

# **The risks of collective memory in a case of organizational perversion in Chile**

**Eduardo Acuña Aguirre**

*"History is only the parade of false Absolutes. The moment we refuse to admit the exchangeable nature of ideas, blood runs"*

*E. Cioran*

*"What can I pay the Lord with so that my memory may remember all those things without my soul trembling because of them?"*

*St. Augustine*

## **1. Introduction**

This paper refers to the risks faced by four men and one woman, all of them Catholic and of aristocratic lineage, in building up their collective memory about the sexual and psychological abuse they suffered by the eminent and elderly Catholic priest Fernando Karadima, long-time parish priest at "Sagrado Corazón de El Bosque" Church in Santiago, Chile.

The risks are reviewed from the perspective of the actions undertaken by these five individuals in the process of forging and preserving that collective memory. Central to this process is the ability these people possess –to individually acknowledge their past in the religious organization, the abuses and their circumstances- that enables them to build awareness of the painful past and, subsequent to psychological vicissitudes, allows them conciliation with themselves. The acknowledgement itself is also important insofar as it allows these five individuals to establish a sort of alliance and identity originating from their common past of having been the victims of abuse. This mutuality constitutes an incentive for them to jointly take measures and file charges aimed at attaining justice in Chilean society. These acknowledgements strengthen the morale of the five individuals,

who locked themselves in a fight with a Catholic Church that was seeking to suppress the collective memory from imprinting these abuses in history. This paper presents an account of how these five individuals made the decision to reveal their private tragedies to public concern and make them subject of debate in Chile, thus registering their tragedies in the collective memory, and in so doing, avoiding the evanescent effects of forgetfulness and amnesia in the Roman Catholic Church and in society (Lawrence, 2000; Baum, 2009; Mills, 1964). In taking this determination, those individuals were putting at risk their prestige, their dignity, and both their personal and their families' well-being.

The case referred to in this study occurred recently in Chile; in April 2010, the press published information indicating that an ecclesiastical investigation was taking place in relation to psychological and sexual abuse experienced by five parishioners of the conservative "El Bosque" parish, the responsibility for which was attributed to the elderly priest Fernando Karadima. This information unleashed a flood of communication that converged in providing credibility to the events under investigation. Also in April 2010, The New York Times published an interview to two men who had been the victims of such abuses, news that spread throughout the world, landing in Chile where it caused great commotion in public opinion. On the other hand, Chilean National Television, immediately upon dissemination of the mentioned interview, broadcasted a report about Karadima's abuses at "El Bosque" parish, during which the five abused victims, openly facing the screen, honestly stated their experiences. Both the interview and television report were crucial in lending credibility to the said abuses, because of the victims' plausible recount of the outrages committed by the priest and the way in which he operated. This issue became the biggest scandal ever in the history of the Chilean Catholic Church, especially because corruption was being attributed to priest Karadima, a man who aroused recognition and veneration from priests, ecclesiastical authorities, and by the conservative Catholic aristocratic elite (Guzmán, Villarrubia & González, 2011; Mönckerberg, 2011; Jiménez, 2011). The scandal had the aggravating circumstance that it came about in the context of the many crises concerning sexual abuse that had shaken the Catholic Church

throughout the world, particularly in the American continent (Frawley-O’Dea & Goldner, 2007; Insunza & Ortega, 2008; Aristegui, 2011; Brienza, 2003).

The purpose of this paper is to understand, from a socio-analytical perspective, the risks posed by collective memory from the standpoint of this case of five victims of abuse in the context of the Catholic group to which they belonged. Such risks refer, in the first instance, to the decision made by each one of them to individually acknowledge having suffered abuses at the hands of priest Karadima and the losses that those events meant to their lives. Such acknowledgment implied the verification of a catastrophic experience that disintegrated individual identity and made them face the dilemma of forgetting all the abuses and losses—with the resulting effect of a deterioration of their mental health—or of letting themselves open up to the painful task of remembering, that would allow them to restore their identities. The five individuals opted for working on the remembrance of abuses and losses, assuming the risks of psychological vicissitudes which such effort implied (Ricoeur, 2008; Kennedy, 2010; Terdiman, 2010; Sandler, 2005). A second risk emerged when all five individuals took the initiative of creating an alliance based on the acknowledgement that they have all been victims of Karadima’s abuses. Achieving that mutuality was essential for the five individuals in order to have a social framework of collective memory that would confirm the validity of their remembrances of such abuses. For these purposes, they had to face and overcome the risks of reciprocal mistrust, alienation, estrangement, suspicion and prejudice, in order to make way for reliable and collaborative relations to forge the collective memory of abuses (Sennett, 2011; Sievers, 2009; Hoggett, 2009). The third type of risk was of a political nature; it arose when the five victims of abuse made public the collective memory of their experiences and filed charges against Karadima. In these circumstances, the five individuals locked in a fight with the powerful Catholic Church in Chile—which was seeking the suppression and disqualification of the collective memory that recounts Karadima’s excesses. The struggle with the Church implied very unequal power conditions for the five victims, thus foretelling a severe setback for them. However, the course of events and the actions by the victims enabled the risk of political struggle with the Church to eventually

culminate in the validation of the collective memory of abuses (Hoggett, 2009; Miller, 1993; Krantz, 2006; Schwartz, 2010). On the other hand, the civil actions followed by the victims against Karadima, were another cause for risks, because it was up to Civil Court to resolve the innocence or guilt of Karadima. Civil actions were particularly risky for the victims because there was the possibility that underground political influences could be exercised with respect to the verdict. The Court's final judicial decision was that Karadima was responsible for the crimes he was being accused of, but, however, sentencing did not consider penalties because in the case of said offenses, according to Chilean law, the statute of limitations had elapsed (Todorov, 2008, 2009).

This study of the risks of collective memory is based on two recent journalistic investigations on the Karadima case, which present background, interviews, documents and legal statements both of the priest's accusers and of witnesses summoned in the judicial proceeding. These investigations condense and attest the work on collective memory and the risks faced by the five victims of abuse (Guzmán, Villarrubia & González, 2011; Mönckerberg, 2011).

The paper is organized as follows: first, the theoretical contents about collective memory are set forth, followed by a presentation of the challenges faced by the victims as they become aware of their past in the religious association and its consequences. Then, the challenges faced by these five individuals by forging an alliance, making public accusations and filing legal charges. Subsequently, the paper deals with the ups and downs faced by the five victims in their fight with the Catholic Church to preserve the collective memory of the abuses. The work ends considering the future outlook of the risks affecting the collective memory of abuses as regards their exemplary preservation by the Catholic Church.

## **2.0. Collective memory, functions and dynamics**

Following are various contributions that provide a theoretical framework to the understanding of collective memory and its risks. The contributions illuminate aspects of

this matter from phenomenological, sociological, political, psychoanalytic and socio-analytical perspectives.

Firstly, reference is made to the seminal thinking of Halbwachs (2004; 1992), holding that the development, operation and decline of human memory is rooted in what he called social frameworks of collective memory. It is understood that every society and group formulates a certain historical version of the past, which, by being shared socially, transmits an identity and allows cultural continuity. This implies that individual memories originate in social contexts and that the preservation of remembrances is made possible through the encounter with others. Collective memory is unique to each group and its history, which assumes that the individual selectively adjusts its remembrances with the past of the communities in which he participates. Collective memory is flexible: depending on the interests of the present, certain remembrances are recalled and others are not; it is also dynamic, which means that it changes according to certain unique events in the life of groups. In society, for cohesion purposes, political hierarchies establish a unifying and overall collective memory, which inevitably means marginalizing, excluding or silencing collective memories of certain groups. Time and space are frameworks for collective memory; societies and groups provide durability to time by making history from past events worthy of being remembered. Space, geography, territory, buildings and material elements are memorials which evoke collective remembrances and commemorations. When social frameworks are weakened or destroyed, there is a decline of collective memory and then comes oblivion. The disappearance of individuals, social and technological transformations and the hegemonic political control of one group over another tend to be causes of the extinction of social frameworks that fade collective memory. (Whitehead, 2009; Born, 2010; Eng & Kazanjian, 2003; Bloch, 2011; Nora, 2009; Coser, 1992).

Ricoeur (2006), from a phenomenological approach, sets forth that memory is the foundation for identity through human capacity to acknowledge the past. Acknowledgement of the past implies apprehending perceptions, thoughts, images and associations of the past that enable an identification, distinction and knowledge of one's

self. On the other hand, through the ability to communicate, the past may be recounted with what becomes a narrative identity, which through political action may be accepted and considered true. Acknowledgment implies anamnesis; deliberate operations to go back into the past and look for memories that allow remembrance and that prevent oblivion. Anamnesis rests on the assumption that searching is finding, and re-encountering is recognizing what was once learned. This leads to the extreme paradox of presuming an indestructible past that stretches endlessly in the present, where its memory is preserved. Meditative memory allows conciliation between recognizing images of the past with recognition of self, both in a group and individual sphere. Ricoeur also contends that collective memory is affected by otherness, insofar as others can acknowledge or disregard that version of the past. When there is an acknowledgment, otherness legitimizes collective memory and the identity of the other, while when there is a lack of knowledge otherness neutralizes, resists, fights or suppresses conflicting collective memories. Competition, rivalries and the collision between collective memories are reasons that cause the lack of acknowledgement between groups, which is generally resolved through political domination by the most powerful. The struggle between collective memories is a reason for glory for the winners, while it is a cause of humiliation for the defeated.

Sennett (2011) indicates that groups strengthen both identity and cohesion through the sharing of individual memories. Group relations are particularly favorable for individuals to externalize disturbing memories, which allows an emotional support and better understanding of these memories. Communication between group members has the ability to make a memory of the past actually real, through dialogue and the participation of the greatest possible diversity of voices in such remembrances, because this can provide greater accuracy to events occurred in the past. Sennett argues that wounds jealously kept in the private world are difficult to heal, it is only in the supportive encounter in groups where the individual who is suffering may process emotions and thoughts in order to fully understand disturbing memories and then be able to decide new options for his or her life.

Ricoeur (2008), Kennedy (2010) and Terdiman (2010), take a psychoanalytic perspective to address the dilemmas of memory and oblivion for the mental health of individuals and life in groups. Considering the Freudian differentiation (1917) between the processes of mourning and melancholia, they refer to memory deficits caused by traumatic experiences resulting from the loss of significant objects. Such losses, depending on the case, severely affect the identity of individuals, groups or organizations, resulting in a deep resistance to remember the past and to build a consistent historical account. The laborious work of mourning is the best way to deal with the memories of losses and injuries, to thus achieve lucid thinking that will repair the damaged psychic objects. On the contrary, when the psychic life of individuals and groups is dominated by the resistance of repression, it is impossible to address the losses and their causes, which leads to melancholy states associated to compulsive repetition.

Following Adorno's way of thinking, O'Connor (2010) argues that the ability to remember traumatic events in society is destroyed when in the individuals endures a conformist conscience that obeys social conventions and, thus, prevents learning from one's own and direct experience. In the absence of experience there is no consciousness or memory because cogitation is absent; time takes the form of reification, of an alien object that does not involve the individual's thoughts, beliefs, contradictions and guilt. To the extent that a rediscovery of the experience takes place, it is possible to acknowledge all suffering and loss, which is conducive to the arousal of guilt and a sense of obligation that will remedy the suffering that occurred, and thus allow reconciliation with the past.

French and Simpson (2000), take Bion's approach to address the challenge of learning when people are at the edge between what is known and what is unknown. Knowing about these challenges and how they are solved is illuminating for understanding avatars in momentous times and forging collective memory. The assumption that work must be done at the edge—between what is known and what is unknown—is that to be exposed to the truth-at-that-moment opens learning possibilities. According to Bion, this assumption implies that the mind grows through exposure to the truth, that growth means that the mind achieves the ability to act more consistently and rigorously in

relation to the truth. The experience of being on that edge is uncomfortable because it involves many anxieties associated with the uncertainty of not knowing what to do, of not being able to act according to the expectations of others, and of the weakening of self-confidence and self-esteem. Being able to be on the edge implies the ability to find a mental attitude of "disposition", a way to *be in the experience* of the edge. "Disposition" implies stopping the impulse to seek shelter in individual and group defensive habits when one recognizes being at the very edge of knowledge. The challenge is not to succumb to the horrifying anxieties of loss of control and of being in darkness. For these purposes, one has to develop the disposition to wait, to be confident, the ability to have faith in opening up to the truth, to reality, to anything that may happen. Suspending memory and desire opens spaces for the emergence of new ideas. Faith in achieving the truth, "the disposition" to be on the edge of what is not known, helps, so that from ignorance one can access the unique moment in which something new emerges that permits knowledge and clears all uncertainties. In a very similar vein, French; Simpson & Harvey (2009) developed the concept of *negative capability*, originally set forth by the poet Keats, which corresponds with the disposition to wait, to tolerate the emotional experience of not knowing, to remain in the mysteries of being uncertain, without despairing or becoming irritated (Bion, 1970). The *negative capability* is understood as a basis for leadership in groups under circumstances of great instability.

From a socio-analytical approach, Sievers (2009) studies the vicissitudes of trust in organizations. In his thinking there are aspects that illuminate the role of trust to face the risks of collective memory. He sets forth that trust suffers from fragility due to the inevitable breaks that occur in human relations, misunderstandings, disappointments and betrayals. What is transcendental for trust is how individuals approach these breaks, if they do so from a paranoid-schizoid mental state or from a depressive state. When the paranoid-schizoid mental state predominates in individuals, the conflicts, disappointments and betrayals cannot be thought and understood, and losses cannot be assimilated, so the usual reaction tends to be retaliation, revenge. On the contrary, when these breaks are faced from a depressive state of mind, thinking is possible, which opens up the way to an



acknowledgement of losses, of guilt, and leads to remedial actions. All this is conducive to acknowledge that, being trust something fundamental for human life it is only sustained by relying on trust, by believing that people have capabilities that enable the restoration of reliability in the social fabric. Forgiveness and promises to amend mistakes contribute to re-vitalize trust; however, they are not guarantees that mistrust will not be reinstated in social relations. One can only have confidence, against all odds, of the reliability of trust.

Long (2008), in her socio-analytical study on perversion in organizations, offers a very relevant perspective for analyzing the risks of collective memory addressed in this work. Long formulates her study from a socio-analytical perspective that transcends an understanding of perversion as a phenomenon of the idiosyncratic psychopathology of individuals. Her approach is more complex, as it deems that organizational perversion results from reciprocal influences among the psychopathology of individuals, generally leaders in high positions of authority, and the culture of the group. This implies that psychopathic personalities trigger perversion in the system, and at the same time, the organization itself encourages the display of psychopathy, all of this mobilized through unconscious collective dynamics. Thus, organizational perversion is a mental state of the system itself which stands out because of the following characteristics: pursuit of pleasure at the expense of the common good; paradoxical psychological dynamics of denial of reality, where what is known is at the same time not known; the use of accomplices in instrumental relations; and the perpetuation of corrupt acts. Long singles out forms of perversion in organizations referring to the capital sins of the Christian doctrine: pride, lust, anger, greed, envy, sloth and gluttony.

Todorov (2008), in his study on memory abuses vindicates the democratic right of every individual and group to know about his or her past, to remember and to publicize its own history over any central power intending to violate that equity. However, the exercise of that right involves the major consideration of what criteria are to be taken into account in the utilization of memory and of the past. This leads to distinguish between two forms of exercising memory: literally and exemplary, where each one has moral implications:

whether they cause good or evil to society. Literal memory of the past, especially if it refers to a traumatic event, has the particularity of being intransitive, of not leading beyond itself, and memories saturate the identity of the victims or their heirs, contaminating the present situation with compulsively stalking, accusatory or vengeful dynamics for past events. The use of literal memory turns the old event into something insurmountable; it implies submission of the present to the past, which makes the latter everlasting. On the contrary, exemplary memory is potentially liberating, because it seeks to use the past keeping the present in mind, to draw lessons from past experiences in order to fight against injustices occurring today, all of which involves the use of reason, of dialogue, which reflexively allows understanding and the pursuit of justice. Exemplary memory sets limits to literal memory that exceeds and abuses the past by obsessively sanctifying memories, remembrances, commemorations and memorials. Todorov (2010; 2009), aware of the tragedies that various forms of totalitarianism unleashed on humanity during the 20th century, believes that memory is a remedy against evil. But it is also categorical in pointing out how the abuse of memory also brings disaster when the compulsive veneration of the past is turned into something sacred.

Various authors provide a context for the difficulties of collective memory in present-day Chile, particularly in relation to the political past of Pinochet's dictatorship and the unhealed wounds remaining in different society sectors (Richard, 2010; Insunza & Ortega, 2011; Salazar, 2011; Cavallo, Salazar & Sepulveda, 2008; Valdés, 1978; Moulian, 1997, 2005; Matus, 1999). These difficulties refer to the precarious capacity of institutions to allow the expression of various collective memories, which criticize the totalizing official memory imposed by democratic Governments in the country. Several groups strive to achieve recognition of their critical memories, to achieve justice through access to the truth about the murders, disappearances and tortures occurring during the dictatorship. These struggles collide with powers that make access to the truth impenetrable, which in turn makes it impossible for Chile to have a conciliatory tolerance between those collective memories.

### **3.0. Collective memory of a perverse organization**

The remainder of this paper is dedicated to the presentation and analysis of background information on the risks of collective memory which affected the five people who were victims of sexual and psychological abuse when they participated in the Church of “El Bosque”.

The collective memory of these abuses is rooted in the recovery of individual remembrances, which four men and a woman were able to achieve of these excesses, of priest Fernando Karadima’s participation in them, and the circumstances surrounding the events at “El Bosque” parish. That memory takes into consideration that in each one of the victims there was a moment of lucid truth, at different times and situations, which led to the awareness of such abuses, to the decision to put an end to these aberrations, which also puts an end to their relationships with Karadima and to their long-time participation in the parish (O'Connor, 2010; French & Simpson, 2000; Sandler, 2005).

The mentioned abuses took place between 1984 and 2004, in the case of the four men, the excesses occurred when they were young, one of them a minor; they happened in different periods and involved violations of greater or lesser severity depending on the case. All those youngsters approached Karadima attracted by his prestige in developing priestly vocations. In the development of these relationships, the four men managed to have the priest as their spiritual director and confessor, which resulted in establishing a close dependence of authority with the priest, founded on the trust and respect they felt for him. The woman became involved in the mentioned abuses when she married one of the young men after he had become an adult. This was the man who suffered, secretly, the most brutal abuses, persisting for over twenty years, even during the period while the marriage lasted. In such circumstances, the woman, who did not suspect the relationship between Karadima and her husband, suffered the painful consequences of such an aberrant relationship. When the husband confessed to his wife that Karadima had been sexually abusing him for twenty years, the woman became aware of how the priest

trapped him in his influence by being, simultaneously, her and her husband's spiritual director and confessor. The end of the marriage originated in this cruel deception. (Guzmán, 2011; Villarrubia & González, 2011; Mönckeberg, 2011).

The memories of the five victims of abuses concur in showing the perverse use made by Karadima of his authority as a priest by corrupting, repeatedly, role relations, mainly with boys who participated in the parish intending to deepen their Catholic faith and eventually achieving priesthood (Long, 2008; 2002; Chapman, 1999; Chapman & Long, 2008). This way of taking advantage of a situation implies the articulation of an unconscious collective dynamic with the aim of bringing pleasure to Karadima at the expense of the psychological and sexual abuse perpetrated on young people. This implies the outbreak of a paradoxical dynamic of denying reality, where what is known is at the same time not known, and this caused such a state of confusion in the parishioners' minds that it clouded their thinking ability to discern the incorrectness of abusive acts. This bewilderment implied that the youngsters were involved in collusions that, inadvertently, made them accomplices of the indignities. This perversion had the particularity of reiteration, iniquities were repeated over and over again, and as a result it was very complex to know and put a stop to such abuses; such corrupt acts were kept in silence through social defenses (Hinshelwood & Chiesa, 2002). The perversion and its characteristics had an expansive power that went beyond the boundaries of "El Bosque" parish, even reaching the role relations with Chilean Catholic Church authorities. This powerful expansion implied that the authorities were trapped by anxieties and perverse collective dynamics that obstructed their lucidity of thought to understand and intervene in the complex social reality of such aberrations. It is particularly remarkable how ecclesiastical authorities remained petrified in apathy and indolence, thus absolutely depriving them of the ability to react in a timely manner to events that in themselves denounced their seriousness (2008 Long).

### 3.1 Psychological abuse

Karadima was able to please his grandiose narcissism and his arrogant pride by mounting a totalitarian domination that inflicted psychological abuse on young people who had a close spiritual relationship with him (Kernberg, 1999; Schwartz, 1990; Todorov, 2009, 2010). Karadima's political domination depended on the prestige that he created for himself by sending novices to the Pontifical Seminary of Santiago, who later became priests and some even attained the position of bishops. On the other hand, through very shrewd maneuvering, he managed to get prelates of the "Pía Unión del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús" —a priestly organization linked to "El Bosque" parish and controlled by Karadima—to occupy important positions of authority in the Catholic Church from where they loudly spread the virtues of the pastor. The ecclesiastical authorities, impressed by Karadima's achievements within Santiago's young aristocratic elite, provided support and recognition to the priest's actions, evidenced in the extensive and unusual continuity he enjoyed in his position as parish priest.

Against this background of recognition, support and veneration, Karadima exercised a leadership that dazzled his parishioners, particularly young people who were attracted by his alleged spiritual gifts. Karadima demanded that youngsters comply with the virtue of unrestricted obedience of his decisions, which meant that they had to be completely subjugated to him. They were urged to attend daily masses in the parish; had to abide by his decision of whether they could have romantic liaisons with girls and had to abstain of such relations if Karadima decided to prohibit them; they had to follow his instructions about the proper way to dress, the kind of amusements they could have; it was obligatory for the youngsters to focus their lives on the Church, distancing themselves from their families because the risk of being influenced could disrupt the progress of their vocations; they were prohibited to attend to other churches and to confess with priests of other Catholic communities.

Disobeying Karadima meant that the boys would be severely and furiously publicly rebuked and, simultaneously, a collective value trial was 'mise-en-scène', with the harsh

condemnation of parish companions. Such public reprimands and trials were devastating for the victims of the punishments, even more so when ostracism was added to these severities for whoever incurred in fault. Karadima exhorted obedience through religious terror, disobeying his orders boded the presence of the demon and the risk of receiving divine condemnation, suffering the punishment of hell for all eternity, without there being the chance for repentance or forgiveness. Terror is an updated version of the Inquisition; the faults of obedience are sins which must be atoned for through guilt, prayer and reiterating vows of fidelity to the designs of the priest. Karadima also used 'snitching' to detect and punish those incurring in fault, with which the trust between the young people was broken down, triggering suspicions and rivalries. On the other hand, he made use of the distribution of privileges to those youngsters he considered his "pets" and "favorite pets", adolescents who stood out for being physically very handsome and to whom he bestowed special appreciations. These boys were given responsibilities bordering on servility: occupying the position of Secretary; having access to the intimacy of the priest's bedroom; helping him to look after his health; helping him to dress, to clean his room, to shop at the supermarket; to accompany him to social events; to drive his car, and even to share holidays with him in Chile or abroad. The "favorite pets" were the youngsters with whom Karadima had the closest relationships, he recognized in them leadership and priesthood potential. With his "favorite pets" he intensified his control, monitoring and punishments; the demands for the virtue of obedience was taken to the extreme in order to attain total subjugation. The majority of the youngsters subjected to this totalitarianism in the belief that they were before a priest endowed with a spiritual insight that was totally out of the ordinary. It was common for youngsters to refer to Karadima as "the saint" or "the little saint", endorsing the figure of a spiritual virtuoso. Meanwhile Karadima, privately, had the deranged aspiration that the Vatican would actually grant him Sainthood after his death, and that his mortal remains might be buried and venerated in the Church of "El Bosque". He also felt that he was depository of the grandiose mission of transforming the Chilean Catholic Church, "to burn it by its four sides", to install in it the doctrine of the priestly "Pía Unión" and their representatives.

### **3.2. Sexual abuse**

The perverse exercise of Karadima's priestly authority responds, very deeply, to enable the satisfaction of his repressed homosexual impulses. For these purposes, he developed a predatory strategy that, disguised by an idealized mysticism and fatherly affection, aimed to achieve lascivious experiences with youngsters (Goldner, 2007; Frawley - O'Dea, 2007; Gartner, 2007; Dwyer, 2007; Father, 2007; Jiménez, 2011).

First, Karadima promoted a degradation of language that undermined formalities, decorum, respect and solemnity between the role of priest and the roles of young boys who came looking for spiritual assistance. The priest tolerated and encouraged the boys to develop and use among themselves a vulgar and rude language of Double Entendres, full of sexual connotations, inventing nicknames that distorted the masculine identity of both friends and priests, all of which trivialized the difference in their roles, particularly the role of authority. The vulgarization of language led to a reduction of their mutual respect, everything was permissible within the festive atmosphere of coarse and tasteless humor, vulgar jokes and sexually-charged banter. This kind of festive atmosphere was perverse because underlying it was the priest's sexual appetite, who was anticipating the emergence of opportunities to give way to his impulses on the victims of his preference.

The degradation in language and festive atmosphere gave rise to erotic advances that Karadima made publicly. He fondled the boys' genital areas; slapped their buttocks; in greetings and farewells, he allowed caresses and kisses which, suddenly, found the mouths of those approaching him, all of this masked by the insignificance of coincidences, of caring and playful parental gestures. These advances were equally confusing and baffling for those youngsters watching as for those who were the target of his impudence; however, disbelief prevailed both in the first and in the latter: sexual demonstrations could not withstand being thought of as something real, they were repressed through denial or by means of rationalizations.

In the certainty that the youngsters tolerated this erotically charged environment,

Karadima proceeded to perpetrate sexual abuses. His favorite objects were his "pets" and his "favorite pets", although he also considered other teenagers that stood out because of their physical appearance. His abuses began with initial approximations to explore the victims' reaction to his advances; subsequently, upon making sure that there was no resistance, these advances led to degrading practices that became repetitive. The youngsters who experienced such abuses were dismayed by them; felt morally annihilated, overwhelmed in their ability to understand what had befallen them with the priest that aroused myriad spiritual idealizations. Karadima minimized the victims' suffering by telling them that they were only venial sins that would be absolved through confession and some prayers of penance. He made sure to demand that confessions were made with a priest who had his full trust and was a member of the "Pía Unión" of the parish. Occasionally, he allowed himself, with absolute shamelessness, to be the Confessor who absolved the misconduct of the young man who Karadima had abused of.

The silence, the concealment of abuse, is sealed with the shame of victims who did not dare communicate what happened to them, the young people were left emotionally and morally broken (Scheler, 2004; Cyrulnik, 2011). The victims, in the chaos of their incomprehensible and unspeakable suffering, were exposed to a vulnerability that lent itself to the reiteration of such humiliations. Generally, abuses occurred at "El Bosque" Church and particularly in Karadima's bedroom. There, the abuses were more or less contained, depending on whether there were other youngsters in the bedroom. When there were others, the excesses on the victim were controlled, less transgressive, masked by the humor that engaged the witnessing youngsters in the entertainment. Sexual abuses were of greater magnitude when the priest and the victim were alone in the room. These encounters, in the privacy of the bedroom, provide several indications that the relationships that took place there were of a suspicious intimacy. When the Karadima case came to public light, with at least five victims reporting abuses, it became known that in these encounters crude and sordid abuses occurred.



### **3.3 Acknowledgement of what cannot be acknowledged**

The core of working in the collective memory of abuses is the recognition of the unrecognizable by the victims. To recognize the unrecognizable implies that the victims must be able to think and experience within themselves that Karadima is an impostor, a moral fraud, who destroyed the trust and respect deposited by youngsters in his authority as a priest. It also means acknowledging the predatory use that Karadima made of that authority to perpetrate repeated sexual abuses. Such awareness means that the individuals experienced a-moment-of-truth that starkly revealed Karadima as an evil person, which led them to the emphatic decision of putting an end to the abuses and to escape the totalitarian entrapment of “El Bosque” parish. Such acumen and decision placed these individuals in the devastating affliction of how to face their future lives (Ricoeur, 2006; O'Connor, 2010; French & Simpson, 2000; French, Simpson & Harvey, 2009; Sandler, 2005).

It took years for these individuals to get rid of this torment; with the help of psychoanalysts, psychologists and psychiatrists, they managed to think and understand the losses that such abuses meant for their lives, to eventually reach a certain reparation of their severely damaged identities. For the victims, it was especially complex to acknowledge how it occurred with unconscious complicity that allowed perpetration of the abuses (Ricoeur, 2008; Kennedy, 2010; Terdiman 2010). Likewise, they found it very painful and caused much anger in them to realize the negligence of witnesses, particularly of the highest authorities of the Chilean Catholic Church, who became accomplices by being blind, deaf and dumb to abuses that were known but could not be thought (Long, 2008).

### **4.0. Relying on group trust**

Until 2004 the five victims did not maintain links between them, therefore, there had been no opportunity for recognition between the individuals that would allow them to

know about their respective experiences of abuse and to set forth the possibility of taking any joint action. That year, however, an event occurred that triggered a radical change in the situation and relationship between the victims. The woman, wife of the man who had been abused for twenty years, requested that their marriage be annulled by the Chilean Catholic Church. The application for annulment stated that the marriage was invalid due to Karadima's abusive exercise of his priestly authority. This implied that the Church had to open an investigation to determine whether to admit or not the request, so that, subsequently, in the event that the marriage was deemed invalid, the Church would send all the background information to the Vatican for its final decision.

The application for annulment and the investigation were of tremendous transcendence, because it was the beginning of the uncovering of Karadima's villainies; for the first time in twenty years, the Chilean Catholic Church formally accepted charges against Karadima. The investigation was entrusted to an ecclesiastical tribunal who had to decide about said invalidity and the procedures to be followed. Thus, Karadima, with all his prestige and veneration, was put in the sights of ecclesiastical courts, not by initiative of Church authorities, but by the courageous action of the woman.

On the other hand, the application for nullity of marriage and the investigation were also important because they set up the foundation to overcome the fact that the five victims had not known each other for many years. They gradually began to approach each other, which gave rise to an incipient mutual recognition that helped to remove the mistrust between these five individuals, originated from the ghosts of the past, prejudices and stigmas. In such renewal of their acquaintance developed the awareness that there is a common collective memory referred to the experiences of abuse that all had had at the hands of priest Karadima. Recognition also implies that the shared memory was strengthened in their mutuality or alliance, thus emerging a sense of group identity (Sennett, 2011; Halbwachs, 2004; 1992; Sievers, 2009).

The group attained clarity of mind regarding the fact that, jointly, it is possible to fight for the preservation of the collective memory of abuse, which, in the more immediate term,

implied collaborating with the ecclesiastical investigation because it was an opportunity to find truth and justice. Recognition and alliance between the victims operated with the power of an experience of moral conversion (Berger, 2011). By strengthening reciprocal influences, the group transformed impotence—which assumed that nothing could be done in the face of Karadima’s standing—into power, where each and every one could realize that in partnership they had a power that enabled them to influence towards preserving the collective memory of the abuse (Lapierre, 1993; Swogger, 1993).

The investigation about the invalidity of the marriage required statements testifying to the truth of Karadima’s abuses, as well as the way in which the priest interfered in the couple’s relationship leading to the destruction of the said relationship and their family life. The four men, not without reservations and mistrusts, collaborated in the investigation through their individual declarations before the ecclesiastical court. These statements were essential because they all converged, eloquently, in providing credibility to the abuses and resulting, after judicial proceedings that lasted for years, in the decision by the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Chilean Church to confirm the application for nullity of marriage. Of utmost relevance in that verdict was the finding that one of the cases of sexual abuse involved a young man who, at the date of the event, was still a minor. This fact was categorical in determining Karadima’s guilt; subsequently, it was up to the Vatican to review the investigation, convey its own judgment and, should it consider it applicable, establish penalties. Following the nearly five years that took the entire investigation process, on January 16, 2011, the Vatican Tribunal sent the Archbishop of Santiago its decision, finding Karadima guilty of the offence of sexual abuse of minors and tyrannical exercise of his priestly power to taking advantage of the younger parishioners. This same tribunal had ruled previously that the nullity of the marriage applied. Karadima was sentenced to life reclusion in a convent, suspension of the priestly office and of any contact with his followers.

While the ecclesiastical investigation lasted, during which the ruling on nullity of the marriage was endlessly postponed by the Chilean Church, the five victims took a proactive stance that gave a complete turn to the Karadima case, insofar as opening it to the public.

The victims sick and tired by the indolence of the Church and its maneuvers to stop or delay a ruling by the ecclesiastical tribunal, decided on an offensive strategy of actions that aimed at preserving the collective memory of such abuses in Chilean society. For these purposes, they established contacts with Chilean and foreign journalists that made it possible to broadcast in April 2010 on Chilean National Television a documentary reporting the Karadima abuses. On the other hand, the New York Times published an interview with two Karadima victims, and so the scandal took on an international significance dimension. With these communications through the media, the Karadima case exploded into a public scandal in Chile. At that point, the four abused men decided to file charges against Karadima before the Chilean civil court, which led to the opening of a judicial inquiry. The investigation was affected by various legal incidents involving the closing and reopening of the judicial proceedings; finally, in January 2012, the Court issued the verdict that the accusations were indeed criminal offences committed by Karadima, but, according to Chilean law, the statute of limitations of said offences had elapsed. This meant that the case was closed without Karadima receiving any sanction whatsoever by the Civil Court. The accusations presented before the Civil Court were made by four men, victims of abuse, who during the course of the proceedings had face-to-face confrontations with Karadima; for the first time, they made him see, directly, the evil which he had inflicted upon them for so long. During these confrontations in the presence of the judge, Karadima persistently denied the truthfulness of such allegations. In these circumstances, it is inevitable to point out the resemblance between Karadima and Adolf Eichmann, in their personification of the banality of evil, phenomenon that prevents thinking and, therefore, discerning between good and evil (Arendt, 1999).

### **5.0 Resisting repudiation and the power of the Catholic Church**

The uncovering of the Karadima case triggered a great commotion in Chilean society because the abuses occurred in a conservative parish, attended by parishioners of the Santiago upper class elite, and the abuses were perpetrated on young people whose families were connected with the elite. On the other hand, uncovering of the case ended up destroying the mythical reputation of Karadima, discrediting and smearing the Catholic

Church, heavily damaging its image and public confidence in it. This uncovering also powerfully affected the five victims: in the first stage, when they received the onslaught of Karadima defenders who aimed at denying the allegations. Subsequently, when the Civil Court's investigation was underway, the victims faced the power of the Catholic Church which, through the extension of its political arms, was seeking to restrict the court, and thus, also to set restrictions on the preservation of the collective memory of the abuses (Hoggett, 2009; Miller, 1993, 2002; Kernberg, 1999; Schwartz, 2010; Krantz, 2006; Todorov, 2008, 2009, 2010).

### **5.1. Projection of massive repudiation**

When it was made public, the collective memory triggered a massive response from powerful conservative groups of the Catholic Church and Chilean society to protect Karadima. The reaction was organized and conducted by prelates of the "Pía Unión" of "El Bosque" who occupied positions of authority in the Church. They mounted a cohesively corporatist and public defense which summoned priests, bishops, parishioners (businessmen, members of the aristocracy and politicians), to give testimony of Karadima's good priestly reputation, to declare that the allegations were untrue, to repudiate the accusers and to exercise influence in various areas of society aimed at putting a stop to the scandal. On the other hand, the reaction in defense of Karadima set up a campaign of attacks and disqualifications against the accusers so as to weaken them morally and silence their complaints. The massive reactions defending Karadima were far from being rationally thought out and to take objectively into account the situation of the victims and their allegations. The extreme irrationality of these reactions occurred when one of his supporters declared that everything that had happened with Karadima was the work of the devil, which mysteriously intervened in the priest, to undermine his sanctity.

Every defense of Karadima was aimed at destroying the victims, and, in particular, the four men accusing him. The purpose was to discredit the individuals, thereby suppressing the collective memory of abuses. The victims were shown as suffering from mental disturbances originating in their family life during their childhood; that they had traumas

and were sexually deviant, emotionally immature, motivated by revenge and jealousy, with a sick desire to be prominent. Defenders had a Manichaeian thinking that projected wickedness on the five victims. Priests and parishioners repudiated the victims, considered them pariahs, who deserved the punishment of exclusion unless they showed repentance and asked forgiveness for their false allegations against Karadima. Underlying such bellicose and punitive posture there was also the arrogant clericalism of the Church that did not tolerate that those five Catholic parishioners would defend themselves, in an autonomous way, and rebel against the exalted authority of priesthood, particularly when that authority showed great ineptitude. Moreover, the aristocratic Catholic heritage of the five victims made the rebellion against the heteronomous, two-millennia-old order of the Roman Catholic Church, especially unacceptable. This legacy is the depository of an ancestral bond in Chile where the Church distinguishes the aristocracy for their loyalty towards ecclesiastical authority.

Within this whole context of factual defenses, the cowardly negligence of the highest authority in Chilean Catholicism stands out by not having a timely and clear statement of the Karadima case, and when it did, it was with a mellifluous discourse that concealed the inclination to support the priest. Defenses of Karadima were a corporatist response where unconscious psychotic dynamics operated and prevented thinking about the great amount of existing background information indicating that Karadima perpetrated abuses and that there was a system in place that, anonymously, was accomplice to this corruption.

The group of five victims resisted the onslaughts of Karadima defenders; they tolerated the Manichean massive projections which attributed them wickedness, lies, hatred and their seeking only to discredit the priest. The group persisted in its purpose of preserving the collective memory of the experiences of abuse by appealing to resources that strengthened their political positioning in society and before the Church. They had the support of journalists, of some Catholic priests who were exerting pressure on the Church to acknowledge and support the victims, they had the support of their families, their friends and the anonymous solidarity of Chileans. The accolade increased with public evidence that the abuses actually occurred, which slowly started persuading the

awareness of the vast majority of Karadima defenders, who eventually recognized the truthfulness of the abuses. The ruling by the Vatican tribunal that Karadima was guilty was conclusive evidence that the collective memory of abuses was based on the truth.

## **5.2. Fighting against the power of the Catholic Church**

In the course of the investigation carried out by the Civil Court of the charges made by four men victims of abuse, they had to take on the political power of the Church. The Church was aware that with the forceful Vatican judgment, the Karadima case was hopelessly and painfully penalized from the point of view of ecclesiastical justice. However, the Church was driven by the intention to promptly close the Civil Court's investigation and put an end to the institutional smear that had so harshly affected its image and public faith. For these purposes it developed a strategy that contemplated two interventions, one on the civil courts and another which was a collective mea culpa before society. This strategy had implications on how the collective memory of abuses took a definitive form in its preservation.

Intervention in the courts implied that the Church would expose its political power, hidden and stealthy, to establish a network of influences in the judicial institution, so that the investigation of the Karadima case would end in decisions favoring their interests. As already mentioned, the court investigation was affected by various legal maneuvers that involved closing and reopening of the proceedings, culminating in the statement by the judge that Karadima was guilty of the crimes of sexual and psychological abuse, but that the offences had exceeded the statute of limitations and, therefore, were exempt of punitive actions. This was the definitive closure of the Karadima case by the Chilean judicial system.

Underlying this is the interpretation that the Church had come to an agreement with "anonymous authorities": the acceptance of Karadima being a "hunting prey" for the Civil Court, with the Church assuming the cost of additional discredits resulting from the implementation of public proceedings. In return, the Church achieved its objective of a definitive judicial closing of the case, but most importantly, there was the pact, with

"anonymous authorities", that there would be no further legal actions that could involve the many priests and religious authorities who were accomplices in the Karadima case and therefore were responsible for the events. Among the most conspicuous accomplices, the recent former Archbishop of Santiago stands out in particular, having been very negligent in recognizing the seriousness of the case and in making decisions.

The public mea culpa made by the Church to the faithful and to Chilean society was to acknowledge the institutional responsibility in the Karadima case. The public request for forgiveness made to the abused victims, to Catholics and to society in general, is also valuable. However, these reconciliatory actions with respect to past faults were covered by a mantle of mistrust regarding how many other cases of abuse remain hidden without having been disclosed to public knowledge, even in the same Karadima case. On the other hand, there was also a lack of trust with respect to the effectiveness of the measures taken to prevent further abuses by the Church. Reservations remain as to whether these measures are reasonable assurances to protect parishioners of corrupt actions.

## **6.0. Concluding remarks**

This paper concludes by highlighting the risks of collective memory in the analyzed case. Firstly, the five victims showed commendable moral courage by committing themselves to the cause of recovering the collective memory of abuses through the courts and the truth. That commitment meant that the five individuals had to put at risk their lives, dignity, personal well-being and that of their families. In the end the five victims overcame quite well the risks, and achieved recording the fundamental texture of the memory of abuses in the memory of the Church and of society.

The collective memory of the victims collided with the interests and conservative political power of the Church and the Santiago Catholic elite. Those powers established among themselves a solid partnership, that through the intrusion in high institutional spheres of Chilean society, they made decisions that meant censoring, silencing, suppressing, and cutting out irritating and intolerable aspects of collective memory that the victims genuinely set forth. This collective memory points out to much guilt and many



responsibilities within the Church that could be very destabilizing if disclosed to public knowledge. The Church and the Conservative elite finally imposed a corrected version of the collective memory of abuses to prevent new scandals in the main religious organization in Chile. In short, the memory of abuses prevails, but in a censored version that passed previously through the approval filters of two powerful actors: the Church and the nineteenth-century Catholic elite.

Thoughts on the possibility that the collective memory of abuses will be preserved as exemplary in the Catholic Church: This is unlikely because the Church would need to acknowledge that it was an anonymous accomplice in Karadima's abuses in "El Bosque" parish. The psychotic mentality is very strong in the Church, and prevents thinking about the unconscious collusion that supported the operation of a perverse system that caused so much damage. The leadership of Karadima to achieve priestly vocations and the brazenness with which he showed his homosexuality aroused in the Church unconscious contradictions that are very complex to address. These intractable contradictions allowed a laissez faire situation.

For the victims, the epilogue of the collective memory of abuses is a sweet and sour one. On the one hand, they have the satisfaction of having achieved the preservation of that memory in a very destabilizing political context. On the other hand, the victims were left with a sour taste because they believe that the Chilean Church has been very deferential and restrained in the implementation of sanctions against Fernando Karadima. His seclusion in a convent is not much of a punishment as there the priest enjoys a privileged treatment that is at odds with the seriousness of the criminal offences he committed. The victims also note with concern that the Church has not approached the issue of assisting the priests who were indoctrinated by Karadima, to help them refocus their pastoral work. The victims also deem that the Church has debts with them as regards repairing the damages that they suffered ("La Segunda" Daily Newspaper, February 10, 2012).

## References

- Arendt, H. (1999) *Eichmann en Jerusalén*. Editorial Lumen, Barcelona.
- Apfelbaum, E. (2010) *Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory*. In Radstone S. & Schwarz (editors) *Memory Histories, Theories, Debates*. Fordham University Press, U.S.A..
- Aristegui, C. (2011) *Maciel Historia de un Criminal*. Segunda edición, Andros Impresores, Chile.
- Baum, Z. (2011) *En Busca De La Política*. Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina
- Bain, A. (1999) *On Socio-Analysis*. *Socio-Analysis*, Vol. 1, N° 1, pp. 1-17.
- Berger, P. (2011) *from Invitation to Sociology: a Humanistic Approach*. In Olick J.K.; Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy D. (Editors) *The Collective Memory Reader*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Bion, W. (1970) *Attention & Interpretation*. Tavistock Publications, London.
- Bloch, M. (2011) *from "Collective Memory, Custom, and Tradition: About a Recent Book"*. In Olick J.K.; Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy D. (Editors), *op. cit.*
- Brienza, H. (2003) *El Caso Von Wernich Maldito tú eres, Iglesia y Represión Ilegal*. Marea Editorial, Argentina.
- Cavallo, A.; Salazar, M. & Sepúlveda, O. (2008) *La Historia Oculta del Régimen Militar Memoria de una Época 1973-1988*. Uqbar Editores, Santiago, Chile.
- Correa, S. (2005) *Con las riendas del poder La derecha chilena en el siglo XX*. Editorial Sudamericana. Santiago, Chile.
- Coser, L. (1992) *Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945*. In Halbwachs, M. *On Collective Memory*, University Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Cyrulnik, B. (2011) *Morirse de Vergüenza*. Random House Mondadori S.A., Barcelona.
- Chapman J. & Long S. (2008) *Role contamination: Is the Poison in the Person or the Bottle? Organization and People: Toxic Leadership*. Vol 15, Nr 3, August, S. 40-48.
- Chapman, J. (1999) *Hatred and Corruption of Task*. *Socio-Analysis*, 1 (2): 127-50
- De Ramón, A. (2003) *Historia de Chile*. Editorial Catalonia. Chile.
- Dwyer. K.M. (2007) *Surviving What I Know; Living Is What I Am Learning*. In Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (editors) *Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims* (editors). Taylor & Francis Group, New York.

- Eng, D.L. & Kazanjian, D. (2003) Introduction: Mourning Remains. In Eng & Kazanjian (editors), *Loss*. University of California Press.
- Father, M. (2007) *Severed Selves and Unbridged Truths*. In Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (editors) *Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims* (editors). Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (2007) *Abusive Priests: Who They Were and Were Not*. In Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (Editors) *Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims* (editors). Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. (2007) *Can You Imagine?* In Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (Editors) *Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims* (editors). Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- French, R. & Simpson, P. (2000) Learning at the Edges between Knowing and Not-knowing: "Translating" Bion. *Organizational and Social Dynamics*, Vol 1; N°1, pp. 54-77.
- French, R.; Simpson, P.; & Harvey, Ch. (2009) "Negative capability": A contribution to the understanding of creative leadership. In Sievers, B; Brunning, H; Goojier, J. ; Gould, L. ; & Mersky, R. (Editors) *Psychoanalytic Studies of Organizations, Contributions from the International Society for the Psychoanalytical Study of Organizations (ISPSO)*. Karnac Books, London.
- Galimberti, F. (2006) *Wilfred Bion. Nueva Visión*, Buenos Aires.
- Gartner, R.B. (2007) *Failed "Fathers", Boys Betrayed*. In Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (Editors) *Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims* (editors). Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- Goldner, V. (2007) *The Catholic Sexual Abuse Crisis: Gender, Sex, Power & Discourse*. In Frawley-O'Dea, M.G. & Goldner, V. (editors) *Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims*. Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- Guzmán, J. A.; Villarrubia, G. & González, M. (2011) *Los Secretos del Imperio de Karadima*. Editorial Catalonia, Chile.
- Halbwachs, M. (2004) *La memoria colectiva*. Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992) *On Collective Memory*. The University Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Hinshelwood, R.D. & Chiesa, M. (2002) *Organizations, Anxieties & Defences*. Whurr Publishers, London.
- Hoggett, P. (2009) *Politics Identity and Emotion*. Paradigm Publishers, U.S.A.
- Insunza, A. & Ortega, J. (2008) *Legionarios de Cristo en Chile, Dios, Dinero y Poder*. Editorial La Copa Rota, Chile.
- Insunza, A. & Ortega, J. (2011) *Los Archivos del Cardenal*. Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales. Editorial Catalonia. Santiago, Chile.

- Jiménez, J.P. (2011) Creer, amar, crear: Alegato por una espiritualidad libre y creativa. Documento presentado en "Puerto de Ideas. Festival de Valparaíso".
- Kernberg, O. (1999) Ideología, conflicto, y liderazgo en grupos y organizaciones. Editorial Paidós, Barcelona.
- Kennedy, R. (2010) Memory and the Unconscious. In Radstone S. & Schwarz (editors) op. cit.
- Krantz, J. (2006) Eric Miller Memorial Lecture, 16 March, 2006. Organizational and Social Dynamics, Vol. 6, N° 2, pp.258-71.
- Lapierre, L. (1993) Mourning, Potency, and Management. In Hirschhorn L. & Barnett, C. K. (Editors) The Psychodynamics of Organizations. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Lawrence, W.G. (2000) Tongued With Fire. Karnac Books, London.
- Long, S. (2008) The Perverse Organizations and its Deadly Sins. Kanac Books, London.
- Long, S. (2009) Sad, mad or bad; What approaches should we take to organizational states-of-mind? In Sievers, B; Brunning, H; Goojier, J. ; Gould, L. ; & Mersky, R. (Editors), op.cit.
- Matus, A. (1999) El Libro Negro de la Justicia Chilena. Editorial Planeta, Argentina.
- Miller, E. (1993) From Dependency to Autonomy, Part V Societal Processes. Free Association Books, London.
- Miller, E. (2002) The Vicissitudes of Identity. Socio-Analysis, Vol. 4, December; pp. 2 -14.
- Mills, C.W. La Imaginación Sociológica. Segunda edición, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México.
- Mönckeberg, M. O. Karadima (2011) El Señor de los Infiernos. Tercera edición, C y C impresores Limitada, Chile.
- Moulian, T. (1997) Chile Actual Anatomía de un mito. Ediciones LOM, Santiago, Chile.
- Moulian, T. (2005) El gesto de Agüero y la amnesia. En P. Verdugo (editor) De la Tortura No Se Habla. Catalonia, Santiago de Chile.
- Nora, P. (2009) Pierre Nora en Les lieux de mémoire. LOM Ediciones, Santiago, Chile.
- O'Connor, B. (2010) Adorno on the Destruction of Memory. In Radstone S. & Schwarz (editors) op. cit.
- Richard, N. (2010) Crítica de la Memoria. Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales. Salesianos Impresores S.A., Santiago, Chile.
- Ricoeur, P. La memoria, la historia, el olvido. Segunda edición en español, Fondo de cultura económica, Argentina.

- Ricoeur, P. (2006) Camino del Reconocimiento Tres estudios. Fondo de cultura económica, México.
- Sandler, P.C. (2005) Catastrophic Change, pp. 101-12, The Language of Bion A Dictionary Of Concepts. Karnac Books, London.
- Scheler, M. Sobre el Pudor y el Sentimiento de Vergüenza. Ediciones Sígueme S.A.U., Salamanca, España.
- Salazar, G. (2011) Conversaciones con Carlos Altamirano Memorias críticas. Segunda edición, Random House Mondadori S. A., Santiago de Chile.
- Salazar, M. (2011) Las Letras del Horror Tomo I: La DINA. LOM Ediciones, Santiago, Chile.
- Schwartz, H.S. (2010) Society Against Itself. Karnac Books, London.
- Schwartz, H.S. (1990) Narcissistic Process and Corporate Decay: The Theory of the Organization Ideal. New York University Press. New York.
- Sennett, R. (2011) from "Disturbing Memories". In Olick J.K.; Vinitzky-Seroussi ,V. & Levy D. (Editors), op. cit.
- Sievers, B. (2009) Against all reason: Trusting in trust. In Sievers, B; Brunning, H; Goojier, J. ; Gould, L. ; & Mersky, R. (Editors) op.cit.
- Sievers, B. (2000) Competition as War: Towards a socio-analysis of war in and among corporations. Socio-Analysis Vol. 2, N° 1, pp. 1-27.
- Sievers, B. (1999) Psychotic Organization as a Metaphoric Frame for the Socio-Analysis of Organisational and Interorganisational Dynamics. Administration & Society, Vol.31, N° 5, November, 588-615.
- Swogger, G. Jr. (1993) Group Self-Esteem and Group Performance. In Hirschhorn L. & Barnett, C. K. (Editors) The Psychodynamics of Organizations. Temple University Press, Philadelphia
- Terdiman, R. (2010) Memory in Freud. In Radstone S. & Schwarz (editors) op. cit.
- Todorov, T. (2008) Los abusos de la memoria. Ediciones Paidós Ibérica S.A., Barcelona.
- Todorov, T. (2009) Frente Al Límite. Tercera reimpresión, Editorial Siglo XXI, México.
- Todorov, T. (2010) La experiencia totalitaria. Círculo de Lectores S.A., Barcelona.
- Valdés, H. (1978)Tejas Verdes Diario de un Campo de Concentración en Chile. Segunda edición, Editorial Laia, Barcelona.
- Whitehead, A. (2010) Memory. Routledge, Abingdon, Great Britain.