubjective space is constituted by the relation with other subjects. For Minerbo, this 'madness' is not really a mental disorder, but more like a hubris (excessive pride). 'Their madness consists in trying to match the gods – who do not need to fear anything because they are above good and evil' (2015). They have the feeling that they can do anything, that they have nothing to fear or lose (2014). This feeling can typically be found in individuals with political, financial, or symbolic power. At this level, Minerbo understands corruption as excess or immoderation by individuals who want to have absolute pleasure (2015). To attain this, they breach ethics and rules just to favour themselves.

At the *transsubjective* or *institutional* level, corruption turns into an institution or culture and becomes a way of life. In Minerbo's view, this process has two stages. The first stage occurs when an individual who formally occupied a position as a representative of an institution 'symbolically resigns' from this role[13], which she calls the 'denaturation of democratic institutions' (2015). For her, this process occurs due to symbol fracture, semantic emptying, and sensitivity alteration.

At the second stage, the 'institutionalization of corruption' occurs (2015), in which the social pact is replaced by a *perverse pact* of *disqualification of the law*: 'The social pact is based on a "contract"[14], whereby each of us accepts to renounce our infantile aspirations of fulfilling all our desires in an absolute way, in order to be part

---

[13] This process is revisited and further explained in chapter 5.
[14] Although it is not directly stated, the term 'social pact' seems to be used here in the same way as Hobbes conceived the 'social contract'. Cf. Chapter 3.

of the human community' (2016, p. 66). The individual 'is invited to disqualify the law and renounce [the social role], in exchange for the possibility of fulfilling the immortal desire to transcend the limits inherent to the human condition'. This perverse pact seduces the subject, authorising him/her to enjoy (in the sense of *jouissance*) more than anyone else (2015). In this sense, transgression of the law has to do with the infantile fantasy of being able to infinitely enjoy/rejoice (*jouissance*) (2007). The law vetoes (or should veto) the possibility of an individual enjoying him or herself more than others. Corruption as an institution promises to raise the individual above other humans, above the limitations that others experience (Ibid.). For Minerbo, it is for this reason that corruption seduces so many people.

Minerbo's tripartite classification has a strong psychoanalytic influence, but also a less evident influence from the social sciences. As we will see, her classification differs from the one I suggest in the next chapters, where I analyse corruption at the collective, cultural and individual levels. However, some elements coincide in the individual level, particularly the corrupt individuals' characteristics of the personality: strive for perfection, lack of empathy, feeling of superiority, narcissism, desire for power, tendency to transgression (hubris) and identification with godlike figures.

I highlight different archetypal, social, political, economic, institutional and individual factors that are usually associated to corruption, in the perspective of analytical psychology. A multi-level approach is chosen, in order to explore possible contributing factors at the *collective level* of corruption, focusing on archetypal manifestations; at the *cultural level* of corruption focusing both on Brazilian society and history; and at the *individual level*, focusing on corrupt individuals and their corrupt behaviour.

Such distinction is correlated with Jung's topographical separation of the unconscious, or Jung's model of the psyche. For Jung, the psyche is composed of numerous systems and diverse levels that are interrelated, within these, he distinguishes three[15] levels of the psyche: the *consciousness*, the *personal unconscious* and the *collective unconscious*. Some Jungian authors find it necessary to refer to an intermediate layer of the unconscious, the *cultural unconscious*, which we will discuss further ahead. This distinction has to be taken essentially as systematic, especially because these levels overlap.

2.1.2 Corruption as a symptom and a *sinthome*

In his doctoral thesis, Lennerfors (2008) studied the vicissitudes of the corruption phenomenon in depth. For him, corruption is essentially a transgression of the dichotomy public/private. He bases his analysis on Lacan's concept of *sinthome*, to describe corruption in the sense of a *jouissance*, a stolen enjoyment. In his perspective, public and private refer to the difference between the state and the citizens and express Lacan's *lack*, the fundamental void (the subject and the social are split). '[…] Corruption is the paradoxical element which needs to be included into the social order to perceive it as a rational totality. The rational totality that I have in mind is the society which is split into public and private registers' (p. 356).

In Lennerfors' opinion, when corruption is conceived as a symptom, it can be understood as something that also promotes pleasure. Corruption is a necessary product of a social system and a crucial tool for understanding the public/private dichotomy:

---

[15] Jung actually differentiated another level of the psyche: the psychoid unconscious (CW 8). Nonetheless, he did not give it as much emphasis as the other levels. '[…] he refers to psychoid to designate a deeply unconscious set of processes that are neither physiological nor psychological but that somehow partake of both' (Addison, 2009, p. 123).

Corruption is the sign of the impossibility of splitting life into public and private registers. The increasing focus on corruption might be a consequence of our trying to split our lives into public and private registers. By concerning oneself more about splitting life into different registers, the concept of corruption becomes more and more visible. In other words, by paying attention to the public / private split, we also come to pay more attention to the failures of the split, i.e. corruption (p. 356).

Lennerfors contrasts the ancient and modern understandings of corruption. The ancient definition – before the private/public dichotomy – contains 'an original meaning of degeneration' (p. 118). In Lennerfors' conception, the separation between public and private is intrinsically related to modernity and the growth of the monetary economy (as well as to the emergence of the state).

I agree with the importance of the split between the public and private sphere, but I particularly focus on the split between consciousness and unconscious to understand the corruption phenomenon. Lennerfors' view that corruption might have a function in the social order coincides , as we will see, with the perspective of analytical psychology. His ancient understanding of corruption is similar to one of descriptions of corruption at the collective level.

2.1.3 Corruption as an Oedipal Configuration

Carlos Sapochnik (2003) also offers a tripartite structure for a psychological understanding of corruption. Based on the psychoanalytical theory, he discusses the psychosocial variables that contribute to the corruption phenomenon at a personal, organisational, and social level. He bases his analysis on the 'use of public office for private gain' definition, and explains corruption based on a triangular interaction: *The Subject-Agent-Provider triad*. Corruption is then analysed in light of the classical oedipal configuration.

In Sapochnik's view, the *Subject* is a member of the public who corrupts or is corrupted by the *Agent*, who provides access to power, services, or goods. The *Provider* is the other, who can be an individual, an organisation, or the state. 'The provider is a representation of the mother/father nurturing'. The Subject interacts with the Agent who intercedes or deceives the Provider to obtain a favour for the Subject, who then rewards the Agent with money.

For Sapochnik, corruption is not a transaction between three people but between two (Subject and Provider), where one of the two parties is separated between accessible provider (Agent) and inaccessible provider (the Provider itself). This reinforces the schizo-paranoid position. What differentiates corruption from deception, crime, or fraud is the existence of the subject Triad-Agent-Provider where there is a reciprocal relationship between Subject and Agent at the expense of the Provider. Corruption is understood by Sapochnik both as symptom and cause.

Sapochnik understands corruption as a perversion, as it 'refers to a deviation from the "normal"' (2003, p. 183). Sapochnik also relates corruption to the death instinct. The Oedipus myth contains a moral conflict: Oedipus is both guilty and innocent.

2.2 Organisational Psychology

2.2.1 Corruption as a deviant behaviour

Tanja Rabl studied corrupt behaviour in depth in her doctoral thesis and several academic articles. In her opinion, corruption is an 'unethical or deviant behaviour' (Rabl, 2012, p. 7). that 'manifests itself in an abuse of a function in favour of another person or institution' (Rabl & Kühlmann, 2008, p. 478). She focuses on *corrupt actors*,

with the aim of 'examining the person-based components of corrupt action in interaction with a specific situation context, namely the business context' (Rabl, 2008, p. 19). Rabl examined the decision-making processes of corrupt actors to understand what makes them act corruptly. To answer this question, she created and validated a research model she called 'The Model of Corrupt Action', which 'describes the subjective decision-making process of corrupt actors' (Rabl, 2011, p. 85). Rabl combined a business game with a standardised questionnaire to empirically investigate three rarely investigated situational factors: the size of the bribe, time pressure, and the degree of abstractness of the business code. According to Rabl, corrupt behaviour requires both motivation and opportunity. She considered motivation as a combination of incentive (size of the bribe) and the pressure perceived by the corrupt actor to achieve business goals (time pressure). The degree of abstractness of the business code – or the organisational culture – 'influences the individual's perception of whether corruption is tolerated or not' (Ibid.).

Several personality traits presented by Rabl as characteristics of corrupt individuals – for example, Machiavellianism, extraversion, and narcissism – and the motives for corrupt behaviour – such as material and immaterial benefits, ambition, strive for power, frustration and dissatisfaction – are analysed further ahead in the chapter on corruption at the individual level, where I add a few more to the list.

2.2.2 Corruption as a counterproductive as well as a customary behaviour

In her doctoral thesis, Jamie-Lee Campbell investigated by means of a qualitative and quantitative study, how an organizational culture can influence and even promote employee's corruption. For her, organisational culture is an important variable in

corrupt organisations and corruption can be seen from two perspectives: 1) as something wrong, a crime, a counterproductive behaviour of work – where the employee's work environment is 'more or less non-corrupt' and the company does not tolerate corrupt behaviour and actually punishes it; and 2) as customary behaviour in a 'more or less corrupt' environment. Corruption benefits the organisation as a whole, which in many cases positively reinforces corruption (Campbell & Göritz, 2014).

According to Campbell (Campbell M. J.-L., 2014), employees behave corruptly if they abuse their power in order to enrich themselves, third parties, or their organisation. This corruption can occur in two different forms: (1) In procurement, for example, or shopping that individuals or small groups of employees undertake to enrich themselves and thus harm their organisation; (2) In corruption cases, such as Siemens[16], where the corruption inherent in the organisation itself infected employees who engaged in conduct to enrich the business but without advantage to themselves. Although each case is caused by different mechanisms, they are usually treated the same in the general understanding. While the psychological reasons for corruption are found as counterproductive behaviour both in the people and in their professional or private situations, the reasons for corruption as organisational behaviour are stronger in the organisation itself. Similarly to Rabl, Campbell also affirms that corrupt employees are often characterised by certain personality traits and sustains, for example, that they may demonstrate little integrity and self-control, and make power claims due to Machiavellianism. Such employees appear to be under high pressure and often have debts. Other motives for corrupt behaviour presented by Campbell are the lack of opportunity for self-realisation, perceived lack of recognition for their work, and unfair treatment by superiors.

---

[16] See Siemen's employee case Reinhard Siekaczek in Chapter 5.

2.2.3 Corruption as a perversion of purity

In Moore's opinion, corruption can be defined as a 'process which perverts the original nature of an individual or group from a more pure state to a less pure state' (Moore, 2009, p. 37), which can be summarised as a perversion of an original state of purity. Based on the multiple definitions of corruption found in the Oxford Dictionary, Moore built a framework for analysing corruption processes at its multiple levels. She describes corruption and individual and group levels.

For Moore, at the individual level, corruption is a 'moral deterioration', as well as a 'perversion or destruction of integrity'. When seen as moral deterioration, corruption is related to *compulsion,* in which people succumb to natural human weaknesses (an inside-out process); while as a perversion or destruction of integrity, corruption reflects the notion of *compliance*, since it refers to how individuals react when obedience and conformity are required from them (an outside-in process).

In Moore's view, at the group level, corruption can be understood in terms of an 'infection, contagion, taint' and also of an 'oxidation or corrosion of the body'. When taken as an infection, corruption contains the notion of *contagion*, which reflects how changes occur in social networks and progressively spread through social systems (from inside out); while corruption as an oxidation contains the idea of *corrosion*, which refers to the way in which 'structural or systemic forces can create external pressure on groups, promoting incentives for groups to act in a corrupt way' (p. 38).

2.2.4 Corruption as an attack on norms of conduct

Levine (2005) understands corruption as an attack on norms of conduct in organisations. Corruption 'often expresses a powerful attachment to primitive moral thinking rather than a rejection to morality' (p. 723). Rules and norms have moral significance when they are linked to an ideal of the good. Levine associates key qualities with corruption: 'greed, arrogance, a sense of personal entitlement, the idea of virtue as personal loyalty, and the inability to distinguish between organisational and personal ends'.

He believes corruption to be driven by a specific form of *greed*, whose goal is the 'ultimate narcissistic fulfilment'. Corrupt individuals seek a special order of gratification, 'all those things that are good and whose possession establishes the unique worth of their possessor' (p. 728), which would help them stand out from the rest of the individuals – a grandiose fantasy. 'Pursuit of the ultimate fulfilment is linked to a desperate desire to be good, since the worthy self is also the good self' (p. 725). 'This is the experience of the self as uniquely good and therefore uniquely worthy' (p. 725).

For Levine, corruption contains a disparity between appearance and reality and 'cannot be considered exclusively or primarily a conscious choice of the actor, but the expression of a construction of the world held to a large degree outside of awareness', which reflects 'the inability of the corrupt to perceive their conduct as corrupt' (p. 725). Levine presents his moral evaluation of the Enron case:

> To their own way of thinking, the leaders at Enron were not crooks, or even amoral manipulators of the system, they were visionaries engaged in transforming American industry in a direction that could, with little exaggeration, be considered the public good. In the words of their Chief Operations Officer […] they were doing "God's work" (p. 726).

Nonetheless, in Levine's opinion it was just the opposite: 'the corrupt do the devil's work, and seek to draw others away from God' (p. 734). The corrupt individual deceives himself/herself – they are victims of their own deceit. 'Corruption includes as an essential element this effort to hide an unfavourable, indeed unacceptable, reality. […] Corruption is intimately involved with secrets, and with the deception needed to protect a reality hidden as much from the corrupt as from their victims' (p. 728).

In Levine's understanding, narcissism is one of the causes of corruption. For him, the leaders of the corrupt organisation exhibit, through greediness and sense of personal entitlement, a form of pathological narcissism, in which 'the main objective is to extract from others the admiration needed to protect a fragile sense of self' (p. 729). Arrogance is also a key feature in understanding corrupt behaviour, since those who practise such activity act as though laws were applicable only to others, who are seen as mere mortals limited by norms and regulations and who should, therefore, be treated with contempt. Levine understands this behaviour as sadistic and characterised by manipulation and deception (p. 731). 'Because greed is driven by the prospect of a primitive satisfaction in possessing and consuming rather than the more mature satisfaction in work, it fosters conduct that can be detrimental to the real tasks to which the organisation is ostensibly devoted. […] greed promotes the ethical failure we associate with corruption' (p. 736).

All characteristics projected onto corrupt individuals seem to be negative for the reason that, in general, people do not feel empathy for individual needs, as they are simply viewed as individualism.

2.2.5 Corruption as a 'normalised' rational behaviour

When corruption becomes standard behaviour, a significant moral inversion takes place, which Ashforth and Anand (2003) named 'the normalization of corruption'. They described this as the way in which acts of corruption become 'embedded in the organisation structures and processes, internalised by organisational members as permissible and even desirable behaviour, and passed on to successive generations of members' (p. 1). Ashforth and Anand's model of normalisation is an attempt to explain *how honest individuals engage in corruption without experiencing conflict*. They examine collective corruption[17] in particular, since, in general, corruption occurs in organisations as a result of the actions of several individuals rather than of a single deviant employee. According to their model, normalisation occurs through three mutually reinforcing pillars: institutionalisation, rationalisation, and socialisation.

Institutionalisation is 'the process by which corrupt practices are enacted as a matter of routine, often without conscious thought about their propriety' (p. 3). Corruption is linked to a permissive ethical climate at the society or organisation, which overvalues financial goals. Because corruption is economically rational – 'it appears that crime often does pay' (p. 6) – it neutralises the countervailing force of morals and ethics. A deviant culture that valorises and promulgates corruption then tends to emerge. Leaders, as role models, authorise corruption when they emphasise ends rather than means (a Machiavellian behaviour).

In Ashforth and Anand's perspective, *rationalisation* is 'the process by which individuals who engage in corrupt acts use socially constructed accounts to legitimate the acts in their own eyes'. They believe that a compartmentalisation of identities is

---

[17] Ashforth and Anand use the expression collective corruption in the sense of 'group level', therefore differently from the usage we see further ahead in chapter 3, the collective level of corruption.

responsible for the separation between corrupt acts practised by an individual in the context of an organisation and his/her display of morality outside of it. According to them, an otherwise ethically-minded person is influenced by and acts according to what is socially expected from him in a corrupt environment: a transmission of corrupt values through group interaction. That compartmentalisation of identities helps them to engage in corruption without experiencing conflict. According to Ashforth and Anand, one of the stages of rationalisation is 'routinizing'.

Socialization is explained as 'the process by which newcomers are taught to perform and accept the corrupt practices' (p. 3). Ashforth and Anand's model emphasises the influence of the group over the individual's behaviour. What they describe is practically the way in which corrupt veterans *alienate* naïve newcomers from their personal values in order to integrate them to the values of the corrupt organisation by means of co-optation (amongst other strategies). Personal factors (like cognitive moral development and fear of failing) are not given special attention. It is likely that the persona overrides their moral values or that they were corrupted from the outset.

2.3 Social Psychology

2.3.1 Corruption as an interactional process

In her article 'The Social Psychology of Corruption: why it does not exist and why it should', Zaloznaya (2014) criticises the lack of social psychological research on why people engage in corruption. She points out that, in general, the research in social psychology is not directly about corruption, but concerns rule-breaking, decision-

making, and deviant behaviour. She suggests, however, that social psychology does have tools to help understand corruption, and she specifically advocates the use of *symbolic interactionism,* a culturally sensitive instrument of analysis which is based on observations of interactional encounters and focuses on collective processes. The main assumption of symbolic interactionism is 'that the meanings of different social objects are negotiated collectively through symbols, managed impressions, and interactional cues in group contexts' (p. 193).

Zaloznaya formulates a new definition of corruption in order to avoid the ideas of private/public or use/abuse: 'acts of appropriation and exchange that undermine, subvert, or repudiate the collectively agreed-upon organisational missions or institutional roles for non-collective ends and purposes' (p. 194). Corruption, more than other types of deviance, is defined in relation to its social contexts, which depend heavily on how social roles are collectively constructed and what meanings are shared among the population. Zaloznaya believes corruption is a result of interactional processes, which can be related to Rousseau's idea that it is the daily friction of coexistence that corrupts, as we will see in the next chapter. Zaloznaya thus places more weight on the cultural side than the individual side in stating, 'corruption is an outcome of complex interactional processes rather than a manifestation of cost-and-benefit analyses by criminally inclined individuals' (p. 194).

2.3.2 Corruption as a pathology of social collectives

According to Yolles (Yolles, 2009), social psychology is the study of the interaction between the human mind and social behaviours. Yolles' objective is to analyse 'the social psychological basis of pathologies, from which result neuroses and

behaviours like corruption and sociopathic behaviour' (p. 691). Yolles' premise is based on the perspective that '*social collectives* have *normative minds* and can be explored in terms of their social psychological processes' [emphasis added]. Therefore, he assumes that the relationship between the social psychology of the collective and the individual is not merely a metaphor, but is extremely broad. In his view, psychological pathologies can be found in social entities just as in individuals.

From a structured collection of individuals (like countries or enterprises) arises a normative mind, capable of associative projection. The collective mind (composed of a collection of individuals) has the 'ability to behave as a singular cognitive entity'. Although the collective mind has social psychological conditions equivalent to an individual person, there are additional mechanisms that are not found in the individual mind. 'However, a collective agent may behave independently from the individuals that compose it because the normative anchors for the former may be different from the anchors of the latter' (p. 694).

For Yolles, the social collective, as well as the individual, comprise 'agents of behaviour'. Yolles adopts Piaget's idea of *associative projection* and assumes that a collective agent can create collective images and perspectives, and behave consistently. Yolles anchors his ideas on Jung's concept of collective psyche, understanding it practically as a synonym for 'collective agent'. This comparison is somewhat problematic as we will see in chapter 4, in the topic *Cultural analysis: Brazil on the couch*.

2.3.3 Corruption as a sign of psychopathy

Some authors associate the behaviour of corrupt individuals to psychopathy. According to Litzcke et al. (2012), a high degree of psychopathy in a person can be expressed in a cruel and malicious behaviour to their advantage, even in the area of corruption. For these authors, successful people in leadership positions are more prone to corruption.

With a correlative quasi-experimental study, Litzcke et al (2011) demonstrated that the higher the score for psychopathy, the greater the tolerance for corrupt activities. However, they state that psychopathy and antisocial personality are concepts that overlap but are not identical. While the individual with psychopathy might live within normality limits, the individual with antisocial personality has a mental disorder. Both are characterised by a lack of emotions and feelings and the ability to manipulate and exploit others for their own purpose (2012). Unlike crimes committed by individuals with antisocial personality, white-collar crimes are characterised by the absence of violence.

2.4 Analytical Psychology

Psychological studies that deal specifically with corruption are rare (Rabl, 2012) and if we narrow the research to focus on the perspective of analytical psychology it is even more difficult to find an academic contribution. However, corruption has been the subject of a few Jungian non-academic texts, unpublished papers, and blog entries in the last years. It has been characterised by Jungians as a 'collective shadow' (Boff, 2016); a cultural complex (Ramos D. G., 2004) (Boechat, 2018); as a consequence of

the anxiety (angst) generated by the tension between material and spiritual needs (Magaldi, [s.d.]); as a 'symbol of the formation of the Brazilian people' (Ortolan, 2003); and as 'a collective psychological problem that points to aspects of the Brazilian soul' (Negrello, 2017, p. 4).

Although these considerations do offer a hint on how corruption can be portrayed from a Jungian perspective, some are rather vague or are too short to analyse the topic in all its complexity. To my knowledge, only two studies have thus far applied the Jungian perspective to the study of corruption as a specific topic and offered a more consistent analysis (Ramos D. G., 2004) (Novaes, 2017). All the authors cited are Brazilian.

The texts presented here (except Novaes, 2017) explore the corruption phenomenon at the group or cultural level. They do not focus on the individual and collective level.

2.4.1 Corruption as a shadow

In his blog, Leonardo Boff (2016), who coordinated the translation of Jung's *Collected Works* into Portuguese, enumerates *four shadows*[18] that afflict the Brazilian reality (in the sense of oppression): its colonial past, the indigenous genocide, slavery, and corruption. Boff's conception is possibly influenced by his extensive work on oppression and liberation (particularly in a religious and political sense).

Walter Boechat (2018) borrows from Boff's enumeration of shadows but translates them into Brazil's *four major cultural complexes*: 'I'm here taking the liberty

---

[18] In chapter 5, we will return to Boff's enumeration of the '*four shadows*' and analyse them as '*four major traumas*' experienced by Brazilians, namely colonisation, indigenous genocide, slavery, and poverty (which encompasses hunger, child mortality, and illiteracy). Corruption does not seem to be a trauma by itself.

of translating Boff's expression *shadows* […] into the country's *four major cultural complexes*' (p. 77). Boechat follows Ramos' diagnostic and calls corruption a cultural complex, which is described in the next topic.

Boechat quotes Meira Penna and his analysis of Brazil as an *erotic society*, i.e. oriented by Eros' instinctive sensuality, in opposition to logical societies, oriented by Logos' rationality. Meira Penna's analysis in its turn, was constructed based on Weber's dichotomy community-society (*Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in German).

2.4.2 Corruption as a symptom of a cultural complex

In a chapter called 'Corruption: Symptom of a cultural complex in Brazil?', Denise Ramos (2004) points out that it is a shadow in the history of Brazil, rooted in its culture. Ramos searches for the real causes of why the problem of corruption is so strong in Brazil. She draws attention to the fact that most research on this theme focuses on variables related to systemic corruption dynamic models and the effects of corruption on politics, welfare, development projects, etc. The causes are generally based on types of legal system, ethics, social-economic and educational level, and in the modes of restraint and repression. When the psychological issue is addressed, it is usually related to social and educational issues (Ibid.).

The aforementioned author conducted an innovative survey with Jungian analysts, by sending them questionnaires, and asked them to assess Brazil as a patient – which we can compare to Yolles' idea of a collective agent – and to point out its complexes. The responses were grouped into the following categories: 1. Inferiority feelings; 2. Transgression of laws and corruption; 3. Absence of heroes; 4. Narcissism, exhibitionism, excessive permissiveness; 5. Puer aeternus; and, 6. Typology.

In the 'Inferiority feelings' category, 100% of respondents described behaviours that typically relate to low self-esteem, such as dependency, insecurity, devaluation of its folklore, jokes against itself, disregard and devaluation of its own language and overvaluation of foreign language, abashment regarding its non-European origin, sensation of being 'eternally' a colony, and lack of development of an upper-class culture; in short, they were ashamed of being Brazilians. In the 'Transgression of laws and corruption' category, 80% of respondents described a demeanour for 'taking advantage of everything', circumvention of laws and taxes, giving bribes, and charlatanism. The analysts observed that corruption is associated with impotence, since due to the lack of any other perceived way to relinquish the state of victimisation, the Brazilian individual liaises with corrupt parties to relieve this frustration. In the 'Puer Aeternus' category, 70% of respondents 'felt that the lack of boundaries, the pleasure of disregarding traffic signals, the lack of commitment and the customary unpunctuality would be a kind of infantile protest against excessive authoritarianism' (p. 111). This disregard for the laws could be seen as a reaction to an excessive authoritarianism, which was cited as the best way to overcome this authority. Regarding the 'Absence of heroes', 70% of respondents remembered that the Brazilian culture lacks examples of heroes who can encourage the development of a national identity. In the category 'Narcissism, exhibitionism, excessive permissiveness', 30% of respondents made reference to majestic celebrations such as Carnival and folk festivals, as a representation of the infantile desire to overcome their sense of inferiority. Finally, in 'Typology', 20% of analysts pointed to the typological issue as a generator of inferiority, since the majority of Brazilians would be classified as 'extraverted feeling' types, in contrast to the 'introverted thinking' that is characteristic

of richer nations (particularly the ones with rigorous winter), and consequently, a supposed more valued characteristic.

Based on the survey results, Ramos concludes that analysts have identified the feeling of inferiority as the core and cause of disruptive behaviours such as corruption and disobedience of the law. However, I understand the inferiority complex to be just one of several cultural complexes constellated in the Brazilian psyche.

2.5 Conclusion

The different theories that explain corruption from a psychological perspective go beyond the 'abuse of public office for private gain' definition. They focus either on the private actor, on the culture in which that actor is inserted, or on the relationship between the two. Psychological theories of corruption usually examine the phenomenon based on different causes/factors, analytical levels, psychic spaces, and types of corruption.

Most definitions and explanations associated to corruption described until now mostly refer to *conscious* factors that are associated with corruption (except from the psychoanalytical studies), nonetheless, much of what motivates the corrupt behaviour lies below the surface of consciousness. In the second part of this work, I discuss these theories and analyse them considering the *unconscious* mechanisms of corruption.

PART II – CORRUPTION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

CHAPTER 3: COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF CORRUPTION

'[…] I found it interesting to study corruption where it is seemingly not a problem. I wanted to discuss the corruption in the zone between good and evil, in the zone where no clear judgments might be made. Thereby, I believe that the study is relevant since it does not fall into the immediate trap of moralisations. Instead of condemning corruption, I argue that there are vicissitudes of corruption' – on corruption in Sweden (Lennerfors, 2008, p. 401).

'[…] in all chaos there is a cosmos, in all disorder a secret order, in all caprice a fixed law, for everything that works is grounded on its opposite' (Jung, CW 9/1, §66).

'And just as the conscious mind can put the question, 'Why is there this frightful conflict between good and evil?,' so the unconscious can reply, 'Look closer! Each needs the other. The best, just because it is the best, holds the seed of evil, and there is nothing so bad but good can come of it.' (Jung, CW 7, § 289).

3.1 Definition of Corruption at the Collective Level

Corruption is ubiquitous. In one form or another it has been present throughout history. The concept of bribery, for example, can be traced back to ancient Egypt, where officials were said to receive 'gifts' and 'portions'[19] (Noonan, 1984; El-Saady, 1998). It can be found in every society and every economic system, even if the manifestations, frequencies, hierarchical levels and degree of cultural capture change

---

[19] There is a controversy over the period in which bribery was first registered, largely because there is no consensus on which terms were used for bribe and how it can be defined. For example, Noonan bases his analysis on the rule of reciprocity and gift-giving that were typical in 3000 B.C.: 'officials are approached with offerings like anyone else' (Noonan, 1984, p. xx). El-Saady, on the other hand, bases his analysis on a petition from around 1800 B.C. that survived as the story 'The Eloquent Peasant', which contained the first obvious allusions to bribery. The petitioner accused the magistrates and the mayor of having been benefited with a *portion*: 'Your portion is in your house, your belly is full ... the magistrates give and you take. Are you then a robber?' For El-Saady, 'This is an obvious instance of administrative fraud' (El-Saady, 1998, p. 296).

(Rabl, 2008, p. 17). At this level of analysis, 'corruption is not only a social construct, but an integral part of the human culture itself' (Dion, 2010, p. 246).

Not all psychological phenomena can be explained on the basis of personal experience. Jung has named *collective* 'all psychic contents that belong not to one individual but to many, i.e., to a society, a people, or to mankind in general' (CW 6, § 692). The Jungian term *collective unconscious* refers to 'a structural layer of the human psyche, containing inherited elements, distinct from the personal unconscious' (Sharp, 1991). This layer 'consists of mythological motifs, or *primordial images*, for which reason the myths of all nations are its real exponents' [emphasis added] (CW8, § 325).

Primordial images or '*archetypes* are, by definition, factors and motifs that arrange the psychic elements into certain images, characterized as archetypal, but in such a way that they can be recognized only from the effects they produce' (CW 11, § 222[2]) [emphasis added]. Among the several definitions Jung provided for archetypes throughout his works, he also defined them as 'instinctual images'.

Corruption's collective features point to *archetypal tendencies*. This affirmation is different from stating that corrupt behaviour, for example that is present in an act of bribing, is itself an expression of a '*corruption archetype',* since this would be *a simplification of the concept.* Jung warned against ascribing a particular meaning to an archetype, for 'the one thing consistent with their nature is their manifold meaning, their almost limitless wealth of reference, which makes any unilateral formulation impossible'. Archetypes cannot be exhaustively interpreted, since they are also symbols, meaning 'they are ambiguous, full of half-glimpsed meanings, and in the last resort inexhaustible' (CW 9/1, p. 80). Trying to establish a single meaning for archetypes is a discrimination of the intellect, and may therefore result in a narrow interpretation of the archetypal image.

In this chapter, I present an analysis of corruption at the collective level. At this level of examination, *corrupt behaviour*, whether in politics, in the business world or in daily life, *has its basis in the corruption of human nature itself*. Here, I focus on the relationship of corruption with good and evil, absolute opposites that cannot be culturally relativised. I also discuss the relationship between corruption and the dialectic process with its opposites, conscience and integrity.

In summary, I propose that corruption can be understood, at the collective level, as an archetypal tendency (based on instincts); a disrupting principle; a collective shadow (an expression of evil in society); an opposite principle (to conscience and integrity); a non-adaptation; and as degeneration and death. Although corruption carries so many negative connotations, it is also integral to individuation. The objective of this chapter is to acknowledge the collective primordial representations that underlie the various forms of corruption.

3.2 The Principle of Opposites[20]

For Jung, 'the psyche represents the totality of all psychic contents' (CW 6, § 797). However, what the *psyche* is *per se* is unknown. Depth psychology's metaphor for the psyche is that it is a *dynamic system*. It is conceived 'as a kind of complicated internal mechanism, regulating and adjusting the flow of thoughts and emotions to assure adequate reality perception and proper functioning' (Hopcke, 1999, p. 21). The 'fuel' on which this psychic system runs was termed by Jung *psychic energy* or *libido*[21].

---

[20] Jung's formulation of the polaristic nature of the psyche came from Gnosticism, as Jung was attracted to thinking in paradoxes, which is typical of the Gnostics (Jung, 1989, p. 378). The principle of opposites appeared in many aspects of Jung's work, like the archetypes, but was also revealed as an aspect of his personality. For more on Jung's divided personality, see Saban (2016).

[21] The term *libido* is used as a synonym of psychic energy in general, and is by no means exclusively sexual as in psychoanalysis. Jung's book *Metamorphoses and Symbols of Libido* marked deep doctrinal

All psychological phenomena can be considered manifestations of psychic energy, which Jung defined as an appetite, 'a continuous life-urge, a will to live' (CW 5, 195).

Jung described the operation of the psyche according to the *principle of opposites*, stating that psychic energy comes from the conflict of two opposing forces, like the energy that comes from the contrast of the two magnetic poles of a battery, as in the first law of thermodynamics. The dynamic of the psyche is conceived by means of an intrinsic duality. Wishes, thoughts and desires are expressed in pairs of opposites, which are split and always in conflict, like up and down, black and white, good and evil.

There is no consensus on how we understand the opposite of corruption. This is an intricate problem, since 'understanding corruption as a universal concept[22] […] requires an explicit normative foundation of what should count as the opposite to corruption (Rothstein & Teorell, 2015, p. 87). Similarly, according to the Jungian theory, the opposite of corruption must be analysed in order to understand it. I will focus here on not one, but a few of corruption's antonyms: order, good, conscience, integrity, adaptation and generation (life).

---

divergences, which culminated with his separation from Freud. Libido is an appetite in its natural state. It is intentionality (CW 5, 194-197).

[22] Rothstein and Teorell (2015) present the following candidates for an universal concept of the opposite of corruption: *good governance*, *universalism* (as different from particularism and favouritism), *equity* (similarly to what is stated in the Brazilian Constitution, that 'all are equal before the law' – Art. 5.º, 1988), *transparency* and *accountability*.

3.3 Corruption as a Disrupting Principle

3.3.1 Corruption as an Expression of the Self-Preservation Instinct

At this level of analysis, corrupt behaviour seems to be linked to the corruption of *human nature* itself, as a process of moral degeneration. But what is 'human nature'? It is certainly a concept that is difficult to grasp. As rational animals, humans are somewhat connected to their instincts, but have the power of will to act differently from what is imposed by them. Thus, human nature is probably the combination of what is instinctive and what is psychological, and it ranges from what is biologically predetermined to what can be reasoned.

Human behaviour is determined by psychological factors, among which the instincts are the chief motivating forces (CW 8, § 233). Corrupt behaviour, as any behaviour, is also determined by instincts. Jung understood that *hunger*, as a characteristic expression of the *instinct of self-preservation*, is one of the most powerful factors influencing human behaviour (§ 237). He found in *greed* and *lust for gain* a '*denaturization*' of the self-preservation instinct, as a variant form of hunger. 'The originally simple and unequivocal determinant can appear transformed into pure greed, or into many aspects of boundless desire or insatiability, as for instance the lust for gain or inordinate ambition' (§ 236). Jung named this process *psychization*. It refers to the assimilation of a biological stimulus and modification in a psychic phenomenon, which happens due to the interaction between instinct and the psychic situation of the moment (§ 234). Simply put, psychization is the process in which instincts receive psychological characteristics. Jung's usage of the term *denaturization* for the same

process seems to reveal the possibility of taking away nature from humanity. We will soon return to this consideration.

The principle of self-preservation is essential to Thomas Hobbes' theory on human nature, particularly before the domestication of instincts. The human condition before any political order is referred to by him as the *state of nature*, when there were no laws other than natural laws. Men recognised no authority and were governed by no rules. People lived according to individual values, particularly survival. Ruled by instincts, it was a time when there was an enormous greed for material possessions, power and sexual satisfaction. Since there was no system of government, conflict resolution was self-entrusted. The sovereignty was the individual himself, since he made his own laws. Each man acted as his own judge, jury and executioner. As stated by Hobbes, man lived in a situation of 'war of all against all' (*bellum omnium contra omnes*) (1998, p. 29). Hobbes, directly contradicting Aristotle[23], believed that man is an animal that is not born fit for society (p. 22). 'Man is a wolf to man', said Hobbes. For him, individuals in the state of nature were apolitical and asocial. In public affairs, men are primarily looking after honor and advantage: 'everyone is looking for profit not friendship'. Mutual fear, not love, is for Hobbes what originates civilisation: 'All society […] is a product of love of self, not love of others' (p. 23).

Human nature was also a topic of concern for Rousseau, although he was of the opposite opinion to Hobbes. According to Rousseau, although men are wicked, they are born good. It is society that corrupts[24] them:

> *Men are wicked*; a sad and continual experience provides evidence [for that]; however, *man is naturally good*, […] what is it that can have depraved [man] to this extent if not the changes occurring in its constitution, the *progress* he has made, and the *knowledge* he acquired? We [may] admire human society as much as we want, it will not be any less true that it [society] necessarily leads men to

---

[23] Cf. chapter 2 for 'a human being is by nature a political animal' (Aristotle, 1998, p. 4).
[24] Rousseau's concern was primarily with moral, not political, corruption (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2009, p. 5).

hate each other in proportion to the intersect of their interests, to do one another apparent[ly valuable] services [but also] to cause all imaginable pain. (Rousseau, 1762, pp. 136-137) [emphasis added]

This view, as it was fairly discussed over the centuries, ignores the innate characteristics of personality. However, Rousseau (pp. 78-79) understands that morality began to appear in the history of humankind when primitive man adapted his features to fit in with what society asked of him. Before the advent of laws, what was done to a man by others was judged by the one who had suffered the injury. Goodness, which used to be indicative of a pure state of nature, became incompatible with this new stage of societal evolution. From this we can understand that if a man is good to the extent of what society asks of him, to be corrupt becomes a way of survival. In Rosseau's conception of corruption, civilisation's progress has contributed to the corruption of human conduct.

Let us return to denaturation, which we have also understood as the possibility of taking *nature* away from *humanity*, or as distancing oneself from instincts. According to Odajnyk (2007, p. 10), the progressive subjugation of the instinctual nature of man and the gradual differentiation of the collective and individual psyche propitiated the development of culture and politics. Although the domestication of instincts was strictly necessary in the establishment of a political order, it also had some bad consequences. The repression of his unconscious and instinctual nature made man to be in disunity with himself, which Jung considered to be the neurosis of the civilised man (Odajnyk, 2007, p. 10).

> […] because modern man's unconscious has been repressed, its primitive, irrational, and violent contents are psychically strongly charged, so that when they are finally released through a political movement they tend to wreak havoc with both the individual personality and the society (Odajnyk, 2007, p. 41).

Another consequence of the process of denaturation/ civilisation is that authority and law are experienced as external to the individual, coming specially from the State or God. Man has lost his individual sovereignty.

3.3.2 Corruption as Subversion of Order

The state of nature, a state of absence of political order and law, does not reflect a specific period of time[25]. It has been promulgated, just like a creation myth, as an explanation of the origin of the present political and legal order. Both Hobbes' and Rousseau's descriptions of human nature offer personal images/narratives that were turned into collective representations of the origin of society, in which the world prior to the creation of civil society is described as chaotic or paradisiacal. Both qualities can be associated to man's unconscious condition and evolution to a more conscious condition.

The end of the natural state and the beginning of the social and political state is marked by an *agreement* (tacit or explicit) between the majority of individuals – the *social contract* (Bobbio, Matteucci, & Pasquino, 1998, p. 272). Man's concern for self-preservation has made laws necessary and the social contract is said to be what holds everything in place. People accede to a social contract to avoid the state of nature, making political order possible (Ibid.). These considerations on human nature have somehow defined the making of modern political thought [26].

In the Hobbesian perspective, following one's own law, i.e., not obeying the laws of the State, may lead to a return to the state of nature. Corrupt behaviour is then

---

[25] The *state of nature* might refer to prehistoric times, when most people lived in nomad tribes (hunters/gatherers) and there existed stateless societies.
[26] Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant were prominent social contract theorists.

understood as a form of law disobedience (its most used sense). In this perspective, society's development is thought to evolve from chaos to a definite form of order, consequently corruption represents *the disturbance of order*, although it has *a hidden order*[27] itself: when the system is inadequately organised, 'companies see corruption as the only way to organise a chaotic reality' (Zekos, 2004, p. 639). Networks of corrupt exchanges develop *because* of their hidden order (della Porta & Vannucci, 2016). As presented in the last chapter, Minerbo understands that when we agree to the social contract, 'each of us accepts to renounce our infantile aspirations of fulfilling all our desires in an absolute way, in order to be part of the human community' (2016, p. 66). Corruption occurs when the individual disqualifies the law and the social pact is replaced by a *perverse pact*, characterised by 'the immortal desire to transcend the limits inherent to the human condition'. For her, this is a state of infinite *jouissance*.

Following Rousseau's perspective, when society's initial condition is thought to be a state of a pleasant order, progress and knowledge[28] can be seen as a form of corruption. This idea is analogous to the biblical conception of corruption, in which Eve's disobedience leads to expulsion from paradise. Corruption is not really born from chaos, although it can lead to it.

For Jung, *naturalism* (like Hobbes's state of nature) means surrendering to instincts, which presupposes an 'unethical sliding down' (CW 6, § 356). Jung's idea of law obedience is different from Hobbes and Rosseau, although it can be seen as a synthesis of both, for the optimum of life[29] can only be achieved by following laws

---

[27] For more on corruption's hidden order, cf. the work of della Porta and Vannucci (2016, p. 2), which investigate the 'hidden order of corruption, looking at the codes and mechanisms that govern and stabilize the links between corrupters and corruptees and that increase the resources (of authority, economic, information, relations, etc.) at their disposal, strengthening the "obscure side of power'.

[28] See the relationship between knowledge and conscience further ahead in this chapter.

[29] 'The natural flow of libido, this same middle path, means complete obedience to the fundamental laws of human nature, and there can positively be no higher moral principle than harmony with natural laws that guide the libido in the direction of life's optimum. […] The optimum can be reached only through obedience to the tidal laws of the libido, by which systole alternates with diastole—laws which bring

which bring pleasure and the necessary limitations of pleasure. In a Jungian perspective, corruption might be about not being able to balance both processes.

Corruption, in a Jungian perspective, can be seen as disobedience to the laws of the libido (the fundamental laws of human nature). It is about disobeying 'the law of our own being'[30] (CW 6, § 355). Individual sovereignty gains a completely different meaning here. It consists, in this sense, in being loyal to oneself (and to one's individuality), not in disobeying the laws of the State or God's laws. It is about recognizing a different authority, one that is psychological, the Self. The Self acts as an ordering principle, while corruption perverts this order.

Corruption is frequently related with 'a destruction of the social tissue' as in the following quote from Transparency International: 'Corruption corrodes the fabric of society. It undermines people's trust in political and economic systems, institutions and leaders' (Transparency International, [s.d.]). In this sense, corruption can also be understood as *disconnection* and *lack of trust*, since it destroys what supposedly holds together a society, the agreement to follow certain rules or principles.

3.4 Corruption as Non-Adaptation

The direction of psychic energy is expressed in terms of *progression* or *regression of the libido*. Psychic energy is neutral in character:

> Psychic energy is the intensity of a psychic process, its psychological value. This does not imply an assignment of value, whether moral, aesthetic, or intellectual; the psychological value is already implicit in its determining power, which expresses itself in definite psychic effects (CW 6, § 778).

---

pleasure and the necessary limitations of pleasure, and also set us those individual life tasks without whose accomplishment the vital optimum can never be attained' (CW 6, § 356).
[30] Jung referred to the development of personality as the 'fidelity to the law of one's own being' (CW 17, § 295).

Jung defined progression as 'the daily advance of the process of psychological adaptation' (CW 8, § 60), 'a forwards movement of life' (Sharp, 1991, p. 61). Regression, on the other hand, is 'the backward movement of the libido to an earlier mode of adaptation, often accompanied by infantile fantasies and wishes' (p. 69). It is necessary for the progress of individuation as it 'contains the seeds of a new progression' (Ibid.). 'Regression… as an adaptation to the conditions of the inner world, springs from the vital need to satisfy the demands of individuation' (CW 8, § 75).

Jung differentiates progression and regression from development and involution or degeneration.'[...] progression should not be confused with development, for the continuous flow or current of life is not necessarily development and differentiation' (CW 8, § 70). In the following quote, he emphasises how degeneration might be a consequence of fixating on regression: 'regression is not necessarily a retrograde step in the sense of a backwards development or degeneration, but rather represents a necessary phase of development. […] It is only if he remains stuck in this condition that we can speak of involution or degeneration' (CW 8, § 69).

A failure to adapt is understood as a *neurosis*: '[…] the moment of the outbreak of neurosis is not just a matter of chance; as a rule it is most critical. It is usually *the moment when a new psychological adjustment, that is, a new adaptation, is demanded'* (CW 4, § 563). Corruption in this sense is also a *neurotic dissociation*[31].

Placed together, the concepts of progression and regression of the libido seem to hold certain similarity with the concepts of integrity and corruption. However, the concepts of progression and regression refer to a (neutral) adaptation to the environment and to the demands of the soul, and maintain no relationship with the

---

[31] For more on neurosis and corruption, see chapter 7.

development of morality, while integrity and corruption refer specifically to a moral adaptation in life. Ultimately, comparing corruption with the concept of regression can give a more positive perspective to it, for regression expresses the need for psychological renewal and contains the possibility of a new adaptation.

3.5 Corruption as Decay, Degeneration and Death

As indicated by Lennerfors, the ancient definition of corruption – before the private/public dichotomy – contains 'an original meaning of degeneration' (Lennerfors, 2008, p. 118). This meaning is not moral, but strictly physical. Corruption can also be conceived as *decay, degeneration and death*. This nonmoral sense of the word can be found in the Aristotelian conception of physics, in which corruption is conceived as the opposite of *generation*. In Aristotle's view, all natural things are subject to change or movement (*kinesis*). Corruption is then 'a change that goes from *something* to *not being that something*; it is absolute when it goes from *substance* to the *not being of that substance*, specific when going to *the opposite specification*'. Aristotle's 'On Generation and Corruption' (also translated as 'On Coming-to-be and Passing-away') refers to how things are capable of existing and non-existing (Abbagnano, 2007). In his conception, generation is related to life, while corruption is death.

In his work *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud (1974) stated that the phenomena of life could be explained by the life and death drives. According to him, both operate equally in organic life, but in the opposite directions. Life instincts (Eros) tend to conserve existing vital units, which seek to maintain cohesion between parts of the living substance. These drives include the principle of union through sexual drives

and the principle of existence through the drives of self-preservation. The death drives (Thanatos) tend regressively towards the destruction of vital units and return to the inorganic state which is supposed to be the absolute state of rest. They manifest in the form of a drive for aggression or destruction. Corruption is closely related to a *destructive drive*, in opposition to the instinct of self-preservation:

> Corruption is to be feared more than death itself – like the rotten apple, or like gangrene in a limb which, unless amputated, will spread and take over, decay and putrefy the whole body. There is something apocalyptic – in both its meanings of 'revelatory' and 'catastrophic' – about corruption, as it makes evident our own possible and inevitable corruptibility' (Sapochnik, 2003, p. 181).

The concepts of the life and death instincts also hold some similarity with integrity and corruption, particularly when comparing the death instinct and corruption as a synonym for maculation, fragmentation, putrefaction, rupture, and destruction. According to Samuels, Shorter and Plaut, 'when discussing the death instinct and the life instinct, both can be seen as manifestations emanating from a single energic source, though moving towards end and beginning respectively' (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012, p. 54).

3.6 Corruption as a Collective Shadow

3.6.1 Corruption as an Expression of Evil

Corruption is frequently associated with something evil or even as an act of the devil. The following quotes were extracted respectively from an academic book about white-collar criminals, a doctoral thesis, four articles in academic journals, and a television interview on the subject of corruption and white-collar crime:

> 'Whether people are predisposed toward good or evil is among humanity's longest-running intellectual debates. Early Christian theologians argued that we

are indelibly corrupted because of Adam and Eve's original sin' (Soltes, 2016, p. 110).

'In the same way as the Jew became the container of all the evil in society, so corruption becomes filled with evil' (Lennerfors, 2008, p. 362).

'Implicit in the concept [of corruption] is the belief that what is being corrupted is good in essence and this goodness is affected' (Sapochnik, 2003, p. 181).

'The Devil made me do it!' was the defence offered by the late Hansie Cronjé, disgraced former captain of the South African national cricket team, when admitting guilt and trying to justify his involvement in match fixing. Cronjé was not the first and will probably not be the last person to blame the devil for his corrupt behaviour' (De Klerk, 2017, p. 254).

'Corruption, as an institution, makes the pact with the devil a value and a way of life' (Minerbo, 2016, p. 69).

'The corrupt do the devil's work, and seek to draw others away from God' (Levine, 2005, p. 734)

'*Lowell Bergman*: There's been secret payments by major multi-national companies. Are we at a place where that habit is going to have to change?

Lord Timothy Bell: Undoubtedly, the convention and the law which was passed will reduce the number of times that happens. But actually, what it will also do is make people much more cunning about how they do it because depending on your religion and on your belief, there is a thing called temptation, which is promoted by the devil, who was a fallen angel. And it's very attractive and people are seduced by it' (Bergman, 2009).

Can corruption really be evil? Or even a temptation promoted by the devil? The dictionary describes evil as something 'profoundly immoral and wicked'; 'something harmful or tending to harm'; and something 'associated with the forces of the devil' (OED, 2012). In this sense, corruption can indeed be extremely evil since its consequences can have a very deep impact on one's life, because it affects society in its political, economic, social, environmental and even psychological dimensions.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation[32] (FBI), the national security organisation of the United States, considers corruption, together with terrorism, its top priority: 'Public

---

[32] The FBI is an intelligence-driven and threat-focused national security organisation with both intelligence and law enforcement responsibilities—the principal investigative arm of the U.S. Department of Justice and a full member of the U.S. Intelligence Community (FBI, [s.d.]).

corruption poses a fundamental threat to our national security and way of life' (FBI, [s.d.]). The United Kingdom's Prime Minister David Cameron directly correlated both topics saying: 'Corruption wrecks economies. It prevents development. It corrodes our societies. It can even foment terrorism as people give up hope in good and honest government providing the things they need, like public service or access to justice' (Craig, 2015). Corruption directly fuels terrorism and security instability in many countries[33] (Transparency International, 2015; Rothstein & Varraich, Making sense of Corruption, 2017). In the worst scenario, it costs lives (Transparency International, 2015). In some countries, like Brazil, corruption's destructive power can indeed be compared to terrorism, although it is not as directly violent. As the campaign 'Corruption kills' (*corrupção mata*) described in the introduction says, 'Bribery kills. Nepotism kills. Overpricing kills' (CGU, 2015). Corruption indeed murders, especially when someone dies because public money was diverted for personal use. More directly, in Brazil, a small radio host, who used to frequently report corruption cases, was killed *while* broadcasting his show on the radio. The motive: whistle-blowing[34].

Why should we use the term 'evil' to characterise corruption? 'At first glance, it seems to add an unnecessary component of terror to a world that is not short on other experiences of terror' (Darley, 1992, p. 203). Nonetheless, living so close to the threat of evil has deep subjective effects on the population. The attention focused on the corruption phenomenon reveals not just terror, but fascination for what is evil. The term evil is often used 'when we lack a complete explanation for why an action was performed' (Calder, 2013). Thus, to say corruption is evil might make it even more

---

[33] Structural and institutional weakness like corruption undermine security assistance. International forces that fight terrorism ignore the corruption issue, as they focus on short-term military results over building institutions with integrity (Transparency International, 2015).

[34] A direct relationship between terrorism and corruption can be seen, for example, in a case that occurred in Malta in 2017, when an investigative journalist was killed in a car bomb for whistle-blowing corruption cases. The media called her an 'anti-corruption warrior' (BBC, 2017).

incomprehensible. In fact, there is a general obscurity and scepticism surrounding the term 'evil', for it is a particularly complex concept that should be used with care. It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss supernatural forces or creatures; consequently, we use a secular moral concept of evil, considering it an 'immoral extreme' or 'the greatest form of moral condemnation' (Calder, 2013). According to Darley, 'to be labelled as evil the wrongdoing act often has to have *a quality of egregious excess*, such as a murder gratuitously committed in the course of a crime. […] The actor is seen to put such a low value on human life as to provide the moral outrage that triggers the label of evil' (Darley, 1992, p. 201).

If the extent of the damage that corruption can cause is considered, the adjectives 'badness' and 'wrongdoing', despite being more accurate, cannot comprise society's reaction towards the corruption phenomenon. 'One gets the feeling evil is a word falling out of use; it seems redundant with the notion of moral wrongness, and bringing archaic baggage such as the notion of sin along with it' (Darley, 1992, p. 200). Nonetheless, that is exactly where we are going: the concept is necessary in order to understand the process which made corruption the container of all the evil in Brazilian society.

Evil action contains an important element: the *intention* to harm. Despite it not being possible to assure that this element is present in a corrupt act, we do know that although some social situations and structures promote or favour corrupt practices, corrupt actors always have the possibility of refusing such practices. Corrupt behaviour implies a choice between acting in one way or acting otherwise. There is no coercion in such a decisive way that it could extinguish a choice or decision that avoided the practice of corruption (Barros Filho & Praça, 2014). Evil acts relate to the darker issues of human existence.

But, are corrupt individuals evildoers? The evil actor usually shows no regard for the victims, a characteristic that seems to be present in corrupt actors. However, corruption is a type of crime that usually has no direct victims, which explains the actors' indifference. Besides, calling them evildoers does not mean they are incorrigible or only capable of doing bad things. As a matter of fact, the act of corruption can even carry opposite motivations. Corrupt politicians, for example, can act out of malice, or may even have an initially positive motivation, like helping society. In the end, however, the motivation for the corrupt behaviour points towards individual needs and away from society's needs.

Corrupt individuals can be as ordinary as any other citizen. Although ordinary people can still commit evil acts, as Hannah Arendt stated in her work on the banalisation of evil:

> '[…] when one probes behind evil actions, one normally finds, not an evil individual viciously forwarding diabolical schemes, but instead ordinary individuals who have done acts of evil because they were caught up in complex social forces. The quantum of evil that we look for in the individual cannot be found. Instead we encounter again what Hannah Arendt found so striking about the Nazi mass murderer, Adolph Eichmann: the banality and ordinariness of an individual whom we expected to be demonic' (Darley, 1992, p. 204).

The social psychological conceptualisation of evil recognises evildoers as '[…] in some sense societal products, in which a complex series of social forces interact to cause individuals to commit multiple acts of stunning evil' (Darley, 1992, p. 204). Darley states that some sorts of organisations socialise their members into evil-doing, altering the character of individuals caught up in their activities. However, this view makes the individual merely a victim of the corrupt system. Even if the corrupt actor is not part of a corrupt organisation or even a citizen of a corrupt country, he or she can still be corrupt.

Corrupt actors frequently disregard corruption as a crime, while part of society actually sees it as a *heinous* crime[35]. Corrupt evil acts should not be trivialised behind a mask of ordinariness; it is important to remember that corruption is not much different from any other harm caused by humans. Although corruption can be considered a *refined* expression of evil, it is far from being as bloody as wars, but it can be just as destructive. When blaming this or that political party for the corruption phenomenon or for the bad things that happen to them, Brazilians are only expressing the evil that exists within themselves, within each human being.

3.6.2 Evil in Analytical Psychology

'The face of the absolute evil' or the devil is a representation of the *shadow*[36], the 'negative side of the personality'[37] (CW 9/2, § 19), containing everything that was not accepted by the *ego* when confronting society's norms. The shadow is born from a split between the light and dark sides of the human psyche. An integration of these sides is a painful requirement in the *process of individuation*[38].

The role of evil in the psyche was examined extensively by Jung, particularly through the concept of opposites. For him, good and evil are 'the specifically moral pair of opposites' (CW 7, § 237). They are ineffable and *atemporal* concepts.

---

[35] Former president Lula proposed a bill making corruption a heinous crime in 2009. Ironically (or not), he was arrested for corruption in 2018. By the time of the conclusion of this thesis in 2019, his bill has not been approved yet.

[36] The comparison between the devil and the shadow can be found all over Jung's works, for example, in the following quote: 'The devil is a variant of the shadow archetype, i.e., of the dangerous aspect of the unrecognized dark half of the personality' (CW 7 § 152). For Jung's perception of the Devil as the subject of the process of individuation, see the topic 'Corruption, Individuation and Ethics' in Chapter 6.

[37] Jung alternated between equating the shadow concept with the whole unconscious and calling it an archetype. Cf. Jung (CW 9/2, 13-19).

[38] *Individuation* is a conscious process of differentiation from the collective norms, in which one must build an individual 'path' towards the development of the personality. For a better definition of *the process of individuation* see Chapter 6.

Consequently, no one knows what they really are, but we recognise them abstractly. They are understood only in comparison to certain standards in certain places; thus, good and evil hold a relative character: 'Something that appears evil to one nation may be regarded as good by another nation' (CW 10, § 862). Although good and evil are considered by him as principles that result from ethical judgement[39], he also conceives them, in their anthological roots, as aspects of god, which have a *numinous character*[40]. Good and evil are supraordinate, therefore, bigger than a single human being. In this sense, good and evil are not relative.

Jung's description of evil is very close to the description of archetypes. Nonetheless, he did not define evil as an archetype, as Murray Stein pointed out:

> Evil is not quite, or not always, archetypal for Jung, and he did not write a paper on the archetype of evil as he did on the archetype of the mother or other similar themes. […] Evil is for Jung most primarily a category of conscious thought, a judgment of the ego, and is therefore dependent for its existence upon consciousness (Stein, 1995, p. 7).

Jung's opinion is not theoretical or aprioristic, but empirical: as a therapist, he faced numerous temptations to choose what was good or bad for the patient based solely on his own opinion. '*But because I take an empirical attitude does not mean that I relativize good and evil as such*' (CW 10, § 866), which means that although he might have considered something as clearly bad, he understood that it could as well be considered as something good to a particular person in a particular situation or stage of

---

[39] See topic on 'Corruption, Individuation and Ethics' for a discussion on the corrupt behaviour in the light of Jung's psycho-ethical paradigm.

[40] *Numinous*: an expression used by Rudolph Otto to describe terrifying and irrational experiences caused by the revelation of a divine aspect. It expresses the awe feeling that occurs in an individual when facing the *mysterium tremendum* and/or *mysterium fascinans* (Otto, 1936). This idea influenced Jung in his conceptualisation of religion as 'a careful and scrupulous observation of what Rudolph Otto aptly termed the numinosum, that is, a dynamic agency or effect not caused by an arbitrary act of will' (CW 11, § 6). The *numinosum* is associated with experiences of the self and has a deep emotional resonance (Sharp, 1991). '[…] Jung saw an encounter with the numinosum as an attribute of all religious experience. Numinosity is an aspect of a supraordinate god-image, whether personal or collective' (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012, p. 100). Good and evil have then a numinous character, which can, at the same time, fascinate and/or frighten.

development. For example, harmful tendencies should not always be avoided, but *in some cases* followed. This occurs when something evil may be very good for a specific person. The experience of this paradox might bring maturity:

> Perhaps he *has* to experience the power of evil and suffer accordingly, because only in that way can he give up his Pharisaic attitude to other people. Perhaps fate or the unconscious or god – call it what you will – had to give a hard knock and roll him in the dirt, because only such a massive experience could strike home with him, pull him out of his infantilism, and make him more mature. (CW 10, § 867)

> In this sense, good and evil *must* (to a certain extent) be experienced, not taught.

The Pharisaic attitude Jung is talking about is associated with self-righteousness, which is 'characterised by a certainty, especially an unfounded one, that one is totally correct or morally superior' (OED, 2012). A hypocrite is not brave or humble enough to confront himself, but certainly contains the infantile characteristics of ignorance necessary to disregard one side of the personality.

Jung's conception of evil contrasts with the Roman Catholic doctrine of '*privatio boni*' (evil defined as 'the absence of good'), which, for him, underestimates the problem of evil. Evil is not merely the absence of goodness, but is positively bad. We have the same capacity for good and evil. According to Jung, 'evil has become a determinant reality. […] We must learn how to handle it, since it is here to stay' (Jung, 1989, p. 329). Jung's ideas on the integration of evil are not completely accepted and Penna criticises his idea as a 'psychological alibi for permissiveness' (Penna, 1985, p. 185)

3.7 Corruption as the Opposite of Conscience

Conscience is considered by Jung as an autonomous psychic factor (CW 10, § 842). It does not depend on reflection, but is an instant reaction to an event or offer of dubious nature (i.e. of questionable morality). In his words, conscience is:

> […] a knowledge of, or certainty about, the emotional value of the ideas we have concerning the motives of our actions. […] consisting on the one hand in an elementary act of the will, or in an impulse to act for which no conscious reason can be given, and on the other hand in a judgment grounded on rational feeling (CW 10, § 825).

The subject recognises the immorality of the dubious offer and this recognition releases the appropriate emotional reaction. This complex phenomenon has then two layers, one corresponding to the particular psychic event itself and the other being the subject's positive or negative judgment of the event. Etymologically, the word conscience expresses *a special form of knowledge* (of the ego) or *consciousness* (CW 10, § 825). Curiously, in Portuguese there is only one word for both concepts: *Consciousness* (originally *Bewusstsein* in German) and *conscience* (*Gewissen* in German) are translated as *consciência*. While in German and English the separation between these concepts is very clear, in Latin languages there is no such distinction. This might indicate that one cannot be conceived without the other, which can be endorsed by Stein's description of conscience: it 'is an autonomous function of the psyche and is probably strongly related to the innate function of consciousness to make discriminations about reality' (Stein, 1995, p. 23).

According to Jung (CW 10, § 829), the subject is not always conscious of the connection between an action (a 'dirty business', for example) and the anxiety state that follows it. This led him to conclude that the moral evaluation of an action is not dependent on consciousness. In some cases, the ego has no knowledge of the act of conscience, as it can take place unconsciously, in a dream for instance. 'The knower' (considering conscience as a type of knowledge) is an *unconscious personality* that

behaves like a conscious subject and performs the act of conscience replacing the ego. This supposedly conscious 'unconscious personality' (not the subject *per se*) recognises the acquisitive greed of the ego when dealing with an immoral offer and judges the situation. According to Jung, the acquisitive greed of the ego does not *shrink* before illegalities, hence the necessity of an action from another personality.

This *conscious 'unconscious personality'*, confusing as it is, is not the *superego*, as one might think. Jung differentiated Freud's concept of superego from conscience, saying that the first is not an inherited and natural part of the psyche. On the contrary, it is a *moral code* that was consciously acquired, a compilation of traditional customs that must be followed (like the *Ten Commandments*). The superego contains a patriarchal legacy and is influenced by archaic motifs, but it contrasts with conscience, which is independent from moral codes or traditional moral precepts (the subliminal reaction does not always correspond to the moral code, but it might be hard to distinguish them.). *Morality*, on the other hand, is for Jung a universal attribute of the human psyche (CW 10, § 833). Likewise, 'conscience is found at every level of human culture' (CW 10, § 836). Morality, in this sense,

> […] is a function of the human soul, as old as humanity itself. Morality is not imposed from outside; we have it in ourselves from the start – not by law, but our moral nature without which the collective life of human society would be impossible. That is why morality is found at all levels of society. It is the instinctive regulator of action which also governs the collective life of the herd. But moral laws are valid only within a compact human group. Beyond that, they cease (CW 7, § 7).

Jung questions the common sense that believes that conscience is the voice of God, but surrenders to it. Conscience is considered by Jung to be 'a collision of consciousness with a numinous archetype' (CW 10, § 854). However, this affirmation is incomplete or reductionist, as he understands that the transcendent aspect of the archetype (and its psychoid essence) cannot be ignored. For him, conscience must be

understood not just in its psychological aspect, but also in its theological aspect. For Jung, conscience is the voice of God – a numinous imperative.

This paradox of conscience can lead to a discussion as to whether the 'wrong' kind of conscience might be related to corruption. *If conscience is the voice of God, is corruption the voice of the Devil?* If we consider that 'conscience […] is a nonegoistic psychological vertex which demands that the ego sacrifice its own goals and values for a greater, or at least a different, goal or value' (Stein, 1993, p. 13), is that not just the opposite of corruption? While corruption presupposes an inflated ego, conscience presupposes a *deflated* ego. Integrity might require both, or better put, an optimal relationship with the self.

As the unconscious also produces immoral fantasies, not just exceptional acts of conscience, Jung raises a question over the inner contradictoriness of conscience: if there is a right kind of conscience, is there also a wrong kind? According to Jung, if we consider that there is a right kind of conscience, there would also exist '[…] one, which exaggerates, perverts, and twists evil into good and good into evil just as our own scruples do; and it does so with the same compulsiveness and with the same emotional consequences as the "right" kind of conscience' (CW 10, § 835). Corruption is then what happens when the individual does not listen to the voice of conscience, the voice of God, but the voice of the devil[41]. This affirmation must be considered exclusively within its psychological rather than its religious meaning. As brought to attention by De Klerk, 'blaming the devil is a popular projective defence mechanism to diffuse responsibility and explain away offensive behaviours' (2017, p. 254).

---

[41] According to Jung, God and the Devil are a pair of effective opposites, which do not extinguish each other, but stand against one another. Whatever God creates gives power to the Devil. 'God and devil are distinguished by the qualities fullness and emptiness, generation and destruction' (Jung, 1989, p. 382). Gnostics believe that there exists a god above God, Abraxas, who in fact gathers in its effects all the pairs of opposites.

3.8 Corruption as the Opposite of Integrity

John Beebe (1992) gave to integrity a higher status in analytical psychology, posing it as a moral objective to be achieved by the individual, which is somehow similar to the process of individuation. Integrity would then be more than a movement toward wholeness, but toward a *moral wholeness*. Integrity concerns what is whole, intact, undivided.

Etymologically, the word integrity is composed of *in* and *tangere*, which can be understood as *not touched*, *intact*. The Roman philosopher Cicero might have been the first to use the word '*integer*'[42] (Beebe, 1992). He objected to spoiling his appetite by eating before dinner. To Cicero, the integrity of the appetite (*integram famem*) should not be violated or polluted (*polluere famem*)[43]. For the Romans, 'the appetite was regarded as a holy vestal flame, soaring upwards towards dinner throughout the day: if undebauched, it tended to its natural consummation in *cœna*[44]: expired like a phoenix, to rise again out of its own ashes' (Backwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 1839, p. 821). Nowadays, the word 'integer' is used for *whole* numbers (like 0, 1, 2, 3… or -1, -2, -3, etc.) (OED, 2012).

The idea contained in the adjective *integer* evolved to become what is understood nowadays as *integrity*. In Portuguese, *íntegro* is the quality of a person with moral

---

[42] The original sentence in which 'integer' might have been used was '*integram famem ad cœna afferam*', which was translated as 'I shall bring to dinner an appetite untampered with' (Backwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 1839, p. 821).
[43] A free association between Jung's conception of greed as a form of hunger and Cicero's holy integrity of appetite makes us wonder if the denaturation of the hunger instinct into greed is a form of corruption, the same way the violation of the appetite's integrity (as a holy vestal flame) is a desacralisation. For the relationship between corruption and desacralisation, see chapter 7.
[44] *Cœna* was the principal meal for the ancient Romans (Valpy, 1828).

integrity. The concept of integrity is complex and comprises different elements, as described by David H. Rosen in his foreword to John Beebe's book:

> responsibility, uprightness, standing tall, being untouched, staying intact, completeness, perfection, honesty, moral obligation, delight, inner psychological harmony, continuity, psychological and ethical eros, sincerity, chastity, virginity, obedience, conscience, prudence, purity, constancy, amiability, and holiness (Beebe, 1992).

To those elements we can add a few more that are also related to integrity: wholeness, unity, coherence, truthfulness, unbroken, undamaged. Most of those elements can be found in its opposite characterisation, in the idea of *corruption:* irresponsibility, shame, maculation, fragmentation, putrefaction, rupture, imperfection, dishonesty, immorality, dissociation, deceit, violation, unconsciousness, risk-taking, impurity, evilness and so on.

According to Beebe, integrity might seem impervious to fear or desire, but it is not. In fact, integrity is as vulnerable as white clothes are to stains. Integrity can be affected or tempted, we may say, by fear, desire, hunger, fatigue, disaffection, anger and pain. An *integer* person is not perfect. For Beebe, integrity is central to success in life, as it is a self-consistency that is effective interpersonally. However, he states that this affirmation contains a paradox. On one side is the idea that integrity presupposes a conscience uncontaminated by concern for political advantage. On the other side, integrity cannot be separated from personal ambition for approval (the right way to win approval). 'Anyone who aspires to integrity has somehow been wounded by time, has somehow failed by wanting too much to succeed in a particular moment' (Beebe, 1992, p. 12). It is probably here that the moral inversion happens. There is some moral opportunism or even utilitarianism in the use of integrity to advance ambition.

John Beebe described the idea of integrity from a Jungian perspective, positing it as 'a developed sensitivity to the needs of the whole', which he saw 'as brought by

psychological consciousness to a pre-existing archetype of completeness' (p. 125). So why do we need the concept of integrity, if we already have the concept of individuation? We need its opposite, corruption. He does talk about 'lack of integrity', but does not nominate it specifically or understand it as something in itself. He does not seem to have the conception of corruption in mind; otherwise, I believe he would say corruption is the opposite of integrity and is one of its elements, like the relationship between *yin* and *yang*. Why and when does an individual change his/her aspirations, from the light side to the dark side of the force and from corruption to integrity?

Beebe later defined integrity as '[…] the [S]elf's willingness to be responsible to all its objects, and accountable for its impact upon them […]' (Beebe, 2005, p. 52). In this definition, he highlights the relationship between integrity and otherness, through responsibility and accountability. For Beebe, what individuates is our integrity, not character itself (p. 60). The development of integrity is thus the goal of individuation and the 'ongoing job of integrity' is the 'responsibility for character'. Nonetheless, it is not clear how individuation can be differentiated from a cumulative process of gaining responsibilities in life.

Integrity is said to be the choice between what is convenient and what is right. 'Integrity is what you do when no one is watching; it's doing the right thing all the time, even if it may work to your disadvantage' (Dungy, 2011). In comparison, corruption is found at the end of 'what is convenient', not of 'what is right'. Corruption is then related to succumbing to natural human weaknesses. In the same way, Moore (2009, p. 37) believes corruption can be defined as a 'process which perverts the original nature of an individual or group from a more pure state to a less pure state'. For Moore, corruption is a 'moral deterioration', as well as a 'perversion or destruction of integrity'. The tendency towards integrity would then be a movement opposed to the

tendency towards rupture. Integrity and corruption seem to hold a certain similarity with Jung's concepts of progression and regression of the libido and Freud's concepts of life and death instincts. So, we touch here the moral aspects of those concepts.

The idea of corruption as the opposite of integrity keeps great similarity with Guggenbühl-Craig's opposition between invalidism and wholeness. The Latin word "*corruptus*" 'designates that which destroys wholesomeness' (Klitgaard, 1988, p. 23). For Guggenbühl-Craig, there is a cult of perfection around the Self in Jungian theory: '[…] there is too much said about qualities like roundness, completeness, and wholeness. It is high time that we spoke of deficiency, the invalidism of Self' (Guggenbühl-Craig, 2008, p. 23). He emphasises the need to look at both aspects of the Self: wholeness and invalidism. His idea of wholeness is grounded in *health*, for they have the same etymological root in German, *heil*. Invalid, in this sense, is related to being unhealthy, deficient, lacking something. His idea of invalidism also carries a moral character. He writes about *deficient morality*[45] in psychopaths and suggests this deficiency can be used a tool to better understand human nature (p. 43).

3.9 Conclusion

Evil, dishonesty and corruption are human problems at all times, places and cultures. Corruption has a somewhat psychoid aspect, for it ranges from the physical to the spiritual world. It reflects a process of change, from being to not being. The objective of this chapter was to offer several extrapolations of the concept of corruption in order to find the collective origins and manifestations of the corrupt phenomena.

---

[45] For more on deficient morality and corruption, see chapter 7.

In this chapter, I have presented an analysis of corruption at the collective level. Corruption must be seen not just as a type of crime or selfish act of an individual, but more broadly, as a container for society's projection of evil and a contrary tendency to moral integrity.

I have also discussed the relationship between corruption and the dialectic process with its opposites, conscience and integrity. Acknowledging corruption's archetypal origins can reduce the magical of daemonic effect that is attributed to corruption and corrupt individuals.

Corruption is ultimately an opposite principle to individuation. As this is an affirmation that deserves a proper explanation, the theme gained its own chapter in 'Corruption, Individuation and Ethics'.

CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL LEVEL OF CORRUPTION

[…] there is no cure and no improving of the world that does not begin with the individual himself (Jung, CW 7/2, § 373).

The worst illiterate is the political illiterate, he doesn't hear, doesn't speak, nor participates in the political events. He doesn't know the cost of life, the price of the bean, of the fish, of the flour, of the rent, of the shoes and of the medicine, all depends on political decisions. The political illiterate is so stupid that he is proud and swells his chest saying that he hates politics. The imbecile doesn't know that, from his political ignorance is born the prostitute, the abandoned child, and the worst thieves of all, the bad politician, corrupted and flunky of the national and multinational companies (Brecht, 1988, p. 42).

4.1 Definition of Corruption at the Cultural Level

Whether referring to the collective habits of an institution, a group or a country, it is frequently said that culture corrupts (Campbell & Göritz, 2014). Although universal, corruption is also relative: it varies according to time and space. The corruption phenomenon has different peculiarities in different countries, resulting in different meanings, causes and consequences. That is, what is considered corruption in one place may be considered merely regular business or lobbying[46] in another. What in the past was considered to be just a favour or a gift might now be considered corruption. More importantly, the way one deals with corruption is related to how it is culturally perceived. At this level of analysis, *corruption is a social construct*, therefore relative

---

[46] There is a close relationship between *corruption* and *lobbying* since 'both are ways of obtaining help from the public sector in exchange for some favor' (Campos & Giovannoni, 2007, p. 1). Companies in rich countries seem to prefer legal mechanisms such as lobbying for exerting political influence, while poor countries rely on corruption. More refined practices of corruption enable rich countries to escape more blunt forms of bribery.

to cultural and historical contingencies. Nonetheless, it still carries archetypal and individual features.

To explain the phenomenon of corruption, historians, anthropologists and sociologists have excavated Brazilian history, from its Portuguese origin and clash with indigenous peoples, to the 'forced importation' of millions of African slaves. As noted by Fukuyama, 'countries are not trapped by their pasts. But in many cases, things that happened hundreds or even thousands of years ago continue to exert major influence on the nature of politics' (Fukuyama, 2011, p. x).

What is lacking in most analyses of the corruption phenomenon is a subjective perspective of the major social events that occurred in and to Brazil. That is, there must be a consideration of the unconscious processes by observing the psychological dimension of history. Analytical psychology offers a deeper understanding of the corruption phenomenon through the analysis of Brazil's history, origin and psychological characteristics as a nation (including stereotypes). This understanding can serve as the basis of analysing the implications of individual and collective conflicts on the current political scenario. Moreover, 'an awareness of the discourses of the other discipline provides a temenos, or container, in which knowledge informed by an appreciation of unconscious dynamics may emerge' (Lu, 2013b, p. 417)

At the cultural level, corruption is related to a society's symptoms and characteristics , particularly the constitutive events and transgenerational traumas faced by its citizens. In Brazil, corruption is closely connected with *colonisation*, *indigenous genocid*e, *slavery* and *social inequality*.

4.2 A Jungian Psychohistorical Approach

Jung had a particular perception of history. 'For Jung, history needs to serve a psychological function. A purely conscious approach to history, therefore, is not enough. A more comprehensive history needs to factor in the unconscious' (Lu, 2011, p. 21). For Jung, history operates at two distinct levels: 'objective history' and 'natural history'. The first is related to the history of mankind and is bound by space and time. The second is related to the history of the brain-structure, and is inherited (CW 10, § 12). In a review of Jung's perception of history, Lu properly renamed these concepts *conscious* and *archetypal* history (p. 16). While conscious history describes the historical events that occur on the surface, archetypal history describes what lies deeply buried behind those events – the most private and most subjective of psychic experiences (CW 10, § 315).

Jung's psychohistorical approach is a form of metahistory that is opposed to the conventional conception of history (Lu, 2011, p. 12). Lu emphasises the uniqueness of the Jungian psychohistorical approach, but criticises Jung's emphasis on the individual, for he describes historical events as superficial symptoms of an unconscious situation: the constellation of archetypes. In Jung's conception of history, what happens on the surface is a compensatory expression that complements a myopic, conscious viewpoint. 'External change in historical time, according to Jung, is ultimately an erroneous conception. Authentic historical change occurs in "unconscious time", for the unconscious *is* the true reality' (p. 17). Since Jung understands the true reality to be the unconscious, what historians call 'facts' and 'true reality' are minimised (Ibid.). This might be a simplification of history, however. 'Jung's preference for archetypal history fails to see events and disputes contextually, historically and politically' (p. 18).

Lu warns that this advocacy of archetypes and consequent denigration of historical events compromises 'the moral responsibility and obligation we should have to the outside world' (Ibid.).

Although awareness of the psychic realm is an imperative, it should not be given higher importance than external reality. In the following sections, I intercalate historical facts and Jungian theory in order to maintain some balance between the inner and outer worlds. Hence, we go back in time, engaging in historical and anthropological perspectives, to understand the relationship between Brazilians and the law, which have contributed to the formation of the collective Brazilian psyche. I then fast forward through examples and excerpts from traditional and social media, to more recent events that have been disturbing Brazilians.

To describe the collective unconscious process in the Brazilian psyche within a historical context, I present a brief overview of Brazilian history in three parts: (1) the formation of the Brazilian people (1500-1888); (2) politics, football and *malandragem* (1888-1929-2014); and (3) the battle against corruption (2014-present day). I do not claim that this is the only version of Brazilian history, but the one that is commonly learned and repeated by Brazilians. My attempt is to give a historical context to understand Brazilians collective cultural psyche.

4.2 Brazilian History[47] I: the Formation of Brazilian Identity

The date of the discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese people marks the 'official birth' of the country: 22 April 1500. However, the land was already inhabited by Indians and had an established order. At that time, around five million people lived in

---

[47] I do not claim that this is the only version of Brazilian history, but this is the one that seems to be most commonly learned and repeated by Brazilians.

what is today known as Brazil. Before 1500, Brazil was known as *Pindorama*, the land of the palm trees, and was home to two major groups of native people: the *Tupi-Guarani* and *Tapuia.* The Indian economy was at subsistence level: they 'hunted, fished, gathered fruit, and raised crops'. The *Tupi* people, as the largest indigenous group, were taking their first steps into agriculture and displayed the characteristics of the Palaeolithic period that had occurred in Europe 10,000 years earlier (Ribeiro, 2000). Some groups lived in collective houses (*ocas*), others in the forests 'like animals' (Fausto & Fausto, 2014). The laws were rudimentary, based on the survival of the tribe, and included cannibalism (Ribeiro, 2000). The groups were self-sufficient, although they *traded* women and luxury items. These trades generated alliances and conflicts between groups, who fought for prestige. Although they were linguistically and culturally relatively homogeneous, there was no Indian nation and the Indian tribes often fought one another (Fausto & Fausto, 2014, p. 8).

Portugal was (and still is) a small country, but 'distinguished itself among the European nations as an independent country with a tendency to look beyond its borders' and 'accumulated considerable experience in long-distance trade' (p. 1). Its overseas expansion began in 1415 and went on for centuries. It 'served the varied interests of the diverse classes, social groups, and institutions that constituted Portuguese society' (p. 3). It brought wealth to merchants, new sources of income for the king and the possibility of a better life to common people. It was, in general, an escape from the state of oppression experienced then. It was not just a search for wealth, but for the unknown: 'The so-called unknown regions captivated Europeans' imagination. In those regions they foresaw, in different cases, fantastic kingdoms, monstrous creatures, and the locus of earthly paradise' (p. 3).

The Portuguese were mostly seeking gold, as a reliable means of exchange, and spices, to disguise the rotten taste of food, which was precariously preserved. In their search for India, the Portuguese arrived in Brazil, the so-called *discovery*. They believed it was an island and called it *Ilha de Vera Cruz*[48] and later *Ilha de Santa Cruz*. 'The name "Brazil" began to appear in 1503. This word is frequently associated with brazilwood, a tropical tree that was the main resource of the land during the early days' (p. 9).

Brazilian history and birth myth symbolise the eternal return to an immaculate paradise and to innocence. The Portuguese saw Brazil as a paradisiacal location and, moreover, as a place where an extractive culture could be established. At that time, it was not seen as a working place, but as a place where one could benefit from the work of others for one's own interest – the Portuguese people had an exploitative mindset. Colonization was itself was the first trauma experienced by Brazilians.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the Brazilian coast had such a deep impact on native culture that the discovery of Brazil is sometimes called the *invasion* (Gambini, 2000) (Ribeiro, 2000). It was an absolute catastrophe for the Indians. Natives were considered to be soulless individuals who should be taught culture by means of catechesis. The reports of chroniclers, travellers and priests differentiated Indians 'according to their greater or lesser degrees of resistance to the Portuguese' (Fausto & Fausto, 2014, p. 7). There was (and remains today) considerable prejudice against Brazilian Indians. 'The Indians who gave in, or who were conquered, experienced cultural violence, epidemics, and death. From their contact with Europeans sprang a

---

[48] *Ilha de Vera Cruz* can be roughly translated as Island of True Cross, a reference to the relic of the cross on which Christ was crucified. Brazil's *baptism* name might be associated with the *Christian sacrifice*. See chapter 6 for a discussion on how corruption is related to the desacralisation of the office (sacro-ofício).

mixed population whose silent presence in the formation of Brazilian society can be seen even now' (p. 9).

Much more civilised and developed, the Portuguese people arrived with new habits, new moral values, religion and laws. The comparison with the colonisers' new habits made the Indians retrocede in their civilising process to a state of savagery, since their habits were violently rejected (Briza, 2006, pp. 44-54). They were forced to leave their paradisiacal worldview. Their spirituality and religion were not recognised. They suffered cruelties and were considered indolent because they were not easily subjugated. They were treated as animals, as subhuman beings. Their sovereignty was diminished and they became part of the lower class of society. They experienced *physical and moral decay*: they learned about guilt and sin, so they had to start wearing clothes, and they had contact with diseases against which they had no defence. '*Whiteness* brought from dental cavities, to smallpox, whooping cough, tuberculosis and measles' (Ribeiro, 2000, p. 46). This violation of indigenous identity marks the second trauma experienced by Brazilians.

After 1441, the Portuguese specialty became *slaves* (Fausto & Fausto, 2014, p. 5). At the beginning of the 1570s, the importation of African slaves was encouraged (p. 17) and slavery became the third trauma lived by Brazilians, this time through the black people who were brought from Africa. Their tribes were brutally invaded and taken to Brazil in subhuman conditions. Many died en route and those that made the horrendous trip were objectified and sold as *tools*. Turned into slaves, they suffered great physical exploitation and were subdued in violent and cruel ways. Their culture and wealth were annihilated and they were considered inferior, like animals. Their spirituality and religion were not recognised (Briza, 2006, pp. 54-66). Because of

slavery, mortality was high and life expectancy was short. Men outnumbered women and reproduction was limited.

Slavery was a common practice at the time, and it was also accepted in other parts of the world. The Catholic Church actually issued a decree stating that the New World could be legitimately possessed by Spain and Portugal and its people could be enslaved (Ribeiro, 2000). Africans were kidnapped from their tribes and separated from other tribe members to avoid mutinies. The African slaves were equal in colour and servile condition, but different in language and tribal identity. They were forced to passively accept the new culture and society (Ibid.).

Brazil was the last country in the Western world to abolish slavery, in 1888, although 'the abolition of slavery did not end blacks' problems' (Fausto & Fausto, 2014, p. 127). By the time of the abolition, an immense contingent of black people degenerated by years of forced labour had become free and could opt not to work (Gomes, 1999, p. 59). However, the abolition was not accompanied by any kind of change in the way black people were seen (Salvadori, 1990, p. 30) – as dangerous, inferior loafers who were prone to crime, but useful when subservient (Fausto & Fausto, 2014, p. 128). Victims of prejudice and marginalised, many former slaves went to the big cities, especially Rio de Janeiro, then-capital of Brazil. Brazilian society had been dependant on slavery for so long that it conditioned Brazilians' way of acting and thinking (p. 28). For example, manual labour was considered inferior, something to be done only by black people and work itself was associated with slavery.

This led to the development of great social inequality, which kept some Brazilians living below the poverty line for many years. This was the fourth trauma experienced by Brazilians, namely *colonisation*, *indigenous genocide*, *slavery* and *social inequality*. The social inequality problem in Brazil is significantly more severe

than corruption, although corruption no doubt exacerbates it. In a general sense, social inequality chiefly encompasses problems such as poverty, hunger, child mortality and illiteracy. The oppression caused by poverty and hunger is excruciating: 'With oppression and ignorance, there is no discernment of the citizen's duties and rights, and little can be said of citizenship' (Briza, 2006, p. 99).

Although Brazil has seen some success in reducing poverty, its effects will last for a great while yet. Social inequality entails, in many cases, malnutrition and limited access to water, basic services and education. The debilitating effects of poverty on physical development are well known. However, more research should be conducted on how society's stratification affects subjectivity, since psychological development is, to a great extent, dependent on economic security and political freedom (Mattoon, 1978, p. 83). The lack of participation from the Brazilian civil society in the decision-making process is not without reason. In this sense, corruption is both fostering and fostered by a monstrous political atrophy.

4.3 Cultural Analysis: Brazil on the Couch

As stated in the introduction, Jung applied psychotherapeutic ideas[49] to social and political events. One of the characteristics that stands out in Jung's analyses is how he strongly associated the psychology of the individual and the psychology of the masses and the nation.

> [...] the psychopathology of the masses is rooted in the psychology of the individual. Psychic phenomena of this class can be investigated in the individual. Only if one succeeds in establishing that certain phenomena or symptoms are

---

[49] Jung was particularly influenced by Wilhelm Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* which has been translated as *ethnopsychology* or *folk psychology*. This was a theory that achieved relative success until it came to be associated with Nazism (Shamdasani, 2003). Some of Jung's psychological analyses of social events became quite controversial.

common to a number of different individuals can one begin to examine the analogous mass phenomena (CW 10, § 445).

With this affirmation[50], Jung provides us with a method for analysing groups: to look at shared phenomena or symptoms within a certain number of individuals. One of the ways to do this is to record and analyse a significant number of dreams in a certain group and then compare with the political situation of the country, which is outside the scope of this thesis. To my knowledge, this has not been the focus of systematic research, at least not in Brazil. Another possible way is to analyse the group's history, myths, culture and characteristics.

Lu questions the possibility of applying individual psychology to explain social phenomena (Lu, 2013a). He criticises the shallow analysis of groups or cultures which only make a simple transfer of concepts and his critique is not without reason. The anthropomorphisation of cultures or countries is extremely complex and must be done with caution. Many Jungians have made this transposition of theories without due care.

In this section, I present some themes raised by Brazilian Jungians which refer to the impact of social issues on the Brazilian psyche. Several Brazilian Jungians, among them the most renowned, have ventured to describe the 'Brazilian soul' and, more recently, to diagnose Brazilian cultural complexes. It is not possible to separate a theorist from his/her theories, as we see in the case of Jung and religiosity, Freud and sexuality and Adler and his inferiority complex. Since they are all Brazilians (I include myself in this group), it is a self-diagnosis, and for this reason, it will always enclose

---

[50] In another text, Jung makes a similar affirmation: 'The psychology of the individual is reflected in the psychology of the nation. What the nation does is done also by each individual, and so long as the individual continues to do it, the nation will do likewise. Only a change in the attitude of the individual can initiate a change in the psychology of the nation. The great problems of humanity were never yet solved by general laws, but only through regeneration of the attitudes of individuals. If ever there was a time when self-reflection was the absolutely necessary and only right thing, it is now, in our present catastrophic epoch. Yet whoever reflects upon himself is bound to strike upon the frontiers of the unconscious, which contains what above all else he needs to know' (CW 7, Preface to the First Edition (1917)).

the stereotypical view of the settler/coloniser relationship. The following topics are an attempt to summarise and connect what has been said about and diagnosed in 'the Brazilian psyche'.

4.4.1 The Brazilian Psyche

Following Jung's conception of psyche as 'the totality of all psychic contents' (CW 6, § 797), the totality of all psychic contents experienced by Brazilians can be called 'the Brazilian psyche'. It comprises the union of conscious and unconscious events experienced by a group of people. The psyche of a group can, therefore, be considered metaphorically as a dynamic system, shaped by its history, culture, geography, language, religion and politics. Similarly, Boechat affirms that 'the Brazilian soul is in a dynamic forming process, not a finished whole' (2014, p. 72).

The terms *psyche* and *soul* are used with similar, although sometimes contradictory, meanings among Jungians. This discrepancy reflects Jung's ambiguous writing and variation of terms to refer to similar processes, but more importantly because of the difficulty in translating the word *Seele* from German into English (CW 12, § 9[2]), as it encompasses both terms – psyche and soul. Arthur Ramos, Gambini, Briza, Boechat and Byington referred to the Brazilian psyche as *ethnic soul*, *ancestral soul, cultural Self* and *Brazilian soul*.

According to the research of Araújo (2002), Arthur Ramos was the first Brazilian to study Jung's work[51] in depth (although with partial knowledge). In 1933, he actually

---

[51] This idea differs from the current understanding, since Brazilian Jungians claim that the renowned psychiatrist Nise da Silveira was the one who brought Jungian theory to Brazil: 'There is no doubt that the Jungian thinking and praxis were introduced in Brazil by Dr. Nise da Silveira in Brazil in end of the 1950s' (Câmara F. P., 2004). She was, in fact, the one who expanded the study of Jungian works, coming to have direct contact with Jung himself. However, she was not the first to publish on Jungian ideas in Brazil (Araújo, 2002).

published a book called '*Freud, Adler e Jung*'. However, years earlier, in 1926, he published another book introducing the term *folkloric unconscious*, which fairly resembles what Henderson only later called the *cultural unconscious,* referring to a special layer of elements between the personal and collective unconscious (Henderson, 1964). Ramos focused on aspects of Brazilian folklore and African influence and resorted to the term folkloric unconscious 'to explain the permanence of African cultural products in the psyche of the Brazilian man', which he described as an 'ethnic soul' (Araújo, 2002, p. 6). In Ramos' view, an ethnic soul refers to the 'survival of primitive structures that precede the individual and succeed him, becoming common heritage' (Ramos A. , 1952, p. 329). Ramos referred to archetypes as structures of the ethnic soul. 'For Arthur Ramos individual psychology will never be explained and understood without the help of ethnic collective psychology' (Menezes, 2002, p. 61).

Gambini (2000) resorts to the term *ancestral soul* to refer to a 'supreme human patrimony'. In his view, it contains answers to the eternal questions of the human being, related to survival, life in society, the meaning of life, morality, death, illness, the origin of things, etc. 'The accumulated result is a highly organised knowledge', which he calls *treasure* or *root*. Gambini takes this knowledge to be very profound, complete, coherent and diverse from ours:

> It is a set of observations of nature that has been structured and confirmed over centuries and centuries, producing a knowledge about the earth, body, mind, spirit, group, others and gods, flora and fauna, meteorology, water, wind and fire, copulation, feelings, pain, desires, death and beyond, horror, enchantment and eternity. All of this creates soul (Gambini, 2004).

Although an extremely rich concept, it is not clear if the ancestral soul, in what seems to be a fantastic repository of collective knowledge, refers to the group Self, the cultural unconscious, the collective unconscious or even to a collection of ancient myths of a people. Nonetheless, Gambini's definition of ancestral soul resembles

Campbell's description of myths as 'the stories of wisdom of life' (Campbell & Moyers, 1991, p. 11).

> [...] what human beings have in common is revealed in myths. Myths are stories of our search through the ages for truth, for meaning, for significance. We all need to tell our story and to understand our story. We all need to understand death and to cope with death, and we all need help in our passages from birth to life and then to death. We need for life to signify, to touch the eternal, to understand the mysterious, to find out who we are (Campbell & Moyers, 1991, p. 4).

Briza (2006) uses the term *cultural Self* to refer to '[...] the potentiality and expression of the blended soul of our culture and of our people'. For Briza, the cultural self 'has the faculty of showing directions to our life and destiny' (Briza, 2006, p. 17). In her conception, the Brazilian soul is crippled, mutilated. Her concept of *cultural self* is based on the idea that the Self 'points directions' to 'redemption'. Its purpose is to 'collaborate for the development of our individual and collective *health*' (Briza, 2006, p. 20) [emphasis added]. She does not present, however, a definition of health, or even describe how to reach this collective state. She diagnoses this disability through Brazilian myths related to the subject of mutilation, the history of Brazilian colonisation. For Briza, Brazilians suffered a physical and psychological mutilation, since their bodies and souls were harmed. The identities of Indians and blacks were completely ignored and violated. Their human rights were deeply disrespected. Briza's conception of mutilation is somewhat similar to Guggenbühl-Craig's invalidism (2008), although she applied the concept to groups, while his usage refers to an inborn characteristic of the individual psyche.

4.4.2 Brazilian Identity

There is no consensus on whether or not it is even possible to talk about national identity or character, as doing so can lead to reductionism. However, some

characteristics can be clustered around this motif. The historical narrative on the Brazilian identity (and genetics) is that the Brazilian people are the result of the mixture of three races[52]:

> [W]e Brazilians can be simultaneously the 'civilizing' white Portuguese colonist, the black African slave who embodies the worst form of labour exploitation, and the native Indian, who was the original master of the land and, according to this ideology of the three races, embodied nature and love of freedom (DaMatta, 1991, p. 207).

Brazil is said to be 'a country in search of an identity' (Boechat, 2014, p. 72). Jungians have detected that Brazil is a nation with an atrophied, fragile ego (Gambini & Dias, 1999, p. 56) (Briza, 2006, p. 160). It is seen as a bipolar adolescent experiencing an identity crisis (Boechat, 2014, p. 76). The lack of heroes is identified as one of the causes of the problem and immaturity as one of the consequences (Ramos D. G., 2004) (Briza, 2006) (Gambini & Dias, 1999). The hero archetype has an important function in the development of both the individual and the culture. The hero is directly connected to the culture, for their civic character, since they are the founders and/or saviour of cities (Briza, 2006).

The Brazilian ego complex can be represented, for example, in an image known as *the sleeping giant* which is extracted from our national anthem: 'A giant by thine own nature […] Eternally lain on a splendid cradle' (DaMatta, 1991, p. 3). This figure is popularly associated with Brazilian citizens who remain 'asleep', oblivious to the country's political issues. With continental dimensions, Brazil is the fifth largest and seventh wealthiest country in the world, but is nowhere near reaching its full potential.

---

[52] Referring to *Indians*, *black* and *white people* might be an oversimplification, but some generalisation is required here. Although 'the Indians' are seen as an almost homogenous group, there were countless Indian tribes in Brazil, with different characteristics among them. The same happened with 'the slaves' who came from various parts of Africa. 'White people' refers to the Portuguese colonisers and their descendants.

The collective ego often seems to be in a lethargic state, as opposed to the image of great strength and potentiality of the American eagle or the Asian tiger, for example.

Based on anthropologists and sociologists, it is possible to characterise some aspects of the Brazilian *persona*. Brazilians use cordiality and the Brazilian way (*jeitinho brasileiro*) to defend themselves from their social problems (the Brazilian way is described in more detail below). It is not rare to hear that 'Brazilians have no memory', and this expression is frequently employed to discuss the electoral process and people's 'ability' to forget politicians' wrongdoing before voting. Nonetheless, this expression also refers to Brazilians' lack of knowledge of their own history, perhaps as a reaction to the traumas they have experienced and as a way to avoid their problems.

4.4.3 Parental Images and Inheritance

Brazil's history is reflected in its parental images. The father figure, the Portuguese man, was usually absent and distant. The mother figure is represented by both the Indian and African mothers who were sexually, spiritually and morally violated and could not transmit their cultural roots to their sons.

The father figure was composed by the first settlers, the colonels and Jesuit priests who were oppressive, dominant castrators. The first settlers comprised those men left on land by the Portuguese fleet that discovered Brazil and who comprised the 'social shadow' of Portugal. They were 'prisoners, degenerates, bad elements', characterised by greed and stealing others' possessions. For Briza, these are the same causes of Brazil's social diseases. When Brazil became a colony, it was structured in the form of a patriarchal society. The white patriarch, the *colonel*, was a very strong figure of authority over his wife, children, relatives who lived with him, slaves and

henchmen. All the power was concentrated on this patriarchal figure, meaning he was the head of the family but was also the political and military chief. The colonels blended the public with the private, for they were the law (Briza, 2006, p. 70). The Jesuit priests came to Brazil with the mission of catechising the Indians. For Briza (p. 89), these priests were both the mutilators and the mutilated. They were mutilators, for they imposed their Christian beliefs on the Indians as a way of civilising them. As the mutilated, they suffered the oppression of asceticism and suffocated their own *anima*, or feminine sides. In Brazil, they came in contact with many temptations.

The Portuguese saw themselves as bringing civilisation to the uncivilised. The arrival of the Portuguese 'civilisers' and the colonisation of Brazil can be understood – superficially – as the arrival of *consciousness*, with its light, law and order, in contradistinction to the primitive chaos that had previously reigned[53]. However, new habits were imposed and Indian culture was disregarded – like a father giving orders to his son. This imposition over the Indians seems to have characterised the beginning of a new relationship with the law: on the Portuguese side, the feeling of superiority with all the arrogance that comes with it and on the Indians' and Africans' side, 'the uncivilised people', a massive feeling of inferiority.

According to Briza (p. 153), Brazilians inherited the natives' ingenuity, humour, spontaneity, connection with nature, laziness and hospitality. The Indians lived in a state of *participation mystique*, in an infantile world without the notion of guilt and sin (p. 112). They did not have a developed sense of constancy or exactitude, since 'for the Indians, life was a quiet fruition of existence in the giving world and in a society of solidarity' (Ribeiro, 2000, p. 47). From the Europeans, Brazilians inherited the *logos*,

---

[53] The colonisation of Brazil represented the beginning of the implementation of a *civil society* – in the sense of what is now called *State* (Bobbio, Matteucci, & Pasquino, 1998, p. 1206). Although primitive, laws already existed before the colonization. Brazilian Indians were not in a complete state of nature as Hobbes described. Nonetheless, that is exactly how most Indians were (and sometimes still are) seen.

norms, institutions, psychosocial pressures and repressions, the taste for adventure, greed and the sword. From the Africans, she believes Brazilians inherited servility, nostalgia, indolence, sensuality, musicality and rhythm.

It is important to emphasise, however, that the atrocities towards Indians and Afro-Brazilian slaves were not experienced first-hand by the current generation that is involved in or suffering under corruption.

5.4.4 Complexes

Central to his analytical theory, the *complex* was defined by Jung as the 'sum of ideas referring to a particular feeling-toned event' (CW 2, § 167[42]). The term refers to 'an agglomeration of associations' that has a traumatic or 'a painful and highly toned character' (CW 18, § 148). Simply stated, complexes are groups of emotionally charged ideas and images that cluster around an archetypal core (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012).

Complexes are building blocks of the psyche, like atoms and molecules of physical objects. Among all the complexes a person can have, the ego-complex is the most important, since it contains aspects regarding the identity of an individual. The ideas concerning ourselves have the strongest attention-tone, as stated by Jung (CW 3, § 82-83). The ego-complex is central to the conscious layer of the psyche and therefore, the subject of consciousness (not the whole of the personality) and it possesses a very high degree of continuity and identity (CW 6, § 706).

Singer and Kimbles have been advocating the application of the concept of complex to groups[54]. Very similar to Jung's definition, they describe the cultural

---

[54] 'A cultural complex is a way of describing how the beliefs and deep-seated emotions function in the life of the group and within the individual's psyche in the mediation of an individual's relationship

complex as 'an emotionally charged aggregate of historical memories, emotions, ideas, images, and behaviors that tend to cluster around an archetypal core that lives in the psyche of a group and is shared by individuals within that identified collective' (Singer, 2012, p. 5).

As early as 1936 – thus, long before Singer and Kimbles' concept of cultural complex[55] (2004) –, Arthur Ramos gave the Jungian concept of complex a collective connotation. He seems to have been the first to diagnose the 'collective inferiority complex' of the black people in Brazil (Ramos A. , 1940, p. 12). Since then, some other complexes have been identified in the Brazilian psyche: the power complex (in the form of socio-hierarchical issues) (Ramos D. G., 2004); inferiority complex (characterised by the stray-dog) (Ramos D. G., 2004) (Rodrigues, Byington, Boechat); cordial racism (Boechat, Briza, Gambini and Dias, p. 57, 65); south (Barcellos) and the *malandro* (as an expression of the trickster archetype) (Novaes, 2017) (Faria, 2014).

4.4.5 Inferiority/Superiority Complex

Perhaps the most relevant or active complex in the Brazilian psyche is the *inferiority complex* which was diagnosed by Arthur Ramos (collective inferiority complex), Nelson Rodrigues (stray dog complex), Gustavo Barcellos (the cultural complex 'South') and Denise Ramos (power complex) (2004). The inferiority complex appears to be quite similar, although with different roots in the Latin collective psyche,

---

regarding a specific group, nation or culture. Cultural complexes are dynamical relationship systems that assist the basic individual need for a sense of belonging as well as individual and group identification by connecting personal experiences and expectations of the group since these are mediated by ethnicity, race, religion, gender, and/or social identity processes' (Kimbles, 2006, p. 99).

[55] In an appraisal of the theory of cultural complexes, Lu (2013a) questioned Singer and Kimbles originality by remembering that Anne Parsons in 1964 and Herbert Moller in 1965 had it first. Lu (2013b, p. 421) later attributes the first use of the term to Gaston Bachelard, a French philosopher.

particularly in Venezuela through the *gringo* complex[56] as described by Capriles (2012) and in Mexico through *Malinchismo* as described by Gerson (2004). Latin America's inferiority complex is strongly rooted in the trauma caused by colonisation, although in Brazil, as we will see, it later developed to contain the idea of an inferior miscegenated race.

Jung's conceptualisation of the inferiority/superiority complex is based on Adler's idea of compensation, a self-regulatory system that balances psychological processes. Adler asserts that 'the unity of the personality' is the governing principle of life. The ultimate goal is towards superiority, compensating inferiority (Adler, 1956, p. 94). Men strive for perfection in a movement 'from below to above, from a felt minus to a presupposed plus' (Adler, 1956, p. 118). As I understand it, Brazilians' inferiority/superiority complex has become something like a *supraordinate personality*, like the figure of the Kore (CW 9/1, § 306-15), thus occasionally 'replacing' the Self.

The inferiority complex has a special configuration in Brazil. The '*complexo de vira-lata*' is an expression coined by Nelson Rodrigues which can be translated as the *stray dog complex*. '*Vira-lata*' means 'street dog, with no particular race', i.e. a dog without pedigree, not from a noble lineage (Dicionário Aurélio, 2009). This expression can be literally understood as referring to dogs that live on the street and turn over ('*vira*') garbage cans ('*lata*') looking for food. According to Câmara (2013), the term *vira-lata* has connotations of simplicity, passivity and little value. The vira-lata dog is

---

[56] The Brazilian stray dog complex can also be compared to the gringo complex of Venezuela, described by Axel Capriles (2012, p. 255). They have in common 'the fetishism of the foreign', although their focus is more on aversion and not on an exacerbated acceptance. Venezuelans apparently condemn pragmatism and the inhumanity of American capitalism, but have become major consumers of what is produced by the United States. According to Capriles, the gringo complex has its roots in issues such as failure and success, alienation and identity, informality and order, sense of self and the construction of the Other. It seems to be closely related to the stray dog complex only less passive, and containing the same ambiguity of the complex of inferiority/superiority.

the result of miscegenation and despite not carrying specific features of any particular race, it has characteristics of resistance and survival.

In a psychological context, the *vira-lata* complex is the name given to the way Brazilians voluntarily position themselves as inferior when comparing themselves to the rest of the world, particularly the rich countries. Nelson Rodrigues (although writing as a playwright, not a psychologist) identified this particular type of inferiority complex:

> By 'stray dog complex' (*complexo de vira-lata*) I understand the inferiority position in which Brazilians put themselves voluntarily in the face of the world. This happens in all sectors and especially in football. To say that we judge ourselves as 'superiors' is a cynical untruth (Rodrigues, 1993, p. 62).

Rodrigues also referred to Brazilians' narcissistic wound: 'Brazil is a Narciso in reverse, spitting on his own image. Here's the truth: we found no personal or historical pretexts for having self-esteem' (1995, p. 22). According to Rodrigues, 'Brazilians love to ignore their virtues and to exalt their own shortcomings, called an inversion of *ufanismo*[57]' (1993, p. 36). He states that this complex is present in all sectors of Brazil and especially in football, as we will see later in this chapter. That being the case, it would be untrue to say that Brazilians consider themselves 'the greatest' (1993, p. 61). Rather, they oscillate between the self-perception of themselves as *vira-latas* and giants, a typical manifestation of the disparity of the inferiority/superiority complex. This bravado of superiority might only be compensating for the actual state of inferiority, the side that is much more evident.

According to Jungian psychologist Carlos Byington (2013), the origin of this inferiority complex is uncertain but could be related to Brazil's history. For example, the fact that the first settlers that came from Portugal were exiled criminals is generally viewed with shame. Others think that Brazil only stands out in trivial issues, like soccer,

---

[57] *Ufanismo*: exacerbated sense of pride of the country (Aurélio, 2009).

samba, carnival and sexy *mulattas*. Moreover, it is not rare to hear from some Brazilians that they would have preferred to have been colonised by England or the Netherlands, two countries that were historically important to Brazil's formation.

The stray dog complex has a pejorative character. It is brought up by Brazilians when they compare Brazil to wealthier countries. For Byington, the symbol of the stray dog is a symbol of the inferiority complex, particularly because of its miscegenation. After all, the primary meaning of the term *vira-lata* is that it is not a pure breed dog, but a mix of several breeds. As a comparison, Brazilians' miscegenated colonisation differs from the United States' history[58], since the large population of African slaves did not mix with the settlers as much there as they did in Brazil.

Brazilians have been carrying miscegenation as a stigma. According to Câmara (2013, p. 120), 'we are all *vira-latas*. We are not elitists, we do not have *pedigree*, we fail to recognize that we have in ourselves what we admire in others'. Brazilians might need to understand how *strong* the *vira-lata* is to acknowledge their full potential. Not just by being resilient in the face of adversity, but by being active in their stories, conscious of their diversity and plurality. 'And the *vira-lata* is revealed as an important possibility, a path expression of these qualities that we cannot perceive, but which, once presented to the world, reveal themselves richly original and with great creativity' (Câmara E. F., 2013, p. 120).

Barcellos presents another aspect of the Brazilian inferiority complex, *the cultural complex 'south',* represented by what is inferior and primitive in the southern hemisphere in contraposition to the 'North' which is superior, rational and developed.

---

[58] However, this comparison is not without reason. The United States is commonly used as a touchstone against which the population analyses Brazil. Their obvious similarities are an invitation for comparison: gigantic size, young age, colonial history, indigenous genocide, slavery, etc. Nonetheless, the United States is seen as an example of a 'successful New World society' while most Brazilians see their country as backward and undeveloped (Hess & DaMatta, 1995, p. 294).

He proposes a 're-vision of the idea of "south"' (Barcellos, 2012, p. 18) from something inferior to a more meaningful understanding, where the south can be seen as a metaphor for *depth psychology.* Topographically speaking, the south is the 'place to go when imagining a direction to the unconscious' (p. 19). South is where we find *soul*: 'To find soul we go downwards: personal memories, childhood, ancient myths, complexes, archetypal reality – all this is imagined to be stored deep down inside, the "south" of ourselves' (Ibid.). He proposes a shift from a West-East axis to a North-South axis: 'We no longer have to go East to go deep', he says (Ibid.). For Barcellos, countries below the Equatorial line can positively contribute to a psychology of the soul, as going south can bring *strong experiences of transformation*[59]. Barcellos understands that Brazil has a very unique way of imagining soul, affection, culture, and psychology'. He draws attention to how the Brazilian way 'can respond to the challenge of an archetypal perspective that lies beyond *the cultural complex "south"*' [emphasis added]. The main contribution from Brazil would be miscegenation: '*coniunctio* as *solutio*'. Nonetheless, in the south there is also archetypal disorientation or pathologisation. For Barcellos, the south seems to be much more chaotic than the north.

4.4.6 Racial Complex

Although widely proclaimed (Ribeiro, 2000, p. 24), Brazilian racial democracy is a myth (Hess & DaMatta, 1995, p. 296). The racial issue was made invisible by those who did not suffer from it, to allow them to ignore how deep the social abyss is. Boechat (2012, p. 33) states that one of the most important cultural complexes in the Brazilian psyche is the racial complex which he dubbed 'cordial racism' in a reference to

---

[59] This idea is present, for example, in the myths of Persephone and Orpheus who went down into Hades (the abode of the dead) and Dante's history, who descended into hell.

Holanda's 'cordial man' (2012). This complex seems to have strong roots in the trauma caused by slavery. Moreover, the racial complex is fostered by the inferiority complex and cannot be completely detached from it.

It is paradoxical to talk about a racial complex in a country of miscegenation. Although crossbreeding 'produced a population of various shades of skin color', it 'did not create a racial democracy' (Boechat, 2018, p. 238). For Boechat, Brazilian society is actually racist, but has enormous difficulty becoming conscious of its racial prejudice (Boechat, 2012, p. 46).

The way Afro-Brazilians are seen nowadays is based on a perverse narrative that denies their positive characteristics. 'In Brazil, black Africans were the custodians of the shadow of the hegemonic white culture, heir to a slave and oppressive patriarchalism' (Fuentes, 2014, p. 171). According to Fuentes, 'integrating […] aspects of our collective shadow, requires psychological openness and dialogue between light and shadow of this historical fact' (Ibid.). For her, the equality discourse is being confused with a rhetoric of silence about the heritage of African philosophy and culture. On the other hand, in Barreto's view, black people are usually represented in Brazilian folklore in two distinct ways: either as the villain or the hero (Barreto, 2017).

4.5 Brazilian History II: *Malandragem*, Football and Politics

4.5.1 *Malandro*: The Brazilian Trickster

To understand the particularities of corruption in Brazil, we must introduce some concepts: The trickster archetype, the *malandro* and the *jeitinho brasileiro* (the Brazilian way). The *malandro*, one of the many forms of the trickster archetype, seems

to rule the Brazilian political scene, making it necessary to identify the *role of the trickster-figure* in the formation of Brazilian identity. That could explain, for example, why an *illiterate clown* with the stage name *Tiririca* (a type of weed) was elected federal deputy for São Paulo, as the second most voted congressman in the history of Brazil (BBC, 2010). The *jeitinho brasileiro*, as we will see, can be considered a hermeneutic key to understand Brazilian society and how psychological factors can encourage the corrupt behaviour in a culture. Understanding the Brazilian way is crucial to understanding both Brazilian society and the role corruption plays in it.

Brazilians see their society in a 'stereotypical' way, overvaluing characteristics such as inertia, alienation, dishonesty, incompetence, individualism and feelings of inferiority (Ramos D. G., 2004, p. 110). At the same time, they also display such positive features as persistence, unity, joy and a great ability to find creative solutions to everyday problems. Combined, these characteristics appear in a typical Brazilian figure, the *malandro*, the one who goes around formal rules to get things done, often winking at the law in the process (Power & Taylor, 2011, p. 27). There is no perfect translation into English of the Portuguese word *malandro*, but 'rogue', 'rascal' or 'scamp' come close to describing this complex figure. The Brazilian trickster can also be characterised as 'mischievous', 'playful', 'lazy', a 'womanizer', 'vagabond', 'bohemian', 'vagrant' and 'charlatan' (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001)

Malandro is one of the many representations of the trickster archetype. Described by Karl Kerényi (based on Amerindian myths, especially that of the *Coyote*), the trickster is the joker associated with theft, confusion and silliness. He is the thief, the con man, the swindler. The trickster represents aspects of primitive collective unconsciousness because he is not aware of his own actions, portraying a playful and

joyous spirit and lacking unity – an original undifferentiated trait. He manifests duality and consists of all imaginable opposites (CW 9/1).

Common to all mankind, the trickster archetype has particularly influenced Brazilian identity, culture, literature, art, religion and politics. It has been depicted as the *malandro* (traditionally celebrated in Samba lyrics), *Zé Carioca* (by Walt Disney), *Macunaíma* (a famous character from Brazilian literature), *Saci-Pererê* (from the Brazilian folklore), *Didi Mocó* (a famous TV character), *Exu* (a mythic god from Candomblé, an African-Brazilian religion), the river dolphin (the *boto-cor-de-rosa* from the indigenous-Brazilian mythology) and *Zé Pilintra* (from the Umbanda religion), among others.
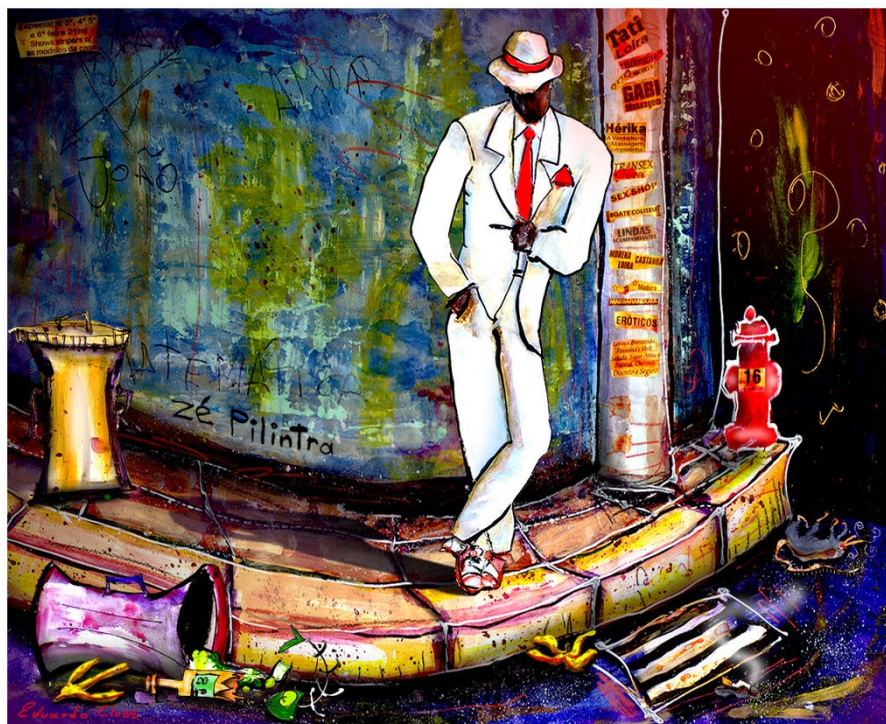
Figure 3: Zé Pilintra, a representation of the *Malandro* by Eduardo Closs.

Figure 4: Religious altar for *Zé Pilintra* from the Brazilian syncretic religion Umbanda.

Figure 5: Carnival parade called "Ópera dos Malandros" from Acadêmicos do Salgueiro.

The *malandro* personifies a fundamental aspect or characteristic of the Brazilian people (or autonomous psychic factor), just as Wotan does for the German people (Jung, CW 10). In Brazil, it seems to have been constellated as a psychological defence

against oppression, in an attempt to fight the Portuguese and to survive impoverished conditions. The trickster-figure has been updated throughout the course of history and has proliferated throughout social relations.

There is a strong connection between the act of *malandragem* (the *malandro*'s behaviour) and corruption. As *malandros*, Brazilians have associated to their own image the idea of corruption. It is common for Brazilians to commit minor acts of corruption which they believe will not harm anyone, but only benefit themselves. Common examples are: queue-jumping, trying to bribe the police to avoid fines, using fake sick notes, faking student cards, stealing cable TV, evading taxes and occupying preferred seating (for older and/or handicapped people). Some of these examples are merely bad lifestyle habits and unethical practices, while others are actually illegal.

There are, however, more harmful *malandragens*. Most of these acts are characterised by the intention of injuring the integrity of individuals and institutions, and are clearly intentional. However, the 'successful *malandragem*' assumes that the rogue benefits from his malicious 'jokes' but that the act remains unnoticed by the victim, as a 'good *malandro*' does not get caught. The typical Brazilian corrupt politician takes advantage of everything, especially through irregular contracts with the government. He/she does not take into consideration the poor people that will suffer when money which should, for example, go towards the construction of public hospitals and schools, is diverted away from them. *Malandragem* can be considered the opposite of innocence and is directly related to disobeying the law.

Because these corrupt acts can be very harmful to society, they should be confronted. However, in order to *fight* corruption, we must first *understand* it. We may find that corruption can have a function for Brazilians, as it can be simultaneously both negative and positive for Brazilian identity. *Malandragem*, as it seems to happen with

corruption, might be the 'grease' to Brazil's 'engines'. Considering the complexity of Brazilian habits, Tom Jobim, a famous musician, once said: 'Brazil is not for beginners'.

The Brazilian representation of the trickster, *malandro*, has two sides: the one that deceives and the one that is deceived. Although the trickster is not immoral or criminal in essence, he acts as though there were no consequences: the *malandro* 'dribbles the law and hierarchy veiled by cordiality' (DaMatta, 1986) and *usually* does not get caught. We can find the spirit of *malandro* manifested by both politicians and citizens.

Brazil is considered a happy nation, but unfortunately it is also a population that laughs at its own misery when it should be attempting to change its situation. Brazilians feel deceived by the politicians and seem to project evil onto them, as the perpetrators of their misery. These two sides must be integrated – as in the classical Jungian idea – in an evolutionary process towards consciousness: despite daily newspaper coverage of the topic, people are not aware of their own role in Brazil's corruption. They neither assume their participation nor fight corruption. The development of the trickster (the trickster cycle) is actually analogous to the civilising process, as they move from the primitive to a higher level of consciousness (CW 10, § 470).

For Negrello, Brazilian politicians personify the Trickster complex, the *malandro* (Negrello, 2017, p. 3). It is important to point out that the corrupt politician is not himself/herself a trickster, and bribery is not a trick: 'tricksters in politics are not necessarily identical with the practice of dirty tricks in politics' (Samuels, 2001, p. 91). Tricksters cannot be defined as either good or bad, but they can certainly cause harm: 'Although he is not really evil, he does the most atrocious things from sheer unconsciousness and unrelatedness' (CW 10, § 473).

Samuels (2001, p. 93) suggests that contemporary western politics needs to develop some characteristics of the trickster: 'ingenuity, improvisation, flexibility, rule-breaking, seeing things differently, doing things differently, not being hidebound and being open to change'. But what if those are already the most prominent characteristics of a political system? Brazil seems to be stuck with these characteristics which other cultures lack. It is commonly said that Brazil is the country of contradictions and this might be one of them.

If read superficially, the solution can be compared to giving a glass of water to a drowning man, as 'more trickster' would mean more jokes, lies, cheating and stealing, and consequently, more bribery and corruption also. However, this numinous figure might be understood more deeply as a *symbol of transformation*. The country needs more seriousness and respect for the pre-existing rules. The trickster might be able to influence a political transformation in Brazil and this could be one of its biggest pranks.

4.5.2 'The Brazilian way': *o jeitinho brasileiro*

The *jeitinho brasileiro*, literally translated as the 'Brazilian way' or roughly translated as a 'knack' or 'clever dodge', is a particularly Brazilian form of social adaptation (Power & Taylor, 2011, p. 10). It is the name given to the union of several features that Brazilians use in their daily lives: improvisation, creativity, inventiveness, flexibility, the ability to fix things (from a broken object to a difficult situation) and creating alternative options. 'The Brazilian way' has some similarities with *malandragem*, but includes other characteristics such as warmth, cordiality and tolerance. *Jeito* can be defined as 'the practice of subverting legal rules according to convenience' (Rosenn, 1984 as cited in (Taylor M. M., 2012, p. 146)). *The Houaiss*

Dictionary (2001) defines *jeitinho* as 'skilful, smart, displaying an astute way of achieving something, especially something that seems particularly difficult to most people'.

The *jeitinho* can be considered an opposition to formality and is also widely used as a way to go around formal rules and disrespect the legal system. A particularly difficult problem with bureaucracy can lead citizens to ask the civil servant: 'Do you have another way to do it?' or 'Is it not possible to fix it?' The idea is that it is not necessarily corruption in essence – in fact, the 'way' can even enable citizens to overcome bureaucratic obstacles that would otherwise require corruption to overcome. Rather, 'the way' suggests informality, antithetical to the extensive formality of the legal codes and bureaucratic procedures (Ibid.).

If this 'way' of living is not considered corruption in essence, what is the relation between them? Recent surveys have found that informal practices such as the *jeitinho* are closely linked to a broader tolerance for corruption (Almeida, 2014) and that 'social acceptance of corruption influences citizens' perceptions of important aspects of democracy' in Brazil (Moisés, 2009, p. 5). Unfortunately, *dar um jeitinho* (roughly translated as 'finding a way') can also include, for example, giving money to a public official so a lawsuit 'moves faster' or 'flows more easily'. The existence of the 'way' 'enables a society to continue individualistic, traditional patterns of behaviour despite the state's attempt to substitute more progressive, achievement-oriented patterns of behaviour via the formal legal structure' (Rosenn, 1984 as cited in Power & Taylor, 2011, p. 27).

As mentioned above, it is popularly said that there is a lack of mythical and historical heroes in Brazilian culture (Ramos D. G., 2004) and, as Brecht put it, 'Unhappy is a land that needs a hero'. In my understanding, the problem is not a lack

of heroes, but that Brazil's hero, the trickster, resembles more an anti-hero. The trickster's 'senseless orgies of destruction' (CW 9/1, § 458) might be why there is a feeling of chaos in Brazil. However, as the one who contains both chaos and order, as well as all sorts of ambiguities and the seed of enantiodromia, the trickster might one day show Brazilians that it can be trusted (one can only hope) and can develop new characteristics. That is when the shape-shifter might show us another side: his approximation to the figure of a saviour. The trickster needs to mature, but without losing his joy which is so inherent to Brazilians.

Helena Bassil-Morozow (2015) uses the trickster figure as a tool to understand society and describes two analytical metaphors for it. She explains the first use as 'A metaphor to describe the psychoanthropological idea of change that challenges the existing order of things, a progressive force that is a-structural and anti-structural in its nature'. Nonetheless, she uses the metaphor as a *solution* for rigid systems. She was raised in the Soviet Union where spontaneous creativity, particularly the capitalist ideology, was seen as dangerous for the world of authority and prohibition. For her, the trickster represents 'choice, spontaneity, change, difference, non-compliance', so the essence of capitalism would be trickery (2015, p. 4).

Bassil-Morozow understands creativity as 'the ability to influence the world in a positive manner' (p. 8) which can be considered a way of controlling the world. 'In the Soviet Union the trickster had been consistently discarded as an undesirable element as it challenged the uniformity of prescribed thinking' (p. 7). The same seems to have occurred during the military dictatorship in Brazil in the 1960s.

The second use of the trickster figure is described as 'a metaphor to trace the emergence and development of human identity as well as to examine the role of individuality and society' (p. 5). She separates the individual from the system as

opposites and uses the trickster to describe the tension between the two which produces a by-product: human identity. She examines 'the miracle that is human identity, which is forever stuck between the systemic and the personal' (p. 3). Therefore, on one side is the system, together with society's expectations, control and rules – socialism (in the case of the Soviet Union). On the other side is the individual who is trying to become his or herself, with self-expression, creativity, capitalism and narcissism.

Bassil-Morozow comprehends the system as an archetype, characterised by imprisonment of choice and identity, and limitation of independent thought (p. 5). Different from the Soviet Union (and other socialist countries) that represses individuality, Brazil encourages self-expression of creativity and unique skills, such as football-art.

Although the trickster figure seems to be a very useful metaphor for analysing the Brazilian system, it cannot be used as a solution, since there is no rigid order. Chaos already reigns. Bassil-Morozow seems to mock the Soviet system for being 'a well-organised, tightly controlled and well-reserved order', but in light of Brazil's chaotic system, this sounds like an impossible dream. In Brazil, creativity reigns and makes everything more flexible, so every rule or law can be bent. The trickster has played a trick on Brazilians: The trickster and the system have merged and from the tension between individual and society, the trickster himself was born. How, then, can the Brazilian system be structured?

Bassil-Morozow notes that the trickster, as a psychological phenomenon, is neither entirely positive nor negative and also that her book is not a hymn to the trickster impulse. She says we all need the system as nobody wants an 'accidental, unpredictable impulse to govern our world'. Citizens require stability and protection, not destruction as in an episode of *Hagnarök* from Norse mythology. The trickster is

not a good enough parent, she says, as its 'aim is to destabilise – not to sooth or to protect' (p. 9).

If creativity is not bad and it is mostly found in a movement of change, the problem in Brazil is not a lack of creativity, since Brazilians seem to have plenty. However, creativity does not seem to be renewed, or is not being directed to change, but to chaos.

4.5.3 Football as the Opium of the People

It is impossible to completely delineate a country's national identity, but it can certainly be grasped through its citizens' passions, problems and stereotypes. In their daily lives, some Brazilians have a quasi-religious relationship with football and during the World Cup, the whole country is contaminated by this feeling. It is not an unfair generalisation to say that most Brazilians are deeply connected to Brazil's team performance during the Football World Cup. Brazilians' relationship with football has been widely used as an example of their lack of political consciousness. Football has developed as a form of devotional entertainment and its numbing characteristics have led it to be called the 'opium of the people'. The World Cup is, then, a window through which to view Brazilians' complexes. Here, I present a brief historical overview of Brazil's participation in the 21 editions of the World Cup, from 1930 to 2018, as well as an explanation of the Brazilian trickster style of playing football.

Brazil does not stand out among other countries in terms of socioeconomic development, yet Brazil's success in football is highly valued. It is the only nation to have participated in every World Cup since its inception in 1930 and has won more trophies than any other country (5 out of 21 competitions). For this reason, the World

Cup has always held the vast majority of Brazilians hypnotised in front of the television. When Brazil is playing, work grinds to a halt. Some days even become informal public holidays. Brazilians don green and yellow, the colours of the national flag, and passionately sing the national anthem with their hands over their hearts. National pride is openly celebrated which, oddly enough, does not happen on Brazil's Independence Day, 7 September. A goal is experienced as a great collective orgasmic explosion of joy, an overwhelming feeling that can be heard wherever you are, even if you are not watching the game.

Football seems to have become part of the Brazilian identity, as it is a sport that allows the dribble, the *malandragem*. Gilberto Freyre, a well-known Brazilian sociologist, saw football as an integral part of the emerging personality of his home nation. It was first introduced by members of the Brazilian elite in the mid-1890s, as an upper-class pastime, but its popularity spread rapidly among the working classes and became an element of popular culture in the first decades of the twentieth century (Franzini, 2003).

According to Lopes (1999), a Brazilian specialist on political anthropology, the way the players competed varied greatly according to their social class. Elite members emphasised tactical and physical discipline and the role of coaches and physical trainers, while the members of the working class focused on players' personal style, particularly on talent and creativity. The influx of working-class players (mostly black and mulatto) brought to professional clubs (generally populated by white players) a spontaneous style of football that was played on improvised football fields of the *favelas* (low-income peripheral neighbourhoods). Many elite clubs resisted the inclusion of black players but had no option but to accept them when the match results showed black players' abilities.

The professionalisation of football developed a competitive and aesthetic style, due to physical, tactical and disciplinary preparation, and, at the same time, had certain acrobatic moves (like the bicycle-kick). The Brazilian style of football began to be recognised by journalists and writers in Brazil, like Gilberto Freyre. The originality of the Brazilian players was understood by Freyre as a manifestation of his own historical interpretation of Brazilian society. He is considered to be the first to acknowledge the richness 'of the cultural contribution of blacks and the importance of the racial mixture of Brazil's population' (Lopes, 1999, p. 87). As stated by Freyre, 'Our style [of football] seems to contrast to the Europeans' by *a set of characteristics of surprise, craftiness, cunning, lightness with individual spontaneity at the same time*' [emphasis added]. Enthusiastically, Freire continues:

> Our passes, [...] our screenings, our flourishes with the ball, there is some dance or capoeira that marks the Brazilian style of playing football, which rounds and sweetens the game invented by the British, and by them and by other Europeans played in such an angular way, all this seems to express a very interesting way to psychologists and sociologists the *mulatism* (mixed race) flamboyant and at the same time *malandro,* who is now all that is true affirmation of Brazil (Freyre, 1967, p. 432).

Mulatismo flamboyant is an important expression coined by Freyre 'to soften interracial conflicts in an extremely polarized society' (Maranhão, 2011). Similar to *mulata*, it contains the word 'mule', a hybrid animal. Despite its pejorative original meaning, it refers to *mestizo's exuberance* (OED, 2012). For Freyre, the white English game called 'football' began to draw more and more characteristics from black people while turning into Brazilian *futebol*. This 'deanglicization' represented the inverse process of racial whitening, a process that culminated in the admirable Pelé. For Freyre, 'the purpose and product of racial mixing should therefore be to "darken" whites both culturally and spiritually. Football would then be the explicit representation of the perfect performance of an ideal "race"' (Freyre, as cited in Maranhão, 2011). He spoke,

therefore, of a perfect Brazilian, an eugenic *mulato* – a stereotype that could be exported.

In the 1938 World Cup in France, Brazil came close to winning (3rd place) and left a good impression on sports journalists and football fans from other nationalities. In the following decade, Europe was devastated by war while Brazilians could continue practising football and hosted the next World Cup after the war, in 1950. Brazilians built the largest football stadium in the world, the *Maracanã*, for the occasion and the Brazilian football team gave a very positive performance over the games. It was expected and considered almost certain, that Brazil would win the final game against Uruguay. However, the unexpected happened and Uruguay won 2 – 1 (Wagg, 1995). This terrible defeat was called *Maracanaço* and Nelson Rodrigues summarised this traumatic event in a dramatic and exaggerated way, but nevertheless close to what Brazilians felt at the time: 'Everywhere has its irremediable national catastrophe, something like a Hiroshima. Our catastrophe, our Hiroshima, was the defeat by Uruguay in 1950' (Rodrigues, 1966). This defeat reinforced Brazilians' bad image of themselves.

Brazil was the champion of the 1958, 1962 and 1970 editions of the World Cup (Wagg, 1995), thanks to players[60] whose names are nostalgically remembered until the present day by Brazilians and foreigners alike. One player in particular seems to have strengthened the relationship of identification that Brazilians have with football: Pelé [Edson Arantes do Nascimento] is considered the most successful player in football

---

[60] Considered the greatest football team in history, the 1970s' team became mythic, with Pelé, Garrincha, Nilton Santos, Valdir Pereira, Djalma Santos, Gilmar, Rivelino, Jairzinho, Gérson, Carlos Alberto Torres, Tostão, and Clodoaldo (Metcalfe, 2009); (Telegraph, 2007); (Bell, 2007); (BBC, 2005). Curiously, when meeting Brazilians, it is common for many foreigners to spontaneously list the names of current and former football players.

history and scored 1283 goals during his career, more than any other professional

player (Nascimento, 2006).

> The name of Brazil is etched indelibly on the consciousness of the post-war international football world. In the pantheon of that world, no name surpasses that of Pelé [Edson Arantes do Nascimento], who played as a 17-year-old in the World Cup winning side of 1958. For several generations of football devotees, born either before or in the two decades after the Second World War, the names 'Pelé' and 'Brazil' signified a kind of football that was untutored and touched by genius. This football, it was assumed, grew organically out of the Brazilian work classes, who, careless of material deprivations, learned to play it in their shanty towns and on the Copacabana beach. But love of football ran across all class, ethnic and gender boundaries (Wagg, 1995).

According to Wagg (1995), during the 1970s and 1980s, the international development

of training techniques and tactics neutralised the typical Brazilian football, which came

to be considered very open, innocent and too free.

In 2014, Brazil hosted the 20th World Cup. This could have been a moment of

pure celebration and joy, but the competition was overshadowed by the threat of major

protests in the lead up to the event[61] (G1 Política, 2014). In a collective catharsis, the

protesters questioned, for example, 'how can a country that still has so much misery,

spend so much money[62] on stadiums?' Or, 'why was this money not used to build

public hospitals and schools?', as seen in Figure 6 and Figure 7. The government gave

no satisfactory answers, simply responding that the World Cup would bring more

development to the country, as various improvements would be made, for example to

the transport system. However, little was actually accomplished and people suspected

(with a good chance of being right) that a great deal of public money was being diverted

---

[61] More than 20 protests occurred in the first week of the 2014 World Cup alone, when 180 people were arrested. Popular demonstrations were far smaller in relation to the protests of June 2013, but there were conflicts against the police in all host cities (G1 Política, 2014). The number of protests decreased over the World Cup, but the reason is not clear. The festive tone of the World Cup might have caused the protests to die out but the violent police repression definitely played a role. There were rumours that there was an explicit agreement between social movements and the government. Anyway, it seems that the collective catharsis wore out after a while.

[62] The World Cup cost around R$ 25 billion to Brazilian taxpayers (O Estado de S. Paulo, 2014).

through major corruption schemes. The sign in Figure 7 says in Portuguese: 'The giant has awakened. #cometothestreet', calling the population to demonstrations.

Figure 6: Protest signs against the 2014 FIFA World Cup

Figure 7: Anti-World Cup protests in Brazil: 'the giant has awakened'.

Many Brazilians expressed their opposition to Brazil hosting the World Cup through the press and social media (as seen in Figure 8) and claimed to be cheering for Brazil to lose. Many jokes went around about what would go wrong during the World Cup. The public transport system and general infrastructure were not prepared for the arrival of so many tourists. At the same time, widespread riots were expected which would have contributed to the overall chaos. This image of Brazil was shaped in the

international press, so that many foreigners became reluctant to travel to Brazil for the World Cup.

Figure 8: Brazilians' anti-World Cup Protest: 'There will be no World Cup'

Although most people tuned in when the games were happening, a good number wanted to watch the protests (Miotto, 2014). FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association), the event organiser, was seen as an 'evil' corporation that only aimed to profit from the event. Nevertheless, one could query whether these protests really represented the opinion of the majority of the population or merely the perception of a 'thinking elite' that has access to the Internet and social media. On the other hand, for the lower classes who live in extreme poverty and misery, the World Cup provides a great spectacle. Although they lack access to stadiums due to the high cost of tickets, football is still an important form of entertainment that diverts them from their problems. From a psychological perspective, being distracted by the spectacle of the event can be an expression of mass-mindedness. In this state, the boundaries between self and others are blurred and individual consciousness is weakened. As seen in Figure 9, graffiti painted on a gate (Ito, 2014), football does not satisfy an empty stomach. Some people are hungry while others fill their pockets with the money that comes from

football. This seems to be a play on words with the expression *fome de bola,* or 'ball hunger', which is used to describe people who long to play football and who play it with vigour and determination.

Figure 9: A striking representation of Brazilians' eagerness for football – Graffiti by Paulo Ito
(Ito, 2014)

Unlike the previous versions of the World Cup, to agree with the realisation of the event seemed like cheering against the development of Brazil (Vasconcellos, 2014). Curiously, it is unlikely that those Brazilians who opposed the World Cup turned the television off during the games or that they were unaffected when a Brazilian goal was scored. It is more likely that the many Brazilians who positioned themselves publicly against the World Cup secretly anticipated a score that could help them feel better about the country's situation. Just as everyone is an atheist until the airplane has turbulence, it is impossible not to be contaminated by a goal. At this moment, the persona of social responsibility and rationality gives way to the affect and emotion from autonomous complexes and they merge with the masses.

Figure 10: A critique on the group of activists called Black Blocs – Graffiti by Paulo Ito
(2014)

Should Brazilians be celebrating while many lack access to good schools and hospitals or should they take every opportunity for celebration, to make life less miserable? Behind this dilemma are those Brazilians who finally seem to be waking up to the possibility of change, but at the same time, are reluctant to change what they are used to. If the 'sleeping giant' is waking up, as the posters say, nobody knows. However, his sleep certainly seems more turbulent these days. Since football has played such a powerful role in shaping the Brazilian national identity, if the World Cup serves as a wake-up call to political awareness, it might not be such a bad thing after all.
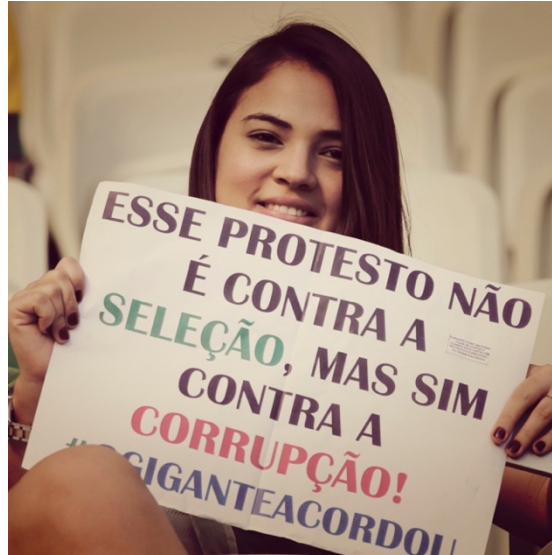
Figure 11: 'This protest is not against the football team, but against corruption' #thegianthasawakened'.

Football and corruption seem to be more connected than ever in Brazil's history, as shown in Figure 10 and Figure 11. During the 2014 World Cup, an overpass in Belo Horizonte, one of the host cities, collapsed onto four vehicles (two trucks, a car and a bus), killing two people and injuring 19 others. The overpass was part of the infrastructure plan for the World Cup, but was delayed by a year (as were many other major works) and cost R$45 million (approximately US$20 million). According to *The Guardian* (Reuters, 2014), people near the scene were showing posters that said 'This is the reality of the Cup' and 'World Cup disaster: put it on FIFA's bill'. One of the interviewees stated that this incident demonstrated the incompetence of the government, and accused them of rushing the completion of many projects which clearly did not meet basic health and safety standards. This incident, however, did not receive as much attention as the injury to Neymar Jr., Brazil's star player at the time, who was hospitalised with a fractured vertebra when a Colombian player kneed him in the back. As a result, he missed the crucial semi-final against Germany. As the headline of another *Guardian* article (Taylor D. , 2014) suggested, 'Brazil struggle to find

closure in grieving process over Neymar'. This highlights how the injury to Neymar affected the Brazilian population. The scene was repeated over and over on television and various Brazilian newspapers claimed that the injury had been intentional and premeditated – a desperate attempt to explain why the player (and therefore the entire nation) had fallen victim to this unexpected attack. Even the president Dilma sent a letter to Neymar, whom she called a great warrior, saying that her heart and the hearts of all Brazilians were hurt (Rousseff, 2014). This resembled more a letter to a wounded war hero who has defended his country on the battlefield than to a fallen sports star.

The next picture (Figure 12) connects the two episodes, the collapsed road structure and the injured player, depicting the overpass falling on Neymar's back, with the words 'Overpass falls on Neymar. What about now, do you care?' The caption is even more critical: 'There is something very wrong with our press, our government and perhaps with our people'.

VIADUTO CAI SOBRE O NEYMAR. E AGORA, VOCÊ SE IMPORTA?

Um viaduto que custou 400 milhões e que estava atrasado há mais de um ano, desabou na capital mineira, matando duas pessoas e deixando vários feridos, mas o assunto mais comentado é a lesão sofrida por Neymar e a vitória da seleção brasileira. Há algo muito errado com nossa imprensa, nosso governo e talvez com o nosso povo.

Figure 12: 'Overpass falls on Neymar. What about now, do you care?'

The Brazilian team is no longer the dream team of 1970. In 2014, they lost the semi-final to Germany by 7 – 1, the worst result in Brazil's 84-year World Cup history. The country of football was deeply humiliated, its dignity deeply wounded (BBC, 2014). While Brazilians had expected to face shame and criticism for the lack of sufficient transport, they had not expected to face embarrassment on the pitch, where the fight for national identity and recognition on the world stage was played out. At the same time, when it mattered most, when Brazil was ready to present itself to the world as a leading nation and a future economic power, it stumbled. Accordingly, there was

a sense of shame and failure not only due to the loss to Germany but because, symbolically, this loss meant that they were not ready to take on the world status that so many expected of Brazil. They were not ready for this enantiodromic movement.

The match result also symbolised that the battle between the logos-bureaucracy model of Weberian machines against the eros-creativity of the cordial man had been lost. Once again, there were riots and acts of violence and this event broke the international record for Twitter comments at the time, with the hashtag '*#neverforget*' used after the game. Most comments were split between 'this is just a game' and 'it is not just a game'. The first opinion expresses the idea that football is just a sport and therefore should not be taken too seriously. The second opinion can be summarised in the following comment that circulated anonymously via *Facebook,* which is transcribed here:

> This is more than a simple game! It represents the triumph of competence over trickery [malandragem]! It sets an example for generations of children who will know that to succeed in life one has to work, train, study! It ends the story of the Brazilian trickster way, who wins the game with his swing, earns money without getting sweaty, becomes president without training! The great legacy of this World Cup is the example for the future generations! That a country is built by honest people, hardworking, and not by a population transformed into parasites by a government that teaches us to receive food in the mouth and not to fight to get it! Germany wins masterfully and with merit! May that serve us as a lesson! The *Beloved Homeland Brazil[63]* has to be loved every day, in our work, in our study, in our honesty! Loving the country in a football game and on another day stealing the country in an act of corruption, whatever it is, like cutting the queue, evading taxes, killing, stealing! What kind of love towards the homeland is this! Enough!!! Brazil is tired of being betrayed by its own people! Let that be a lesson for us so we become giants to build a better country! Educating our children for a generation of shame! A true nation that prides itself on its people, and not just his football! (Anonymous post, 8 July 2014, on Facebook).

Although this is just an anonymous social media post, it is highly suggestive of the psychological dimensions with which we are dealing in this chapter. Football,

---

[63] 'The beloved homeland Brazil' (*Pátria Amada Brasil*) is an extract from the Brazilian anthem. Brazilians usually sing this part very enthusiastically.

trickery, politics and national identity. It also reflects the perception of many Brazilians who felt humiliated and subsequently blamed, as usual, the government.

The fact that it occurred in front of the entire world exacerbated the feelings of shame and humiliation. It is not possible to say if Brazil learned a lesson from this humbling experience. It was easier to blame the referee, FIFA, even the president. After all, politics and football are deeply intertwined in Brazil. This episode will probably never be forgotten, but hopefully it will also come to be understood.

Brazil's relationship with football has continued to change. In 2018, one of the memes circulating on *WhatsApp* depicted the Chief Justice saying that now the eleven justices are more famous than the eleven players of Brazil's football team (Augusto, 2018). Although some claim Brazilians are more politicised now, what seems to have happened is that the logic of football, in which people worship one team and vilify the other, was transferred to politics. What certainly changed was the level of tolerance of corruption.

4.6 Brazilian History III: The Battle Against Corruption

> *'The world is waging a war on corruption' (Lennerfors, 2008, p. 13)*

Brazil's democracy has been shaken to the core by corruption. It is impossible to write about the Brazilian psyche without recording that former president, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, was convicted of corruption and is now serving a 12-year jail term. This is the same person whom former US president, Barack Obama, once called the world's most popular politician and who 'was globally hailed for fighting poverty and inequality' (The New York Times Editorial Board, 2018). Lula's arrest is one of the

outcomes of Operation Car Wash, an anti-corruption taskforce that has destabilised the country's political system and economy.

Humankind's warlike instinct has in part been domesticated throughout history, as described by Hobbes (1998, p. 29). For a long time, the war instinct was channelled into blood sports like the gladiators' lethal spectacles and the medieval duels between knights in armour (Martins Filho, 2004). In the modern world, the human war instinct has not disappeared completely but it has changed: 'Legal proceedings are the civilized form that man has found to make war' (Becker & Ferrari, 2017). There has been a shift from the force domain paradigm to the paradigm of competition shaped by laws. Legislation allows for recognition of the rights of each individual, dividing the assets of life justly and preventing the 'prevalence of force in the defence of one's own interests' (Martins Filho, 2004, p. 29).

There is an intense 'civil war' going on in Brazil, led by a small group of idealistic Brazilian prosecutors, crusading judges and the federal police on behalf of society's (supposed) interests. On the opposite side are politicians and construction companies accused of corruption, the power elite. In the middle of this fight stands a relatively powerless subject, the ordinary citizen. There is yet one other participant in this war: the media, with its (good and bad) influence over both sides and its notorious persuasion over democracy.

The consequences of this moral crusade seem ambiguous and it divides opinion in Brazil: some think that arresting corrupt individuals is the best thing to ever have happened to Brazil while others think that it has caused one of Brazil's worst recessions in history and a crisis of leadership. One thing is certain: it has exposed an underlying moral crisis, or we could say, a moral panic.

Operation Car Wash exposed one of the world's largest corruption scandals and 'has grown into the largest investigation to date uncovering cases of state capture and corruption in Brazil' (Transparency International, 2016). The name 'Operation Car Wash' (*operação lava jato*) derives from the use of gas stations and carwashes for money laundering (Ministério Público Federal, 2017). Since its inception, the operation has expanded to cover allegations of corruption at the state-controlled oil company Petrobras, where executives allegedly accepted bribes in return for granting contracts to construction companies at inflated prices. The money was also being channelled into the campaign funds of the main political parties. Operation Car Wash broke some taboos by imprisoning political leaders, lobbyists and captains of industry – who were previously considered untouchable. They were charged with bribery, tax evasion and misuse of public funds, overturning decades of impunity (Watts, 2015). The operation also 'played a role in the downfall of a sitting president', Dilma Rousseff (Cooper, 2017).

While countless accusations of corruption had already been filed, arrests were never common. There had been numerous previous accusations of corruption and it was common knowledge that construction companies were megadonors of political campaigns. Nonetheless, 'elites have always found a way to reorganise and protect themselves' (Dallagnol, 2017, p. 198). However, this time was different. The results of the investigation were so unprecedented that the operation was even made into a movie: 'Federal Police – The Law is for All', a title based on the Latin expression *erga omnes,* which means 'to all'. This expression is often used in the legal context to refer to a law or regulation that applies to all individuals, but it is also used informally to indicate that 'no one is above the law'. *Erga omnes* was also the name of one of the phases of

Operation Car Wash that arrested executives from the two largest construction companies in Brazil.

> These are the people that had never been afraid of the law in Brazil. This was the moment when these people started to see that they too were being targeted by Operation Car Wash. Soon prosecutors were getting offers from frightened executives and politicians willing to cooperate and return money in order to avoid doing time (Cooper, 2017).

The prosecutors responsible for Operation Car Wash had great success with the investigation due to cooperation agreements with suspects, 'who have been promised reduced sentences in return for handing back bribes and giving testimony against others involved in the case' (Watts, 2015). Cooperation agreements are jokingly called 'mass destruction weapons' or 'justice's machine gun' against corruption. Billions of dollars were recovered in fines, while money that was sent to safe havens in other countries was repatriated. Brazilians had been losing the battle against corruption when they finally began seeing corrupt individuals going to jail. Operation Car Wash gave them new hope. Consequently, many Brazilians now idolise these new 'heroes' (Ibid).

In 2016, the Car Wash prosecutors received an award from Transparency International, recognising 'the courage and determination of the many individuals and organisations fighting corruption around the world'. Because of their determination and bravery, Transparency International called the winners of the award 'anti-corruption heroes' and listed the following attributes required to be anti-corruption heroes: passion, courage, patience, commitment, integrity, resilience, endurance and perseverance. In general, they declared that anti-corruption heroes must personify the change that they want to make happen; that they should give everything – their souls, their hearts, their time and their efforts; that they should 'be prepared to dive with the sharks'; that they should not think corruption is winning the battle; and that heroes must have a heart (Transparency International, 2016).

People stop these anti-corruption heroes in the streets to take pictures and thank them. The operation has become a force for change in contrast to the impunity that reigned before[64]. One of the prosecutors of the operation affirmed that the perception that white-collar crimes go unpunished is beginning to change:

> Car Wash is making the criminal justice system fairer and showing what it should be like, and that's something Brazilians are not used to seeing. People are used to inefficient services throughout the public sector, from courts to the legislature to prosecution. 'Operation Car Wash' is the only thing that has ever thrived in Brazil's criminal enforcement system (Agência Brasil, 2017).

The prosecutors have found an ally in Sérgio Moro, the judge in charge of the prosecution of the crimes identified in Operation Car Wash. Moro, or 'SuperMoro' (Walsh, 2016), made Brazil's headlines for sentencing some of the country's most powerful politicians and businesspeople to prison on corruption charges. He is 'a relatively ordinary federal judge' (Londoño, 2017), who was stamped on the t-shirts of many demonstrators at the 2015 protests, with the slogan 'We are all Sérgio Moro'. Some admire him for his tenacity and hope he will run for office, 'a prospect he has ruled out' (Ibid.). Moro believes his newfound fame was good for the investigation: 'It was important so that these cases, which implicated powerful people, weren't obstructed in some way' (Ibid.).

In a speech, Moro affirmed categorically: 'We will never surrender to corruption. The era of our barons of corruption is coming to an end and the rule of law is becoming a real possibility in Brazil. The goal is democracy with integrity' (Resende, 2017). Fortune ranked him the 13th 'World's Greatest Leader' in a list of 50 names (Naím, 2016). *Time* magazine listed him as one of the '100 most influential people in the

---

[64] In addition, the federal police and public prosecution operations are changing the behaviour of Brazilian companies (Pinheiro, 2016). Corruption seemed to be a good business in Brazil, but now the risks are becoming too expensive.

world' in 2016. In both lists, Moro was the only Brazilian to be nominated (Walsh, 2016).

The lead prosecutor of Operation Car Wash, Deltan Dallagnol, 'had long been aware he was making history', but he only understood the operation's impact on society when a stranger stopped him in the street to say thanks: 'He said he had cried when he saw the prince of a huge company being arrested because it made him realise the law is being applied equally. He never imagined something like that happening in Brazil' (Watts, 2015). Dallagnol refuses to be called a hero[65]. After all, a hero must be humble, an exercise that he seems to practise often: 'We know a lot of people put their hopes in us. We know we can't deliver all the changes they want so we propose changes in the law', he said. 'This case won't change Brazil, but it can be a lever for society. Society is the main actor, not us' (Ibid.). He wrote a book, which has his face on the cover, called *The Fight Against Corruption* (*A Luta Contra a Corrupção*) – a mixture of biography and epic narrative of what occurred during the operation. In his book, Dallagnol describes his job as a prosecutor almost like it was that of a hero:

> The federal prosecutor is a public servant, a servant of the people who received from society great and important challenges to face. He/she defends democracy, fundamental rights, promotes health, education, citizenship, the environment and public safety, protects the rights of consumers, children, adolescents, the elderly and people with special needs, as well as ensures that criminals pay for their crimes and, thus, we can be a society with less victims (Dallagnol, 2017, p. 19).

In his book, he also compares his job to the Sisyphean punishment, forced to roll a rock to the top of a mountain, only to watch it come back down to hit him. Trying to catch white-collar criminals used to be both laborious and useless. He worked hard, but ultimately the criminals did not go to jail. He also compared his work to the fight

---

[65] Personal conversation at Harvard Law School, in Cambridge, April 2017. On the same day, I heard someone approach Dallagnol and enthusiastically say: 'I'm really glad you didn't give up. You are really my idol!'.

between David and Goliath, describing citizens and professionals that combat crime facing a much stronger opponent, the giant that is corruption.

Dallagnol's description matches Junito Brandão's analysis of the word *hero*. According to him, it has an Indo-European root *ser-* (to guard) that is related to the Latin word *seruāre* that refers to 'conserving, defending, guarding, watching over, being useful'. Thus, the hero represents 'the guardian, the defender, the one that was born to serve' (Brandão, 1998, p. 20).

4.6.1 The Politics of Power: Who Watches the Watchmen?

Amidst the whole process of Operation Car Wash, something controversial happened on the side of the 'good guys'. The then-president Dilma was wiretapped, and the conversation was released to the public by Judge Moro, in a move that was considered illegal. This heightened the criticism of those who supported the president's party. For them, Moro had abused his authority and might even have considered himself above the president. Many have accused the prosecutors and judges of letting fame go to their heads. Furthermore, some legal experts said that the police, prosecutors and judges were violating rights in order to secure the defendants' cooperation agreements (Watts, 2015), carrying out arrests based solely on the accusations of other suspects and holding top executives from major companies without bail for months (Cooper, 2017). They were willing to use controversial tactics to fight crime. Thus, it seems like the good guys were also transgressing in order to catch the transgressors. Nonetheless, Moro said he had no regrets: 'I think that democracy wins when, shall we say, people learn what their leaders do in the shadows. Especially when what they're doing is illicit' (Londoño, 2017).

In the end, the prosecutors and judges gained celebrity status merely for doing what they were supposed to be doing; that is, the job for which they were already being handsomely paid. Perhaps, Operation Car Wash made them no longer feel worthless. However, what Brazilians project on them is heroism and also the idea that justice is possible. In addition, they showed Brazilians that persistence can have positive results. Although the judge might have used a transgression to arrest the transgressors, this was not the biggest mark of the collective process experienced by the country.

The minority of the population that is against Operation Car Wash is made up of either the corrupt individuals whom it affected or the passionate segment of the population who understands Brazil's 2016/2017 economy crisis – the worst in decades – as being directly related to the operation. The political scientist Jessé Souza, for example, believes that Sérgio Moro is responsible for the loss of millions of jobs. Souza also calls Dallagnol naïve for thinking he is 'cleaning Brazil'. For Souza, Operation Car Wash brags of having recovered a ridiculous amount of one billion reais after having devastated the Brazilian economy. For him, the deindustrialisation has set Brazil back 50 years in time, as it dismantled Brazil's vanguard intelligence (Souza, Jessé: a Lava Jato afundou o Brasil!, 2016). Thus, it seems easier to blame the politicians than take responsibility.

Similarly, economist Luiz Gonzaga Belluzzo (Giovanaz, 2017) accuses Operation Lava of having caused direct financial losses to Brazil, for having paralysed works throughout the country by suspending Petrobras contracts, for causing unemployment and contributing to the deindustrialisation of the country. The reason: 'Individuals, specialized in their functions, are not able to understand the effects or consequences of their actions'. For Belluzo, judges and prosecutors are involved in a struggle between good and evil: 'they imagine they can, through moral truculence,

improve the world' (Ibid). However, despite the best of intentions, they could be causing harm to society. For Belluzzo, another effect of the operation is to focus all of society's attention on the issue of corruption, which can be problematic because it deters the population from focusing on other equally important matters.

While prosecutors and judges are fighting the corrupt villains, 'who watches the watchmen?' This question is based on the Latin expression '*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes*?' attributed to the roman poet Juvenal (White, 2009), and used to refer to the problem of controlling the actions of persons in positions of power. Their method still raises questions:

> Critics say the investigation has gone too far, that it rides roughshod over the law and that a clique of populist justice officials are undermining the authority of elected officials in the government and legislature (Watts, 2015).

Did they abuse their vigilante powers? Should they amend their crime-fighting tactics? Perhaps the only way to approach the opponents was to fight them with their own weapons. Operation Car Wash has shaken the foundations of the country's economy and created chaos, but it is not yet known if this marks the beginning of a new era or if it is just another example of vanity and greed. The prosecutors and judges, who have become famous for the corruption cases, have had a successful trajectory and are at risk of being overwhelmed by narcissism. They cannot be dazzled by their own prestige, making mistakes and exaggerating. The abuse of power can be the excuse their opponents are looking for to end the battle favourable to their side.

4.6.2 The Hero Motif and the Corruption of (Public) Service

Heroes are prepared to make difficult personal sacrifices in order to fulfil their duty. They always put their personal interests behind everything else. Is this not the

exact opposite of the corrupt individual, who is characterised by using public funds to satisfy private interests? Prosecutors and judges involved in Operation Car Wash seem to have incorporated the archetype of the hero in order to fight their archenemies, the corrupt villains who are always willing to use their power to do dishonest or illegal things in return for money or advantage. Their chosen career shows that this motif was already ingrained in their personalities, but it seems to have gained force with the media exposure they received.

In myths, fairy tales, religion, literature, history, politics and movies, there is always the figure of the hero who has the courage to overcome all adversities, dangers, fears and risks towards the unknown, representing the hope and will of all humans. The hero represents 'an archetypal motif based on overcoming obstacles and achieving certain goals' (Sharp, 1991).

> Over and over again, one hears a tale describing a hero's miraculous but humble birth, his early proof of superhuman strength, his rapid rise to prominence or power, his triumphant struggle with the forces of evil, his fallibility to the sin of pride (*hybris*), and his fall through betrayal or a 'heroic' sacrifice that ends in his death (Henderson, 1988, p. 110).

The hero myth also stands as an archetypal metaphor for *consciousness* (p. 62). '[…] the essential function of the heroic myth is the development of the individual's ego-consciousness' (Henderson, 1988, p. 112). The hero's journey consists primarily of an expedition to find the treasure – a representation of the relationship between the ego and the Self, the ego-Self axis itself.

In tales and myths, the hero's task is to find the treasure, princess, evil, castle, kill the dragon, help the needy. Even if, for this, he must travel by boat, be swallowed by a whale or be mortally wounded by the dragon. The hero is the agent of the process of individuation: 'The hero's main feat is to overcome the monster of darkness: it is the long-hoped-for and expected triumph of consciousness over the unconscious' (CW 9/1,

§ 284). By 'monsters of darkness', Jung refers to the 'devouring' aspects of the maternal image, symbolised by dragons, whales and other monsters. The hero's struggle is against the destructive incestuous desires that can lead him to regress. Our hero's battle is against the serpent of corruption.

According to Samuels, there is a natural 'split between a desire to grow and a desire, or need, to regress' (2005a, p. 61). We may say that this split can be represented by the fight between heroes and villains. The hero represents an ego engaged only in separating from the mother by defeating her, which is a desire to grow. While villains are engaged in staying in a close and incestuous bond with the mother, narcissism might actually be a consequence of this close relationship. Nonetheless, therein lies a paradox: 'Hillman pointed up the paradox in which, because hero and Great Mother are inseparable, heroic ego activity will lead directly back to the maternal world, rather than effecting a separation from mother' (p. 63).

The villains are representations of the hero's own shadow, which is why the hero's unavoidable task is 'to become aware of the realm of shadowy darkness' (Hopcke, 1999), i.e. to become free of the domination of their shadow.

> Used as a metaphor in relation to a culture, the shadow includes those outside the social system (criminals, psychotics, misfits, scapegoats) as well as national enemies. These individuals are people who do not fit in with the prevailing tendency of a culture which, in turn, may be seen as failing to assimilate its shadow. If this failure continues then the societal shadow may erupt, as in fascism, or in racial hatred, or in a senseless and destructive war (Samuels, 2005a, p. 53).

The hero is always ready to answer the ethical call to integrate the shadow, as a moral problem. First and foremost, however, the heroes of this war are trying to provide models for imitation based on promulgated moral rules, one of the stages of psychomoral development of mankind (Odajnyk, 2007).

4.6.3 Conscience and Integrity: The Good Use of Entrusted Power for

Collective Purposes

Despite its great healing potential, Lava Jato will not extinguish corruption in Brazil. As noted in the introduction, this is a process that will probably take centuries, as it did in Denmark, where the fight against corruption began 350 years ago (Jensen, 2014).

> […] superficial reform might be futile because societies may return to the culturally determined level of corruption. However, culture explains only a fraction of the variance of levels of corruption, leaving sufficient prospects that countries can change for the better even if their cultural preconditions are less favorable (Lambsdorff, 2006).

Perhaps one of Operation Car Wash's greatest contributions is to teach that individual effort on behalf of the collective has its benefits. If corruption is the 'abuse of entrusted power for private ends', perhaps the meaning of its antonyms, integrity and moral conscience, goes hand in hand with 'good use of the power entrusted to collective ends'. Thinking collectively naturally demands an enormous responsibility, but it also gives rise to trusting others, by means of alterity.

If Operation Car Wash turns out to positively influence Brazilian society so that its individuals learn to think collectively, then Brazilians will become protagonists of their own history. If that occurs, the great battle against corruption will be internal. Understanding the ethical obligations of citizenship requires a conscious process of moral development.

4.7 Conclusion

It is not clear whether it is really possible for a country (or even an individual) not to be possessed by its own complexes. According to Jung's view on the dissolution of complexes, 'a complex can be really overcome only if is lived out to the full. In other words, if we are to develop further we have to draw to us and drink down to the very dregs what, because of our complexes, we have held at a distance' (CW 9/1, § 184). A shift in the perspective takes the subject out of the position of victim of the complexes and gives him/her an active role in confronting them. In another passage, Jung mentions the dissolution of the anima as an autonomous complex and reinforces the impossibility of escaping the complex or making it powerless: 'The dissolution of the anima means that we have gained insight into the driving forces of the unconscious, but not that we have made these forces ineffective. They can attack us at any time in new form. And they will infallibly do so if the conscious attitude has a flaw in it' (CW 7, § 391). Although Jung refers in these quotes to the psychology of the individual, we can transpose this statement to the collective approach of the complexes.

If decades and centuries is the time it takes for a collective complex to be developed and activated, it might take centuries and millennia to dissolve it. Letting the complexes just run their course will not be enough, for time itself is not a remedy (Lu, 2013a; 2013b), but every change that happens in that period. More specifically, the dissolution of the autonomous complexes requires gradual transformation (CW 7, § 341), which, at an individual level, is considered by Jung as the aim of the analysis of the unconscious. There must be transformation, says Jung, in order to reduce the determining influence of the unconscious; otherwise neurotic symptoms will persist or there will be a compulsive transference. For him, the solution is not to interpret the

situation, but to release unconscious processes and to let them enter the conscious mind in the form of fantasies. There seems to be a 'pathologisation' of social events and cultural complexes by some authors, despite Jung's assertion of the normal character of complexes. Moreover, the transgenerational transmission of trauma must be dealt with by means of 'creating new narratives in which experiences of the past can be framed' (Lu, 2013a, p. 399)

I have presented in this chapter the distinct characteristics of Brazilians' historical psycho-cultural constitution that might be influencing the corruption phenomenon at the cultural level. These characteristics might be hindering the collective process of political awareness, which discourages Brazilians from fighting for a common good. Although Brazilians display accentuated passive characteristics, the population ultimately does whatever they want in order to accrue benefits.

CHAPTER 5: INDIVIDUAL LEVEL OF CORRUPTION

> *'Knowing the same tricks a con man knows is the best way to protect yourself from him. – Naru' (Inada, 2006)*
>
> *'Could the perpetrators of these evils be "good apples", who happened to find themselves in a "bad barrel"?' (Zimbardo, 2007).*
>
> *'Anything that any human being has ever done – anything imaginable – is potentially doable by any of us in the same situation' (Zimbardo, 2007).*
>
> *'We have met the enemy and he is us' – Pogo (Kelly, 1971).*

5.1 Definition of Corruption at the Individual Level

Corruption can be described as a 'deviant behaviour' of legal norms and moral values 'which manifests itself in an abuse of a function in politics, society or economy, in favour of another person or institution' (Rabl, 2008, p. 25). It refers to the process of decision-making in ethical dilemma situations as well as to the justification strategies of corrupt individuals. For instance, the corrupt individual can opt for a bribe to seal a deal in a difficult business negotiation or to get out of a financial difficulty. In these situations, the individual tends to avoid dealing with his own incompetence[66] or feelings of inferiority – an avoidance of his own unpleasant unconscious contents. From the standpoint of analytical psychology, corruption can be understood in the corrupt individual as a defence mechanism against the harmful contents of the shadow. Corruption seems to work out as an easy and lazy way to solve one's problems or inadequacies. At this level of analysis, *corruption is related to characteristics of the individual personality*.

---

[66] Corrupt practices are *anti-competitive*. Corruption is often used as a substitute for healthy competition (Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice and the Enforcement Division of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, 2012, p. 3).

Describing 'corrupt individuals' implies describing an image that is in society's imaginary. We are dealing not with corrupt persons only, but also with the image we have of such persons[67]. Jung makes a clear separation of the image from the object itself. For him, just as there is Christ the man, there is also Christ the divine image, the *symbol*. The first had a personal life history; the second entered into human history for what he represents. He has become atemporal. He is always represented as a superior being, indicating his ascendancy over the normal human being. In the case of corrupt politicians, they exist at the human level with their idiosyncrasies but they also exist at the symbolic level as the corrupt individuals who are robbing Brazil of its future.

At the personal level, corruption represents an archetypal tendency of the ego to inflation and to transgress social norms for personal gain. The individualistic and narcissistic characteristics observed in the corrupt individual coincide with society's projection of its own unwanted content. Society uses its politicians to reaffirm its own integrity and honesty, disguising its own non-compliance with the social norm.

Corruption is usually defined at the individual level as a self-interested behaviour of transgression of the rules of coexistence in society at the expense of the group. It includes both the personal gain and loss for the society, but makes no differentiation between the agents involved or the extent of the corrupt act. Corruption is a transgression of the public/private dichotomy (Lennerfors, 2008) but this dichotomy is here changed into the individual/society dichotomy, as the latter can better demonstrate the separation of the corrupt individual from what is agreed as a perfect communion

---

[67] On the difference between the image and the object itself, Jung affirmed: 'In practical psychology, therefore, we would do well to make a rigorous distinction between the image or imago of a man and his real existence. Because of its extremely subjective origin, the imago is frequently more an image of a subjective functional complex than of the object itself. In the analytical treatment of unconscious products it is essential that the imago should not be assumed to be identical with the object; it is better to regard it as an image of the subjective relation to the object. That is what is meant by interpretation on the subjective level' (CW 6, § 812).

between citizens. Implicit in this is that the individual who commits corruption feels left out of this great unity that is society. Paradoxically, in Brazil, the corrupt individual relativises his/her guilt by thinking 'everyone else does, why not me?'. This definition is as applicable to civil servants as it is to ordinary citizens, and to both endemic and systemic types of corruption. All corruption can therefore be considered political. It also includes the idea of transgression, which has inflation of the ego and hubris as its premises. The act of corruption requires a feeling of immense power and uniqueness in order to justify the desire for personal gain by means transgressing the rules.

5.2 Conversations, Confessions, Depositions and Interviews

One of the most commonly used research methods in psychology to understand subjects' behaviour is the interview. However, in this research, interviewing corrupt individuals seemed to be an insurmountable problem. Most have a great deal to hide and/or are undergoing criminal investigation, particularly politicians. Corruption is well known to be a crime that occurs in secrecy (Rabl, 2008, p. 108), but the Car Wash Operation left everyone suspicious, and made it even more difficult to access corrupt individuals. As noted by Sapochnik, '[…] corruption is hard to observe in the field, since everyone engaged in it has good reasons to remain silent' (2003, p. 180).

The question arises: why did they do it? What motivated these individuals to commit so many acts of corruption? One way to answer these questions was to a) analyse academic research on the characteristics of corrupt individuals; b) ask politicians to discuss the topic in general and off the record; c) collect declarations from individuals condemned for corruption released by the media; and d) access the judicial depositions of defendants in the Car Wash Operation. I present here seven illustration

cases or stories related to corruption. The first two are conversations on the topic of corruption with politicians *who have never been legally accused of corruption*. The last five are with politicians and businessmen *who have been arrested for corruption*. Evidently, each case should be analysed individually and is not statistically representative. Nonetheless, several common characteristics seem to occur among corrupt individuals.

6.2.1 Academic Research on Corrupt Individuals

Based on an extensive literature review and research of games designed to analyse corrupt behaviour, Rabl (2008) (2009) created a profile of the corrupt individual. She discovered that, in general, they have the following personality traits: an external locus of control (the consequences of their own behaviour are attributed to other people or external circumstances), Machiavellianism (the tendency to manipulate or deceive others to gain advantage), extraversion, high risk preparedness and pathological narcissism. She found that the corrupt individual's values and attitudes are: primitive moral thinking, relativistic and teleological value orientation, corruption-friendly attitude, corruption-friendly subjective norm and neutralisation/normalisation. For Rabl, the motives used to justify corruption are: financial self-interest, material and immaterial benefits, career ambition, striving for power, job frustration, thrill-seeking, excessive demand, revenge, dissatisfaction and gaining advantages over competitors.

Additionally, Ashforth and Anand (2003, p. 5) considered 'cognitive moral development' and 'fear of failing' as personal factors that are present in corrupt individuals, while Litzcke et al. also considered cynicism, intelligence and a tendency towards psychopathy (Litzcke, Linssen, Schilling, & Schön, 2011).

Eugene Soltes spent seven years in the company of men condemned for white-collar crimes and interviewed 'more than four dozen of the most senior executives who oversaw some of the most significant corporate failures in history'. His objective was to understand why they had engaged in malfeasance. 'I sought to place myself in their positions and to understand the world as they saw it. It sometimes took months, even years in several instances, before we developed a relationship that gave them the comfort to discuss their views more frankly' (Soltes, 2016, p. 5). As we will see, to these characteristics we may also add a tendency towards inflation, transgression and a possible neurotic dissociation (Novaes, 2017).

5.2.2 Informal conversation with politicians

Case 1

In an informal conversation[68] with a Brazilian politician (a state deputy) who showed interest in my research, I took the opportunity to test some hypotheses. I asked him what he thought about the corruption phenomenon. As might be anticipated, he was quick to exonerate himself from any accusation, saying he was privileged to not have had any direct contact with corruption. He then alleged that non-politicians do not understand that there is a big difference between the common world and the world of politics. For him, they have different rules and the world of politics has its own moral code.

I asked him if it was possible to conduct politics in Brazil without corruption. He replied that no, it was not possible, but that it was necessary to distinguish two things:

---

[68] Personal conversation in Boston, USA (March 2017).

slush funds and corruption. For him, it is acceptable to keep a slush fund for the purpose of financing electoral campaigns. There would be no escape from this, as that was how the system was built. He explained that one *must* keep a slush fund to be elected. 'Everyone does it', he said. However, for this politician, there are individuals who have illicit enrichment as their life goal, making corruption a profession. For him, these individuals have distorted moral values.

When I asked this politician if he could introduce me to someone who could provide an anonymous testimonial about a corruption scheme – a first-person experience or someone who had witnessed it somehow – the deputy's face changed. He became tense and said he did not know anyone. I rephrased the question to ensure he understood it was for research purposes, but he seemed suspicious. He said that it would be especially difficult to find someone who would speak freely about corruption, because everyone is now paranoid and afraid of getting caught.

The deputy spontaneously spoke about what he liked most about his profession: 'the feeling of being able to make things happen', of being able to make laws and of omnipotence. He spoke about it enthusiastically and with a glint in his eyes.

Slush funds, better known as *caixa dois* in Brazil (literally 'a second cashier'), are auxiliary bank accounts or reserve funds, often kept for dishonest purposes in business or politics. Keeping a slush fund is an electoral crime (its practice is punishable with up to five years of imprisonment under Art. 350 of the electoral code) and it is often used to cover other crimes. It camouflages the origin of money that may be derived from over-invoiced works, cartel practice and even corrupt acts. Demystifying the slush fund crime becomes a way of justifying corruption. It does not seem possible to separate slush funds from corruption. Although they are separate crimes (the first is a crime described in the electoral code and the second in the penal

code), slush funds are intrinsically linked to corruption. 'There is no innocent slush fund', says prosecutor and electoral law professor Silvana Batini (Schreiber, 2017). Many politicians are asking for an amnesty for crimes related to keeping slush funds. However, this amnesty minimises the seriousness of the slush fund problem and creates a *moral normalisation* of corruption.

Case 2

In another informal conversation[69], I was introduced to the president of a political party as a psychologist that was studying corruption. He immediately showed interest and spontaneously said that 'what is behind the corrupt politician's thinking is this: "since I help so many people, I can help myself too"'. This affirmation can be compared to saying that politicians believe they are heroes[70] that deserve rewards.

He also affirmed that corruption in general does not get to the politician, as they do not deal with the money. 'They are not responsible for the calculations', he said. Supposedly, everything is solved by the operators and fundraisers. His affirmation seems to exempt the politicians from guilt. Although this hypothesis seems overly naive, it could explain the distancing between the corrupt actor and the victim. In this sense, there is a compartmentalisation of crime. Each individual is a piece of the puzzle, but they might not able to see the whole picture.

While these informal conversations do not exactly prove the theories, they can be considered case illustrations. Some of the ideas discussed in relation to politics and corruption became evident and the following ideas were confirmed: 1) No one likes to assume their own corruption; 2) Justification of corruption tends to normalise the

---

[69] Personal conversation in Cambridge, USA (April 2017).
[70] See discussion on the hero motif in the chapter on the cultural level of corruption.

process, for example, 'everybody does it' and 'keeping a "slush fund" is not the same as corruption'; 3) The feeling of omnipotence can itself be an inherent characteristic of politics as a profession, which is not of itself necessarily bad (striving for power is politics' special means).

5.2.3 Confessions/declarations of corrupt individuals released by the media

The media play an important role in making corruption cases public, but only a limited number of stories are told by the corrupt individuals themselves. Here, I present some stories, which I collected over the years, that were told in the first person to a public audience.

Case 3

Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, former Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. discussed the accusations of corruption in relation to the Saudi royal family:

> I would be offended if I thought we had the monopoly of corruption […] The way I answer the corruption charges is this: in the last thirty years, we have implemented a development program, that was approximately… close to 400 billion dollars. You could not have done all that for less than… let's say... $350 billion. Now, if you tell me that building this whole country and spending $350 billion out of $400 billion that we had misused or get corrupt with $50 billion I'll tell you, 'yes'. But I'll take that any time. But more important: who are you to tell me this? I mean, I've seen all the time scandals here, on in England or in Europe… What I'm trying to tell you is: so what? We did not invent corruption. This happens since Adam and Eve. I mean, Adam and Eve were in heaven and they had hank-panky and they had to go down to earth. So, this is human nature. But we're not as bad as you think (Frontline, 2009).

Prince Bandar's confession on live television is astonishing. He openly reveals what everyone is trying to conceal and is clearly unafraid of being caught. The blending of the private and public sphere is much more evident in a sultanate. As a prince, he

seems to be untouchable. Although he demonstrates arrogance, he also attempts to dismiss any bad image that may surround him, by normalising the corrupt behaviour.

Case 4

Reinhard Siekaczek was once a midlevel executive at Siemens and keeper of its slush fund. His case seems to be an exception: 'Mr. Siekaczek isn't a stereotype of a white-collar villain' (Schubert & Miller, 2009). He lives a simple life and displays no signs of having personally enriched himself. 'There are no Ferraris in his driveway, or villas in Monaco' (Schubert & Miller, 2009).

> We all knew that what we were doing was illegal. I didn't really look at it from an ethical standpoint. We did it for the company. It was about keeping the business unit alive and not jeopardizing thousands of jobs overnight. We always thought top management would back us up, which, unfortunately, didn't happen. In hindsight, it became clear that paying provisions and bribes was customary in practically all business units of Siemens AG […].

> My former boss told me, be careful. The compliance watchdog at Siemens believes this can all be pinned on you personally and that you can be made out to be the scapegoat. And since my signature was on most of the receipts and I had the power of attorney for the Liechtenstein bank account, people assumed that they could pin that all on me. My reaction was deeply disappointed on the inside, but I told myself that people will be very surprised that their plan won't work out and that it won't be possible to make me out to be the only guilty party because dozens of people in the business unit were involved. And nobody is going to believe that this can be pinned on one person alone. *In hindsight, I asked myself what kind of idiot was I to have shown such great loyalty toward this company. It's hard to explain.* And at the end of the day all I got for it was a kick in the pants and I am an outcast now. That doesn't only apply to me, but to other colleagues as well. I don't think the people on top will be held accountable, except maybe for fines and I don't know how the other trials will end. It is pretty clear that existing laws have to be obeyed (The New York Times, 2008) [emphasis added].

> I doubt that Siemens's name has suffered. Since bribery is very common in many countries, people will only say that they were unlucky and that they broke the 11th Commandment. The 11th Commandment is 'Don't get caught' (Frontline, 2009).

The irony of it is that Siekaczek was chosen to manage the slush fund because he was 'a man renowned within the company for his personal honesty, his deep company loyalty – and his experiences in the shadowy world of illegal bribery' (Schubert & Miller, 2009).

Nonetheless, other characteristic might be present in Siekaczek's case: great respect for institutional and values (compliance). This respect shows a great separation from personal and public life and, but more than that, it shows how corruption can be normalized: he was just following orders[71].

Case 5

In an interview to a renowned Brazilian magazine, Sérgio Côrtes was asked: 'Are you corrupt?', to which he responded: 'in an objective way, yes, I *was* corrupt. *Vanity has corrupted me*. […] I do not consider myself a corrupt individual like others' [emphasis added]. 'My mistake was power', he said.

> I'm ashamed of my name. I'm ashamed to say that I'm Sergio Cortes. I am ashamed that my children use my name, lest people associate them with me. Feeling ashamed of your son… there's nothing worse. [...] My name is tainted. I do not know how much society will forgive me. This disappointment that I think they have of me is my biggest incentive to change. That is why I made this decision with my lawyers to return the money.

> I'm not that much corrupt, because I know that it [misallocation of funds] is happening, that there will be money for the campaigns. But I'm not directly involved so I'm not allowing any damage to the public treasury. I'm not like the others, but it does not matter, I did it. […] I allowed it […] to corrupt myself for vanity.

> When you enter prison you have three destinations. Either you change, which corresponds – from the experience I had there – to less than 10%; or you remain the same; or you get worse (Lima, 2018).

---

[71] Cf. Hannah Arendt's work on the banalization of evil.

Cortês and Cabral (Case 6) were partners in crime. Both are in the pictures of the Napkin Party (*Farra dos Guardanapos*) presented in the first chapter. Vanity seems to still be a characteristic of his personality, for this video interview was recorded and broadcasted by *Veja*, a Brazilian weekly news magazine.

5.2.4 Judicial interrogations of the defendants in the Car Wash Operation.

Case 6

Sergio Cabral, the former governor of Rio de Janeiro, was considered by Época Magazine to be one of the 100 most influential Brazilians of 2009 (Revista Época, 2009). In 2016, however, he was arrested for corruption in the Car Wash Operation. In an interrogation, he was asked if he regretted the crimes he had committed. He evaded the inquiries from the Attorney General's Office and answered only those questions asked by his lawyers (Estadão, 2017).

After his arrest, Cabral quoted the famous slogan attributed to Adhemar de Barros[72] to deny receiving bribes: 'I am not Adhemar de Barros who steals, but gets things done. I accomplished' (Grillo, 2017a). Nonetheless, he declares he received some 'campaign collaboration' and accused the informants of mixing the two: 'I have never received a bribe in Maracanã or any other work or service. What I received was campaign collaboration, and they [the informants] mix those as it pleases them' (Grillo, 2017a).

After spending just two years in prison (from a 200-year sentence), Cabral's discourse changed: he wanted to tell the truth. Cabral said he had not been able to resist

---

[72] Cf. Chapter 7: 'The Dissociative Aspect of Morality in Corrupt Behaviour'.

the temptations of power. 'This error of mine, this attitude mistake, is of an attachment to power, to money, all of this. It is an addiction'. When Cabral was asked by the judge why he had lied up to this moment, he replied: 'It hurts a lot, today it does not hurt anymore. Spiritually I'm fine to say that, but it hurts a lot for someone who has a recognizable political career. It's a very deep pain'. The judge finished his sentence for him: '… to get here and say you stole it?' Cabral agreed: 'Yes. Really hurts' (Jornal Nacional, 2019).

Case 7

Marcelo Odebrecht, crown prince of one of the five largest private groups in Brazil, was condemned for corruption (19 years and 4 months). He was the main funder of the slush funds of political parties in Brazil. He declared in his deposition:

> *I do not know any politicians in Brazil who have managed to make any election without slush funds.* No one in Brazil is elected without slush funds. A guy might even say he did not know, but he got money from the party that was from a slush fund. It does not exist, it does not exist. […] It is a vicious cycle that has been created. [...] *The politician who says he did not receive money through a slush fund is lying.* This electoral crime everybody committed. Slush funds became something that no one treated as a crime anymore. [...] The illegality was in how the value was set. […] The official money (*caixa 1*) was a small part of the contribution (Brandt, Affonso, Serapião, & Pires, 2017).

The entrepreneur Marcelo Odebrecht is presented by reporters Cabral and Oliveira as having two faces, a bright and a dark. Marcelo would then be at the same time both a good citizen and a corrupt man.

> For part of the Brazilian society, the entrepreneur is a kind of representation of evil, the corrupt [person] who has boosted the expansion of his company based on the purchase of political power and of embezzlement in public bidding. Another segment, however, which includes many employees of the group [of Odebrecht companies], sees Marcelo as a genius entrepreneur, who ended up swallowed by a corrupted political system and was forced to follow the rules of a skewed game to defend the company and family (Cabral & Oliveira, 2017, p. 20).

Most characteristics presented in the cases can be seen in the myths described in the next topic.

5.3 Analysis of corrupt individuals' characteristics through myths

'[…] it is hard to understand why someone who has reached the pinnacle of success would risk all that for more' – US District Judge Richard Sullivan (Lattman, 2013).

In this topic, I analyse characteristics of corrupt individuals through myths. As presented previously, Joseph Campbell describes myths as 'the stories of wisdom of life' (Campbell & Moyers, 1991, p. 11), which reveal what human beings have in common.

Myths are a collective creation, not individual. They portray how reality is seen by a people, thus myths can be seen as explanations of the world and of modes of existence. They seem to arise from the need to have access to unconscious contents and the way this happens is by means of anthropomorphisation. Characteristics of the personality related to corruption, like narcissism, omnipotence, inflation, transgression, greed and arrogance, are analysed here through the myths of Narcissus, Phaeton and Nemesis**.**

5.3.1 The Ego-Self Axis

Before discussing the myths per se, it is important to describe some Jungian concepts related to the ego-Self axis and the process of ego-inflation. In Jungian

psychology, the *ego* is regarded as the centre of the conscious personality (CW 6, § 706). The ego involves a sense of continuity of body and mind in relation to space, time and causality (Whitmont, 2006, p. 206). The ego 'is not identical with the totality of my psyche. […] the ego is only the subject of my consciousness, while the self is the subject of my total psyche, which also includes the unconscious' (CW 6, § 706).

The *Self* is the archetype of wholeness and the regulating centre of the personality – conscious and unconscious (CW 6, § 902). It is experienced as a transpersonal power that transcends the ego (Whitmont, 2006, p. 197). Paradoxically, the Self is simultaneously 'the centre and the circumference of the circle of totality' (Edinger, 1992, p. 6).

The *ego-self axis* is an expression used to describe the relationship between these two psychic instances. The relationship between the ego and the Self must occur in a balanced and structuring way throughout the process of *individuation*, which is the process of psychological differentiation, whose objective is the development of the individual personality (CW 6, § 757). It is practically the same as the development of consciousness (CW 6, § 762).

'The Self is thus the supreme psychic authority and subordinates the ego to it' (Edinger, 1992, p. 3). Nonetheless, sometimes there is a change in this subordinate relationship: 'I use the term inflation to describe the attitude and the state which accompanies the identification of the ego with the self' (Edinger, 1992, p. 7).

The relationship between these two centres of the psyche is of vital importance. In the course of psychological development from birth to death, this connection between ego and self, in general, changes progressively from separation to reunion. However, several cycles occur within this larger cycle, in which this relationship alternates between inflation and submission.

An inflated consciousness is always egocentric and conscious of nothing but its own existence […]. It is hypnotized by itself and therefore cannot be argued with. It inevitably dooms itself to calamities that must strike it dead. Paradoxically enough, inflation is a regression of consciousness into unconsciousness. This always happens when consciousness takes too many unconscious contents upon itself and loses the faculty of discrimination, the *sine qua non* of all consciousness (CW 12, § 563).

The state of inflation can reflect deeply on the personality of the individual, as it is 'a state of mind characterised by an exaggerated sense of self-importance, often compensated by feelings of inferiority. [...] Inflation, whether positive or negative, is a symptom of psychological possession, indicating the need to assimilate unconscious complexes or disidentify from the self' (Sharp, 1991). Inflation is a condition that can possess man and rob him of his free will.

5.3.2 Narcissus

Narcissus's myth has been the subject of analysis and many interpretations over the centuries. According to Ovid (1993), Narcissus was the son of the river-god Cephissus and the nymph Liriope and was in possession of an extraordinary beauty. He was more beautiful than the immortals, and his beauty came to torment Liriope who wondered: how many years would then he live? Concerned, Liriope consulted the augur Tiresias, who said Narcissus would live for many years 'if he never knows himself' (Ovid, 1993, p. 91). Narcissus was desired by both youths and young girls. However, he remained insensible to these passions: 'he had much cold pride within his tender body' (Ovid, 1993, p. 91). Among those in love with Narcissus was the talkative nymph Echo, who was condemned by Hera to no longer speak for herself. She could only repeat the last words she had heard. Echo tried to approach Narcissus, but was coldly repelled by him. Echo isolated herself and languished, becoming an ethereal

being. The other nymphs, irritated by Narcissus' insensitivity and coldness, demanded revenge from Nemesis, who condemned Narcissus to love an impossible love: 'may Narcissus fall in love; but once a prey, may he, too, be denied the prize he craves' (Ovid, 1993, p. 93). Approaching a pool to quench his thirst, Narcissus leaned over the waters, saw his own image reflected in the water and could no longer leave: '[…] he gazes in dismay at his own self; he cannot turn away his eyes; he does not stir […]' (Ovid, 1993, p. 94) . He saw himself and the prophecy was fulfilled. He had fallen in love with his own image and died. Where he died was found a delicate white flower with a yellow centre, the poisonous narcissus flower.

The name Narcissus derives from *narke* (Stein, 2016, p. 17) which refers to the state of stupor and drowsy near-unconsciousness (usually produced by *narcotics*) (OED, 2012) that corresponds to the uroboric totality of unconsciousness present in the child shortly after birth (Cavalcanti, 1992).

Psychology and psychiatry have used Narcissus' myth to describe narcissistic personality disorder which refers to 'a pervasive pattern of grandiosity, need for admiration, and lack of empathy' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The DSM-V, the standard classification of mental disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), lists the characteristics of an individual with narcissistic personality disorder as follows: grandiose sense of self-importance; fantasies of unlimited success, power, brilliance or beauty; belief of being special and unique; excessive need for admiration; sense of self-entitlement; interpersonally exploitative (Machiavellianism); lack of empathy; excessive envy; arrogant and haughty behaviours.

Most of these characteristics can be found in the corrupt individuals that are depicted in the media (as seen in the previous topic about corrupt individuals' stories).

Of course, this does not mean that they are all narcissists, as a narcissistic personality disorder remains a severe and fairly rarely clinically diagnosed condition (MacDonald, 2014). Nonetheless, sub-clinical narcissism seems to have reached epidemic proportions and the consequences are shown every day on the television. This certainly conveys the idea of what society is projecting onto corrupt individuals. Despite his great beauty, Narcissus' flaws are evident: arrogance, omnipotence, pseudo-perfection, immoderation and his undifferentiated and underdeveloped state. Narcissus represents the danger of *vanitas*. As noted by Côrtes (case 5) in a video interview to the most renowned magazine in Brazil, 'vanity has corrupted me' (Lima, 2018).

Rijsenbilt and Commandeur conducted research on narcissism as a potential cause of fraud. For this, they measured the narcissistic tendencies of a sample of 500 CEOs based on 15 objective indicators (related to compensation, exposure, power and acquisition behaviour) and compared with the frauds committed by them (Rijsenbilt & Commandeur, 2013). The results demonstrated a positive statistically significant relationship between CEO narcissism and the occurrence of fraud.

According to MacDonald, 'Group greed and grandiosity, as in the world of banking, have led to wide-scale corruption and cover-ups leaving us vulnerable and unable to place our trust in many organisations' (MacDonald, 2014, p. 144).

The main objective of narcissistic corrupt individuals seems to be to extract from others the admiration required to protect a fragile sense of self and to possess things that can establish the unique worth of their possessor. They are driven by a specific form of *greed*, whose goal is the 'ultimate narcissistic fulfilment' (Levine, 2005).

There are many ways to interpret Narcissus' myth. Some interpretations are more positive and others more negative. Narcissus' path can be interpreted for example as a search for identity and individuation (Cavalcanti, 1995). Nonetheless, this does not

seem to be the case. Stein, on the other hand, understands Narcissus as a character that flirts with death:

> Narcissus's story does not include the heroic journey out into the world, away from home, meeting life head-on, ego-building. He begins and ends his life by the water's side, lost in passionate reflection, introvertedly gazing into the depths. His way moves downward, into disillusionment, death, and the underworld (Stein, 2016, p. 17).

> [...] Narcissus, in viewing his umbra [shadow] is beholding his death and underworld existence. [...] Opening to death and the underworld as he does, Narcissus would function not so much as a Hermetic guide of souls to the nether regions, but rather as an image of covert and unself-conscious death eroticism, inviting death, courting it, flirting with it, and longing for its embrace – longing to be united with one's umbra. Unconsciously, he tempts and invites the water-sprite/mother-anima to ravish him and steal him to herself, to possess him and extinguish his alienated ego centre (Stein, 2016, p. 18).

> Corrupt individuals 'seem suicidally stupid' (Darley, 2005, p. 1177). Siekaczek's

behaviour (the Siemen's engineer, case 4), for example, is metaphorically suicidal. He knew his actions were wrong and that he would be held to account for them, but he continued nevertheless. For some unknown reason, he acted like it was a Russian roulette game and played against the odds. In some cases, corruption can really lead to death, as in the case of the Iranian tycoon who was sentenced to death for corruption (Boyle, 2016).

Corrupt individuals' supposed lack of empathy can also be found in the myth: Narcissus was insensible to passions, to the other. For this, he violates the other-directed impulses of love, offending Eros himself (Stein, 2016, p. 17).

5.3.3 Phaeton

Phaeton was the son of the nymph Clymene and Helios – a solar deity whom he did not meet. Phaeton, whose name means 'the shining or beaming one', could not bear the scorn of his peers, who called him a fool for believing that he was the son of a god.

With rage and shame, he told his mother what had happened and wanted proof of his parentage to regain his honour. After an arduous search, Phaeton reached the palace of the Sun, his father. Desiring to please his son, Helios promised to grant any request that Phaeton should make. Phaeton asked to drive his father's chariot for one day. The chariot of the Sun crossed the sky driven by four strong horses. His father replied, '[…] you ask what is beyond a mortal's power' (Bulfinch, 1855, p. 61). However, unable to refuse his wish, he recommended Phaeton to drive the chariot halfway up, neither going too high nor touching the earth. However, his advice was in vain. When Phaeton tried to rise through the sky, leading the four horses, they felt that the hands that led them were neither firm nor safe. Phaeton lost control of the chariot, touched the stars and the mountains and burned heaven and earth. Cities, rivers, mountains and clouds were scorched, and even Phaeton himself. Observing the tragedy, Zeus, the supreme god of Olympus, flung one of his powerful lightning bolts upon the chariot and its driver, who fell dead in the river Eridanus, leaving the earth plunged into darkness for a day.

The myth of *Phaeton* is related to inflation and can portray, at least partially, the unconscious process that is involved in corrupt behaviour: the myth is centred around an act of nepotism[73], a favouritism granted to relatives that is deeply associated with corruption. As proof of parentage, Helios let his son Phaeton drive the chariot of the sun, something that is beyond a mortal's power. Phaeton lost control of the chariot and died. Phaeton's story of inflation and transgression is explained through the ego-Self axis.

In their arrogance and sense of personal entitlement (like Prince Bandar, case 3), corrupt individuals may access power for which they are not ready. This myth

---

[73] According to Nye (1967, p. 419), corruption 'violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence', which includes nepotism, the 'bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit'.

represents not just human audacity, but also its incompetency before the complexity of the universe. Phaeton wanted to do something that was beyond his comprehension but ultimately succumbed to it. When we exceed our limits, we might be punished with a fall – Phaeton is usually pictured falling upside down. He had great ambition but his ego was too weak for such a challenge that only a god could accomplish. He is in search of identity but this search is based on vanity. His punishment affects not only him but other mortals and he does not pay attention to the consequences of his act. 'An inflated consciousness is always egocentric and conscious of nothing but its own existence' (CW 12, § 563).

The corrupt individual's relationship with the law is represented by the condescending relationship with the father in this myth. 'The father, as a representative of the law, prevents the child from searching for narcissistic satisfaction and functions as a mediator between desire and law, between the pleasure principle and the reality principle' (Cavalcanti, 1995, p. 49). Corrupt individuals go beyond the ethical limit and become suicidal, because they want to know the father, the law, the limit. Omnipotence and unbridledness (*desmedida*) bring the opportunity of confrontation with each one's measure. Helios (reluctantly) led his son to experience castration. 'Phaeton wanted to experience his strength, objectivity, determination, but [he went] beyond his limits, in a desire for *narcissistic affirmation*' [emphasis added] (Cavalcanti, 1995, p. 51).

> The father helps the child acquire the knowledge of the notion of identity and individuality, of the perception of the psychic contours and of the boundaries that distinguish the ego from the non-ego. With increasing awareness of individuality there is, in parallel, an increase in the consciousness of the other. And the perception of the individuality of the other increases, in turn, the perception of the ego (Cavalcanti, 1995, p. 50).

The law must be structuring for the subject. The absence of it (or the fact that it is not put into practice) can make it difficult for the individual to separate what is his and what is from the other.

5.3.4 Nemesis

Nemesis answered the Nymph's claim and punished Narcissus for his insensitivity and coldness. She condemned him to love an impossible love: his own image. Nemesis is both a goddess and an abstract concept. She is the goddess of retribution and moderation and represents the inescapable punishment of human presumption. Nemesis punishes anyone who succumbs to *hubris* and overcomes the *metron* (Greek word for measure). Surpassing the *metron* – the limit of human beings itself – is always an outrage, a violence committed against oneself and against the gods (Cavalcanti, 1992, p. 123).

In situations where the ego is inflated to the point of identification with the Self, we may speak of a *hubris*, an 'excessive pride towards or defiance of the gods, leading to nemesis' (OED, 2012). Hubris is the arrogance of an attempt to identify with divinity, which can be understood as omnipotence and ego inflation. Despite this arrogance being responsible for the hero's fall, it also conduces him/her to initiation.

Corruption can be understood as an excess or immoderation of individuals that want to have absolute pleasure (Minerbo, 2015). For this, they violate ethics and rules merely to favour themselves. Corruption is a seductive idea that promises to raise the individual above other humans, above the limitations that we experience.

According to Cavalcanti (1995, p. 124), the action of Nemesis 'occurs through the imposition of a "pathos" […] and it is determinant for the unfolding of subsequent events, that is, how the hero will live this unique experience, which will or will not lead to redemption, to individuation'. Through punishment, Nemesis instigates the search for ethical and moral development. Ethics, for her, also has a psychological meaning:

a consciousness of duty, which is linked to its development. Nemesis is then '[…] the experience of an internal ethics that does not allow the individual to deviate from his path' (Ibid.). As an archetype of punitive justice, Nemesis fosters the most archaic feeling of guilt.

The constellation of the Nemesis' archetype in its positive or negative polarity is determined at the time of the primal relationship, in the personal relation with the mother. If this relationship is satisfactory, the archetype's positive pole is then constellated and the corresponding feeling is that life is good and that the mother is a source of faith and hope. 'Through the projection of the Nemesis archetype onto the mother, justice, mother and life are felt to be fair, ethical, and ordered' (Ibid.) – which is the basis for the development of an internal ethical standard, a sense of justice. On the other hand, when there are disturbances in the primal relationship, fate and life appear as treacherous and frustrating, and the corresponding feeling of lack of faith and confidence in life develops, as does the fear of the future – a negative aspect of Nemesis.

For Cavalcanti, Nemesis represents the ordering principle of the Self in each individual. 'The action of Nemesis takes place in the formation of consciousness and in the search for reconnection with the Self' (Ibid.). Nemesis' retribution enables healing by leaving a state of inflation and undifferentiation between ego and Self. It is a path to redemption from psychic omnipotence.

> It represents the justice and internal ethics of the hero, for it is he who will absolve himself or condemn himself from his behaviour and actions. It is the sense of ethics within each one. It is the individual who judges himself by his actions. It is not a judgment of the other, outside, of the father, representative of the external law, of the superego. Nemesis is the representation of the inner law. The experience of this internal law, from which the individual cannot escape, is a sign of psychic maturity. [...] The feeling of guilt and sin is replaced by a sense of personal responsibility (Cavalcanti, 1995, p. 127).

Nemesis is the goddess of punishment, whose function is to re-establish the balance when justice ceases to be equitable, because of a hybris – an 'excess' or 'insolence' practised towards the gods. Nemesis is the avenger of crime, excess and immoderation. In the following fragments, it is possible to see examples of different reactions of corrupt individuals after getting caught, or after Nemesis's action:

> *I will never believe I have done anything criminally wrong*. I did what is business. If I bent any rules, who doesn't? If you are going to punish me, sweep away the system. If I am guilty, there are many others who should be by my side in the dock (Hopkins, 1974) [emphasis added].

> …*Unfortunately*. I regret it bitterly, because I am suffering it in the flesh, I am making my family suffer. *Unfortunately*, I accepted a political nomination [to a high office]. …*Unfortunately*. I am extremely sorry to have done that. If I had the opportunity not to do it, I would not do it again (Mendes, 2014) [emphasis added].

The first declaration is from John Poulson, a 63-year-old British architect convicted of corrupt practices. He shows (apparently) no sign of guilt or shame. The second is from Paulo Roberto Costa, a 61-year-old former director of Petrobras, who was sentenced to house arrest. He is (apparently) full of remorse and emotion. Shame can be a path for healing but only if held with integrity (Beebe, 1992, p. 67). No information about their private lives is available, nor information about their personality characteristics. However, we could deduce that they took completely different paths after getting caught.

Many defendants in corruption cases make agreements with the federal police, like Paulo Roberto Costa. Since they are criminals themselves, they are not the most reliable witnesses, but according to Judge Sérgio Moro (Cunha's Judicial Sentence, p. 33):

> [...] crimes are not committed in heaven, and in many cases the only people who can serve as witnesses are equally criminals. Nonetheless, they can only accuse others if they can provide proof. It is not yet possible to know whether the benefits of the leniency agreements merely maintain the corrupt individual the same way he/she was before. In any case, others from his group will hardly trust this fellow again to establish new alliances.

Nevertheless, some defendants do demonstrate regret. For example, Pedro Barusco, former manager of Petrobras, declared he had begun receiving bribes in 1997 as a *personal initiative*. At first it was a joy, but then it became 'a desperation'. It was 'a path with no return'. According to him, 'collaborating with the investigations is a relief' and he promised to repatriate all the money he had received. Barusco also said he regretted participating in the scheme, as 'crime does not compensate'. The session is public, but at the request of Barusco, deputies cannot ask questions about his personal life or family (Borges, 2015).

One story seems to be an exception to the rule. One of the engineers of Petrobras returned the bribe he had received due to a heavy conscience. He had opened a European bank account to collect the kickbacks, but regretted it when he began receiving the money. According to the informer, the engineer thanked him because he was very distressed (Gonzaga, 2017). The informant (*delator*) from Odebrecht – the private company involved in the corruption scandal – reported that the engineer had returned the money to an employee of the company and thanked the person who had made the payment for understanding what he was going through. The informant explained that the money intended for the engineer was still in the bank account. It was agreed that no one would touch the money so that it could be used for other payoffs since he did not want the money.

That all happened before he was caught or even under investigation, as if he had heard the voice of conscience described in chapter 4. Regret, nonetheless, can be simulated:

> During one discussion, a CEO casually described to me the hours he had spent with his attorney rehearsing how to express contrition in preparation for his parole hearing. While he felt little reason to repent, his attorney advised him that he needed to effectively convey penance to improve his chances of parole. After much practice, the former CEO was soon able to present a convincing, albeit false, display of remorse (Soltes, 2016, p. 5).

This might have been the case with the former director of Petrobras, Roberto Duque, who remained silent during his interrogation but asked to be interrogated again by the judge a few weeks later. He had decided to return 20 million euros that he had received in bribes. He admitted the crimes of which he had been accused and emphasised his interest in signing the repatriation agreement necessary to return the money to those entitled to it (G1 Notícias, 2017). He was sentenced to more than 50 years of prison, which might have accounted for his remorse.

For Judge Eduardo Lino from the Court of Criminal Executions, the profile of white-collar inmates is different from the rest of the prison population. The class range in the prison is usually very low, which contrasts with the higher-status people that are now being convicted. For Lino, white-collar inmates are always trying to find ways to reduce their sentences and they do not engage in dangerous conduct (Agência Brasil, 2017). They seek to reduce the prison time through work or reading. Prisoners must write an essay about each book they read and present it. If the report is approved, they get four days deducted from their sentences. The judge says he has been receiving many reports. The politician José Dirceu, former Chief of Staff of the President, who was found guilty on charges of active and passive corruption, now helps with book distribution. For every three days of work, one day is deducted from his sentence.

> Incarcerated and coping with the stigma associated with their criminal conduct, many of these executives [condemned for white-collar crimes] were not the confident men they had once been. Life in prison was humbling. 'I received only nine cents per hour as a tutor for inmates studying to take the GED exam', sighed Russell Wasendorf, a CEO who previously ran one of the most successful futures brokerage houses in the United States. 'I have to work about six hours to earn enough money for a postage stamp'. A few former executives were reluctant to speak about their experience – in some cases, because they, too, were struggling to understand their own behaviour (Soltes, 2016, p. 5).

Although luxury was once a constant in the lives of these men, Siekaczek seems to be an exception to this rule, for he had a simple life. What stands out in his case is how technical he was.

There is an intimate relationship between impunity and corruption. However, it seems that imprisonment does not always mean the end of the corruption scheme. One of the prisoners in the Car Wash Operation was accused of receiving bribes even after being arrested. The payment was made into a slush fund because his accounts were blocked, and he had no money to pay his lawyer (G1 Notícias, 2017). Maybe, in this case, Nemesis did not reveal all her power.

5.4 Conclusion

The immediate benefits of corruption can be easily visualised in the form of enrichment and power. However, understanding the long-term benefits is still to come. Understanding ethical obligations requires a conscious process of moral development and corruption might be a necessary evil for the maturing process of Brazilian society.

In this chapter, I have presented several illustrative cases and myths that can help us understand the corruption phenomenon at the individual level.

PART III –A POST-JUNGIAN APPROACH TO MORALITY AND ETHICS

CHAPTER 6: CORRUPTION, INDIVIDUATION AND ETHICS

> *'As a student of Jung, equipped with a conceptual language that includes notions of personal shadow, archetypal shadow, and absolute evil, as well as ego, Self, and conscience, I can be lulled into thinking I understand this ethical territory better than I do'*
> *(Beebe, 1992, p. 35).*

> *'The antithesis of ethics versus corruption is obvious [...]'* (Zekos, 2004, p. 644).

> *'As a believer in religion, I have asked how prayer and sacrifice to God are different from bribes'* (Noonan, 1984, p. xvi).

Corruption is both a collective problem with individual roots and an individual problem with collective consequences. In Jung's opinion, the psychological transformation of the individual was the best approach to solve collective problems (Shamdasani, 2003, p. 303). He used the concept of *individuation* to describe the development of the individual personality and its relation to the collective. To contrast corruption and individuation, I analyse four ethical aspects of the concept of individuation: as a psychological imperative; as a political contribution to society; as an ethical goal; and as a religious experience[74].

I have broadened the concept of corruption from the criminal act of bribing or receiving bribery to corrupt behaviour in general[75]. As a result, corruption is revealed to be somewhat similar to all behaviour that is contrary to conscious and ethical development – particularly behaviours that make the individual increasingly individualistic, undifferentiated and separated from the whole. In this sense, corruption

---

[74] This list of aspects of the concept of individuation is merely didactical in order to facilitate the analysis of the relationship between corruption and individuation. Other facets of individuation, for example as an alchemical process or synchronistic experience, are also interwoven with the concept of individuation, but are not part of the scope of this analysis.

[75] Corruption is considered to be a form of unethical behaviour (Rabl, 2008, p. 29).

can be described as a counter-individuation movement[76]. Nonetheless, as we will see, corruption, like other ethical conflicts, can be a call to initiate the process of individuation.

6.1 The Concept of Individuation

One of the earliest appearances of the individuation concept in Jung's works was in 1916 in the enigmatic text *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos* ('Seven Sermons to the Dead') (Stein, 2006, p. 7). It appeared in a mystical and philosophical form, with gnostic elements. Jung used the expression *principium individuationis*, a term inherited from Schopenhauer but with roots in alchemy (through Gerard Dorn, a sixteenth-century alchemist) (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012, p. 76). Moreover, Jung was the first to apply the idea of individuation to psychology.

Jung explained the *principium individuationis* through the relationship between *creatura* and *pleroma*[77] (the creator). The *creatura* is perishable, confined within time and space, while the *pleroma* is eternal and whole, but also comprises death and emptiness. While the *creatura* is distinct, the *pleroma* has both distinctiveness and non-distinctiveness as qualities.

The essence of the *creatura* is the *principium individuationis*, the natural striving to move towards distinctiveness and to separate from the *pleroma* (Jung, 1989, p. 380). The *pleroma*'s qualities appear in pairs of opposites, which are balanced but void in

---

[76] In the topic 'Moral Dissociation', I present a less normative approach.
[77] The agnostic concept of the *pleroma* bears close resemblance with the idea of *Chaos* from the Classical antiquity and the primeval *void* before the work of creation in Genesis. 'The earth was formless and void, and darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was moving over the surface of the waters' (Genesis 1:2). 'Darkness', is this sense, 'possesses a negative quality and is as much a symbol of lack of differentiation and non-existence, as of a complete range of potentialities including those in opposition to each other' (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1996, p. 182). Chevalier and Gheerbrant bring to attention that 'Chaos precedes even the formation of the unconscious' (Ibid).

themselves. The *creatura* is part of the *pleroma*, and therefore also possesses the *pleroma*'s qualities. However, these qualities appear distinct and separate in the *creatura*. As victims of this antinomy, human beings (the creatures) strive to distinguish themselves from pairs of absolutes, such as good and evil, beauty and ugliness, so that they do not fall into the *pleroma*, into nothingness and dissolution (Jung, 1989, p. 381). Falling into the *pleroma* is felt by the creature as a sort of death – the harm of not distinguishing oneself. The *principium individuationis*, then, is a fundamental drive to become distinctive, a process in which the *creatura* must strive after its own being.

The relationship between consciousness and the unconscious is that of creature (confined within time and space) and creator (with unlimited possibilities). Consciousness is distinct (differentiated), while the unconscious has distinctiveness and non-distinctiveness, 'the matrix out of which everything that can ever become conscious will emerge' (Stein, 2006, p. 9).

Since its first appearance, the concept of individuation has evolved to become a pillar of Jungian theory and can essentially be conceived as: '[…] the process by which a person becomes a psychological "in-dividual", that is, a separate, indivisible unity or "whole"' (CW 9/1, § 490).

6.1.2 Individuation as a psychological imperative

Individuation, as a process of psychological development of the individual, is an 'innate psychological imperative that […] seeks to increase consciousness' (Stein, 2006, p. 5). In this sense, 'individuation means becoming a single, homogeneous being, and, in so far as "individuality" embraces our innermost, last, and incomparable

uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self. We could therefore translate individuation as "coming to selfhood" or "self-realization"' (CW 7, § 266).

While Jung asserts that individuation should not be confused with individualism, if conceived as a process of solely individual development, individuation is actually against adaptation to others. He then goes on to define the two:

> This misunderstanding is quite general, because we do not sufficiently distinguish between individualism and individuation. Individualism means deliberately stressing and giving prominence to some supposed peculiarity rather than to collective considerations and obligations. But *individuation means precisely the better and more complete fulfilment of the collective qualities of the human being*, since adequate consideration of the peculiarity of the individual is more conducive to a better social performance than when the peculiarity is neglected or suppressed (CW 7, § 267) [emphasis added].

Individuation implies coexistence, and thus, the establishment of ethical principles agreed upon between the individual and society. On the other hand, corruption implies breaking away from collective ethical principles and living according to one's own values. With no respect for duties and only recognition of rights, corruption is a rejection of the ethical life and individuation.

The concepts of individualism and corruption have in common the overestimation of an individual's value and rights to the detriment of society's. An individualist is someone who is 'independent and self-reliant' or 'self-centred or egotistical' (OED, 2012). However, the harm to others or to the system and the noncompliance with social norms is not implied in the concept of individualism. Corruption encompasses individualism, but goes beyond it, as it implies a process of moral degradation.

It seems appropriate to also bring attention to the difference between collective, collectivity and collectivism, and how they are associated with individuation and corruption. While the common usage of *collective* is 'relating to or shared by all the members of a group' and 'taken as a whole; aggregate' (OED, 2012), Jung's use of

collective refers to 'all psychic contents that belong not to one individual but to many, i.e., to a society, a people, or to mankind in general' (CW 6, 692). C*ollectivity* is 'the experience of sharing responsibilities, experiences, activities, etc.' (Cambridge Dictionary). *Collectivism* is 'the practice or principle of giving a group priority over each individual in it' (OED, 2012) and 'a theory or political system based on the principle that all of the farms, factories, and other places of work in a country should be owned by or for all the people in that country' (Cambridge Dictionary). Corruption favours individualism and contraposes collectivism's repression of the different and collectivity's experience of sharing responsibilities.

6.1.3 Individuation as a political contribution to society

Individuation can be considered a social-political concept, since it has a direct collective function. It requires a significant contribution to society: 'the individual is obliged by the collective demands to purchase his individuation at the cost of an equivalent work for the benefit of society' (CW 18, § 1099).

Individuation and collectivity form a pair of opposites connected by *guilt* (CW 18, § 1099). Individuation requires breaking away from previous personal conformity to collective norms, which results in a tragic guilt that demands expiation (CW 18, § 1094). Society imposes a reparation through a '*new collective function*', so that the individual must create new socially recognisable values to compensate for his absence and re-establish his/her collective conformity with society.

The process of individuation initially produces an isolation or even the sense of non-belonging, as suggested in the *Seven Sermons to the Dead*, which says that distinctiveness leads to singleness, and is opposed to communion (Jung, 1989, p. 388).

'Individuation cuts one off from personal conformity and hence from collectivity', so it is to humanity that the expiation for the guilt of individuation is offered: 'He must offer a ransom in place of himself, that is, he must bring forth values which are an equivalent substitute for his absence in the collective personal sphere' (CW 18, § 1095). Nonetheless, '[…] individuation does not shut one out from the world, but gathers the world to oneself' (CW 8, § 226).

Individuation contains the seeds of a new collectivity (Shamdasani, 2003, p. 342), since it '[…] brings to birth a consciousness of human community precisely because it makes us aware of the unconscious, which unites and is common to all mankind. Individuation is an at-one-ment with oneself and at the same time with humanity, since oneself is a part of humanity' (CW 16, p. 227). In this sense, society's development depends on 'the highest collaborative achievement from every individual' (CW 18, § 1098), which is the optimal adaptation to inner and outer conditions (meaning the unconscious and the surrounding world). This must produce new values to be offered to society: 'Without this production of values, final individuation is immoral and—more than that— suicidal. The man who cannot create values should sacrifice himself consciously to the spirit of collective conformity' (CW 18, § 1095).

In its narrow definition, corruption is a crime committed by public officers, which mostly means individuals in professions that serve the collective or even political actors. The duty of such people to the collective is enormous for they are partly responsible for the structure within society and should work to improve public welfare. Most corrupt actors, even when exposed, remain unpunished. The difficulty in holding corrupt individuals accountable weakens 'the basic trust in other citizens, as well as in the government […]. By eroding trust, corruption leads citizens to withdraw from the public sphere and instead attend to their narrowest self-interest' (Power & Taylor,

2011, p. 6). Consequently, corruption not only deteriorates values, but hinders participation in collective actions.

Accountability, together with *compliance* and *transparency*, are the *mots du jour* when discussing anticorruption policies in public administration. Accountability is defined 'as the answerability of public officials for the public-regarding nature and probity of their actions' (Power & Taylor, 2011, p. 1). A 'psychological accountability' should be related to the withdrawal of projections: 'Nothing has a more divisive and alienating effect upon society than this moral complacency and lack of responsibility, and nothing promotes understanding and rapprochement more than the mutual withdrawal of projections' (CW 10, § 577). Proposals of higher accountability only suggest stricter controls and harsher punishments for rule-breakers, working as a '*superego*' for society.

Public servants, including politicians, should be the bridge between the individual and the collective, but because of the split between private and public morality, this bridge seems to be broken. Corruption is a symbol of the rejection of this role. The common citizen now sees politicians as the enemy; however, we are political beings. If the corruption phenomenon is taken as a call, the individual can make him/herself a bridge between citizens and society. This might be a way to awaken the politician within.

The process of individuation requires that we perceive ourselves not only as individuals, but also as group beings. This idea can be traced back to the oft-cited Aristotelian proposition that 'man is by nature a political animal' (Aristotle, 1998, p. 4). This proposition can be translated as saying that human beings, as sociable animals, organise themselves in groups (in a *polis*) not only to survive, but to live well – which requires us to perfect ourselves in our interaction with others (Zingano, 2010, p. 201).

If (and only if) the individual is able to withdraw projections from the world and to develop his/her peculiarities that are conducive to a better social performance can the process of individuation bring a new understanding of citizenship and social action, as well as stimulating the same process in other individuals. It will then be part of the individuation process to become aware of one's own political importance in the world. In this sense, the 'lack of commitment to social action[78]' can be 'a limitation of individuation' (Samuels, 2001, p. 197).

Not all individuals (or clients) are activists or political visionaries (Samuels, 2017); thus, there is a difference between being an activist and being politically aware. The discussion of the relationship between political awareness and individuation must bring a deeper questioning of the role of the psychotherapist as a 'clinical activist'. To Jung, the analyst has 'duties as a citizen' (CW 11, Preface to *Essays on Contemporary Events*). To help a client in his process of becoming politically aware means getting to know that person's political history, assessing the impact of (past and current) political events on his or her life, and understanding the state of political development at which this individual has arrived, even if it is a *state of corruption*. In this way, psychotherapists can support their clients to develop their innate political potential, particularly when it is stunted and distorted (Samuels, 2005c, p. 53). However, 'much therapy still seems (or claims) to take place in a political vacuum' (Samuels, 2015, p. 10).

There are limits to individual responsibility (Samuels, 2017), thus considering individuation as a political contribution to society can be somewhat problematic. An enormous responsibility is attributed to those who are ignorant of their unconscious events – meaning, all those who live unconsciously would be considered

---

[78] Although not stated by Samuels, 'social action' might be a reference to Weber's sociology.

psychologically unethical, that is, *the majority of the population*. If there is no reflective

consciousness, one cannot be called immoral. In this view, with reference to the Matrix

movie franchise, we can only call immoral those who have decided to take the *red pill*,

that is, those who have taken a step away from the *Matrix* and towards consciousness

(of themselves and others), an insignificant minority. Those who have taken the *blue*

pill continue living in ignorance, completely unaware of their ethical responsibilities.

However, if individuation is for the few[79], how can this minority of 'ethically

individuated individuals' set an example of 'ethical individuation' to others? Jung's

concept of individuation seems derogatory and elitist. It is not clear how such

individuals could propagate ideas of individuation. Nonetheless, the vast majority of

citizens actually still need guidance[80] and are not ready nor indeed do they have the

will to follow the path of individuality.

6.1.4 Individuation as an ethical goal

The images of the unconscious make moral demands[81] on consciousness and the

non-confrontation of them can lead to neurotic dissociations (see next chapter).

However, this contact with the images of the unconscious contains a greater ethical

dimension than simply being loyal to oneself and overcoming neuroses. There is an

---

[79] Samuels, Shorter and Plaut (2012, p. 79) raised a similar question about individuation: 'will it make any difference to the rest of mankind if an infinitesimally small number undertake this arduous journey?'. They found a positive answer in this quote from Jung: 'small and invisible as the contribution may be it is yet a magnum opus…. The ultimate questions of psychotherapy are not a private matter – they represent a supreme responsibility' (CW 16, § 449).

[80] '[…] mankind is, in essentials, psychologically still in a state of childhood—a stage that cannot be skipped. The vast majority needs authority, guidance, law. This fact cannot be overlooked' (CW 7, § 401).

[81] Jung on the method of active imagination: 'The meaning and value of these fantasies are revealed only through their integration into the personality as a whole—that is to say, at the moment when one is confronted not only with what they mean but also with their moral demands' (CW 8, prefatory note to 'The Transcendent Function').

ethical obligation, a responsibility to what that content can do to others. Not being loyal to oneself then has a deep impact on others. It is like saying 'Know thyself, for the love of others'.

> It is equally a grave mistake to think that it is enough to gain some understanding of the images and that knowledge can here make a halt. Insight into them must be converted into an *ethical obligation. Not to do so is to fall prey to the power principle*, and this produces dangerous effects which are destructive not only to others but even to the knower. *The images of the unconscious place a great responsibility upon a man*. Failure to understand them, or a shirking of ethical responsibility, deprives him of his wholeness and imposes a *painful fragmentariness* on his life (Jung, 1989, p. 193) [emphasis added].

The idea that avoiding ethical responsibility can lead to 'painful fragmentariness' is an adequate description of corruption from a psychological perspective, as presented before in the topic corruption as a neurotic dissociation (see next chapter).

Corrupt behaviour hinders the perception of the shadow, projecting it into the collective. However, individuation entails a commitment to withdrawing projections from the world and integrating these contents into the personality. Without the perception and integration of the shadow, there can be no individuation. The process of individuation also entails the recognition and assimilation of the characteristics that make us human and the development of alterity, 'an empathic concern for the other' (Samuels, 2017, p. 687). It is not possible to think about alterity without ethics. The acceptance of 'marginalized elements in the personality' can lead 'to political acceptance of similar events in society' (Samuels, 2017, p. 687).

For Jung, the discovery of the unconscious brought a tremendous revolution of values. According to him, Erich Neumann's book '*Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*' (1990), first published in 1949, was 'the first notable attempt to formulate the ethical problems raised by the discovery of the unconscious' (CW 18/2, § 1420). Alarmed by the horrific effects of the world wars, Neumann proposed a distinction between the 'old ethic' and a 'new ethic'. To him, the old ethic was based on the opposition between

good and evil, light and dark – absolute values. It had a splitting propensity due to its dualistic conception of the world. With Judaeo-Christian and Greek religious roots, it also had an ascetic tendency and pursued an illusory *perfection* by repressing the dark side. For Jung, to seek perfection is legitimate and inborn in man, a peculiarity that provides civilisation with its strongest roots. Nonetheless, man 'must suffer from the opposite of his intentions for the sake of his completeness' (CW 9/2, § 123).

Neumann thus proposed a new attitude towards evil, as the 'old ethic' was deteriorating and had proved inadequate to solving modern man's moral problem. Neumann's 'new ethic' presupposes an individual who is moral by the standards of what he called the 'old ethic', but goes further insofar as its goal is not perfection, but wholeness. It replaces the old opposition between good and evil with integration of the shadow. Perfection does not contain what is not accepted by the ego, while wholeness embraces the imperfection of the shadow. Jung endorses Neumann's view, saying that 'the integration of the personality is unthinkable without the responsible, and that means moral, relation of the parts to one another' (CW 18/2, § 1412).

Jung stated that 'the shadow is a moral problem that challenges the whole ego personality, for no one can become conscious of the shadow without considerable moral effort. Becoming conscious of it involves recognising the dark aspects of the personality as present and real' (CW 9/2, § 14). Consequently, the process of individuation is an ethical challenge, which demands commitment both to oneself and to collective norms. The individual must exercise his moral awareness, by careful examination of the conscience and by becoming conscious of his/her own shadow (Stein, 1995, p. 18). What Jung calls ethics is 'the action of the whole person, the self' (p. 10). This comes only after a conscious struggle to come to a moral decision. 'To be ethical is work, and it is the essential human task' (p. 10).

In Jung's work, individuation cannot be conceived without ethics, as living an ethical life is an integral part of his psychological model (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 10). Likewise, Stein asserts that the 'first duty of the ethically-minded person is, from Jung's psychological perspective, to become as conscious as possible of his or her own shadow' (Stein, 1995, p. 17). According to Colacicchi, Jung derived his ideas from Kant, Nietzsche, Aristotle and the Christian ethical approach. The interplay of consciousness and the unconscious can be considered the basis of Jung's psycho-ethical paradigm (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 182), as he considered that 'the real core of the ethical problem' was 'the union of conscious and unconscious in the individuation process' (CW 18/2, § 1419). As Jung described the Self as the 'totality of man, the sum total of his conscious and unconscious contents' (CW 11, § 140), the realisation of the Self can itself be considered an ethical quest. Similarly, to Colacicchi, Jung's psychology and ethics converge towards the same goal: '*the individuated subject is the ethical subject*' (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 2) [emphasis added]. The individuated subject has the 'duty to be conscious', an idea that originated in Kant's 'consciousness of duty' (p. 43).

Jung's psycho-ethical paradigm essentially focused on at least three different relationships; namely, between individual and collective, consciousness and the unconscious, and man and God. In discussing the individual/collective relationship, 'Jung's focus was on the split that may develop between personal ethics and the collective moral code' (Samuels, 2005b, p. 145). The discussion of the individual/collective relationship also comprises the comparison Jung drew between persona and soul (Jung, CW 6). The relationship between consciousness and the unconscious emphasises the integration of the shadow. The man/God relationship appears when Jung asserts that 'the ethical question boils down to the relationship

between man and God' (Jung, 2014, p. 147). In this perspective, what is stressed is the relationship between ego and Self.

Although what Jung calls 'moral' and 'ethical' can sometimes be 'idiosyncratic and confusing' (Samuels, 2005b, p. 145), his conceptualisation can be considered a highly original approach (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 182). Jung's conception of ethics is completely different from the common usage: '[…] what, in Jung, goes under the name of ethics is really no longer ethics, at least not in the sense in which a long tradition of thought has been used to considering this word' (p. 180).

For Jung, *morality* can be considered archetypal, since it is 'an universal attribute of the human psyche' (CW 10, § 833), different from a *moral code*, which is a 'consciously acquired stock of traditional customs' (like Freud's *superego*) (CW 10, § 833). *Conscience* is considered by Jung to be 'an autonomous psychic factor' (CW 10, § 842). Although different from the moral code, they sometimes coincide. For him, the concept of conscience has two different aspects: *moral conscience* and *ethical conscience*.

> The concept and phenomenon of conscience thus contains, when seen in a psychological light, two different factors: on the one hand a recollection of, and admonition by, the mores; on the other, a conflict of duty and its solution through the creation of a third standpoint. The first is the moral, and the second the ethical, aspect of conscience (CW 10, § 857).

While moral conscience is the moral reaction of the unconscious that reminds one of the moral codes from which one might have strayed too far, the ethical conscience (the genuine conscience) is a numinous experience that results from a conflict of duties[82], a dilemma placed by the unconscious when the voice of God contravenes the moral code. It is a heroic conflict that is felt like a trap from the unconscious: 'it will ask me for something that will tear me apart and initiate in me the

---

[82] *Conflicts of duty* are 'ethical problems that cannot be solved in the light of collective morality or the "old ethic", […] otherwise they would not be ethical' (CW 13, § 1414).

individuation process' (Proulx, 1994, p. 113). 'Ethical conscience is essential because, through conflicts of duties, humanity gets in touch with the meaning of life' (p. 115).

Barreto (2009, p. 91) quotes one of Jung's statements on neurosis to define individuation as a 'moral achievement': '[…] the cure of neurosis is not, ultimately, a mere question of therapeutic skill, but is a moral achievement […]' (CW 18, § 1172). For Barreto's definition to be precise, the cure of neurosis must be considered a synonym for individuation. Jung declared that 'the cure of neuroses is a moral problem' (CW 9/1, § 84). However, while the cure of neuroses is definitely a step on the individuation process, it cannot be reduced solely to this. Furthermore, a moral achievement could be understood as the result of following a moral code. Nonetheless, I understand individuation as an 'ethical goal' that can only be pursued (but never accomplished) through (one or many) conflicts of duty. These 'conflicts of duty' appear, in Jung's work, as a moral tension that 'emerges from the perceived contradiction between the norms of social conformity and the desire to pursue one's own creative intuition' (Rozuel, 2016, p. 146).

To Stein, individuation implies a synchronistic connection with community and cosmos, since the ethical behaviour of the process promotes beneficial effects not only for the individual but also for society and the natural world. To him, 'without this connection to community and cosmos, individuation could be seen as simply *the pursuit of individual self-interest and fulfilment at the expense of the rest of society*. It would be a narcissistic self-indulgence and could thus be called seriously into question on ethical grounds' (Stein, 2014) [emphasis added]. It feels as if this explanation of individuation was given with the definition of corruption in mind (even if that was really not the case). It can be directly linked to corruption, since corrupt behaviour implies not simply the lack of connection to community and cosmos, but the pursuit of

individual self-interest and fulfilment at the expense of the rest of society. Corruption is unquestionably a narcissistic self-indulgence and should be seriously questioned for ethical reasons.

The philosophers Penna (1985, p. 185) and Proulx (1994, p. 117) challenge the idea of the existence of a new ethic. Proulx argues that the discovery of the unconscious did not bring much difference to moral life as Jung believed it would (Ibid.). Similar ideas were already present in other theories and literature. To Proulx, Jung's 'outlook remained fundamentally Christian, since the God within was the source of ethical conscience'(Ibid.). Penna also criticises Jung's idea of the acceptance of evil and integration of the shadow, declaring them a 'psychological alibi for permissiveness' (Penna, 1985, p. 184), as it was not clear what that entailed from the point of view of ethics. Nonetheless, Jung himself had questioned the idea of a 'new ethic'[83] in a letter to Neumann in 1947, writing that 'evil is and remains what you know you shouldn't do' (Jung, 2014, p. 156).

6.1.5 Individuation as a religious experience

As discussed before, the literature on corruption is permeated with religious references, especially about the association of the corrupt behaviour with evil and corrupt politicians with the Devil. The following passage can be found in the introduction of one of the first and most quoted books on political corruption, whose ideas probably influenced a whole generation of academics and the media.

---

[83] Neumann's "New Ethic" was an 'attempt to understand how a civilized nation such as Germany […] was able to commit atrocities on a scale never seen before' (Jung & Neumann, 2015, p. xlii). His book sparked harsh reactions and discussions. In a letter to Michael Fordham in 1949, R.F.C. Hull described Neumann's book as 'singularly ill conceived and possibly a dangerous interpretation of Jung's ideas'. For him, if read superficially, Neumann's 'new ethic' could be characterised as '"Communist", "immoralist", "Antichrist"' (Jung & Neumann, 2015, p. xlvii).

The Watergate revelations revealed clear violations of political rules in the shape of a television drama, which seemed to come, 'straight out of the American Christian literary tradition… revealing naked ambition, Christian piety, lust for power and tragic betrayal'. Americans watching it got the overwhelming impression that 'all the president's men were satanic minions, that the president himself was villainy incarnate, and that the highest office in the land had been lamentably stained' (Eisenstadt, 1990, as cited in Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2009, p. 6).

This quote is a reflection of how the American society saw the Watergate scandal in the 1970's. The association made between abuse of power and the devilish acts is direct, showing the lack of separation between political and religious morality and ethics. In Jung's work, the ethical and religious dimensions[84] cannot be separated due to the '[…] double characterisation of Self as God-image and as conscience' (Barreto, 2013, p. 226). This can be seen in many passages across his work, for example:

'Self' is something that can be verified psychologically. We experience 'symbols of the [S]elf' which cannot be distinguished from 'God symbols'. I cannot prove that the [S]elf and God are identical[85], although in practice they appear so. *Individuation is ultimately a religious process which requires a corresponding religious attitude = the ego-will submits to God's will.* To avoid unnecessary misunderstandings, I say '[S]elf' instead of God. It is also more correct empirically' (Jung, 1976, p. 265) [emphasis added].

This association of the Self with God, according to Barreto, characterises individuation as 'simultaneously an ethical and a religious experience' (Barreto, 2013, p. 227). Individuating is a laborious task (an *opus magnum*) that 'presupposes willingness to self-sacrifice – sacrifice of the ego in face of the demands of the Self,

---

[84] Jung has a special characterisation of *religion*. From a psychological point of view, he does not comprehend it as a creed, but as a careful observation of the *numinosum* (defined in the chapter on the collective level of corruption), a concept coined by Rudolf Otto. 'Religion appears to me to be a peculiar attitude of mind which could be formulated in accordance with the original use of the word *religio*, which means a careful consideration and observation of certain dynamic factors that are conceived as '"powers": spirits, daemons, gods, laws, ideas, ideals, or whatever name man has given to such factors in his world' (CW 11, § 8). Although Otto's book *Das Heilige* (published in English as 'The Idea of the Holy') only came out a year later than the *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos*, Jung's conception of *creatura* resembles Otto's conception of one of the elements of the *numinosum*, the *creature-feeling*, which for Otto 'is the emotion of a creature, abased and overwhelmed by its own nothingness in contrast to that which is supreme above all creatures' (Otto, 1936, p. 10).

[85] Hillman heavily criticizes Jung's 'monotheism of the Self', declaring that in this view, individuation is characterised '[…] mainly as a movement towards the Old Wise Man [the senex]' (Hillman, 1971). Hillman advocated a polytheistic conception of the psyche (see topic on Moral Dissociation).

which implies also willingness to endure the suffering' (Barreto, 2009, p. 101). The ego must sacrifice everything that objectifies it and turns it into a disqualified and amorphous mass (Jung & Neumann, 2015, p. xlii).

In both Christian and Jungian ethics, love[86] can be a way to communion with others and with oneself: 'Thus I, as an individual, can discharge my collective function either by giving my love to the soul and so procuring the ransom I owe to society, or, as a lover, by loving the human being through whom I receive the gift of God' (CW 18/2, § 1104). Individuation forces one to look at the collective with compassion. Truly loving a human being is a way to direct the libido to the unconscious, since the other person is a representative of the unconscious (CW 18/2, § 1105). The individuated man can thus be a mediator between the collective and the individual through true love (CW 18/2, § 1106).

> […] the free society needs a bond of an affective nature, a principle of a kind like caritas, *the Christian love of your neighbour*. But it is just *this love for one's fellow man* that suffers most of all from the lack of understanding wrought by projection. It would therefore be very much in the interest of the free society to give some thought to the question of human relationship from the psychological point of view, for in this resides its real cohesion and consequently its strength. Where love stops, power begins, and violence, and terror (CW 10, § 580) [emphasis added].

Considered to be important to Jewish and Christian ethics, the greatest commandment[87] speaks of three love *obligations*: love for God, love for others, and love for ourselves (for the love of God). Loving our neighbour as we love ourselves would then mean respecting the uniqueness of each – valuing our differences which enrich the world we inhabit together. To love one is to love all.

---

[86] The focus on love as a virtue can also be associated with the 'ethics of care'.

[87] The great commandment: 'And one of them, a doctor of the Law, putting him to the test, asked him, 'Master, which is the great commandment in the Law?' Jesus said to him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind'. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like it, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. On these two commandments depend the whole Law and the Prophets' (Matthew 22:35-40).

Describing individuation as a religious experience suggests God as containing a superior ethics (an ethical Self) and thus being more morally evolved than humans. However, Jung's God is also evil, as shown, for example, in Jung's view of Yahweh[88], a god he considered to be an unjust evildoer who contained the opposites (CW 10, § 844). Jung's description of Yahweh is closer to the description of the *pleroma*, of the unconscious itself:

> [In Yahweh] insight existed along with obtuseness, loving-kindness along with cruelty, creative power along with destructiveness. Everything was there, and none of these qualities was an obstacle to the other. Such a condition is only conceivable either when no reflecting consciousness is present at all, or when the capacity for reflection is very feeble and a more or less adventitious phenomenon. A condition of this sort can only be described as amoral (CW 11, § 560).

Jung describes Yahweh as *amoral*, since he is not subject to any ethical laws and has no or a very feeble capacity for reflection (CW 11, § 605). This description of Yahweh also comes close to that of the *trickster,* who has no reflecting consciousness and is also amoral (CW 9/1, § 458).

Jung goes further and endorses the view from John Milton and medieval alchemists that the devil is the true *principium individuationis*[89] (CW 11, § 470). Lucifer, the bearer of light, personifies the principle of separation and autonomy from God (CW 11, § 290). Because of his God-opposing will, Lucifer was the one who best understood and fulfilled God's will to create a world. Lucifer 'gave man the power to will otherwise' (CW 11, § 290). Thus, without Lucifer there would have been no creation or even salvation. 'The existence of ego consciousness has meaning only if it is free and autonomous' (CW 11, § 391). The devil is an ambivalent figure who fosters not only destructive behaviour, but also consciousness. The devil within, the *daemon*,

---

[88] 'I discovered that Yahweh is unjust, that he is even an evildoer. For he allows himself to be persuaded by the devil, he agrees to torture Job on the suggestion of Satan. In the omnipotence of Yahweh there is no consideration for human suffering' (Jung, 1993, p. 226).

[89] According to Jung, the principium individuationis was considered by Schopenhauer to be a source of evil, which would be the same point of view of Buddhism and Christianity (CW 13, § 244).

'[…] is the source of that fearful power which drives us towards individuation' (CW 13, § 437). To Stein, *daemon* is 'an archetypal presence based on an image of justice or balance', which in this case represents a higher law (Stein, 2014). According to Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1996, p. 288), '[…] the Devil demonstrates the servitude which awaits the person who is the blind slave of instinct, emphasizing, however at the same time the fundamental importance of the libido. Without it, full human development is impossible'. Nonetheless, the Devil is also seen by Chevalier and Gheerbrant as 'the synthesis of all those powers which lead to the disintegration of the personality' (p. 287).

Following the Christian approach in Jung's psycho-ethical paradigm, corruption can be described as a non-submission of the ego to the Self, compared to the hubris and fall of Lucifer[90] before God. Corruption has at its core a hierarchical conflict between ego and Self. The ego believes in its own supremacy and ethics, having no respect for order and a higher law. In the act of corruption, the ego perceives itself as a unique and absolute reality. While acting corrupt, there is no submission to a higher power[91] or to conscience, so the corrupt individual disempowers God in order to empower him/herself. By rejecting the divine (the Self), it rejects the divine in others. Consequently, the ego rejects its own human characteristics (particularly being generic and mediocre). The hubris-fall motif[92] has defiance at its core, as the reason why the

---

[90] For most Christians, Lucifer is believed to be an angel who rebelled against God's order to love humankind more than God himself. Nonetheless, there seems to be no specific reference to this in the Bible. In the Old Testament, the first 10 verses of chapter 28 of Ezekiel deal with a human leader. Then, beginning from verse 11 and continuing through verse 19, Lucifer seems to be the focus of discussion, although his name is not mentioned. The hubris-fall motif is portrayed in verse 17: 'Your heart became proud on account of your beauty, and you corrupted your wisdom because of your splendour. So I threw you to the earth' (Ezekiel 28: 17).

[91] There are exceptions to this idea, as sometimes the employee believes his only option is to obey a superior's command to act in a corrupt way. The fact that there is someone else in charge might make the employee consider himself less responsible for his unethical behaviour.

[92] In the Christian approach, the hubris-fall motif is incomplete without the idea of redemption or salvation.

corrupt individual rejects order and law. When God does not recognise this new power, the ego falls[93] and is swallowed up by the un-differentiation of the unconscious, which is felt as a death just like falling into the *pleroma.* God's revenge on the ego's arrogance is annihilation.

Like the *creatura*, the corrupt individual's biggest fear is dissolving into the collective, in this case both the unconscious and society[94]. 'The unconscious is, as the collective psyche, the psychological representative of society' (CW 18, § 1102). The fear of mediocrity drives the individual to do whatever it takes to feel distinct from the masses, but this might take him/her straight to un-differentiation. Without distinction, the corrupt individual's destiny is to become just like everyone else. An opposite movement would be to recognise God (or the divine) in others.

Perhaps too arrogant to mingle, such individuals avoid undifferentiation at all costs. Although not something to which people usually confess, there are occasional news reports of politicians who do not like to shake hands with poor people. A Brazilian politician once stated publicly in the first person: 'I coordinated the shelter "St. John the Baptist House of the Poor" (*Casa dos Pobres São João Batista*), […] for the Catholic church for 20 years, and in contact with the charity sisters, I never took care of the poor. I'm not Saint Francis of Assisi. Also, because the first time I tried to carry a poor person [a homeless man] in my car I threw up because of the smell. When I arrived at the shelter the nun asked: "Do I wash the doctor first or him [the homeless man]?"'. When this story emerged in the news, it created a polemic, but he was nonetheless elected mayor of a big city in Brazil (Curitiba). A similar case occurred

---

[93] 'Although unethical behaviour may have been the "original sin" which determined the inception of some cases of neurosis, the incapacity to be ethical is (subsequently) experienced as intense suffering, as a "fall" in a condition of exile from authentic human relatedness' (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 175).
[94] What holds people in powerful positions from dissolving into the collective is their persona (see chapter topic on the relationship between the State and the individual).

with respect to Rio de Janeiro's former Governor, who also demonstrated what can be called undifferentiation avoidance: 'Despite being imprisoned […], former governor Sérgio Cabral (PMDB) has a fine menu, as verified by members of Rio's Public Ministry (MP-RJ) after inspection. Among the [illegal] items found, there was a pot of *Chavroux cheese*, made from the milk of French goats'. When one tries so hard to be seen as superior, equality disappears[95]: 'the prosecutors also said that a cellmate worked as a butler for Sérgio Cabral. They suspect the former governor even has a private escort inside the jail'. However, as his case hit the news headlines, his lawyer stated that the media were acting illegally in their failure to preserve the dignity and image of the former governor.

There is a great risk of inflation when following one's inner voice as a higher power. One may feel not simply superior to external rules and moral codes, but beyond good and evil. This is a state of possession by an archetypal figure that enlists the vox Dei on its own behalf. Stein explains this process of moral degeneration as follows: '[...] a degraded kind of ethical reflection, sponsored by "wrong conscience", is engendered within consciousness and begins to speak, in the name of the daemonic vision, for an "ethical view" that supports the inflated ego'. This process of inflation leads to a 'state of corruption', in which 'the ego has no access to the Self' (Stein, 2014).

Corrupt individuals are not saved from the fantasy of perfection. On the one hand, they desire narcissistic perfection, but on the other, *moral* perfection can be felt as a weakness, particularly because they have chosen a profession in which there is no room for individual integrity or even non-conformity (Rozuel, 2016, p. 153). Jung declared that he had no perfection craze: 'My principle is: for heaven's sake do not be perfect,

---

[95] As discussed above, social inequality reinforces corruption.

but by all means try to be complete – whatever that means' (CW 18, § 212). This fantasy of perfection might hinder the growth of the individual personality, since the perfect individual might think he/she has no need of others. We need one another *because* we are imperfect. Imperfection is acknowledged through the modesty that originates in recognition of the shadow. Modesty also happens to be a good solution for ego-inflation (Rozuel, 2016, p. 147).

6.2 Corruption as both Invitation and Refusal to the Process of Individuation

While individuation is a laborious task, corruption means easy gain, the least effort, the clever attitude of surpassing others without recognising their value. The sacrifice implied in the individuation process does not occur in corrupt behaviour. Sacrifice[96] comes from the Latin words *sacer* and *facere* (to make sacred). It is common in Portuguese to make the separation between sacrifice (*sacrifício*) and sacred-office (*sacro-ofício*), when one wants to emphasise that work must not be considered painful, but sacred, and must be made with love. In corruption, the office is not sacred. There is, essentially, a desacralisation of the office, since 'corruption is an *abuse* of public office for private gain' (see chapter 2). In fact, the soul is sacrificed for superficial benefits. The solution to corruption seems to involve making work (both their job and individuation) sacred again. Just remembering, citizenship is office too.

The process of individuation stimulates the individual to perceive society as a field in which to exercise their singularity, opposing everything that demeans the human being and that distances the individual from the encounter with him/herself.

---

[96] In a letter to Neumann in 1947, Jung speaks of a *sacrifice archetype*. He considered the etymology of the word sacrifice to be obscure: the German word for sacrifice, *Opfer*, is associated with both *offere* (offer) and *operari* (to effect, to be active) (Jung, 2014, p. 72).

Since corruption implies a relation of power over others, as if the corrupt actor did not depend on others or did not recognise humanity, it becomes almost impossible to return to society with better values. Corruption is opposed to individuation because it is an unethical act, inferior to the perception of the Self, whose values contemplate an ideal person. Corruption represents a refusal to individuate as a moral realisation.

Understanding the concept of corruption as a psychological construct might help us to recognise similar processes in patients and groups, and thus to avoid the devastating consequences for the individual and society. Understanding the endemic phenomenon of corruption and modifying its reality can be a way to contribute to the development of alterity in society. While individuation stands as a strong linkage between the individual and the collective, corruption creates a problematic connection.

All individuals seek differentiation, some through the pursuit of money and power, others through their intelligence or their bodies. These individuals (who make up the majority) seek differentiation externally and not internally, which can indicate a great disturbance of the process of adaptation to outer and inner conditions and may lead to neurosis (CW 18, § 1084). We fail to realise that the pursuit should not be to enhance our personal value, but to enhance personal *values* or ethical principles, since individuation depends on our own potential for contribution to society. In our attempt to differentiate ourselves from others around us, we only become more collective. However, 'the more a man's life is shaped by the collective norm, the greater is his individual immorality' (CW 6, § 761). Individual immorality, within the Jungian psycho-ethical paradigm, can be understood as disobedience towards the Jungian maxim 'loyalty to oneself'[97]: 'He who does not possess this moral function, this loyalty to himself, will never get rid of his neurosis. But he who has this capacity will certainly

---

[97] To Barreto (2013, p. 226), the 'moral factor' is defined by Jung as 'loyalty to oneself'. This factor '[…] is rooted in the very center of his psychological and therapeutic conception […]'.

find the way to cure himself' (CW 7, § 498). According to Jung, '[…] in the last resort, it is the moral factor that decides between health and sickness' (CW 7, § 499). Nonetheless, the superficial comprehension of the requirement of a moral attitude as a criterion for cure would turn therapists all over the world into moralists.

Corruption, like other ethical conflicts, is a calling. Many are called, few are chosen. '[…] more individuals would be called upon by the unconscious to live their lives to the fullest, to accept the encounter with the unconscious that Jung believed was the essence of ethical conscience'. For a few, the corruption phenomenon has been a compelling voice, forcing them to look within themselves. For most, it has only increased their projections.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how corruption might reflect a broken link between the individual and the collective. In general, society rejects corruption for it epitomises individualism (self-oriented motivation), which is incoherent with group survival.

For society to prosper, collective values are prioritised to the detriment of individual values. Nonetheless, the repression of individuality reflects directly on the individual's capacity for moral decisions and responsibility. Group cohesion requires other-oriented attention or prosocial goals – antitheses of corruption.

While Jung's concept of individuation might be a possible solution to the conflict between the individual and the collective, corruption might be a rupturing thereof. I have also argued that acknowledging corruption might be a requirement of the process of individuation as an ethical goal.

CHAPTER 7: THE DISSOCIATIVE ASPECT OF MORALITY IN CORRUPT BEHAVIOUR

> *'[…] the study of dissociation is also a study of the self'* (Carlson, Yates, & Sroufe, 2011, p. 47).

> *'[…] people are ethical, but only intermittently so'* (Darley, 2005, p. 1185).

> *'Whenever the will is placed in opposition to itself, the result is a neurotic conflict'* (Cancilla, 2013).

In the last chapter, I explored the contrast between corruption and individuation in a relatively normative conceptualisation of ethics. In order to analyse corruption from a different perspective, I present different approaches to morality, by discussing *moral dissociation* (in the sense of fragmentation), *moral dualism* and *moral pluralism*.

I begin this chapter by presenting literature that indicates that corrupt individuals do not see themselves as corrupt, suggesting a moral dissociation. The dissociative aspect of morality is here correlated with the dissociability of the psyche, a normal phenomenon connected with neurotic conflicts experienced by individuals. As an alternative, corrupt behaviour can also be seen as a consequence of a deficient sense of morality of individuals who do not experience moral conflicts.

I next present the traditional dualistic approach to morality as a clash of two opposite tendencies, by borrowing from political science and moral psychology examples of dualities that are usually used to explain corruption: public and private (interests, spheres, realms), character and situation, virtues and *virtù*, responsibility and intentions. I then draw on some examples of corruption in Brazil to understand how these dualities are perceived as a conflict between expediency and efficiency. Scrutinising morality as a schism of two different tendencies reveals a characteristic of

the psyche. Jung customarily described the psyche as a unity composed of two different realms, consciousness and unconscious. For him, the discrimination of opposites is a *conditio sine qua non* for consciousness (CW 9/1, § 178). He depicted the psyche as a polaristic structure, an energetic system dependent on the tension of opposites (CW 9/1, § 483).

Post-Jungians conceive the psyche not just as a duality, but also a plurality. The usage of the term *post-Jungian* is a reference to Samuels' distinction, in which he uses the term 'to indicate both connectedness to Jung and distance from him' (Samuels, 2005a, p. 15). A pluralistic conceptualisation of the psyche[98] comprehends it as composed of multiple aspects (particularly complexes and archetypes). Since the psyche can be comprehended both as a unity and a multiplicity, choosing one view or the other might limit the analysis of the different moralities contained in the corrupt individual. I then explore a pluralistic approach to morality in relation to corruption, by analysing polytheism, moral pluralism and moral fragmentation. In this sense, we can understand that there are as many moralities as there are fragments of the personality and they combine to form an *apparent* unity.

7.1 Moral Dissociation and Corruption

When one finds it difficult to explain certain criminal behaviour, one may think it is abnormal, or that it comes from an abnormal individual who might possess significant biological or psychological differences from other people (Coleman, 1987, p. 409). However, more often than not, corruption is committed by rather normal

---

[98] This pluralistic view is more in tune with new paradigms arising from geometry and biology, namely chaos, fractal and complexity theory.

people who think of themselves as good persons – like 'good apples' who happen to find themselves in a 'bad barrel' (Zimbardo, 2007).

As large as corruption scandals may seem, they begin with small acts that are not necessarily considered unethical. At the beginning, intention might actually be absent, which confounds 'the notion that corruption begins with corruption' (Darley, 2005, p. 1180). Then, however, the ethically grey act escalates and becomes increasingly morally wrong. Occasionally, intention is a determinant factor, but it is frequently neutralised by personal justifications. Some institutionalised embezzlers maintain a non-deviant self-image while engaging in crime, by reassuring themselves that they are simply borrowing the money and that they will return it when better times come along (Coleman, 1987, p. 410).

Discussing the behaviour of corrupt individuals, Ashforth and Anand came up with an intriguing question: 'how can a person who is a loving parent, thoughtful neighbour and devout churchgoer engage in workplace corruption?' (2003, p. 3). There is a general consensus that 'corrupt individuals tend not to view themselves as corrupt' (p. 5). This was also noted by Levine, who pointed out 'the inability of the corrupt to perceive their conduct as corrupt' and who declared that 'they think they are the good guys, but they are not' (Levine, 2005, p. 725).

The incongruence between how corrupt individuals perceive themselves and their behaviour seems to be born from the enormous discrepancy between their private and public actions: '[…] By denying the label of corrupt, such individuals avoid the adverse effects of an undesirable social identity' (Ashforth & Anand, 2003, p. 15). Despite this incongruence, they are conceived as psychologically normal (Coleman, 1987, p. 408).

There seems to be a *moral dissociation* in the corrupt behaviour: different sides of the corrupt individual's personality seem to grow terribly apart, each containing a different set of moral norms. This dissociation is also evidenced by the fact that '[…] most individuals engaged in corrupt acts tend not to abandon the values that society espouses; they continue to value fairness, honesty, integrity and so forth even as they engage in corruption' (Ashforth & Anand, 2003, p. 15).

Darley (2005, p. 1185) considers that 'people are ethical, but only intermittently so'. We are intermittent moral actors, who usually scrutinise our actions, but we can be driven by quite intuitive and automatic thinking when dealing with conflicts (p. 1193).

> In our conventional way of thinking about ourselves, we are confident that we would know in advance that to do some set of actions would be morally wrong, and that this realization, occurring prior to the actions, would prevent us from taking them (Darley, 2005, p. 1180).

For Darley (p. 1179), 'our society offers alternate identities to citizens'. Life's various situations require the enactment of different roles with their own moral codes, which can be distinct from the one we usually spouse. In sports, for example, 'team members often collectively adopt a "persona" that makes the goal of inflicting harm on the other side acceptable and even desired' (p. 1192). Different identities, or *personas*, can coexist in the same individual in an *apparently* peaceful way.

7.1.1 The Concept of Dissociation

From its origins in the eighteenth century to the current discussions of dissociation in the twenty-first century, the fundamental divergences between psychotherapeutic models shaped the concept of dissociation very differently. Departing from old concepts like hysteria, somnambulism and automatism, its description can go from a pathological to a non-pathological form. Before the

conceptualisation of dissociation, cases involving double personalities were regarded as possessions by spirits and demons (van der Hart & Dorahy, 2011, p. 4).

Janet, whose contribution on dissociation[99] can be considered one of the most important to date, conceived of it as a division in the personality[100] – *le dédoublement de la personnalité* (Janet, 1886). Dissociation was comprehended to be 'the mechanism by which pathological "subconscious" phenomena could be explained'[101] (Monahan, 2009, p. 38). According to Ellenberger (1994, p. 406), Janet profoundly influenced Jung's conceptualisation of the psyche[102] as comprising a number of subpersonalities, similar to Janet's 'simultaneous psychological existences' (Janet, 1889). Ellenberger considered that 'what Jung called "complex" was originally nothing but the equivalent of Janet's "subconscious fixed idea"' (Ellenberger, 1994, p. 406).

In the psychoanalytic literature, dissociation is usually identified as a *defence mechanism* against traumatic events (van der Hart & Dorahy, 2011, p. 19). Similarly, in developmental psychology, dissociation is seen as part of an initially protective system (of self-integrity) that can turn out to be destructive, since some dissociative processes are expected to occur during childhood, but their decline across development is also expected (Carlson, Yates, & Sroufe, 2011, p. 47). In attachment theory, the idea of dissociation as a defence mechanism is not supported: 'dissociation during personality development concerns primarily *a failure in the integration, into a unitary*

---

[99] Although the concept of dissociation is often associated with Pierre Janet, 'the French psychiatrist Moreau de Tours (1845) was probably the first to use the term dissociation in a manner that is consistent with contemporary understanding of the concept' (van der Hart & Dorahy, 2011, p. 4).

[100] The terms personality, consciousness, mind, psyche and ego were used interchangeably at the time (van der Hart & Dorahy, 2011, p. 4).

[101] To Janet, dissociation played a role with respect to pathological psychology as important as association is to normal psychology (Janet, 1887, p. 472).

[102] Differently from Ellenberger (1970, p. 406), Saban states that Jung's model of the psyche is 'critically different' from Janet's and psychoanalysis' model and 'is most consistently similar to the model we find in Myers, James, and Flournoy' (Saban, 2016, p. 335). In a contrary position, Monahan (2009) shows that there were both divergences and convergences between Janet's and Jung's works.

meaning structure, of memories concerning attachment interactions with a particular caregiver' (Liotti, 2011, p. 59) [emphasis added].

7.1.2 The Dissociability of the Psyche in Analytical Psychology

Jung considers that the psyche's tendency to split[103] is 'fundamentally ... a normal phenomenon' (CW 8, § 253), which '[…] means on the one hand dissociation into multiple structural units, but on the other hand the possibility of change and differentiation' (CW 8/2, § 255). The psyche is characterised by a high degree of dissociability, containing complexes which are split-off psychic fragments (CW 8, § 217).

Jung posited that the phenomena of dissociation comprised disturbances caused by affects (CW 16, § 286). For Jung, 'the pathological element does not lie in the existence of these ideas, but in the dissociation of consciousness that can no longer control the unconscious[104]. In all cases of dissociation, it is therefore necessary to integrate the unconscious into consciousness. This is a synthetic process which I have termed the "individuation process"' (CW 9/1, § 83). His conception comprises then two aspects of dissociation: as a fragmentation of the personality and as a therapeutic technique (Saban, 2016, p. 340). In the first, dissociation can be considered a 'disunion

---

[103] The concept of dissociation proposed by Jung seems to have deep roots in his own personality. He described himself as having two opposite characters, an idea that seems to also have been the foundation for his theory of opposites (described in the chapter 'Collective Level of Corruption'). The experiences Jung referred to fell at the lower end of the dissociation continuum. This personality split also appeared in his way of thinking and writing, which Martin Buber called an 'ingenious ambiguity of the psyche': 'The language I speak must be ambiguous, must have two meanings, in order to do justice to the dual aspect of our psychic nature. I strive quite consciously and deliberately for ambiguity of expression, because it is superior to unequivocalness and reflects the nature of life. My whole temperament inclines me to be very unequivocal indeed' (Jung, 2014, p. 108). To a certain extent, it seems that Jung wrote obsessively in pairs for the sake of his completeness.

[104] The formation of a second personality, of a puerile and inferior character, with (an almost perfect) complementarity to the ego represents a countertendency of the unconscious and is related to the trickster motif (CW 9/1, § 469).

to oneself' (CW 8, § 61), suggesting 'a collapse of a person's potential to embody wholeness' (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012). In the second, dissociation is considered to be a useful tool for self-regulation and correction of one-sidedness (Saban, 2016, p. 340).

The process of differentiation of the individual can be effected through personification and confrontation of autonomous contents of the unconscious, an imaginative process of personification to disempower unconscious contents. The simple recognition of contents is not sufficient, since it does not imply any moral strength. Recognition should then be accompanied by the *appropriate* action, which for Jung explains why 'the cure of neuroses is a moral problem' (CW 9/1, § 84). Jung suggests that the integration of unconscious contents should be done through a dialectical procedure, 'often conducted by the patient in a dialogue form' (CW 9/1, § 85). Moreover, he understood that 'the dynamic play and counterplay between two "personalities" ultimately enabled the process of individuation – the movement toward the Self' (Saban, 2016, p. 343).

Some individuals are not only aware of this split of their own personality, but make use of it consciously. Professionals that rely on good images, like politicians, artists and celebrities, may develop a different personality, since they need an attractive external image (to procure votes, sell records or merchandising, etc.). Politics as a profession, for example, values the ability to persuade and influence, and consequently, politicians are very good at forging a credible and attractive personality to seduce their voters, a *charismatic persona*. The dichotomy between the public and private spheres might reflect the use of different personas for each sphere.

> The domestic character is, as a rule, moulded by emotional demands and an easy-going acquiescence for the sake of comfort and convenience; whence it frequently happens that men who in public life are extremely energetic, spirited, obstinate, wilful and ruthless appear good-natured, mild, compliant, even weak,

when at home and in the bosom of the family. Which is the true character, the real personality? This question is often impossible to answer (CW 6, § 798).

The two above-mentioned attitudes represent two collective personalities, which may be summed up quite simply under the name 'personae' (§ 801).

Jung warns that 'such a man has no real character at all: he is not individual but collective, the plaything of circumstance and general expectations' (§ 799). The person that they are in their everyday lives is generally not known to the general public. This good image cannot be held all the time, thus generating tension.

The tension leads to conflict, the conflict leads to attempts at mutual repression, and if one of the opposing forces is successfully repressed a dissociation ensues, a splitting of the personality, or disunion with oneself. The stage is then set for a neurosis (CW 8, § 61).

In the case of corrupt individuals, it seems that dissociation leads to the experience of two opposite realities, which are both very much real for the subjects (like *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, from the literature). Nonetheless, both realms are experienced within the perception of normality. In politicians, this attractive side can be extremely charismatic, due to a *mana personality*. As we will see next, corruption reveals a neurotic dissociation caused by an ethical dilemma. It is a defence mechanism against shadow aspects of the personality.

7.1.3 Dissociation and Neurosis

Jung understood that '[…] civilized man possesses a high degree of dissociability and makes continual use of it *in order to avoid every possible risk* […]' (CW 9/1, § 84) [emphasis added]. Dissociation is one of the characteristics of *neurosis*, '[…] a disturbed or diminished process of adaptation' (CW 18, § 1087). Jung confessed that he had discarded a general theory of neurosis, but nonetheless stated that 'every neurosis is characterised by dissociation and conflict, contains complexes, and shows

traces of regression and *abaissement*' (CW 17, § 204). He later affirmed that 'neurosis is a dissociation of personality due to the existence of complexes' (CW 18, § 382). Neuroses indicate the psyche's capacity for self-regulation, in which they can be seen either as a failure of this capacity (one-sided or unbalanced development) (Samuels, Shorter, & Plaut, 2012) or as an attempt at self-healing (neurotic symptoms could restore balance through compensation) (CW 18, § 386).

Neurosis, as 'symptoms of maladjustment', appear when one faces obstacles like 'constitutional weakness or defect, wrong education, bad experiences, an unsuitable attitude, etc'(CW 13, § 473). Avoiding conflicts can lead to a regression to a childlike state. Unconscious contents are activated in order 'to compensate the one-sidedness of consciousness', bridging 'the dissociation between man as he is and man as he ought to be' (Ibid.).

Jung had a 'conviction that sickness can result from ethical problems' (Proulx, 1994, p. 102). He considered that '[…] the chief causes of a neurosis are conflicts of conscience and difficult moral problems that require an answer' (CW 18, § 1408). In this sense, facing moral conflicts can activate complexes, evidencing a dissociated personality. One's moral attitude can actually both cause and cure a neurosis (CW 18, § 1408 and 1412), as in the case described by Jung of a 30-year-old man[105] with outstanding intelligence and understanding of the concept of neurosis, but extreme difficulty in solving the problem itself, which showed a 'dissociation between intellectual understanding and the related ethical commitment brought by it' (Barreto, 2013, p. 227). This man maintained a loving relationship with a modest teacher who starved herself to finance his luxuries, without being reciprocated. Jung pointed out that 'his want of conscience was the cause of his neurosis' (CW 8, § 685). Jung told

---

[105] As Barreto (2009) brought to attention, the same case was narrated by Jung at least three times in his Collected Works: ([1934] CW 8, § 685; [1935] CW 18, § 282; [1946] CW 17, § 182).

the patient he was pretending to himself that the money in his pocket was his own but in fact it came from the woman he was fooling, so he did not have any lawful right to it (CW 17, § 182). He claimed that his patient's neurosis was a compensation and a punishment for his immoral attitude (CW18, § 282). Apparently, this patient had a childlike position in regard to life itself; a neurotic attitude of lack of responsibility towards adult life. Jung emphasized in his remarks on this event that 'the moral attitude is a real factor with which the psychologist must reckon if he is not to commit the gravest errors' (CW 8, § 686).

In another case, Jung similarly understood that helping his patient realise that what she had done was wrong would help her recover from her depression: 'I practically saved her from the punishment of insanity by putting an enormous burden on her conscience. For if one can accept one's sin one can live with it. If one cannot accept it, one has to suffer the inevitable consequences' (CW 18, § 108). For Jung, 'infallibly, in the last resort, it is the moral factor that decides between health and sickness' (CW 7, § 499).

7.1.4 Deficient Morality and Corruption

In some individuals, moral dilemmas are simply not found. Although it does not seem to be the general case, moral conflicts might be absent from the personality of the corrupt individual. In this situation, corruption is not a symptom of a neurotic dissociation, but might indicate a deficient sense of morality. Some authors associate the behaviour of corrupt individuals to psychopathy. According to Litzcke et al. (2012), a high degree of psychopathy in a person can be expressed in a cruel and malicious behaviour to their advantage, which appears in the form of corrupt behaviour. In their

opinion, successful people in leadership positions are more prone to corruption. With a correlative quasi-experimental study, Litzcke et al. (2011) showed that the higher the score for psychopathy, the greater the tolerance for corrupt activities. However, they state that psychopathy and antisocial personality are concepts that overlap but are not identical[106]. While the individual with psychopathy might live within the limits of normality, the individual with antisocial personality has a mental disorder. Both are characterised by the lack of emotions and feelings and the ability to manipulate and exploit others for their own purpose (Litzcke et al, 2012). Unlike crimes committed by individuals with antisocial personality, white-collar crimes are characterised by the absence of violence.

Corrupt individuals' striving for power implies the absence of love, or *Eros*[107]. As an abuse of entrusted power, corruption reflects a lack of empathy towards society's interests and needs[108]. For Guggenbühl-Craig (2008, p. 13), 'all human beings come to this world deficient, lacking something'. He examines the *archetypal invalidism* that emerges as a lasting deficiency of the psyche. He focuses on the deficiency of Eros, to describe the 'part of our psyche that has not been touched by the essence of human nature – by erotic, moral and aesthetic differentiation' (p. 5). Psychopaths' deficient morality is seen as a result of lack of Eros (p. 76), making it impossible for them to love or care for someone other than themselves. Guggenbühl-Craig presents

---

[106] This differentiation between psychopathy and antisocial personality is not found in the current version of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

[107] Love is seen in analytical psychology as the opposite of power: 'Freud's theory espoused Eros, Adler's the will to power. Logically, the opposite of love is hate, and of Eros, Phobos (fear); but psychologically it is the will to power. Where love reigns, there is no will to power; and where the will to power is paramount, love is lacking. The one is but the shadow of the other: the man who adopts the standpoint of Eros finds his compensatory opposite in the will to power, and that of the man who puts the accent on power is Eros' (CW 17, § 78).

[108] Corrupt individuals seem to show indifference and insensitivity to others' suffering. This might indicate a lack of empathy, but as an alternative, it is possible that corrupt individuals do not correlate their conduct to how it will impact others, since corrupt activities are usually seen as 'victimless crimes' (Huisman & Walle, 2010).

psychopaths' primary symptoms: inability to love, missing or deficient sense of morality, absence of psychic development – the 'psychopaths' soul seems static' (p. 78) –, a background depression and fear. Their secondary symptoms are absence of guilty feelings, absence of any real understanding or insight, ability to evoke pity, charm, asocial or criminal behaviour, boredom and social climbing. Psychopaths are 'not subject to neurotic complications', which for Guggenbühl-Craig result from erotic difficulties or moral conflicts (p. 84).

Guggenbühl-Craig understands Eros as 'the entire spectrum of emotional attachment' (2008, p. 25), ranging from sainthood on one side to psychopathy on the other. He explores the boundaries of human morality by affirming that we all have tendencies to amorality within us (p. 46), and consequently, we are all psychopaths to a certain degree. He suggests that this deficiency can be used as a tool to better understand human nature (p. 43).

Guggenbühl-Craig contrasts *Eros* and morality. For the author, 'the ego turns to morality as a substitute for those times when Eros is nowhere to be found. Love is the first commandment of Christianity, but it is not something that lends itself to commanding. When Eros is absent, the individual wishing to emulate Eros-like behaviour has no choice but to attempt to establish a system of values and rules for moral behaviour to which one can adhere' (p. 75). In this sense, the absence of Eros might be compensated with a façade of moral rigidity (p. 94). Interestingly, in Brazil, it is quite common to find on ethics committees politicians that have been accused of corruption.

7.1.5 Moral Dissociation in Moral Psychology

Merrit, Doris and Harman (2010) explain *moral dissociation* with a debate over character and situation (virtue ethics and situationism) but, as we will see, their analysis is closer to a dualistic approach. They question the supposed consistency and stability of virtue and character (virtue ethics) by demonstrating how moral behaviour can vary according to the situation and the cognitive processes related to it (situationism). In fact, for them, there can be a complete split between one's values and one's conduct[109]. They suggested the label *moral dissociation* to describe 'the separation or divergence between subjects' morally important behaviour in the situations of interest, and the moral values that subjects endorse (or would endorse) under reflection' (2010, p. 363).

In the traditional virtue-ethics approach[110], the virtuous person has the ability to reason correctly about practical matters and about what each situation ethically requires (practical rationality), which suggests consistency of character traits over time and situation. Hence, in a regular process of reasoning,

> a person brings to an occasion for action some set of pre-existing evaluative commitments, which may include reflectively endorsed moral norms. Ideally, moral cognition is supposed to orchestrate a smooth transition from pre-existing

---

[109] Merrit, Doris and Harman (2010) ground their analysis in classical psychological studies that analysed human nature and the debate over character and situation, like the Milgram experiment at Yale and the Stanford Prison Experiment. In the Milgram experiment, the participants were asked to perform acts in a virtue-contrary fashion. The results revealed that most people (2/3 of participants) tend to continue to harm victims at the polite request of an experimenter even if that conflicted with their personal values (obedience x conscience). In the Stanford Prison Experiment, participants were randomly assigned to roles of guards and prisoners in a simulated situation. The guards enforced authoritarian measures that escalated to abuse and cruelty. In both experiments, the subjects presented a completely different behaviour than they would have expected from themselves when induced to a bad conduct by an authority figure. The personality of the subjects had little influence on the results: '[…] social psychologists have repeatedly found that the difference between good conduct and bad appears to reside in the situation more than in the person' (Merrit, Doris, & Harman, 2010, p. 357). Curiously, both experiments had their methods questioned due to ethical concerns.

[110] Jung's psycho-ethical paradigm and Aristotle's virtue ethics converge, since they both focus on the development of a moral and ethical character (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 118): '[…] both authors highlight the importance of acquiring a balance between reason and the passions; both are concerned with the development of practical wisdom and believe that ethics should take into account a variety of ethical situations and types; both assume a strong continuity between ethics and psychology' (Colacicchi, 2015, p. 118).

moral norms to a choice of action in line with them, through the appropriate uptake of information about the actor's present circumstances. When moral dissociation occurs, something fouls up the transition (Merrit, Doris, & Harman, 2010, p. 370).

In the situationist approach, the virtuous person has the tendency to answer in a more or less expected way, but some circumstances can drastically change the behaviour from virtuous to virtue-inconsistent, suggesting a moral dissociation. For Merrit, Doris and Hartmann (2010, p. 363), something goes wrong with moral cognition implying the occurrence of a failure of practical reasoning due to the influence of situational factors affecting the subjects expected tendency to respond to moral dilemmas. They oppose people's tendency to respond to moral dilemmas with 'depersonalized response tendencies'.

> In contrast to the philosophical virtue-ethicist's preoccupation with personal dispositions that embody subjects' attempts to exercise practical rationality, our discussion will track depersonalized response tendencies, which function largely independently of actors' evaluative commitments. A response tendency is depersonalized to the degree that when activated by a situational factor to which it responds, it leads to highly predictable behaviour, through cognitive processes on which individuals' personal, reflectively endorsed values have relatively little influence. Real-life exposure to moral dissociation increases so far as such cognitive processes are not only indifferent to personal values, but also resistant to intentional direction. When depersonalized response tendencies are recalcitrant in this way, they may be beyond the reach of individual practical rationality (Merrit, Doris, & Harman, 2010, p. 370).

For Merrit, Doris and Hartmann, moral dissociation is thus a result of a failure of practical rationality, in which the subjects 'failed to pull the rational pieces together and treat the harmfulness of their continued obedience as decisive reason to stop' (p. 365). The researchers believe that '[…] morally consequential behaviour is pervasively influenced by cognitive processes that resist intentional direction, and are at best insensitive to personal, reflective endorsed moral norms, if not contrary to them' (p. 356).

Although Merrit, Doris and Harman avoid the clinical connotations of the term 'dissociation', their findings support the idea that morality cannot be seen as something

static and consistent. The automatism and depersonalisation of behaviour described by them suggest the influence of complexes, since the responses are not determined by the actor's personal values. The 'depersonalized response tendencies' suggest a diminished influence of the ego to determine moral behaviour in the face of ethical dilemmas.

For the researchers, 'part of the explanation for experimentally observed moral dissociation is the subliminal inhibition or misdirection of subjects' other-oriented attention' (p. 371). In other words, *moral dissociation can be caused by an inhibition of an empathic response to others' suffering.* Alternatively, it can be explained by the *fear of embarrassment* (Sabini & Silver, 2005).

Merrit, Dorrit and Harman's research suggests that one's ability to reason in the face of ethical dilemmas is usually overestimated, but focusing on the situationist approach is not the solution either. They offer an alternative to this debate by proposing an interactionist approach between character and situation. They stress the importance of analysing 'the way internal cognitive processes interact with environmental factors such as interpersonal relationships, social and organisation settings, and institutional structures' (2010, p. 392).

For them, possible solutions to moral dissociation can be 'deliberate self-improvement' and increased other-oriented attention, by means of (1) better practical reasoning (reflective deliberation 'may alleviate tendencies toward moral dissociation'); and (2) improved moral sensitivity through the creation of social contexts that trigger desired aspects of morality (Merrit, Doris, & Harman, 2010, p. 389).

The disparity between values and conduct is also analysed by Batson (2016), who understands that people are motivated by either *moral integrity* (a desire to be moral) or *moral hypocrisy* (a desire to appear moral without actually being moral). In a series

of experiments on moral motivation that accessed moral integrity, moral hypocrisy and the role of self-deception, Batson discovered that only 10-20% of participants displayed behaviour that was suggestive of moral integrity (p. 22). The vast majority of participants displayed moral hypocrisy – they cheated when they had the chance, but still thought of themselves as being honest by justifying their behaviour. For Batson, 'people are motivated to present themselves as passionately committed to moral principles in order to gain the self-benefits that the ensuing trust provides' (p. 17). One of the explanations for the results was the desire to look good in other people's eyes (self-presentation). Nonetheless, even when the variant of being watched was removed, the participants still managed to unfairly favour themselves while maintaining the appearance of morality, '[…] but real morality was rare' (p. 22). They wanted to appear moral to themselves: 'Self-deception can provide us access to all the social and self-rewards that being moral offers, free of charge' (p. 17).

Aquino (2017), on the other hand, defends (a little) moral hypocrisy, since it is what happens when one tries to achieve two equally adaptive goals: (1) maintaining a belief in its essential goodness; and (2) striving for consistency.

7.2 Dualistic Approaches to Corruption

Most theories describe morality in terms of a schism between opposite moral values, like right and wrong, good and evil, vices and virtues – implicit principles that substantiate and are exhaustively replicated in moral codes. More specifically, corruption is usually explained in terms of a (lack of) separation between public and

private interests[111]. The moral values used to analyse corrupt behaviour vary according to this relationship. The distinction between public role and private interest might reveal a split between two different moralities.

According to de Graaf (2007, p. 53), the branch of literature that explains corruption's causes[112] by using 'clashing moral values theories', reduces the situational aspects to the moral conflicts of individuals: 'The causal chain in these theories starts with certain values and norms of society that directly influence the values and norms of individuals. These values and norms influence the behaviour of individual officials, making them corrupt' (de Graaf, 2007, p. 53). De Graaf understands that in these theories the common idea is that officials take bribes to fulfil important personal duties, like supporting family and friends. In this sense, the individual feels *obligated* to be corrupt; hence, his conscience is the cause of the corrupt behaviour.

We will next see some examples of theories that refer to dualities that are present in political conduct, which might be related to corruption. In summary, the separation of private and public realms in politics rejects the expression of human subjectivity in public life.

7.2.1 Between group and foreign morality

The normative expectations of the private and public spheres coexist, creating a field of tension between two antagonistic value spheres (the living world and the

---

[111] According to Avritzer et al., 'the recognition of the separation between the public and the private offers a fruitful analytical framework for understanding of corruption' (Avritzer, Bignotto, Guimarães, & Starling, 2008).

[112] As discussed previously, de Graaf (2007) distinguishes six groups of theories on the causation of corruption: public choice theory (rational cost-benefit calculations), bad apple theories (defective human character), organisational culture theories (group contagion), clashing moral values theories (non-distinction between private and public roles), the ethos of public administration theories (political and economic studies), and correlation theories (focus on the relationship between different variables).

system), or between two morals. Höffling denominates these as *micro* and *macro* morality, characterised by ethical particularism and moral-legal universalism, respectively. Micro morality, which is connect to the private sphere, emphasises the values, norms and obligations of our social circles (family and friends). It is based on informal norms and characterised by reciprocity. Macro morality, which is connected to the public role, emphasises the universal system of formal norms and is characterised by the complementarity of rights and duties as the primal modus of social ties. It is based on social trust and demands a higher level of abstraction, which limits the chances of internalising norms. Micro morality is characterised by social proximity while macro-morality 'insists on the priority of the general' (Höffling, 2002, p. 70). 'The macro morality of public officials requires them to treat different persons equally, where the micro morality requires them to favour friends wherever possible' (de Graaf, 2007, p. 54). The private sphere has specific demands on morality, like affective ties. The persistence of particularistic standards in traditional areas of legal morality leads to corruption.

Höffling places the origin of this duality historically in the progressive overcoming of a dualistic tribal ethic, where there was a community-forming distinction between group and foreign morality, with no regard to the person. There were two sets of rules: one for those within the community and another for outsiders. That led at the same time to the development of moral principles of equality and fraternity within the group and the absorption of foreign principles like negative reciprocity and competition. The process of social modernisation of a moral community (through cooperation) implied the sacrifice of the strength of the moral bond with others (through competition). The universalisation of morality paradoxically led to the unequal treatment of the same (particularism) and the equal treatment of the

different (universalism) (Höffling, 2002).

7.2.2 Between means and ends

Machiavelli's book *The Prince* (2015)*,* written in 1513, remains the most traditional work related to the conflict of different moralities. The text contained instructions for the Prince of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici, on how to be a good political leader and to maintain power. His book became renowned for the reason that Machiavelli distanced himself from the Christian understanding of ethics and described a secular ethics, not conditioned by a superior divine law. He rejected the virtues of wisdom, justice, courage and moderation for a political leader, since the prince's morality should be flexible in nature (Samuels, 2005c, p. 79). One of Machiavelli's ideas is that on many occasions rulers must be ready to act with opposite values to those they use to ponder their actions in private life. In order to honour society's welfare, most of the time the ruler must walk paths that are not quite tolerable to a person as an individual. Good leaders must have *virtù*, the ability to adapt to political events that would lead to an effective exercise of power (Nederman, 2014).

The prince should not hear the inner voice of God, but follow the dictates of necessity (Samuels, 2005c, p. 78). He 'must overcome his innate virtue' (Samuels, 2005c, p. 80); nonetheless, he only had to appear to be good to garner citizens' sympathy: '[he must] appear merciful, faithful, humane, religious, upright, and to be so, but with a mind so framed that should you require not to be so, you may be able and know how to change to the opposite' (Machiavelli, 2015, p. 40). To Machiavelli, legitimate authority was not conditioned by moral goodness, and consequently the good ruler (with *virtù* and prudence) was capable of behaving in a completely evil

fashion if the situation required (Nederman, 2014). Machiavelli's dichotomy contrasts the inescapable constancy of character and the need for flexibility. To Machiavelli, human conduct is rooted in a firm and invariant character, which restrains the ruler's ability to govern, resulting in instability and uncertainty (Nederman, 2014).

The ideas Machiavelli presented appeared 'to subvert every generally held decency' (Samuels, 2005c, p. 77). However, Machiavelli was merely a realist and saw the facts in an incredibly raw way, a pragmatic approach that was task-oriented. He could recognise and accept the true nature of a political situation, separating it from the morality of private life. Perhaps Machiavelli was only exercising utilitarian reasoning or valuing situational factors (*fortuna*), but nonetheless, it reverberated as an excessively crude theory. Machiavelli's name has become associated with something evil[113] and inspired an adjective used to describe someone as 'cunning, scheming, and unscrupulous, especially in politics' (OED, 2012). His name is mostly used as a synonym for 'a person perceived as prepared to use unethical means to gain an advantage' (OED, 2012), which is an inaccurate and inadequate reputation, since Machiavelli was not an immoral person (as far as is known), but was in fact a patriot, with committed republican ideals (Scott J. T., 2016, p. X). Although Machiavelli praised, to some extent, deception, '[…] simply being ruthless or corrupt is clearly not what being "Machiavellian" means' (Samuels, 1994). For Samuels, 'the prince's morality must, above all, be of a flexible nature; he is required to *choose* to be evil, to be evil in spite of himself'.

> Being Machiavellian involves a ceaseless interweave and dynamic between a passionately expressed, codified, legally sanctioned set of principles and certitudes, and a more open, flexible, improvised, tolerant kind of morality that is basically code-free. These two aspects of morality are going to be present in

---

[113] 'The author of The Prince as a supposed "teacher of evil" has long been associated with the devil […]' (Scott J. T., 2016, p. IX).

any political system, and it is important to resist the temptation to see one of them as somehow more advanced, arising from the ashes of the other (Samuels, 1994).

Machiavelli does not deny morality *per se*, but embraces its contextualisation. 'Political morality, played in a Machiavellian key, helps to avoid a false and over simple dichotomy between ethical behaviour conducted according to rules and ethical behaviour that is responsive to the nuances of a given situation' (Ibid.). This distinction is very close to the aforementioned debate on character and situation. We will return to the flexible nature of morality when discussing pluralistic approaches to corruption.

7.2.3 Between responsibility and intentions

In the classical speech 'Politics as a Vocation', Weber stated that the ethics of political conduct differ from the ethics of other conducts because politics operates with specific means: power. 'Power is the unavoidable means, and striving for power is one of the driving forces of all politics […]' (Weber, 1946, p. 116). The 'power instinct' is thus a normal quality of politicians, not a deadly sin. Nonetheless, the worship of power per se is considered by him an empty gesture that hides inner weakness and impotence (Ibid.). Weber understood that what should orientate political conduct was the responsibility imposed by power (p. 115), so there should be a distinction between the ethic of conviction (also known as the ethic of intention or ultimate ends) (*Gesinnungsethik*) and the ethic of responsibility[114] (*Verantwortungsethik*). In the ethic of conviction, an ethically oriented conduct follows absolute principles, where the intention counts more than the result. It has a religious connotation which is expressed in the phrase 'The Christian does rightly and leaves the results with the Lord' (p. 120).

---

[114] 'Trevi characterises Jung's ethics as close to Weber's "ethics of responsibility"' (Trevi, 2006, p. 39 as cited in Colacicchi, 2015).

If an action has bad results despite one's good intentions, the responsibility for the action is placed on others or on God, who are then responsible for the evil.

The ethic of responsibility considers the consequences and side effects of actions. The goodness of those who follow this ethic is not presupposed and they take into account the average deficiencies of people. The results are directly linked to their actions. For Weber, these two ethics are 'fundamentally differing and irreconcilably opposed maxims', which would explain why he believes that officials with high moral standards make for poor politicians (Ibid.). Weber was deeply influenced by Machiavelli's thoughts, and his ideas can be recognised in the following passage:

> No ethics in the world can dodge the fact that in numerous instances the attainment of 'good' ends is bound to the fact that one must be willing to pay the price of using morally dubious means or at least dangerous ones – and facing the possibility or even the probability of evil ramifications (p. 121).

He understands that for Christians, the one that uses power and force as means 'contracts with diabolical powers' (p. 123). However, in Weber's view, anyone involved in politics must deal with 'ethical paradoxes' and be responsible for what comes from them (p. 125). Those who seek salvation (a liberation from suffering) should not seek it in politics, since adherents of an ethic of responsibility endanger the salvation of the soul (p. 126). 'The genius or demon of politics lives in an inner tension with the god of love, as well as with the Christian God as expressed by the church'(Ibid.). Nonetheless, one is a 'political infant' if one fails to realise that good may come from evil and *vice versa* (p. 123)*.

Weber concludes that the ethic of intentions and the ethic of responsibility actually complement each other; *they are not absolute opposites*. Together, they constitute a true human being, 'a man who *can* have the "calling for politics"' (Weber, 1946, p. 127).

Beebe highlights the importance of responsibility and accountability in his definition of integrity: '[…] the [S]elf's willingness to be responsible to all its objects, and accountable for its impact upon them […]' (Beebe, 2005, p. 52). In Beebe's view, the function of integrity is to remember our obligation towards the other, which might be either another person or a value associated with the self, or both (p. 54). For Beebe, what individuates is our integrity, not character itself (p. 60). The development of integrity is thus the goal of individuation and the 'ongoing job of integrity' is the 'responsibility for character'. Nonetheless, it is not clear how individuation can be differentiated from a cumulative process of gaining responsibilities in life. In a reference to Machiavelli's Prince, Beebe affirms that 'integrity does not seem to split moral decision making into realms of inner and outer governance, and neither do people who come to psychotherapy. We come to psychotherapy to learn how to take better care of self and others, but in the realm of our responsibility for them, self and others are not split'.

This apparently means that the responsibility for others is typical of the private sphere, especially because they are not seen as separated from the individual. If it is not integrity that promotes the split between realms, it might be corruption (in a broad sense) that does so.

7.2.4 Between Virtues and Virtù

As discussed previously in the critical literature review, one of the origins of corruption in Brazil is what Weber defined as *patrimonialism*, a traditional form of domination derived from patriarchalism, in which there is no sharp distinction between private and public interests and resources (Weber, 1946). This can be seen in the

common Brazilian expression '[he] steals, but [he] gets things done' (*rouba, mas faz*), which is an example of how society responds to the dissociation of morality in corrupt individuals. Adhemar de Barros was an entrepreneur and politician who contributed significantly to enhancing the country's infrastructure. His fame as a bold and dynamic governor, sustained for more than three decades, grew amidst accusations of corruption. The criminal charges against him included systemic bribery and draining of public funds. Barros was never able to erase this stain from his reputation, as epitomised by '*rouba, mas faz*'. Surprisingly, some reactions to Barros's corruption were not entirely negative, with some voters saying that at least he was being honest about it. However, when the population elects a politician known to be corrupt, they are also somehow approving corrupt practices. Barros was mayor of the city of São Paulo (1957-1961) and twice governor of the state of São Paulo (1947-1951 and 1963-1966), but did not achieve his main goal in politics: to be elected president of the republic. In 1966, after losing two elections, and with intentions to run for a third time, Barros had his political rights suspended by the military federal administration he had helped to establish (Cotta, 2008).

Decades later, the same 'campaign slogan' – *rouba, mas faz* – was associated with another politician, Paulo Maluf, who was convicted of money laundering in 2018. Imprisoned at age 86, Maluf demonstrated his fragility and proclaimed his innocence. Despite being treated in a referential manner for his age and history, Maluf was reminded that, in prison, he is not an *authority*, but a *prisoner*. He cries because he misses his family, but does not consent to his wife and sons visiting, to prevent them from having to undergo body searches like the female reporter had to undergo to interview him. 'I've only done good in my entire life', Maluf told this reporter, before reeling off the good works he had done as mayor and governor of São Paulo. Sobbing,

he said: 'I did not hurt anyone. I did not kill anyone. Why am I here? I am suffering moral torture'. He refuses to eat prison food and eats snacks at the canteen. Maluf has the right to spend up to R$100 (less than £20) per week in the canteen, but he has gone over his budget several times and had to borrow money from another inmate, a former senator also arrested for corruption (Bergamo, 2018).

Combining Machiavelli's and Weber's ideas and comparing then to the situation of Brazilian politics, we can only conclude that the situation (of systemic corruption) is characterised by a great denial of responsibility and lack of virtues. The most significant difference between the ethics of politicians and common citizens is the responsibility over power. Everything must be done to remain in power, but politicians are responsible for the consequences of this concentration of power. Hence, politicians' ethics (the ethics of responsibility) are not for common citizens, for they do not have access to that much power. In the ethics of responsibility, moral actions are those that are useful to the community, and immoral actions are those that harm it, and that aim at particular interests. Subsequently, the ethics of politicians should be separated into the ethics of public and private life. In public life, the ruler must be feared not loved. In the ethics of private life, love can (but not always) have a greater value than power. Corruption suggests a conflict between individual and collective values, and consequently represents a collision of the ethics of public and private life. Simply put, those who are governed by their intentions do not take responsibility for the results of their actions. They do not have to encounter moral questions or face the ambiguity of their conduct. They might be seeking salvation, and God has already decided the right course of action. This position contrasts with the conduct based on the ethics of responsibility, since it takes into account the impact of one's own actions. They put

society's welfare above the salvation of their souls, by employing whatever means are at their disposal.

In Machiavelli's raw binary separation, citizens were caught up between having a ruler with virtues or *virtù*. From this perspective, having a ruler with *virtù* could result in benefits for the population and the focus on the welfare of the nation could be seen as a virtue itself. However, having a ruler with virtues but no *virtù* might not have been so useful.

Politics still is, among other things, an enormous web of complex and bureaucratic relationships. Moral rigidity, in the sense of absence of virtù, could make politicians simply unfit for the job, since following their party's commandments regardless of the final outcome might cause moral revulsion. Aversion to rule bending could be converted into ostracism, making the work virtually impossible for politicians. The solution to this problem would require them to develop a network of beliefs that alleviated and quietened moral doubts. On the other hand, moral rigidity, in the sense of lack of morality (therefore, the absence of virtues) as presented by Guggenbühl-Craig, can be a compensation for lack of Eros. In this case, lack of morality might open a path to unrestrained power seeking (Guggenbühl-Craig, 2008, p. 101).

For a successful maintenance of the ruler's power, the political and private life should not have the same morals and ethics. Nonetheless, corruption (or any perception of abuse by politicians) rearranges and merges both ethics, since intentions, responsibility and efficiency are distorted. It seems that Brazilians' current dissatisfaction with their politicians is directly related to the clash between these two ethics. We can consider two hypotheses to explain what might be happening: 1) current politicians are adhering to the ethic of conviction, since they are not taking responsibility for the results of their actions. Nonetheless, their supposed good

intentions are not at all clear. They are not being virtuous or even seeking salvation (unless we consider salvation from prison); 2) current politicians are adhering to the ethic of responsibility, since they are employing dubious moral means. However, they are following the dictates of necessity, but doing so is not leading to good ends. From society's perspective, Brazilian leaders do seem to be selling their souls, but they are not putting society's welfare above their salvation. They are not demonstrating *virtù*. They are revealing themselves to be just bad rulers.

Despite the sharp and decisive difference between the two ethics, it seems that politics in Brazil is characterised by the combination of the 'bad characteristics' from both. This might explain why most people keep politics at a distance: they do not want to endanger their souls or even to encounter moral questions and face the ambiguity of their conduct. For this reason, when corrupt leaders are elected, it is as if society has made a pact with both sides of the personality of the politician, which is comparable to saying 'we *tolerate* your moral flexibility if you promise to be a good ruler' or 'if you show *virtù*, we discharge you from showing virtues'. Nonetheless, politicians do not seem to be doing their part in this pact. It appears that politicians do not understand their moral responsibility[115]; otherwise they would be stealing, but getting things done, like Adhemar de Barros proposed. At the same time, it seems that the citizens are questioning why they should put so much effort into pursuing virtues if their leaders are not doing the same nor putting society's needs above everything else. Their leaders are not pursuing either virtue or *virtù*. The Brazilian political system has gone through a natural selection process, in which being cooperative (in the form of political alliances) is a great advantage, but being 'Machiavellian' is an even greater advantage.

---

[115] The ethics of responsibility seem to be the guiding principle of the anticorruption policy of accountability (described in the topic on ethics and individuation). Holding politicians liable for the actions they take while in office, is supposed to generate good governance practices and reduce corruption.

Those who exploit features like cheating, stealing and manipulation obtain a significant advantage and become the most fit to survive.

7.2.5 Shifting between moralities

According to Minerbo, the corrupt individual simultaneously holds two exclusionary logics – referring to the private and public spheres – each containing its own morality. When corruption is practised by representatives of justice institutions, such as judges, police officers and politicians[116], the effect is especially pernicious for the system. In practising corruption, these individuals are symbolically resigning from the social roles of their professions. They cease to uphold, through their daily acts, the instituted values. Instead, they put personal interests above the interests of the institution. The result, says Minerbo, is the corruption of both moralities and the institutionalisation of immorality (Minerbo, 2007, p. 145). 'If a judge accepts a bribe, it is because he no longer believes in justice in a quasi-transcendent way. The whole system becomes corrupt. Leading to a growing discredit of the institution, a dialectical movement in which new judges will accept bribery, and so on' (Minerbo, 2007, p. 148).

The federal judge responsible for the Car Wash Operation, Sergio Moro, seems to have concluded something similar in the verdict that convicted the federal deputy Eduardo Cunha for corruption:

> The defendant received an unjustified advantage in the exercise of the office of Federal Deputy in 2011. The responsibility of a federal parliamentarian is enormous and therefore also his culpability when he commits crimes. *There can*

---

[116] In a survey of public opinion on corruption, 'an act was likely to be judged as more corrupt […], if the official who took the money held a non-political position (for example, if the official was a judge rather than a politician) and if the official was acting in his or her public role when the act occurred (i.e., if the act was part of his job rather than if the was acting as a private citizen)' (Gardiner, 2009, p. 35). Public opinion about corruption: '[…] while the survey respondents condemn non-political officials such as judges who act improperly, they seem to expect that "political officials will do favours for campaign contributors and constituents"' (Gardiner, 2009, p. 35).

be no more serious offense than that of the one who betrays the parliamentary mandate and the sacred trust that the people place on it for his own gain. He acted, therefore, with extreme culpability, which should also be assessed negatively (Moro, 2017) [emphasis added].

The violation of the duty inherent to his position was considered an aggravation of the crime. In Minerbo's view, when these individuals symbolically resign from their positions, there is a *symbolic death*. They die symbolically also within the ordinary citizen, who feels authorised to commit small corruptions. The symbol 'justice' becomes empty of meaning, but it receives a new meaning when it is equated with 'impunity'. 'Another morality is instituted, that is, a new sensitivity to the same facts' (Minerbo, 2007, p. 145).

While going to prison can be understood as 'every man for himself', reaffirming egoistical tendencies, the moment the defendant signs a plea bargain (*leniency agreement* in Brazil) seems to be the turning point or to allow the possibility of shifting back between two moralities. In leniency agreements, the defendants agree to plead guilty in exchange for collaboration in the investigations and presenting new evidence to help convict other defendants. Criminals must thus betray their peers (the morality of the group) and work actively on the side of 'the good guys', the prosecutors. Plea bargains are new to Brazilian law and they made all the difference in Car Wash Operation's success. Plea bargains actually brought a new meaning to bargaining in politics and their outcome has drawn attention from both the specialised and lay public. Interesting examples emerged in the media: black-market money dealers (*doleiros*) were condemned not only for actively contributing with the prosecutors, but also for offering a 200-hour course on money laundering for six years (Salviano, 2018).

In a deposition, Sérgio Cabral (Rio de Janeiro's former governor, case 6) quoted the famous slogan attributed to Adhemar de Barros to deny he had received bribes: 'I am not Adhemar de Barros who "steals, but get things done". *I accomplished*' (Grillo,

2017a) [emphasis added]. Cabral argued that the other defendants that accused him in their leniency agreements were confusing bribes with campaign collaboration: 'I have never received a bribe in Maracanã ['s tender] or any other work or service. What I received was campaign collaboration, and they [other defendants] mix those up as they please' (Grillo, 2017a). Cabral had in his hands *Conversations with Myself*, a biography of Nelson Mandela, the symbol of the struggle against racial prejudice in South Africa. One of the journalists made sure to quote a passage from Mandela's book: 'The prison cell gives us the opportunity to overcome evil and develop what is good in us ... It is the ideal place to learn to know ourselves' (Mandela, 2011, as cited in (Grillo, 2017b)). For the journalist, Cabral could learn a good deal from the book, since he insisted on denying his crimes.

Many defendants in corruption cases made agreements with the federal police, like Paulo Roberto Costa. Since they are criminals themselves, they are not considered the most reliable witnesses, but according to Judge Sérgio Moro (Cunha's Judicial Sentence, p. 33): '[...] crimes are not committed in heaven, and in many cases the only people who can serve as witnesses are equally criminals'. Nonetheless, they can only accuse others if they can provide proof. It is not yet possible to know whether the benefits of the leniency agreements simply maintain the corrupt individual as he/she was before. In any case, the others from his group will hardly trust this fellow again to establish new alliances.

7.3 Pluralistic Approaches to Corruption

More often than not, the dichotomy between the private and public sphere reveals itself to be too simple, since moral motivation can be extremely complex to trace and

single out. One may have mixed or multifaceted motives for corrupt behaviour.

Jung described his psycho-ethical paradigm by stating that 'the ethical question boils down to the relationship between man and God' (Jung, 2014, p. 147). Post-Jungians, like Hillman and Samuels, have questioned Jung's monotheistic relationship between man and God (ego-Self) and offered a polytheistic/pluralistic conception of the psyche. We will see how going from a singular to a plural perspective can influence the conception of morality and corruption.

7.3.1 Polytheistic Morality

Hillman heavily criticised Jung's 'theology of the Self' (Hillman, 1971) and affirmed that Jungians are biased towards the one, turning everything into a utopia of integration and placing it above multiplicity and diversity (Hillman, 1971, p. 194). Archetypal psychology, a post-Jungian school[117], values multiplicity over unity, by affirming the existence of one or more gods. Although he did not place much emphasis on this, Jung actually did refer to a plurality of Selves: 'Looked at psychologically, the plurality of the symbol of unity signifies a splitting into many independent units, into a number of "selves"; the one "metaphysical" principle, representing the idea of monotheism, is dissolved into a plurality of subordinate deities' (CW 10, § 634). 'Jung used a polycentric description for the objective psyche. He envisioned it as a multiplicity of partial consciousness […]' (Hillman, 1971, p. 197). Personality has been conceived by archetypal psychologists as fundamentally multiple rather than unitary: 'In a sense, there is no personality – only personifications, which, when analysts regard

---

[117] Post-Jungians were initially delineated by Samuels (1985) into three different 'schools': classical, developmental and archetypal. More recently, Samuels recognised in an overview four more-or-less distinct schools: a fundamentalist, classical, developmental and psychoanalytic school.

them as if they were real persons, assume the status of autonomous personalities' (Adams, 2008, p. 115).

Hillman also strongly opposed Jung's 'fantasy of individuation', which is characterised '[…] mainly as a movement towards the Old Wise Man [the senex]' (Hillman, 1971, p. 197). While Jung's monotheistic version of individuation seems to be just for the few, Hillman's polytheistic version appears to be more democratic, since '[…] each archetypal possibility of the psyche […] could follow its principle of individuation within its particular divine model' (Hillman, 1971, p. 201). In the ideal of an undissociated wholeness, individuation is seen as a movement from chaos to coherence, but Hillman defends a *disruptive principle* (in opposition to the unifying principle), which closely resembles corruption's disruptive quality. Hillman deconstructs the theology of evolutional wholeness, 'the popular vision of individuation from chaos to order, from multiplicity to unity, and where the health of wholeness has come to mean the one dominating the many' (Hillman, 1971, p. 198).

In a posterior consideration of his own text, Hillman criticises himself: 'I was acting as a monotheist even while defending polytheism' (Hillman, 1996, p. 113). Connecting Jung's monotheism and Hillman's polytheism, we can understand that at the same time the psyche strives for unity – 'a healthy desire for selfhood' (CW 17, § 334), it also strives for multiplicity (the reward of possibilities). Of note, the opposite paradoxical movement also occurs in the psyche: it resists the limitation of unity and the disintegration of multiplicity.

Jung's view of morality might be considered particularly static in comparison to the moral experience in modern pluralistic societies (Samuels, 2005), where one is 'influenced by more than one moral code, where one may be regularly confronted by conflicting systems of values, where one may often see moral decisions not as a choice

between right and wrong, but as one between conflicting moralities' (Proulx, 1994, p. 112). As discussed, corrupt individuals are a good example of how conflicting moral codes can coexist in the same person due to the psyche's dissociability.

The change of perspective between monotheism and polytheism may directly influence how we conceptualise Jung's ethical paradigm, since listening to the voice of God (conscience) can be extremely difficult when one can hear many voices, each with their own absolute truths.

> To assume the possibility of many gods—in other words, to be polytheistic—means to defend a tolerance of differences and an acceptance of diversity represented by the gods themselves. Polytheism is a condition for polemics. The rhetoric of polemics rules polytheistic discourse, which is characterised by an avoidance of any totalitarian thought or unification around a single centre, a single way, a single discourse, or a single truth (Quintaes, 2008, p. 5).

Considering Quintaes' perspective, one of the contributions of polytheism to morality is to consider otherness in its radical difference, by means of a polemic dialogue. As we will see next, this a similar perspective to pluralism.

7.3.2 Pluralistic Morality

Samuels defines pluralism as an attitude or an approach to conflict, but also as a metaphor for a psychological process (Samuels, 2005b, p. 3). He defends pluralism as an interplay between multiplicity and unity, in which the goal is neither comparison nor synthesis. Pluralism encourages debate, without creating schisms. It holds diversity and unity in balance.

Pluralism might be a way out from the conflict caused by two opposing moralities, since it allows the conception of a multiplicity of moralities. We can use pluralism to try to understand the political dispute between autonomous complexes or even personalities.

On the personal level, we are faced with the pluralistic task of reconciling our many internal voices and images of ourselves with our wish and need to feel integrated and speak with one voice. It is an issue of intense feeling, this intrapsychic process. It has now become an issue of thinking, for psychological theory also seeks to see how the various conflicts, complexes, attitudes, functions, self-objects, part-selves, subpersonalities, deintegrates, psychic *dramatis personae,* internal objects, areas of the mind, subphases, gods—how all of these relate to the psyche as a whole. And what happens when a single part out of many begins to act as if it had the force and weight of the whole? […] (Samuels, 2005b, p. 1).

It can be difficult to define corruption in a black and white perspective of morality, since it is often described as something that happens in a grey zone between right and wrong. For this reason, we need a conception of morality that can withstand clashes and splits, although it is also this very tension of opposites that can create something new.

If there is no superordinate principle (no hierarchy with the self or whatever as its highest and most comprehensive point), and no one element or approach is regarded as *a priori* more fundamental than any other, then how can pattern and meaning come into being? To answer this question, I want, once more, to move back into the social sciences where theorists have had to grapple with similar problems about structure and fundamentals (Samuels, 2005b, p. 8).

My proposal is that, from an experiential point of view, the psyche may be seen as containing relatively autonomous spheres of activity and imagery and that, over time and according to context, each sphere has its dominance (Samuels, 2005b, p. 9).

'If one looks at the multifarious moral commandments and prohibitions that exist, it is very difficult to state the one general principle, or even a few general principles, that connect all of them. They are unavoidably plural; it is their essence to discriminate numberless kinds of approved and disapproved behaviour' (Samuels, 2005b, p. 150).

'It is important not to see moral imagination as just the daily version of original morality, or as the relative outcome of absolute principle. *Pluralism is not the same as relativism.* Perceiving a conflict of moral principles is not the same as claiming that, in life, principle must be watered down. Moral *relativism* implies a hierarchy in which principle is placed above and distinct from praxis. Moral *pluralism* sees no value in

unliveable principles, nor does it adopt such a pat-on-the-head, there-there attitude to moral failure, based on concessions to human appetites. There is a name for such: casuistry. The principles involved in moral pluralism embrace their own tricksterish failure in the world; we accommodate the exceptions within morality*; the exceptions make the rules*' (Samuels, 2005b, p. 151).

7.4 Resacralisation of Politics: In Search of Good Politicians and a Shadow-Free Politics

People are now seeking different characteristics in politicians than they sought in the past (Clarke, Jennings, Moss, & Stoker, 2018). Citizens are actually fighting big politics. This marks the rise of anti-politics, the manifestation of citizens' negative sentiments towards formal politics. It reflects a 'heightened set of expectations regarding the qualities of character of a good politician' (p. 3).

People no longer want the cynical politics of Machiavelli that favour *expediency* over morality. They seem to want politicians that dispose of a perfect balance between *efficiency* and morality: leaders with virtues and virtù (in the sense of ability to rule). The perception of corruption stimulates this anti-political sentiment. Citizens are standing up against lies, corruption and deceit and are focusing on values like honesty, decency and belief in the nation. For a long time, politicians prospered while people perished. Citizens felt powerless against the broken system, but they no longer want to be abused. What they want to hear is that politicians are transferring the power back to them (p. xi).

Politics appear to be changing character, also because the 'norms of good citizenship' are also changing.

> Good citizens it is thought, used to feel respect for political authority and a duty to participate by way of voting, paying taxes, and belonging to political parties. Today, good citizens are thought to demand and celebrate social rights and participate by way of volunteering, protesting, and buying products for political reasons (Clarke, Jennings, Moss, & Stoker, 2018, p. 183).

Disgusted reactions to corruption might be a symptom of modern society's call for resacralisation, an attempt to build a shadow-free politics. Samuels understands resacralisation as 'our contemporary effort to shift a sense of holiness into the material world' (Samuels, 1994). New social movements based on negative anti-political sentiment are committed to a transformation of politics. This is an attempt to make politics sacred again (even if it was never that holy) by nurturing a 'sense of purpose, decency, aspiration and meaning back into political culture' (Samuels, 2001, p. 18).

Car Wash Operation's witch-hunt was a perfect example of the projection of shadow onto corrupt politicians. However, we are far from knowing if it has hindered or stimulated a new understanding of social action. At the same time, the utopic goal of a corruption-free country reinforces politics' bad prognosis, while seeming to stimulate healing through political and social empowerment.

> In psychological language, what Machiavelli is doing, and what I'd like resacralizers to do, is to make a morality, and then an ideology, out of the shadow, out of those aspects of human psychology that we would rather disown. Most political theory seeks to combat and deal with the shadow. Machiavelli's approach is to embrace the shadow and go with its undeniably effective energies, rather than against them (Samuels, 1994).

Those who are disgusted by politics must struggle towards a new psychological valuing of the potential of political engagement behind the perception of corruption. By this means, something really politically transformative can occur.

7.5 Conclusion

We must analyse corruption using new approaches that overcome the old dichotomy between public and private. The contrast between the public and private spheres suggests a simplification of the social structure, but it is not possible to completely reject this idea, for the complete fusion of these worlds would also be an over-simplification. Society's plurality requires a multiplicity of paradigms to describe the phenomenon of corruption.

Conceiving corruption as a neurotic dissociation reflects the idea that avoiding ethical responsibility can lead to 'painful fragmentariness'. The anticorruption fight and the struggle to build up corruption-free social structures (as well as relationships) reflect man's relationship with the shadow. Corruption turns out to be a natural metaphor for understanding man's striving for consciousness.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

> *'The psychology of the individual is reflected in the psychology of the nation. What the nation does is done also by each individual, and so long as the individual continues to do it, the nation will do likewise. Only a change in the attitude of the individual can initiate a change in the psychology of the nation' (CW 7, Preface to the First Edition (1917)).*

The corruption phenomenon has revealed itself as an excellent point of reference for the study of humankind. Throughout this thesis, I have presented a post-Jungian interpretation of the corruption phenomenon and I have proposed several definitions of corruption from the perspective of analytical psychology. These descriptions are used as tools to comprehend the phenomenon at different levels, but they function as different perspectives in themselves. The goal was not to reach a final conception of corruption, but to understand the psychological processes that lie beneath it.

At the collective level, corrupt behaviour is connected to the corruption of human nature itself. Etymologically, the word corruption contains a propensity to rupture, which can be understood psychologically as a disruption or disordering principle of the psyche. It expresses an archetypal propensity to moral degeneration, i.e. a contrary tendency to individuation in the sense of moral integrity and wholeness. It also represents an expression of evil, a projection of the collective shadow.

At the cultural level, corruption is related to society's symptoms and characteristics, particularly the constitutive events and transgenerational traumas faced by its citizens. In Brazil, corruption is connected with colonisation, indigenous genocide, slavery and social inequality. The consequence of corruption at the cultural level is a deep-rooted phenomenon in Brazilian culture that discourages Brazilians

from fighting for a common good. They show (apparently) passive characteristics, but the population ends up doing whatever they want in order to accrue personal benefits.

At the personal level, corruption is related to personality traits of the corrupt individual. It represents an archetypal tendency of the ego to inflation and to the transgression of social norms for personal gain. The individualistic and narcissistic characteristics seen in the corrupt individual coincide with society's projection of its own unwanted content. Society uses its politicians to reaffirm its own integrity and honesty, disguising its own non-compliance with social norms.

Jung made the process of individuation one of the pillars of his theory. He applied the principle of opposites to most of the concepts developed from that. Nonetheless he did not propose a concept that could be the opposite of the unifying principle of the psyche. For this reason, I examined the paradoxical trans-valuative aspects of individuation and proposed corruption, the disordering principle, as a counter-individuation movement.

I proposed a new approach to morality — moral dissociation — which can help us understand the period of great disruption that we live in. Moral dissociation borrows from Jung's concept of neurotic dissociation, moral psychology's debate over character and situation, and Machiavelli's and Max Weber's conception of ethics to understand the common split between one's values and one's conduct found in politics. The great disruption experienced in politics reflect the psyche's tendency to fragmentation and chaos. Brazilians' relationship with corruption is a great indicator of society's stage of psycho-political development.

Future research on this topic from the perspective of analytical psychology must also refer to the triangular relationship between individual, society and State. Another suggestion is to compare the ancient, modern and post-modern conception of

corruption within the Jungian and post-Jungian perspectives. Although Brazilians perceive their country to be extremely corrupt, the number of individuals that are arrested for corruption remains very low. This number, however, has been increasing due to new judicial strategies and the role of the media. Having access to corrupt individuals that confess to their crimes might become easier in the future. Innovative corruption research should analyse real-life cases, particularly corrupt actors' strategies and motivations. Discourse analysis can be a way to understand these narratives.

There is no perfect solution to corruption, but it certainly comprises, first, an individual decision. The individual must be aware of his/her political dimension and participation in society. While individuation stands as a strong linkage between the individual and the collective, corruption is definitely a rupturing thereof. Understanding the endemic phenomenon of corruption and modifying its reality can be a way of contributing to the development of alterity in society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbagnano, N. (2007). *Dicionário de Filosofia.* São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Adams, M. V. (2008). The archetypal school. In P. Young-Eisendrath, & T. Dawson, *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* (pp. 107-124). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Addison, A. (2009). Jung, vitalism and 'the psychoid': an historical reconstruction. *Journal of Analytical Psychology, 54*, 123-142.

Adler, A. (1956). *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler: A systematic presentation in selections from his writings.* (H. L. Ansbacher, & R. R. Ansbacher, Eds.) New York: Basic Books.

Agbo, A. A., & Iwundu, E. I. (2016). Corruption as a Propensity: Personality and Motivational Determinants Among Nigerians. *The Journal of Psychology, 150*(4), 502–526.

Agência Brasil. (2017, 03 17). *Car Wash corruption case completes three years.* Retrieved 04 30, 2017, from EBC Agência Brasil: http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/politica/noticia/2017-03/car-wash-corruption-case-completes-three-years

Almeida, A. C. (2014). *A Cabeça do Brasileiro* (7 ed.). Rio de Janeiro: Record.

American Psychiatric Association. (2013, 05 22). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – Fifth Edition.* Retrieved from DSM Library - Personality Disorders: http://dsm.psychiatryonline.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/doi/full/10.1176/appi.books.9780890425596.dsm18

Aquino, K. (2017). In Defense of (a Little) Moral Hypocrisy. In W. Sinnott-
Armstrong, & C. B. Miller, *Moral Psychology: Virtue and Character* (Vol. 5, pp.
53-62). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Araújo, F. C. (2002). Da cultura ao inconsciente cultural: psicologia e diversidade
étnica no Brasil contemporâneo. *Psicologia: Ciência e Profissão, 22*(4), 24-33.

Aristotle. (1998). *Politics.* Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.

Ashforth, B. E., & Anand, V. (2003). The Normalization of Corruption in
Organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 25*, 1-52.

Augusto, L. (2018, 06 15). *Cármen diz que Judiciário tem 'muitos abacaxis' e
ministros são mais conhecidos que jogadores da Copa.* Retrieved 06 2018, from
Estadão Política: https://politica.estadao.com.br/blogs/fausto-macedo/carmen-
diz-que-judiciario-tem-muitos-abacaxis-e-ministros-sao-mais-conhecidos-que-
jogadores-da-copa/

Aurélio, D. (2009). *Dicionário Eletronico Aurélio.* [s. l.]: Positivo Informática.

Avelino, G., Barberia, L. G., & Biderman, C. (2014). Governance in managing public
health resources in Brazilian municipalities. *Health Policy and Planning, 29*,
694-702.

Avritzer, L., Bignotto, N., Guimarães, J., & Starling, H. M. (2008). *Corrupção:
Ensaios e Críticas.* Belo Horizonte: UFMG.

Backwood's Edinburgh Magazine. (1839, December). Dinner real and reputed.
Backwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 46(290), 815-831.

Barcellos, G. (2012). South and the Soul. In P. Amezaga, G. Barcellos, Á. Capriles, J.
Gerson, & D. Ramos, *Listening to Latin America: Exploring Cultural Complexes
in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela* (pp. 17-30). New
Orleans: Spring Journal, Inc.

Barreto, M. H. (2009). A dimensão ética da psicologia analítica: individuação como "realização moral". *Psicologia Clínica, 21*(1), 91-105.

Barreto, M. H. (2013). The unity of the ethical and the religious in Jung's thought. *International Journal of Jungian Studies, 5*(3), 226-242.

Barreto, M. H. (2017). Vilão ou herói? Uma meditação sobre a representação do negro em dois contos folclóricos brasileiros. *Junguiana, 35*, 49-60.

Barros Filho, C. d., & Praça, S. (2014). *Corrupção: Parceria degenerativa.* Campinas: Papirus 7 Mares.

Barroso, L. R. (2017). Ética e jeitinho brasileiro: por que a gente é assim? *Brazil Conference*, (pp. 1-11). Boston.

Bassil-Morozow, H. (2015). *The Trickster and the System: Identity and Agency in Contemporary Society.* Hove: Routledge.

Batson, C. D. (2016). Moral Motivation: a closer look. In J.-W. van Prooijen, & P. A. van Lange, *Cheating, Corruption, and Concealment: The Roots of Dishonesty* (pp. 15-22). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BBC. (2005, December 25). *Brazil 'best ever' says Five Live*. Retrieved August 15, 2014, from BBC SPORT: http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/front_page/4555190.stm

BBC. (2010, Oct. 4). *News: Latin America & Caribbean.* Retrieved May 18, 2014, from BBC: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-11465127

BBC. (2014, July 09). *Brazil in shock at World Cup rout.* Retrieved July 09, 2014, from BBC: http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/0/football/28223121

BBC. (2017, 10 17). *Malta journalist Caruana Galizia: Anti-corruption warrior.* Retrieved 10 21, 2017, from BBC News: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41650312

Becker, D., & Ferrari, I. (2017, 10 04). *A prática jurídica em tempos exponenciais: A tecnologia chegou no Direito para ficar.* Retrieved 10 05, 2017, from JOTA: https://jota.info/artigos/a-pratica-juridica-em-tempos-exponenciais-04102017#_ftn21

Beebe, J. (1992). *Integrity in Depth.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Beebe, J. (2005). Towards a Jungian Analysis of Character. In A. Casement, *Post-Jungians Today: Key Papers in Contemporary Analytical Psychology* (pp. 52-67). London: Routledge.

Bell, J. (2007, July 11). *1970 Brazilian Soccer Team Voted Best Ever.* Retrieved August 15, 2014, from The New York Times: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/11/sports/soccer/11poll.html?_r=0

Bergamo, M. (2018, 03 04). *Na cadeia, Maluf mostra fragilidade e se diz inocente.* Retrieved 03 2018, from Folha de São Paulo: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/03/na-cadeia-maluf-mostra-fragilidade-e-se-diz-inocente.shtml

Bergman, L. (2009). *Black Money.* Retrieved from Frontline: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/blackmoney/etc/script.html

Biason, R. d. (2009, 2nd sem.). A corrupção como fator de desigualdade na política brasileira. *Ciências Sociais em Perspectiva, 8*(15), 131-143.

Bobbio, N., Matteucci, N., & Pasquino, G. (1998). *Dicionário de Política.* Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.

Boechat, W. (2012). Cordial Racism: Race as a Cultural Complex. In P. Amezaga, G. Barcellos, Á. Capriles, J. Gerson, & D. Ramos, *Listening to Latin America: Exploring Cultural Complexes in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela* (pp. 31-50). New Orleans: Spring Journal, Inc.

Boechat, W. (2014). *A alma brasileira: luzes e sombra.* Petrópolis: Vozes.

Boechat, W. (2018). Complexo Cultural e Brasilidade. In H. Oliveira, *Desvelando a Alma Brasileira: Psicologia Junguiana e Raízes Culturais* (pp. 68-87). Petrópolis: Vozes.

Boechat, W. (2018). Cultural Complexes and Cultural Identity in Brazil. In J. Cambray, & L. Sawin, *Research in Analytical Psychology: Applications from Scientific, Historical and Cross-Cultural Research* (pp. 238-255). Abingdon: Routledge.

Boff, L. (2016, 03 20). *Quatro sombras afligem a realidade brasileira*. Retrieved from LeonardoBoff.com: https://leonardoboff.wordpress.com/2016/03/20/quatro-sombras-afligem-a-realidade-brasileira/

Borges, B. (2015, 03 10). *Comecei a receber propina em 1997 por iniciativa pessoal, diz delator.* Retrieved 03 06, 2016, from UOL Notícias: Política: http://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2015/03/10/comecei-a-receber-propina-em-1997-por-iniciativa-pessoal-diz-barusco.htm

Boyle, D. (2016, mar. 06). *Iranian tycoon is sentenced to death for corruption after he was convicted of fraudulently pocketing $2.8billion of state funds Read more: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3479092/Iranian-tycoon-sentenced-death-corruption-convicted-fraudulently-pocketing-2-8billion-state-funds.html#ixzz4RjmC1Ppj F.* Retrieved mar. 06, 2016, from Daily Mail: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3479092/Iranian-tycoon-sentenced-death-corruption-convicted-fraudulently-pocketing-2-8billion-state-funds.html

Brandão, J. d. (1998). *Mitologia Grega* (8 ed., Vol. 3). Petrópolis: Vozes.

Brandt, R., Affonso, J., Serapião, F., & Pires, B. (2017, 04 12). *'Esse crime eleitoral todo mundo praticou', diz Odebrecht sobre caixa 2.* Retrieved 05 09, 2017, from

Estadão Política: http://politica.estadao.com.br/blogs/fausto-macedo/esse-crime-eleitoral-todo-mundo-praticou-afirma-odebrecht-sobre-caixa-dois/

Brecht, B. (1988). Terra Nossa: Newsletter of Project Abraço, North Americans in Solidarity with the People of Brazil. *Resource Center for Nonviolence, 1-7.*

Briza, D. R. (2006). *A Mutilação da Alma Brasileira: um Estudo Arquetípico.* São Paulo: Vetor.

Bulfinch, T. (1855). Phaëton. In T. Bulfinch, *Age of fable; or, stories of gods and heroes* (pp. 59-68). Boston: Sandborn, Carter, and Bazin.

Byington, C. B. (2013, jan-jun). A identidade brasileira e o complexo de vira-lata: uma interpretação da psicologia simbólica junguiana. *Junguiana, 31*(1), pp. 71-80.

Cabral, M., & Oliveira, R. (2017). *O Príncipe: uma biografia não autorizada de Marcelo Odebrecht.* Bauru: Astral Cultural.

Caiden, G. E. (2010). Foreword. In G. de Graaf, P. von Maravić, & P. Wagenaar, *The Good Cause: theoretical perspectives on corruption* (pp. 9-11). Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

Calder, T. (2013). *The Concept of Evil.* Retrieved 11 14, 2016, from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/concept-evil/

Câmara, E. F. (2013). *Dom Pedro II e a psicologia da identidade brasileira.* Brasília: Centro-Hinterlândia.

Câmara, F. P. (2004, 03). *A contribuição de Nise da Silveira para a Psicologia Junguiana*, v. 9, n. 3. Retrieved 03 22, 2015, from Psychiatry online Brasil: http://polbr.med.br/ano04coal0304.php

Campbell, J.-L., & Göritz, A. S. (2014). Culture Corrupts! A Qualitative Study of Organizational Culture in Corrupt Organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*(120), 291-311.

Campbell, J., & Moyers, B. (1991). *The Power of the Myth.* New York: Anchor Edition.

Campbell, M. J.-L. (2014, 05). Korruption is nicht gleich Korruption. *Scheinwerfer*(19), 4.

Campos, N. F., & Giovannoni, F. (2007). Lobbying, corruption and political influence. *Public Choice*, 1-21.

Cancilla, D. (2013, 10 27). *The Psychology of Weight Loss and the War Against the Self: Why Diets Fail.* Retrieved 08 2018, from The Jung Page: http://www.cgjungpage.org/learn/articles/analytical-psychology/249-the-psychology-of-weight-loss-and-the-war-against-the-self-why-diets-fail

Capriles, Á. (2012). The Gringo Complex. In P. Amezaga, G. Barcellos, Á. Capriles, J. Gerson, & D. Ramos, *Listening to Latin America: Exploring Cultural Complexes in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela* (pp. 235-258). New Orleans: Spring Journal, Inc.

Carlson, E. A., Yates, T. M., & Sroufe, L. A. (2011). Dissociation and Development of the Self. In P. F. Dell, & J. A. O'Neil, *Dissociation and the dissociative disorders: DSM-V and beyond* (pp. 39-52). New York: Routledge.

Carvalho, J. M. (2008). Quem transgride o quê? In F. H. Cardoso, & M. M. Marcílio, *Cultura das Transgressões no Brasil: lições da história* (pp. 69-94). São Paulo: Saraiva.

Cavalcante Filho, J. T., & Lima, F. R. (2017). *Foro, prerrogativa e privilégio: Quais e quantas autoridades têm foro no Brasil?* Brasília: Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas da Consultoria Legislativa.

Cavalcante, R. (2015, 05). As Raízes da Corrupção (e como combatê-la). *Superinteressante, 29*(346), pp. 01-08.

Cavalcanti, R. (1995). *O mundo do pai: mitos, símbolos e arquétipos.* São Paulo: Cultrix.

CGU. ([s.d.]). *Redes Sociais.* Retrieved 03 05, 2016, from Controladoria Geral da União: Presidência da República: http://www.cgu.gov.br/redes

CGU. (2015, 05 05). *Corrupção Mata.* Retrieved 03 05, 2016, from Controladoria Geral da União: Presidência da República: http://www.cgu.gov.br/redes/corrupcao-mata

Chevalier, J., & Gheerbrant, A. (1996). *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols* (2nd ed.). London: Penguin Books.

Clarke, N., Jennings, W., Moss, J., & Stoker, G. (2018). *The Good Politician: Folk Theories, Political Interaction, and the Rise of Anti-Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Colacicchi, G. (2015). *Jung and Ethics: a conceptual exploration (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) .* Colchester: University of Essex.

Coleman, J. W. (1987, September). Toward an Integrated Theory of White-Collar Crime. *American Journal of Sociology, 93*(2), pp. 406-439.

Cooper, A. (2017, 05 21). *Brazil's "Operation Car Wash" involves billions in bribes, scores of politicians.* Retrieved 10 02, 2017, from CBSNEWS: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/brazil-operation-car-wash-involves-billions-in-bribes-scores-of-politicians/

Cotta, L. C. (2008). *Adhemar de Barros (1901 - 1969): A origem do "rouba, mas faz".* São Paulo: Dissertação do Departamento de História da USP.

Craig, J. (2015, November 28). *PM Urges Global Fight Against 'Evil' Of Corruption.* Retrieved from SkyNews: http://news.sky.com/story/1595849/pm-urges-global-fight-against-evil-of-corruption

Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice and the Enforcement Division of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. (2012, 11 14). *A Resource Guide to the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.* Retrieved from The United States Department of Justice: https://www.justice.gov/criminal-fraud/foreign-corrupt-practices-act

Dallagnol, D. (2017). *A luta contra a corrupção: a Lava Jato e o futuro de um país marcado pela impunidade.* Rio de Janeiro: Primeira Pessoa.

DaMatta, R. (1986). *O faz o brasil, Brasil.* Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.

DaMatta, R. (1991). *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: an Interpretation of Brazilian Dilemma.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Darley, J. M. (1992). Social Organization for the Production of Evil. *Psychological Inquiry, 3*(2), 199-218.

Darley, J. M. (2005). The Cognitive and Social Psychology of the Contagious Organizational Corruption. *Brooklyn Law Review, 70*(4), 1177-1194.

de Graaf, G. (2007). Causes of corruption: Towards a contextual theory of corruption. *Public Administration Quarterly, 31*(1/2), 39-86.

de Graaf, G., von Maravić, P., & Wagenaar, P. (2010). Concepts, Causes, and the Neglected Third Party: the Victim of Corruption. In G. de Graaf, P. von Maravić, & P. Wagenaar, *The Good Cause: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption* (pp. 166-174). Opladen & Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

De Klerk, J. J. (2017). "The Devil Made Me Do It!" An Inquiry Into the Unconscious "Devils Within" of Rationalized Corruption. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 26*(3), 254–269.

De Sanctis, F. M. (2013). *Money Laundering Through Art: A Criminal Justice Perspective.* São Paulo: Springer.

della Porta, D., & Vannucci, A. (2016). *The Hidden Order of Corruption: an Institutional Approach.* London and New York: Routledge.

Dicionário Aurélio. (2009). *Dicionário Eletronico Aurélio.* [s. l.]: Positivo Informática.

Dicionário Houaiss. (2001). *Dicionário Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa.* Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva.

Dicionário Michaelis. (2000). *Moderno Dicionário inglês-português, português-inglês.* São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos.

Dion, M. (2010). Corruption and ethical relativism: what is at stake? *Journal of Financial Crime, 17*(2), 240-250.

Dungy, T. (2011). *Uncommon: Finding Your Path to Significance.* Winter Park: Tyndale House Publishers.

Edinger, E. F. (1992). *Ego and Archetype: Individuation and the Religious Function of the Psyche.* Boston: Shambhala Publications.

El-Saady, H. (1998). Considerations on Bribery in Ancient Egypt. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, 25*, 295-304.

Ellenberger, H. F. (1970). Carl Gustav Jung and Analytical Psychology. In H. F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (pp. 657-748). London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Ellenberger, H. F. (1994). *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry.* London: Fontana Press.

Estadão. (2017, 04 27). *'Seo Sérgio Cabral está arrependido das condutas que cometeu?'.* Retrieved 04 30, 2017, from Estadão Política: http://politica.estadao.com.br/blogs/fausto-macedo/seo-sergio-cabral-esta-arrependido-das-condutas-que-cometeu/

Faria, D. L. (2014). The Rogue in Chico Buarque's Songs: An Understanding of the Brazilian Psyche from a Cultural Complex. *Copenhagen 2013 - 100 years on: Origins, Innovations and Controversies.* Copenhagen: Daimon Verlag.

Fausto, B., & Fausto, S. (2014). *A Concise History of Brazil.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. ([s.d.]). *Public Corruption: It's our top priority among criminal investigations — and for good reason.* Retrieved December 25, 2015, from The FBI: https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/corruption

Ferreira Filho, M. G. (1991). A Corrupção como Fenômeno Social e Político. *Revista de Direito Administrativo, 185*(1), 1-18.

Filgueiras, F. (2009a, Nov.). A Tolerância à corrupção no Brasil: uma antinomia entre normas morais e prática social. *Opinião Pública, 15*(2), 386-421.

Filgueiras, F., & Aranha, A. M. (2011, Nov.). Estado, ética pública e corrupção. In: Ética Pública e Controle da Corrupção. *Cadernos Adenauer, Ano XII*(3), 57-74.

Franzini, F. (2003). *Corações na ponta da chuteira: capítulos iniciais da história do futebol brasileiro (1919-1938).* Rio de Janeiro: DP&A.

Freud, S. (1996). *Edição Standard Brasileira das Obras Psicológicas Completas de Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 13). Rio de Janeiro: Imago.

Freyre, G. (1967). *Sociologia* (4 ed.). Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio.

Frontline. (2009, 07 04). *Black Money: Frontline investigative correspondent Lowell Bergman examines the shadowy world of international bribery.* Retrieved 05 09, 2017, from PBS: http://www.pbs.org/video/1114436938/

Fuentes, L. A. (2014). Tornar-se o que se é no sentido da filosofia ubuntu africana e o sentido para a individuação na e da cultura brasileira. In W. Boechat, *A Alma Brasileira: Luzes e Sombra* (pp. 171-193). Petrópolis: Vozes.

Fukuyama, F. (2011). *The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

G1 Notícias. (2017, 04 20). *Delator diz que Fernando Baiano recebeu propina mesmo depois de preso.* Retrieved 04 20, 2017, from G1 Notícias: http://g1.globo.com/politica/operacao-lava-jato/noticia/delator-diz-que-fernando-baiano-recebeu-propina-mesmo-depois-de-preso.ghtml

G1 Notícias. (2017, 05 06). *Duque diz estar disposto a devolver 20 milhões de euros recebidos como propina.* Retrieved 05 07, 2017, from G1 Notícias: http://g1.globo.com/pr/parana/noticia/duque-diz-estar-disposto-a-devolver-20-milhoes-de-euros-recebidos-como-propina.ghtml

G1 Política. (2014, June 19). *Com mais de 20 protestos, 1ª semana de Copa tem 180 detidos em atos.* Retrieved August 04, 2014, from G1 Política: http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2014/06/com-mais-de-20-protestos-1-semana-de-copa-tem-180-detidos-em-atos.html

Gambini, R. (2000). *Indian Mirror: The Making of the Brazilian Soul.* São Paulo: Axis Mundi: Terceiro Nome.

Gambini, R. (2004, Out 25). *A alma Ancestral do Brasil.* Retrieved April 02, 2015, from Curso de Psicologia Junguiana: http://psiquejung.blogspot.co.uk/2004/10/alma-ancestral-do-brasil.html

Gambini, R., & Dias, L. (1999). *Outros 500: Uma Conversa Sobre a Alma Brasileira.* São Paulo: Senac.

Gardiner, J. (2009). Defining Corruption. In A. J. Heidenheimer, & M. Johnston, *Political Corruption: concepts & contexts* (pp. 25-40). New Brunswick: 3rd Ed. Transaction Publishers.

Génaux, M. (2004). Social sciences and the evolving concept of corruption. *Crime, Law & Social Change, 42*, 13-24.

Gerson, J. (2004). Malinchismo: betraying one's own. In T. Singer, & S. L. Kimbles, *The Cultural Complex: Contemporary Jungian Perspectives on Psyche and Society* (pp. 35-45). Hove: Routledge.

Giegerich, W. (2013, 10 27). *The Opposition of 'Individual' and 'Collective' Psychology's Basic Fault.* Retrieved 06 2018, from The Jung Page: Reflections on Psychology, Culture and Life: http://www.cgjungpage.org/learn/articles/analytical-psychology/141-the-opposition-of-individual-and-collective-psychologys-basic-fault

Giovanaz, D. (2017, 07 19). *Belluzzo: "Lava Jato e Carne Fraca produziram 5 a 7 milhões de desempregados".* Retrieved 08 08, 2018, from Brasil de Fato: https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2017/07/19/belluzzo-lava-jato-e-carne-fraca-produziram-5-a-7-milhoes-de-desempregados/

Gomes, T. d. (1999). Formas e sentidos da identidade nacional: o malandro na cultura de massas (1884-1929). *Revista de História, 141*, 59-73.

Gonzaga, B. (2017, 04 27). *Ex-engenheiro da Petrobras devolveu propina por "peso na consciência", diz delator.* Retrieved 04 30, 2017, from Uol Notícias: https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/agencia-estado/2017/04/27/ex-

engenheiro-da-petrobras-devolveu-propina-por-peso-na-consciencia-diz-delator.htm

Graeff, P., & Svendsen, G. T. (2012). Trust and corruption: The influence of positive and negative social capital on the economic development in the European Union. *Quality & Quantity, 47*(5), 2829-2846.

Grillo, M. (2017a, 12 05). *'Não sou Adhemar de Barros, rouba, mas faz', diz Cabral.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/nao-sou-adhemar-de-barros-rouba-mas-faz-diz-cabral-22152206

Grillo, M. (2017b, 12 05). *Cabral leva biografia de Nelson Mandela para depoimento na Justiça.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/cabral-leva-biografia-de-nelson-mandela-para-depoimento-na-justica-22151887

Guggenbühl-Craig, A. (2008). *The Emptied Soul: on the nature of the psychopath [Eros on Crutches].* Putnam: Spring.

Heidenheimer, A. J., & Johnston, M. (2009). *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (3 ed.). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Henderson, J. L. (1964). The Archetype of Culture. In A. Guggenbühl-Craig (Ed.), *Der Archetyp: Verhandlungen des 2. Internationalen Kongress für Analytische Psychologie* (pp. 3-15). Zurich: S. Karger.

Henderson, J. L. (1988). Ancient myths and modern man. In C. G. Jung, *Man and his symbols* (pp. 104-157). New York: Anchor Books.

Hess, D. J., & DaMatta, R. A. (1995). *The Brazilian Puzzle: Culture on the Borderlands of the Western World.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Hillman, J. (1971). Psychology: Monotheistic or Polytheistic? *Spring*, 193-208.

Hillman, J. (1996). "Psychology - Monotheistic or Polytheistic": twenty-five years later. *Spring, 60*(Marriages), 111-125.

Hobbes, T. (1998). *On the Citizen.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Höffling, C. (2002). *Korruption als soziale Beziehung.* Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Holanda, S. B. (2012). *Roots of Brazil.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Hopcke, R. H. (1999). *A Guided Tour of the Collected Works of C.G. Jung.* Boston: Shambhala.

Hopkins, P. (1974, 02 12). Price of bronken trust. *Daily Express*, p. 9.

Huisman, W., & Walle, G. V. (2010). The Criminology of Corruption. In G. de Graaf, P. von Maravić, & P. Wagenaar, *The Good Cause: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption* (pp. 115-145). Opladen & Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

Huntington, S. P. (1973). Modernization and Corruption. In S. P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (pp. 59-71). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Inada, S. (2006). Ghost Hunters. *Manga, 3*. London: Tanoshimi. Retrieved from manga.fox.me/manga/ghost_hunt/v03/c000/195.html

Ito, P. (2014, 05 14). *Evento na Pompéia.* Retrieved 2014, from Flickr: https://www.flickr.com/photos/pauloito/13998946669/

Jacoby, M. (2006). *Longing for Paradise: Psychological Perspectives on an Archetype.* Toronto: Inner City Books.

Janet, P. (1886). Les actes inconscients et le dédoublement de la personnalité: pendant le somnambulisme provoqué. *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger, 22*, 577-592.

Janet, P. (1887). L'anesthésie systématisée et la dissociation des phénomènes psychologiques. *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger*(23), 449-472.

Janet, P. (1889). *L'automatisme psychologique: Essai de psychologie expérimentale sur les formes inféreures de l'activité humaine* . Paris: Félix Alcan.

Jensen, M. F. (2014). The Question of how Denmark got to be Denmark: Establishing Rule of Law and Fighting Corruption in the State of Denmark 1660-1900. *QoG Working Paper Series*(6), 1-26.

Jornal Nacional. (2019, 02 26). *Cabral diz a juiz: 'Esse apego a poder, a dinheiro, a tudo isso, isso é um vício'*. Retrieved from G1: https://g1.globo.com/jornal-nacional/noticia/2019/02/26/cabral-diz-a-juiz-esse-apego-a-poder-a-dinheiro-a-tudo-isso-isso-e-um-vicio.ghtml

Jung, C. G. (1976). *Letters 1951-1965* (Vol. 2). (A. Adler, & A. Jaffé, Eds.) Hove: Routledge.

Jung, C. G. (1988). Approaching the Unconscious. In C. G. Jung, *Man and His Symbols* (pp. 18-103). Ne York: Anchor Press.

Jung, C. G. (1989). *Memories, Dreams, Reflections.* (A. Jaffé, Ed.) New York: Vintage Books.

Jung, C. G. (1993). *C. G. Jung Speaking: interviews and encounters.* (W. McGuire, & R. Hull, Eds.) Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jung, C. G. (2014). *Selected Letters of C. G. Jung, 1909-1961.* (A. Adler, & A. Jaffé, Eds.) Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jung, C. G., & Neumann, E. (2015). *Analytical Psychology in Exile: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and Erich Neumann (1933-1959).* (M. Liebscher, Ed.) Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kelly, W. (1971). Pogo comic strip: Earth Day. *Post-Hall Syndicate.*

Kimbles, S. L. (2006). Cultural Complexes and the Transmission of Group Traumas in Everyday Life. *Psychological Perspectives, 49*(1), 96-110.

Klitgaard, R. (1988). *Controlling Corruption.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lambsdorff, J. G. (2006). Causes and Consequences of Corruption: What Do We Know From a Cross-Section of Countries? In S. Rose-Ackerman, *International handbook on the economics of corruption* (pp. 3-51). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Langland, V. (2013). *Speaking of flowers: student movements and the making and remembering of 1968 in military Brazil.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Lattman, P. (2013, 05 02). *Former Hedge Fund Trader Sentenced in Insider Case.* Retrieved 05 05, 2017, from The New York Times: http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E00E4DB1E39F930A35756C0A9659D8B63

Lennerfors, T. F. (2008). *The Vicissitudes of Corruption: Degeneration, Transgression, Jouissance.* Stockholm: Fields of Flow.

Levine, D. P. (2005, Jun). The Corrupt Organization. *Human Relations, 6*(58), 723-740.

Lima, A. d., & Diogo, J. C. (2009). Reflexões sobre a afinidade de Jung com a Fenomenologia. *Revista da Abordagem Gestáltica, XV*(1), 13-20.

Lima, M. (2018, 06 15). *Sérgio Côrtes, ex-secretário de Saúde de Cabral, admite: 'Fui corrupto'.* Retrieved from Veja: https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/fui-corrupto/

Liotti, G. (2011). Attachment and Dissociation. In P. F. Dell, & J. A. O'Neil, *Dissociation and the Dissociative Disorders DSM-V and Beyond* (pp. 53-65). New York: Routledge.

Litzcke, S., Linssen, R., Maffenbeier, S., & Schilling, J. (2012). *Korruption: Risikofaktor Mensch: Wahrnehmung – Rechtfertigung – Meldeverhalten.* Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Litzcke, S., Linssen, R., Schilling, J., & Schön, F. (2011). Korruption und die Persönlichkeitsdimension Psychopathie: Psychopathiewerte beeinflussen die Bewertung von Korruption. *ZRFC*(6), 207-214.

Londoño, E. (2017, 08 25). *A Judge's Bid to Clean Up Brazil From the Bench.* Retrieved 10 02, 2017, from The New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/world/americas/judge-sergio-moro-brazil-anti-corruption.html

Lopes, J. S. (1999). The Brazilian Style of Football and its Dilemmas. In G. Armstrong, & R. Giulianotti, *Football Cultures and Identities.* London: Macmillan Press.

Lopez, F. G. (2011, Nov.). Práticas corruptas, estratégias de combate e normas sociais. In: Ética Pública e Controle da Corrupção. *Cadernos Adenauer, Ano XII*(3), 35-56.

Lu, K. (2011). Jung and history: adumbrations of a post-Jungian approach to psychoanalytic history. In G. Heuer, *Sexual Revolutions: Psychoanalysis, History and the Father* (pp. 11-34). London: Routledge.

Lu, K. (2013a). Can individual psychology explain social phenomena? An appraisal of the theory of cultural complexes. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society, 14*(4), 386-404.

Lu, K. (2013b). Reply to Thomas Singer. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society, 18*(4), 416-422.

MacDonald, P. (2014). Narcissism in the modern world. *Psychodynamic Practice, 20*(20), 144–153.

Machiavelli, N. d. (2015). *The Prince.* Sweden: Wisehouse.

Magaldi, W. ([s.d.]). *Neurose de Caráter, Ganância e Corrupção*. Retrieved 04 2019, from IJEP - Instituto Junguiano de Ensino e Pesquisa: https://www.ijep.com.br/index.php?sec=artigos&id=211&ref=neurose-de-carater-

Maranhão, T. J. (2011). O Mulatismo Flamboyant: apropriações do futebol como expressão da formação social brasileira. *XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História - ANPUH.* São Paulo: (unpublished).

Martins Filho, I. G. (2004). O Bélico e o Lúdico no Direito e no Processo. *Revista TST, 70*(2), 28-41.

Mattoon, M. A. (1978). Politics and Individuation. *Spring: an annual of archetypal psychology and Jungian thought*, 77-87.

Mendes, P. (2014, 02 14). *Costa se diz 'arrependido' e fala em 'dezenas' de políticos envolvidos*. Retrieved 02 14, 2014, from G1: http://g1.globo.com/politica/operacao-lava-jato/noticia/2014/12/costa-diz-em-acareacao-que-nao-respondera-perguntas-da-cpi.html

Mendonça, R. (2015, nov. 29). *Pela 1ª vez, corrupção é vista como maior problema do país, diz Datafolha.* Retrieved mar. 05, 2016, from http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2015/11/1712475-pela-1-vez-corrupcao-e-vista-como-maior-problema-do-pais.shtml

Menezes, M. O. (2002). *A psicanálise na Bahia (1926-1937): os estudos de Arthur Ramos sobre a loucura, educação infantil e cultura.* Feira de Santana: (Mestrado).

Merrit, M. W., Doris, J. M., & Harman, G. (2010). Character. In J. M. Doris, & Moral Psychology Research Group, *The Moral Psychology Handbook* (pp. 355-401). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Metcalfe, N. (2009, May 1). *The List: The 10 greatest football teams of all time.* Retrieved August 15, 2014, from Mail Online: Sports Website of the Year: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-1175630/THE-LIST-The-10-greatest-football-teams-time.html

Minerbo, M. (2007, 11). A lógica da corrupção: um olhar psicanalítico. *Novos Estudos*(79), 139-149.

Minerbo, M. (2014, 07 29). *Corrupção pode ser 'sintoma de adoecimento paranoico', diz psicanalista.* Retrieved 03 20, 2017, from Jornal O Globo: http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/corrupcao-pode-ser-sintoma-de-adoecimento-paranoico-diz-psicanalista-13412153

Minerbo, M. (2015). A corrupção no divã. *Portal Ciência & Vida - Filosofia, História, Psicologia e Sociologia*(109), 1-9.

Minerbo, M. (2016). Mudando de posição subjetiva diante da corrupção: uma análise do filme Sindicato de Ladrões. *Jornal de Psicanálise, 49*(91), 63-73.

Ministério Público Federal. (2017, 04 30). *Car Wash Operation.* Retrieved from Caso Lava Jato: http://lavajato.mpf.mp.br

Miotto, R. (2014, May 24). *Grupo faz manifestação contra a Copa do Mundo na Praça da Sé.* Retrieved May 24, 2014, from G1: http://g1.globo.com/sao-

paulo/noticia/2014/05/grupo-faz-manifestacao-contra-copa-do-mundo-na-praca-da-se.html

Moisés, J. Á. (2009). *Political corruption and democracy in contemporary Brazil.* Rio de Janeiro: LASA.

Monahan, P. A. (2009, Mar.). C.G. Jung: Freud's heir or Janet's? The influence upon Jung of Janet's dissociationism. *International Journal of Jungian Studies, 1*(1), 33-49.

Moore, C. (2009). Psychological Processes in Organizational Corruption. In D. DeCremer, *Psychological perspectives on ethical behavior and decision making* (pp. 35-71). Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Moro, S. F. (2017). Sentença do processo de Eduardo Consentino da Cunha. In 13a Vara Federal Criminal de Curitiba, *Proc. n. 5051606-23.2016.4.04.7000* (pp. 1-109). Curitiba.

Naím, M. (2016, 03 24). *13 Sergio Moro.* Retrieved 10 06, 2017, from World's Greates Leaders: http://fortune.com/worlds-greatest-leaders/2016/sergio-moro-13/

Nascimento, E. A. (2006). *Pelé: the autobiography.* London: Simon & Schuster.

Nederman, C. (2014). *Niccolò Machiavelli.* Retrieved from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/machiavelli/

Negrello, A. (2017). A Corrupção no Brasil: uma questão coletiva e privada na UTI. *[Unpublished manuscript]*, 1-17.

Neumann, E. (1990). *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic.* Boston: Shambhala.

Nogueira, I. (2017, 10 21). *'Farra dos guardanapos' teve cantores de Monte Carlo, trenzinho e 'operação Paes'.* Retrieved 08 2018, from Folha de São Paulo:

https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2017/10/1928950-paes-esteve-na-farra-dos-guardanapos-simbolo-dos-escandalos-na-gestao-cabral.shtml

Noonan, J. T. (1984). *Bribes: the intellectual history of a moral idea.* Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Novaes, C. S. (2017). Towards a definiton of corruption from the perspective of analytical psychology. In S. Carta, A. Adorisio, & R. Mercurio, *The Analyst in the Polis* (pp. 333-352). Rome: Stefano Carta.

Nye, J. S. (1967, Jun). Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis. *The American Political Science Review, 61*(2), 417-427.

O Estado de S. Paulo. (2014, May 13). *Governo inicia contagem regressiva para a Copa de R$25,6 bilhões*. Retrieved August 04, 2014, from Estadão: http://esportes.estadao.com.br/noticias/futebol,governo-inicia-contagem-regressiva-para-a-copa-de-r-25-6-bilhoes,1166068

Odajnyk, V. W. (2007). *Jung and politics: the political and social ideas of C. G. Jung.* Lincoln: Authors Choice Press.

OED. (2012). *Oxford Mobile Dictionary Application.* Oxford University Press.

Ortolan, L. P. (2003). *A Corrupção como Símbolo na Formação da Alma do Povo Brasileiro (Unpublished undergraduate dissertation).* São Paulo: Pontifícia Universidade Católica São Paulo.

Otto, R. (1936). *The idea of the holy: an inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational.* London: Oxford University Press.

Pardellas, S. (2018, 07 27). *A Noite dos Guardanapos*. Retrieved from Istoé: https://istoe.com.br/a-noite-dos-guardanapos/

Penna, J. d. (1985). A Psychological Approach to Ethics. *Journal of Religion and Health, 24*(3), 184-196.

Philp, M. (2015). The Definition of Political Corruption. In P. M. Heywood, *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (pp. 17-29). London and New York: Routledge.

Pinheiro, L. B. (2016, 12 07). *Ficou caro ser corrupto? Como operações da PF e do MP estão mudando comportamento de empresas brasileiras.* Retrieved 04 02, 2017, from BBC Brasil: http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-38208556

Power, T. J., & Taylor, M. M. (2011). *Corruption and Democracy in Brazil: The Struggle for Accountability.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame.

Pritchett, L., & Woolcock, M. (2004). Solutions When the Solution is the Problem: Arraying the Disarray in Development. *World Development, 32*(2), 191–212.

Proulx, C. (1994). On Jung's Theory of Ethics. *Journal of Analytical Psychology, 39*, 101-119.

Rabl, T. (2008). *Private Corruption and its Actors: Insights into the Subjective Decision Making Process.* Lengerisch: Pabst Science Publishers.

Rabl, T. (2009, jan. 12). Der korrupte Akteur. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*(3-4), 26-32.

Rabl, T. (2011, April). The Impact of Situational Influences on Corruption in Organizations. (Springer, Ed.) *Journal of Business Ethics, 100*(1), 85-101.

Rabl, T. (2012). Korruption aus der Perspektive der Psychologie. In P. Graeff, & J. Grieger, *Was ist Korruption? Begriffe, Grundlagen und Perspektiven gesellschaftswissenschaftilicher Korruptionsforchung* (pp. 153-167). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Rabl, T., & Kühlmann, T. M. (2008). Understanding corruption in organizations: Development and empirical assessment of an action model. *Journal of Business Ethics, 82*(2), 477-495.

Ramos, A. (1940). *O Negro Brasileiro - Ethnographia Religiosa*. Retrieved from Brasiliana: http://www.brasiliana.com.br/obras/o-negro-brasileiro-1-v-etnologia-religiosa

Ramos, A. (1952). *Introdução à psicologia social.* Rio de Janeiro: Casa do Estudante do Brasil.

Ramos, D. G. (2004). Corruption: Symptom of a Cultural Complex in Brazil? In T. Singer, & S. L. Kimbles, *The Cultural Complex: Contemporary Jungian Perspectives on Psyche and Society* (pp. 102-123). Hove and New York: Brunner-Routledge.

Resende, N. (2017, 10 03). *Moro afirma que a ditadura militar foi "um grande erro".* Retrieved 10 07, 2017, from Paraná Portal: http://paranaportal.uol.com.br/politica/moro-afirma-que-a-ditadura-militar-foi-um-grande-erro-na-historia/

Reuters. (2014, July 03). *The Guardian.* Retrieved July 06, 2014, from Overpass in Brazil's World Cup host city collapses on to vehicles below: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/03/overpass-collapses-brazil-world-cup-belo-horizonte

Revista Época. (2009, 12 05). *Os 100 brasileiros mais influentes de 2009.* Retrieved 03 16, 2017, from Época: http://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EMI108920-17445,00.html

Rezende, J. M. (2009). *À Sombra do Plátano: Crônicas de História da Medicina.* São Paulo: Unifesp.

Ribeiro, D. (2000). *The Brazilian People: The Formation and Meaning of Brazil.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Rijsenbilt, A., & Commandeur, H. (2013). Narcissus Enters the Courtroom: CEO Narcissism and Fraud. *Journal of Business and Ethics*(117), 413-429.

Rodrigues, N. (1966). *Revista Realidade.*

Rodrigues, N. (1993). Irresistível Flamengo. In N. Rodrigues, *À Sombra das chuteiras imortais: crônicas de futebol.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Rodrigues, N. (1995). A Vaca Premiada. In N. Rodrigues, *A Cabra Vadia: Novas Confissões.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Rosenn, K. S. (1971). The Jeito: Brazil's Institutional Bypass of the Formal Legal System and its Developmental Implications. *American Journal of Comparative Law, 19*(3), 514-549.

Rotbe, R. I. (2007). *The Corruption Cure.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rothstein, B., & Teorell, J. (2015). Causes of Corruption. In P. M. Heywood, *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (pp. 79-94). London and New York: Routledge.

Rothstein, B., & Varraich, A. (2017). *Making sense of Corruption.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rousseau, J.-J. (1762). *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes ... Non in depravatis, sed in his quae bene secundum naturam se habent, considerandum est quid fit naturale. Aristot. Politie. L. 2.* Retrieved Apr 07, 2015, from The Making of the Modern World: <http://find.galegroup.com.emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/mome/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=MOME&userGroupNa

me=lmum&tabID=T001&docId=U3601192774&type=multipage&contentSet=
MOMEArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>.

Rousseff, D. (2014, July 05). *Carta enviada por Dilma aos jogadores e à comissão*
técnica da seleção. Retrieved August 08, 2014, from G1:
http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2014/07/em-cartas-dilma-diz-que-neymar-e-
guerreiro-e-que-o-principal-ja-foi-feito.html

Rozuel, C. (2016). Jung's insights on ethics in business and work organisations:
examining the 'moral nature of present-day man'. *International Journal of*
Jungian Studies, 8(3), 141-158.

Saban, M. (2016). Jung, Winnicott and the divided psyche. *Journal of Analytical*
Psychology, 61(3), 329–349.

Sabini, J., & Silver, M. (2005). Lack of Character? Sitautionism Critiqued. *Ethics,*
115(3), 535-562.

Salvadori, M. Â. (1990). *Capoeiras e malandros: pedaços de uma tradição sonora*
popular (Masters dissertation). Campinas: Unicamp.

Salviano, M. (2018, May 04). *Doleiros vão dar 'curso' de lavagem de dinheiro a*
procuradores. Retrieved from Globo News: http://g1.globo.com/globo-
news/jornal-globo-news/videos/v/doleiros-vao-dar-curso-de-lavagem-de-
dinheiro-a-procuradores/6712635/

Samuels, A. (1994). Machiavelli and Shadow Politics. *International Minds*(6).

Samuels, A. (2001). *Politics on the Couch.* London: Profile Books.

Samuels, A. (2005a). *Jung and the Post-Jungians.* London: Taylor & Francis.

Samuels, A. (2005b). *The Plural Psyche: personality, morality, and the father.*
London: Routledge.

Samuels, A. (2005c). *The Political Psyche.* London: Routledge.

Samuels, A. (2015). *A New Therapy for Politics?* London: Karnac.

Samuels, A. (2017). The "Activist Client": Social Responsibility, the Political Self, and Clinical Practice in Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues, 27*, 678-683.

Samuels, A., Shorter, B., & Plaut, F. (2012). *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis.* London: Routledge.

Samuels, A., Shorter, B., & Plaut, F. (2012). *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis.* Hove and New York: Routledge.

Sapochnik, C. (2003). Corruption: Oedipal Configuration as Social Mechanism. *Organisational & Social Dynamics, 3*(2), 177-190.

Schreiber, M. (2017, 03 15). *Caixa 2 eleitoral é menos grave que corrupção?* Retrieved 03 19, 2017, from BBC Brasil: http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-39263954

Schubert, S., & Miller, T. C. (2009, 02 13). *At Siemens, Bribery Was Just a Line Item.* Retrieved 05 09, 2017, from Frontline World: http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/bribe/2009/02/at-siemens-bribery-was-just-a-line-item.html

Scott, J. C. (2009). Handling Historical Comparisons Cross-Nationally. In A. J. Heidenheimer, & M. Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts & Contexts* (3rd ed.). New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Scott, J. T. (2016). *The Routledge Guidebook to Machiavelli's The Prince.* London and New York: Routledge.

Shamdasani, S. (2003). *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology: The Dream of a Science.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sharp, D. (1991). *C. G. Jung Lexicon: A Primer of Terms & Concepts.* Toronto: Inner City Books.

Singer, T. (2012). Introduction. In P. Amezaga, G. Barcellos, Á. Capriles, J. Gerson, & D. Ramos, *Listening to Latin America: Exploring Cultural Complexes in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela* (pp. 1-13). New Orleans: Spring Journal, Inc.

Singer, T., & Kimbles, S. L. (2004). *The Cultural Complex: Contemporary Jungian Perspectives on Psyche and Society.* Hove: Routledge.

Soltes, E. (2016). *Why they do it: inside the mind of the white-collar criminal.* New York: Publicaffairs.

Souza, J. (2016, 09 25). Jessé: a Lava Jato afundou o Brasil! *Conversa Afiada com Paulo Henrique Amorim* . (P. H. Amorim, Interviewer) https://youtu.be/5pv8PDtajSY.

Souza, J. (2017). *A Elite do Atraso: da escravidão à Lava Jato.* Rio de Janeiro: Leya.

Stein, M. (1993). *Solar Conscience Lunar Conscience: an essay on the psychological foundations of morality, lawfulness, and the sense of justice.* Wilmette, USA: Chiron Publications.

Stein, M. (1995). *Jung on Evil.* East Sussex: Routledge.

Stein, M. (2006). *The Principle of Individuation: Toward the Development of Human Consciousness.* Wilmete: Chiron Publications.

Stein, M. (2014, 04 11). *The Ethics of Individuation, the Individuation of Ethics.* Retrieved from The Institute for Psychology of the Heart: http://www.psyheart.org/159/530.html

Stein, M. (2016). *Soul: treatment and recovery.* Hove: Routledge.

Swedberg, R., & Agevall, O. (2016). *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Taylor, D. (2014, July 06). *Brazil struggle to find closure in grieving process over Neymar.* Retrieved July 08, 2014, from The Guardian: http://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/jul/06/brazil-grieving-process-neymar-world-cup-2014

Taylor, M. M. (2012). Corrupção no Brasil: Jeitinho inocente ou ameação à democracia? In R. d. Biason, *Temas de Corrupção Política* (pp. 137-176). São Paulo: Balão Editorial.

Telegraph, T. (2007, Jul 04). *The greatest teams of all time*. Retrieved August 15, 2014, from The Telegraph: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/2317066/The-greatest-teams-of-all-time.html

The New York Times Editorial Board. (2018, 04 12). *'Lula' Is in Prison, and Brazil's Democracy Is in Peril.* Retrieved from The New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/12/opinion/lula-brazil-corruption-scandal.html

The New York Times. (2008, 12 18). *Times Video.* Retrieved 05 09, 2017, from At Siemens, a Paymaster for Bribery: https://www.nytimes.com/video/multimedia/1194836014690/at-siemens-a-paymaster-for-bribery.html

Transparency International. ([s.d.]). *FAQs on Corruption*. Retrieved 11 2018, from Transparency International: https://www.transparency.org/whoweare/organisation/faqs_on_corruption/9

Transparency International. (2009, Jul). *The Anti-Corruption Plain Language Guide.* Retrieved Apr 09, 2015, from Transparency International: the Global Coalition

against Corruption:

https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/the_anti_corruption_plain_l

anguage_guide

Transparency International. (2012). *National Integrity System Assessment Denmark.*

Copenhagen: Transparency International Denmark.

Transparency International. (2013, July 19). Retrieved May 18, 2014, from

Transparency International: The Global Coalition Against Corruption:

http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/global_corruption_barometer_2013

Transparency International. (2015, February 04). *Tackle instability and terrorism by*

fighting corruption. Retrieved November 27, 2015, from Transparency

International:

http://www.transparency.org/news/feature/tackle_instability_and_terrorism_by_f

ighting_corruption

Transparency International. (2016, 12 02). *Anti-Corruption Award Winner:Operation*

Car Wash Task Force: Prosecutors - Brazil. Retrieved 04 30, 2017, from

Transparency International:

http://www.transparency.org/getinvolved/awardwinner/operation_car_wash_task

_force

Transparency International. (2017). *Índice de Percepção da Corrupção 2017.*

Retrieved 06 2018, from Transparency International:

https://www.ipc.transparenciainternacional.org.br

Valpy, E. J. (1828). *An Etymological Dictionary of the Latin Language.* London: A.

J. Valpy.

van der Hart, O., & Dorahy, M. J. (2011). History of the Concept of Dissociation. In P. F. Dell, & J. A. O'Nei, *Dissociation and the Dissociative Disorders DSM-V and Beyond.pdf* (pp. 3-26). New York: Routledge.

van Prooijen, J.-W., & van Lange, P. A. (2016). *Cheating, Corruption, and Concealment: The Roots of Dishonesty.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vasconcellos, F. (2014, June 03). *O Contraditório Silêncio Verde e Amarelo.* Retrieved June 08, 2014, from O Globo: http://oglobo.globo.com/opiniao/o-contraditorio-silencio-verde-amarelo-12697176

von Franz, M.-L. (2007). Foreword by Marie-Louise von Franz. In V. W. Odajnyk, *Jung and politics: the political and social ideas of C. G. Jung* (pp. ix-xii). Lincoln: Authors Choice Press.

Wagg, S. (1995). *Giving the game away: football, politics & culture on five continents.* London: Leicester University Press.

Walsh, B. (2016, 04 21). *Sergio Moro: cleaning up corruption.* Retrieved 10 06, 2017, from The 100 Most Influential People: http://time.com/collection-post/4302096/sergio-moro-2016-time-100/

Watts, J. (2015, 12 30). *Brazil's anti-corruption prosecutor: graft is 'endemic. It has spread like cancer'.* Retrieved 04 30, 2017, from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/30/brazil-anti-corruption-prosecutor-deltan-dallagnol-lava-jato-investigation

Weber, M. (1946). *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* New York: Oxford University Press.

White, M. D. (Ed.). (2009). *Watchmen and philosophy: a Rorschach test.* Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

Whitmont, E. (2006). *A busca do símbolo: conceitos básicos da psicologia analítica.* São Paulo: Cultrix.

World Bank. (1997, September). *Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank.* Retrieved Apr 09, 2015, from The World Bank Group: http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/corruptn/corrptn.pdf

Worley, W. (2016, 10 29). *Brazil saw more violent deaths than civil-war torn Syria in 2015, report says.* Retrieved 06 2018, from Independent: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/brazil-deaths-violent-crime-syria-police-brutality-report-brazilian-forum-for-public-security-a7386296.html

Yolles, M. (2009). A social psychological basis of corruption and sociopathology. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 22*(6), 691-731.

Zaloznaya, M. (2014, February). The Social Psychology of Corruption: why it does not exist and why it should. *Sociology Compass, 8*(2), 187-202.

Zekos, G. (2004). Ethics versus corruption in globalization. *Journal of Management Development, 23*(7), 631-647.

Zimbardo, P. (2007, 04 18). *Why do ordinary people commit evil deeds?* Retrieved 04 22, 2017, from BBC News: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/6567335.stm

Zingano, M. (2010). Natural, Ethical, and Political Justice. In M. Deslauriers, & P. Destrée, *The Cambridge companion to Aristotle's Politics* (pp. 199-222). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX: LIST OF BRAZILIAN EXPRESSIONS

Caixa Dois	This is a common expression that can be roughly translated as 'second cashier'. It is used to refer to slush funds, auxiliary bank accounts or reserve funds, often kept for dishonest purposes in business or politics. *Caixa dois* and corruption are legally considered two different crimes. Although in practice, they are intrinsically connected and frequently indistinguishable. 'Caixa dois' can be contrasted with 'caixa um' which represents the official record of funds and bank accounts.
Farra dos Guardanapos	Roughly translated as 'the Napkin Party', *Farra dos Guardanapos* was an event that occurred in Paris in 2009. It was said to be a party offered to Sergio Cabral – Rio de Janeiro's governor at the time – who was awarded the highest French recognition of merit, *Légion D'Honneur*. However, for many, this event provided compelling evidence of the spending spree on public money. Several illustrious guests who attended the party were politicians and businessmen that were later accused of corruption crimes. Cabral was condemned for corruption and has been in jail since 2016. This celebration was called by the media 'the quintessence of the orgy with public money' (Pardellas, 2018).

Fome de bola	This term can be literally translated as 'ball hunger', which is used as a metaphor to refer to Brazilian's eagerness for football and their fanatism. It also refers to footballers who are extremely committed to playing football (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001).
Foro privilegiado	It is the right granted to authorities, such as politicians, judges, prosecutors, army officers and diplomats, to be tried in the nation's higher courts and not by common judges from lower level courts (Cavalcante Filho & Lima, 2017). This special immunity is a protection from prosecution that often ends up in impunity. In 2018, the privilege of special trial was suspended for common crimes for all authorities except the presidents of the Republic, the Chamber of Deputies, the Federal Senate and the Supreme Court.
Jeitinho Brasileiro	*Jeito* is a substantive usually translated into English as 'way' (in the sense of manner, style). The suffix *-inho* is used as a diminutive. *Jeitinho* (pronounced as *jay-tcheen-yoo*) can be literally translated as 'little way'. It has many connotations: it can refer to doing something in a gentle or smart way, managing or fixing things, being apt or adapting (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001). *Jeitinho Brasileiro* (The Brazilian Way) can be roughly understood as 'knack' or 'clever dodge'. *Jeitinho brasileiro* is frequently associated with corruption and bribing, but is not limited to wrongdoing. It is also about 'displaying an

276

	astute way of achieving something, especially something that seems particularly difficult to most people' (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001).
Malandro	A person who goes around formal rules to get things done (Power & Taylor, 2011, p. 27). It can be roughly translated as 'rogue', 'rascal' or 'scamp'. The *malandro* can be characterised as 'mischievous', 'playful', 'lazy', 'womaniser', 'vagabond', 'bohemian', 'vagrant', and 'charlatan' (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001). *Malandro* is one of the many representations of the trickster archetype in Brazilian culture. *Malandragem* refers to the behaviour of the *Malandro*.
'O gigante acordou'	An expression that can be translated as 'the giant has awakened'. It suggests that Brazil is a sleeping giant, because of its continental size and the lack of political consciousness of its citizens.
Ufanismo	Exacerbated patriotism. 'An overoptimistic patriotic attitude towards one's country because of its natural and human resources' (Dicionário Michaelis, 2000).
Lei da Ficha Limpa	The Clean Record Act (Supplementary Law no. 135 of 2010) is a Brazilian law that turns convicted politicians temporarily ineligible to stand for office for eight years. This bill was not proposed by the politicians themselves, but by the direct initiative of the people.

Íntegro	An adjective used for persons and objects. It can be synonymous with complete, entire, intact, inviolate, righteous, honest, incorruptible, fair, impartial, virtuous and irreproachable (Dicionário Michaelis, 2000).
Oca	Housing of Brazilian native Indians. In the *Tupi* language, it refers to a hut made of wood and interwoven and covered by vegetal fibres (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001).
Ilha de Vera Cruz	One of the names given to Brazil by the first Portuguese to arrive in the country. It can be freely translated as 'Island of the True Cross'.
Mulata/Mulato	Mestizo, half breed. A person with one white and one black parent. It contains *mul-*, the same etymological root as that found in 'mule', which is a hybrid animal (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001). It carries a negative connotation, although *Mulattas* are usually seen by foreigners as very sensual women, which became part of the stereotype of Brazilians.
Mulatismo flamboyant	An expression coined by Gilberto Freyre in 1938 which refers to the attempt to smooth over interracial conflicts in a polarised society. *Mulatismo* refers to being mestizo, half breed (cf. Mulata/Mulato) and *flamboyant* refers to 'tending to attract attention because of their exuberance, confidence, and stylishness' (OED, 2012). Freyre discusses the de-anglicisation of football into *futebol*, meaning the process in which the English game became Brazilian, but also how the

	white players from the beginning gave way to black players. It represents an inverse process of the whitening of races (Maranhão, 2011).
Operação Lava Jato	The Car Wash Operation exposed one of the world's largest corruption scandals and it 'has grown into the largest investigation to date uncovering cases of state capture and corruption in Brazil' (Transparency International, 2016). Its name comes from the use of gas stations and carwashes for money laundering (Ministério Público Federal, 2017). In this operation, political leaders, lobbyists and captains of industry – previously considered untouchable – were arrested. They were charged with bribery, tax evasion and misuse of public funds, overturning decades of impunity (Watts, 2015).
Pindorama	The name the Brazilians and Ando-Peruvian native Indians gave to Brazil before the arrival of the Portuguese people in 1500. In Tupi (cf.), it means 'the land of the palm trees' (Dicionário Houaiss, 2001).
'Rouba, mas faz'	A controversial expression that can be literally translated to '[he] steals, but [he] get things done'. It refers to politicians who focus their administration on enhancing a city's infrastructure to gain more votes and embezzle money. This expression is used by the population to relativise the social harm caused by corruption and to focus on its supposed benefits. Although with different meanings, it can be

	associated with the expression attributed to Machiavelli, that 'the end justifies the means'.
Tupi	One of the groups that constituted the Brazilian native people and also the language they spoke.
Vira-Lata	Portuguese expression for stray dog. A 'street dog, with no particular race', i.e. a dog without pedigree, not from a noble lineage (Dicionário Aurélio, 2009). This expression makes an allusion to dogs that live on the street and turn garbage cans over looking for food. The *vira-lata* dog is the result of miscegenation, and despite not carrying specific features of any particular race, it has characteristics of resistance and survival.
Complexo de vira-lata	An expression coined by Nelson Rodrigues which can be translated as *stray dog complex* (Rodrigues, 1993, p. 62). It refers to the way Brazilians voluntarily position themselves as inferior when comparing themselves to the rest of the world, especially to richer countries.