

Forschungsinstitut für öffentliche und private Sicherheit

Olivia Valentina Mandeau

Captivity, coping, and survival: determining vital training content for pre-deployment captivity survival training for humanitarian aid organizations

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FORSCHUNGSINSTITUT FÜR ÖFFENTLICHE UND PRIVATE SICHERHEIT (FÖPS BERLIN)

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Olivia Valentina Mandeau:

Captivity, coping, and survival: determining vital training content for predeployment captivity survival training for humanitarian aid organizations

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List of abbreviations

AP Additional Protocol

AWSD Aid Worker Security Database

CaC Conduct after Capture

CaCI Conduct after Capture Instructor

CaCSEC Conduct after Capture Section

CAR Central African Republic

CPTSD Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

DoC Duty of Care

DRC Democratic Republic of Congo

ENTRi Europe's New Training Initiative on Civilian Crisis Management

ER Emotion Regulation

FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation

FTXs field training exercises

GC Geneva Convention

HAW Humanitarian Aid Worker

HEAT Hostile Environment Awareness Training

HO Humanitarian Organization

IAC International Armed Conflict

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross

IHL International Humanitarian Law

INGO International Non-Governmental Organization

ISIL The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

KIA Killed in Action

MIA Missing in Action

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NIAC Non-International Armed Conflict

NRC Norwegian Refugee Council

SERE Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape

SMI Security Management Initiative

SOARS Special Operations and Research Staff

SRM	Security Risk Management	
PoL	Proof of Life	
PoW	Prisoner of War	
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	
ZIF	Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze/Centre for International tions	Peace Opera-
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Special Operation Forces

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1. Introduction

The fundamental principle of humanitarian aid is the principle of humanity: to alleviate and, at best, prevent human suffering wherever it occurs and persists (ICRC, 2015a, p. 3). Being a humanitarian aid worker (HAW)¹ will inevitably lead one to volatile and austere environments that come with particular threats, challenges, and risks due to the complex environments humanitarian aid organizations (HAO) operate in. Despite the relatively long history of humanitarian aid going back to the battle of Solferino in 1859 and the subsequent foundation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1863/1864, humanitarian security risk management (SRM) is a young subfield of humanitarian aid (Bugnion, 2012, 1300&106; Stoddard, 2020, pp. 121–122). The brutal and targeted attacks against HAWs encouraged a handful of professionals, in late 1990, to gather and draft the first interagency security training leading to a sector-wide adaptation and implementation of the proposed security policies and training focusing on practical advice for field missions (Stoddard, 2020, pp. 121–122).

August 19, World Humanitarian Day, acknowledges the contributions HAWs make in protecting and assisting people in need globally and is devoted to the many humanitarians who have lost their lives working in the sector. Inherent to this day is the reminder of threats and risks to which HAWs are exposed. On August 19, 2003, 22 HAWs were killed in a targeted bomb attack in Baghdad, Iraq. This incident exemplifies the continual threats that shape the lives of HAWs in crisis-prone and volatile environments (Bienczyk-Missala & Grzebyk, 2015, p. 221). The Aid Worker Security Database (AWSD), initiated by Humanitarian Outcomes (HO), a non-governmental organization (NGO) that documents major security incidents (wounded, killed, and kidnapped) within the humanitarian arena, has recorded violent incidents affecting 6370 persons since 1997-March 2022 (AWSD, 2022a). In addition to shelling and bombardments, abductions and imprisonment are significant occurrences - and here, too, the statistics are sobering; between 1997-March 2022, according to the AWSD, 1755 (bright field) people, both national staff (1410) and international staff (345) have been abducted (ibid.). On average, this means one kidnapping every five days. HAWs are afforded protection under international humanitarian law (IHL), which is disregarded in many armed conflicts, leading to a breakdown and deterioration in the security of HAWs (Bienczyk-Missala & Grzebyk, 2015, p. 224).

¹ Humanitarian aid workers "are defined as personnel and contractors attached to humanitarian or multimandated aid agencies (UN, NGOs, and the Red Cross movement) that operate in humanitarian relief context providing assistance" (Humanitarian Outcomes, 2021a, p. 9).

1. Introduction

Kayla Mueller, a former US HAW, abducted in Syria by the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in August 2013, who did not survive her ordeal, stated in her letter (as of February 11, 2014) from captivity to her parents:

"[...] None of us could have known it would be this long but know I am also fighting from my side in the ways I am able + I have a lot of fight left inside of me. I am not breaking down + I will not give in no matter how long it takes." (Keneally, 2015)

The immense strength and will to survive despite Mueller's circumstances should remind the humanitarian community to do the utmost to adhere to their legal and moral obligations (duty of care) to prepare staff for potential security incidents.

The prevailing risk of abductions and the knowledge about the mental and physical health impacts of captivity (Neria et al., 1998; Ursano & Benedek, 2003, pp. 22–23) should be understood as a reason to prepare people who travel to crisis-prone areas, thus equipping them with the necessary tools to increase their chance of survival. For this reason, coupled with the duty of care, it is common, at least in larger international NGOs (INGO) that have the financial resources, to offer so-called hostile environment awareness training (HEAT) as mandatory preparation for field missions.² One problem in HEAT is the lack of a uniform understanding of what such training should entail. Commonplace is the inclusion and coverage of abduction scenarios, theoretically delivering knowledge in a classroom environment and in realistic scenarios that simulate an abduction. Participants undergo a simulated hostage scenario and are encouraged to apply the theoretical knowledge gained during classes (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 316).

The lack of consistency of what HEAT should entail, explicitly captivity survival training, results in the absence of standardization of such training. The lack of standardization indicates a need for a systematic assessment of which challenges/stresses people in captivity face, which coping strategies are utilized, and which training contents are determined (subjectively) vital for surviving captivity. Hence, the question arises which training contents are identified as indispensable for captivity survival training by persons who have survived captivity to prepare staff for potentially life-threatening and challenging security incidents.

To approach this topic, the thesis will focus on the teaching content of these training and underpin it with the help of qualitative research methods. Primarily, the aim is to determine teaching content deemed essential for targeted pre-deployment captivity survival

² It is not possible to understand how widespread employers in the humanitarian sector offer HEAT training as mandatory pre-deployment preparation.

training. To determine relevant training content, survivors of captivity will share the stresses/challenges they faced in each phase of their ordeal and their coping strategies employed, which will be made visible to derive vital information for valuable training content. In addition to deriving training content from the stresses/challenges faced and coping strategies utilized, the explicit survivors' perspective on vital teaching content will be ensured through direct inquiry. Based on the results, recommendations for teaching content will be developed, which should be included in training to increase the theoretically assumed value and allow targeted preparation. Ultimately, the thesis aims to provide recommendations to training centers/(I)NGOs so that the possible situational coping strategies can be trained in a preparatory setting and potential stresses and coping strategies can be provided to increase awareness on the matter, to facilitate coping and draw a holistic picture of captivity. Thus, the thesis may contribute to the discussion of developing standardized training content for captivity survival.

In addition to the primary aims, the thesis will investigate whether people who have been held captive and have undergone pre-deployment captivity survival training beforehand were able to access the knowledge imparted, to understand whether such training (subjectively) influenced the coping strategies/activities in captivity³. The examination of the coping strategies/activities used by the affected people who have received pre-deployment training might allow for concluding the subjective value of captivity survival training in each case.

Since no empirical research dedicated to this explicit topic of determining vital training content could be identified, this master thesis will investigate this in more detail by systematically looking into the stresses/challenges of captivity, coping strategies utilized, and drawing on the participant's experiences to extract useful training themes. The relevance of this topic results mainly from the lack of research conducted. Empirical work that highlights the challenges/stresses and coping strategies used in captivity exists primarily in the prisoner of war (POW) realm (Hunter, 1978, 1993; Neria et al., 1998; Rahe, 2007; Stein et al., 2015; Strentz, 1987; Ursano et al., 1987; Ursano & Rundell, 1995). The difference of the present work is that the stresses and coping strategies, are made visible, based on which teaching content is derived. A study dedicated to the question of what training content is needed/helpful for a real-life captivity situation seems essential for the operational field of HAO. Therefore, the thesis is dedicated to answering the following main research question:

³ The thesis does not claim to be generalizable regarding the utility of captivity survival training, as a quantitative approach would be necessary to establish causality.

1. Introduction

Which training content/topics are determined vital for captivity survival training by survivors of captivity and should be incorporated into pre-deployment captivity survival training?

From the formulated research question and the research interest of the thesis, the following sub-questions have been identified, which guide the analysis and are drawn on to answer the main research question: what were coping strategies utilized by persons in captivity and which stresses/challenges did people in captivity face?

In addition to identifying vital training content the thesis is dedicated to answering the following research question to facilitate an understanding of the subjective perceived value of captivity survival training:

To what extent is it observable that the imparted knowledge of predeployment captivity survival training was accessible during captivity and (subjectively) influenced personal coping strategies/activities and survival in captivity?

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. In the beginning, the state of research is outlined so that the relevance of the present work can be made visible (Chapter 2). Subsequently, the theoretical framework consisting of four subchapters is presented. First, the psychological concepts of stress, coping, and resilience are outlined. Then, humanitarian aid is defined to create a shared understanding. Subsequently, risks and threats to HAO are delineated with a focus on captivity. Within this section, captivity is defined, the phases of captivity are outlined, and research on survival in captivity with a focus on coping and adaptation is presented. The chapter on humanitarian SRM, which outlines the training landscape, among other things, concludes the theoretical framework that serves as a frame of reference for the analysis (Chapter 3). In the following, the research design consisting of the survey instrument of qualitative expert interviews and the methodological procedure of qualitative content analysis according to Mayring are presented and adapted to the analysis material (Chapter 4). In Chapter 5, the analysis results will be analyzed/evaluated, placed in the context of the theoretical framework, and discussed, and finally, recommendations will be derived. In the last part of the thesis, the most concise points will be reiterated, and the research questions will be answered. The conclusion of this thesis is a critical reflection of the limitations underpinned with research outlooks.

State of the art: captivity and pre-deployment captivity survival training

Since this thesis aims at an interdisciplinary approach, the present state of research will outline the different central topics and the respective relevant literature. It focuses on the risk of captivity as a high-stress and life-threatening scenario by highlighting such a situation's physical and psychological demands. To outline the psychological aspects of confinement and survival in captivity, concepts such as stress, resilience, protective factors, and coping will be drawn on. Since the thesis aims to identify stresses faced and applied coping strategies in captivity to provide training providers with teaching content deemed necessary by survivors of captivity, the next step will be to present approaches and objectives of pre-deployment training. For these purposes, this thesis will resort to literature from the humanitarian aid sphere, psychology, and scientific papers investigating coping and survival of Prisoners of War (POW). The reliance on literature from military psychology is necessary due to the lack of research conducted with a sole humanitarian/civilian focus (Mullins & McMains, 2020, p. 511). The inclusion of studies undertaken in the military is possible since the underlying experience of persons held captive is assumed to be similar, despite the different mandates of military personnel (e.g., military personnel is requested and trained to non-disclose any information and to resist interrogation) and humanitarians held captive (Doran et al., 2012, p. 310).

Scientific papers in resilience research or, more generally, psychology deal with how people can survive and cope with violent and coercive situations and the psychological sequel of such an experience. For example, Alexander and Klein (2009), in their article "Kidnapping and hostage-taking: a review of effects, coping and resilience," published in the Journal of Royal Society and Medicine, examined coping and the effects of captivity situations. Research on survival and coping in captivity has produced a plethora of scientific papers mainly focusing on the experiences of POW and Holocaust survivors in the 20th century. For example, Ursano and Rundell (1995), in their book chapter "The Prisoner of War" published in Jones et al. (1995) "War psychiatry: Textbook of Military Medicine" have investigated the experiences of POWs during the Vietnam War, World War II, and the Korean Conflict and identified captivity stresses, coping strategies, and stresses and challenges during readjusting to post-captivity life. Ursano has published manifold research projects investigating different aspects of captivity. In addition to focusing on coping in captivity, Ursano and Benedek (2003) have authored the article "Prisoners of war: longterm health outcomes", published in The Lancet investigating the sequelae of captivity. Other prominent research scholars within the realm of POW research are Hunter and Rahe.

2. State of the art

Similar to Ursano, Hunter has published several works on the captivity experience, including the book chapter "The Vietnam POW Veteran: Immediate and long-term effects of captivity" published by Figley (1978) in "Stress disorders among Vietnam Veterans: Theory, research and treatment". In addition, Hunter authored the book chapters "The psychological effects of being a prisoner of war" in "Human adaptation to extreme stress: From the Holocaust to Vietnam" by Wilson (1988) and "The Prisoner of War Experience" in "International Handbook of Traumatic Stress Syndromes" published by Meichenbaum et al. (1993). Hunter focused her research on the captivity experience itself, including coping activities and the consequences of captivity. Furthermore, Rahe (2007) brought forward the two book chapters, "Adaptation to captivity" and "Recovery from captivity" published in the "Encyclopedia of Stress" edited by Fink (2007). Rahe (2007) delineates phases of adaptation to captivity and six complimentary recovery phases once released. These stages include coping behavior identified as adaptive in a captivity context.

Deaton et al. (1977), empirically investigated coping activities and the evolution of coping activities of U.S Navy POWs in solitary confinement in their article "Coping activities in solitary confinement of U.S. Navy POWs in Vietnam" published in the Journal of Applied Social Psychology.

In addition to the discourses on coping during captivity, attention is given to the clinical issues focusing on trauma therapeutic strategies and the needs of ex-hostages post-release. An example is the article "Psychological support post-release of humanitarian workers taken hostage: the experience of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)" by Aebischer Perone et al. (2020), published in the British Journal of Guidance and Counselling, which deals with the handling and support of released persons in the context of the ICRC.

Through reports of experiences of survivors, such as POWs, and the clinical examination of the captivity sequel, the need for pre-deployment training was identified, especially in the professional fields of vulnerable groups such as the military and humanitarian aid organizations (Doran et al., 2012, p. 307). For this reason, HAO offer pre-deployment HEAT courses, covering, among other issues, captivity/hostage survival, so that individual options for action can be displayed and imparted for probable or potential security incidents to train behavior and coping strategies specifically for a worst-case scenario and increase security awareness, and at best resilience. However, as elaborated in Chapter 1 and detailed in Section 3.4.1, no uniform understanding of HEAT exists, and standardi-

⁴ Adaptation to captivity in this thesis is understood as "[...] the use of different behaviors, responses, and strategies to reduce stress and maximize chances of survival during captivity" (McMains & Mullins, 2015, p. 515).

zation of such training is lacking (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 313). Europe's New Training Initiative on Civilian Crisis Management (ENTRi), a project led by the Centre for International Peace Operations (ZIF), has attempted to standardize HEAT training provided by public institutions through a certification process. However, this project was discontinued in 2019 (ENTRi, 2019). Furthermore, ENTRi (2013) brought forward a reference curriculum for HEAT training, openly available, covering hostage survival issues. In addition to ENTRi having published a reference curriculum, the research project "NGO Safety and Security Training Project: How to Create Effective Security Training for NGOs" authored by Persaud in 2014 and published by the European Interagency Security Forum (EISF) and *InterAction* aimed to identify appropriate security training practices and provide a reference curriculum for the humanitarian realm. Persaud (2014) identified evaluating the impact of pre-deployment security training as one of the major gaps within provision of security training (p. 31). Most endeavors to evaluate security courses are focusing on conducting satisfaction surveys immediately after having completed a security training. However, what is missing is the conduction of an impact analysis of how the security training changed and influenced personal performance and conduct (ibid., p. 31). Furthermore, Persaud (2014) identified through empirical research with relevant actors within SRM that insecurity exists in regard to identifying relevant teaching contents and topics, mainly resulting from the lack of in-depth assessment on what is required for targeted mission preparation (p. 21).

Moreover, Blyth et al. (2021) reiterate, in their publication "Hostile environment awareness training: Building individual awareness while addressing organizational resilience" in the Journal of Business Continuity & Emergency Planning that empirical work covering the topic of HEAT and the utility of such training appears to be scarce (pp. 324–325). The research addresses in particular the question of what HEAT training is and interlinked it with the issue of organizational duty of care. Furthermore, the research investigated the most effective knowledge transfer methods for preparation in high-threat personal risk environments. As a result of their empirical contribution, Blyth et al. (2021) highlighted three main challenges for HAO regarding HEAT; firstly, the lack of empirical evidence of the value of HEAT training, which includes captivity survival training (pp. 324–325), has been identified. In addition, they highlight the need for qualitative and quantitative research projects in this area. Secondly, the challenge of organizations to "[...]identifying venues and credible providers" (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 324) was emphasized. If the humanitarian sector sets a benchmark and standard for "good" training, these challenges can be met. Undergoing a certification process leading to a standardization of training content can be one way to define what depicts useful and "good" training (ibid., pp. 327–328). The qualitative approach utilized by Blyth et al. (2021), interviewing security officers and trainers active in the humanitarian realm, brought forward that there is no consensus on what competencies are needed and what knowledge and skills need to be trained in HEAT training (ibid., p. 13).

In addition to the publication by Blyth et al. (2021), two research papers investigating the utility of HEAT could be identified. The article "Self-efficacy and Humanitarian aid Workers" authored by Turner et al. (2021) and published in the Journal of International Humanitarian Action is adduced, and the dissertation by Roberts (2021) "Hostile Environment Awareness Training for Humanitarian Aid Workers: An Outcome Evaluation" available at ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. In their article, Turner et al. (2021) displays the influence of HEAT courses on general self-efficacy and coping self-efficacy in critical incidents. They demonstrated that the higher one's self-efficacy, the more resilience the person would show (p. 1). Furthermore, the research indicates that training aimed at preparing HAWs to cope with critical incidents increases self-efficacy and thus resilience levels (ibid.).

Moreover, Roberts (2021) conducted an outcome evaluation of a HEAT training which is conducted in cooperation with the Headington Institute comprised of theoretical and practice parts. Roberts (2021) assessed the effects of the HEAT course on deployment and personal resilience and investigated the subjective perception of the preparation of persons who have survived a critical incident after participating in the training (p. 2). Overall results of the study show that the training effectively prepares aid workers for critical incidents (ibid.).

Since the aforementioned research papers investigated HEAT courses holistically, and the focus of the thesis is on captivity survival, the article "Adjustment to the stress of simulated captivity: Effects of emotion-focused versus problem-focused Preparation on Hostages Differing in locus of Control" by Strentz and Auerbach (1988) published in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology is considered. In their article, Strentz & Auerbach (1988) investigated the coping processes of flight attendants during a 4-day simulated captivity (p. 652). Prior to the simulation, participants were theoretically instructed on managing the stresses related to their captivity experience. The participants were divided into three groups depending on their theoretical instructions. They were either instructed on emotion-focused or problem-focused coping strategies or received a control presentation without relevant information about managing captivity stresses (ibid.). Strentz & Auerbach (1988) demonstrated that participants who had received theoretical instructions on coping strategies in advance primarily relied on these strategies imparted during the theoretical input. Since the participants were divided into groups, it could be shown that the persons who were instructed in emotion-focused strategies had the lowest anxiety and emotional distress levels (p. 652).

Since, as already elucidated, no scientific papers on the explicit topic of identifying teaching content could be found, publications from the military context will be included. Similarly, no research could be identified in the military sector that addresses the identification of captivity survival teaching content⁵ for Conduct after Capture (CaC) training⁶ to prepare military personnel for the demands of captivity. Primarily, studies could be identified that investigate the impact of such stress inoculation training or evaluate the learning outcomes. The study "Does Practice make Perfect? A Measurement of Effects and Impact Analysis of the Danish Conduct after Capture Training Program", authored by Jørgensen (2018) of the Conduct after Capture Section (CaCSEC) of the Danish Army Intelligence Centre. The study focuses on and compares the learning outcomes of the different intensity levels of CaC training (level A, B, and C)⁷ over time and delineates the necessity of refresher training since the loss of knowledge could be demonstrated (Jørgensen, 2018, p. 5).

The article "What are the Psychological Effects of Delivering and Receiving 'high-risk' Survival Resistance Training?" published in Military Medicine by Matthew et al. (2015), and the article by Suurd Ralph et al. (2017), "The Effects of Captivity Survival Training on Mood, Dissociation, PTSD Symptoms, Cognitive Performance and Stress Hormones" published in the International Journal of Psychophysiology, investigate the impacts of stress inoculation training and the psychological effects on both the participants and the instructors, and looks into the selection of CaC instructors (CaCI).

After all, three monographs that explicitly address survival and coping strategies in captivity will be outlined. The monograph "Taken Hostage Stories and Strategies: What Families, Employers, and Governments Should do" by Busch (2016), a former hostage negotiator published in 2016, seems vital to mention. Busch highlights stories of former hostages and their coping strategies in reference to the different phases of captivity. Furthermore, potential challenges of captivity are being elaborated, including applied survival strategies of former captives. However, Busch (2016) does not derive teaching content for training institutions from the challenges and coping strategies made visible. Instead, the book aims to promote the personal engagement of people at increased risk and provides detailed insights into the challenges of people in captivity and their survival strategies.

⁵ If there is research that empirically derived training content in the military context, its not publicly available (classified) leading to incomprehensibility regarding the state of research.

⁶ For a detailed overview on CaC training and Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape (SERE) see Doran, A. P., Hoyt, G., & Morgan, C. A. (2012). Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape (SERE) Training: Preparing Military Members for the Demands of Captivity. In: C. H. Kennedy & E. Zillmer (Eds.), *Military psychology: Clinical and operational applications* (2nd ed., pp. 306–331). Guilford Press, New York.

⁷ The different levels describe the intensity of the examination with captivity survival and are divided into purely theoretical parts up to captivity simulations lasting several days (Doran et al., 2021, pp. 309–312).

2. State of the art

Ofstad (2017), researcher and trainer in conflict management and kidnap survival, published his book "Surviving Kidnappers: Precautions, Influence, Strategic tools" to guide readers through a kidnapping experience. Ofstad provides insights on mitigating the risk of being kidnapped, highlights strategies for captivity survival and offers practical advice on how you influence your captors behavior to your benefit. Ofstad emphasizes the psychological aspects of enduring and surviving captivity to provide tools to mitigate the risk of being traumatized. In addition, Ofstad addresses people at increased risk of captivity and chooses a similar approach to Busch (2016), providing a guide to offer practical advice to individuals. Since the monograph is intended to guide survival, it provides techniques and strategies to cope with captivity; however, it does not focus on teaching content for specific captivity survival training.

Finally, the book "Kidnapping and Abduction: Minimizing the Threat and Lessons in survival" by Heard (2015), former deputy head of New Scotland Yard Forensic Firearms Examination Laboratory and team member of hostage response, and trained as a hostage negotiator, covers information on high-risk areas prone to kidnapping, motivations of kidnappers, strategies on avoidance and captivity survival. His chapter on kidnap survival and post-kidnapping debriefing pursues the same goal as Busch (2016) and Ofstad (2017), providing practical advice on surviving the ordeal physically and mentally to individuals. Heard (2015) provides essential information for people at increased risk but does not emphasize teaching content from a survivor's perspective.

Nonetheless, Busch, Ofstad, and Heard provide important fundaments for employers, training institutions, and individuals with their monographs and resources, which should be integrated into pre-deployment preparation.

The thesis will draw on the state of research demonstrated. The already published contributions on the broader topic of captivity survival and training seem to deal primarily with the challenges and coping strategies of former POWs, effects during and of these trainings, and partially the impact of such training on resilience and self-efficacy, the methods of knowledge transfer, and the mental and physical impact of surviving captivity. The identified research gap by Blyth et al. (2021) and Persaud (2014) in terms of standardization of teaching content of HEAT courses is addressed in this thesis with a sole focus on identifying teaching content for captivity survival.

3. Theoretical framework

In the following chapters psychological key concepts, such as stress, coping, the connection between emotion regulation (ER) and coping, as well as protective factors in the context of resilience research will be introduced at the beginning. The various concepts form the basis for the content-analytical examination of individuals' stresses and coping strategies in captivity. This is followed by a presentation of humanitarian aid and its objectives to create a shared understanding for the thesis. Subsequently, the risks and threats HAW face are elaborated, focusing on captivity. After presenting a working definition and relevant fundamental information on captivity, humanitarian SRM is defined to represent how humanitarian organizations respond to these risks. This chapter concludes with an examination of pre-deployment training, concentrating on captivity survival training in the context of humanitarian SRM. The theoretical input that follows now represents the theoretical framework and basic information of this work, which serves as a frame of reference for the analysis in Chapter 5.

3.1 Psychological key concepts: stress, coping, and resilience

As the thesis deals with captivity survival to identify relevant teaching content for predeployment captivity survival training for HAO, an examination of the psychological concepts of stress, coping, and resilience is necessary. In the following section, stress and the transactional model of stress and coping by Lazarus are introduced, to establish a foundation on which to understand this thesis. Additionally, coping, and coping strategies will be elaborated in more detail by presenting common coping taxonomies for the assessment of instances of coping. Further, the relationship between ER and coping is mapped, as individuals in captivity, due to the situational circumstances, must control and manage their emotional response, in the context of coping behaviors. Finally, a short excursus will address resilience and protective factors of the person since strengthening these is essential in the context of pre-deployment captivity survival training.

3.1.1 Defining stress: stress as a transaction

The omnipresence of the term stress in everyday life is usually based on the understanding that stress refers to both the stressor, e.g., external (e.g. heat) or internal (e.g. thoughts, expectations) stimuli that trigger stress, and the individual stress reaction in terms of the physiological and psychological response to the stressor (Heinrichs et al., 2015, p. 4; Kaluza, 2018, p. 17; Plaumann et al., 2006, pp. 3–5). However, the interdisciplinary use of

the term stress and differences in the theoretical approach make a definitional consensus of universal character complicated (Plaumann et al., 2006, p. 3).

The subject area of the thesis dictates the examination of psychological concepts of stress, which do not only consider biological processes, stressors, and stress responses isolated from each other. Instead, it requires an understanding of stress, which allows viewing stimuli, subjective appraisal, personal stress reactions, and individual coping efforts in conjunction. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) significantly shaped today's prevailing transactional understanding with their research, contrasting the then dominant conceptions of stress that viewed stress as either a stimulus or a response with a conception of stress that emphasizes the relationship between environment and person, thus adding the component of subjective appraisal of a putative stressor (p. 21).

The problem that Lazarus and Folkman (1984) saw in the stimulus-based definitions centering solely on the environment (e.g., natural disasters and illness) is based on the assumption that "[...] certain situations are normatively stressful but does not allow for individual differences in the evaluation of the events" (ibid.). The response-based definitions assume that individuals react with stress. As per Lazarus and Folkman (1984), stimulus and response-based conceptions are only partially useful due to the mere centering on the stress response (ibid.). Lazarus' & Folkman's definitional delineation with their transactional understanding of stress focuses on the reciprocal relationship between environment and person due to individual differences in appraisal and how people respond to perceived stressors (ibid.). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define stress accordingly:

"Psychological stress is a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being." (p. 19)

The transactional understanding of stress, therefore, assumes that stress is a process that is triggered when a stimulus (external or internal) is classified as a stressor by a person's appraisal and hence perceived as a threat to a person's physiological and/or psychological integrity (Gellman, 2020, p. 2146; Heinrichs et al., 2015, p. 5; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 21). Lazarus (1991b) emphasizes that stress and emotion (see Section 3.1.4) are not simply engendered "[...] by factors in the environment *or* by intrapsychic processes, but by person-environment relationships that change over time and circumstances" (p. 819). Lazarus & Folkman (1984) explain that whether a stimulus becomes a stressor depends on the cognitive appraisal, as well as the assumed coping resources available (p. 19). Consequently, stress results when a person's assessment reveals that the stressor presents as relevant to one's well-being and has the potential to cause damage or loss leading to a stress response/reaction. The term stress reaction subsumes all arising processes within a

person to respond to the identified stressor. Stress reactions are ascribed to four different components: physiological changes (e.g., increased heartbeat, increased muscle tension, faster breathing), cognitive (influences on how one thinks and processes information), emotional (e.g., feelings triggered), and behavioral (everything a person does in a demanding situation) (Heinrichs et al., 2015, p. 5; Kaluza, 2015, pp. 10–13, 2018, pp. 16–17; Lazarus, 1991a, p. 112). The subjective appraisal of the threat character of the stressor forms the relevant and primary measurement, but not whether the threat would objectively be assessed as such (Heinrichs et al., 2015, p. 5). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) recognize that extreme environmental conditions exist, which lead to stress in almost every human being and the subjective evaluation of the environment leads to the assessment of "threat" (p. 19). Captivity (see Section 3.3.1) and torture are considered objectively as situations and experiences that function as potentially traumatic and stress-triggering and represent "universal stressors" (ibid.). Traumatic, adverse, uncontrollable, and unpredictable events are highly stress triggering (Gerrig & Zimbardo, 2018, p. 478). Nevertheless, it seems essential to add that the appraisal of the different stimuli in captivity lead to differing human stress reactions as well as coping strategies, and a pure reduction of the understanding of stress to the environmental component undermines the variability of human responses (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 19 & 82).

Accordingly, Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional stress and coping model is presented to elaborate on the emergence of stress and display the relational process of person and environment.

3.1.2 Transactional model of stress and coping

The stress concept described above is the basis for the transactional model of stress and coping. It is assumed that stress situations regard a reciprocal process between the demands of the situation and the acting person. This understanding is accompanied by the assumption that it is not the objective quality of a stimulus relevant to the stress reaction but the subjective evaluation by the person (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 21). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) center their model of stress and coping on appraisal processes and coping (p. 53). The cognitive appraisal process can be understood as a permanent environment examination to identify potential stimuli affecting ones well-being; coping serves to restore or maintain personal well-being (Christ, 2005, p. 24; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 19). A coping strategy is "[...] a cognitive, emotional and/or behavioral response to

⁸ The thesis intentionally refers to "potentially traumatic" because "[...] highly aversive events that fall outside the range of normal experience are "potentially" traumatic because not everyone experiences them as traumatic" (Bonanno & Gupta, 2009, p. 145).

stress associated with a particular function, e.g., calming down or solving the problem" (Stanisławski, 2019, p. 5).

Cognitive appraisal is divided into three stages: primary appraisal, secondary appraisal, and reappraisal (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 53).

Appraisal process

Primary appraisal evaluates the event as irrelevant, positive, or stressful/dangerous and thus engenders emotions (secondary appraisal engenders emotions as well) (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988, pp. 466–467). Folkman and Lazarus (1988) emphasize that the "relationship between emotion and coping in stressful encounters is bidirectional" (p. 466); thus, each is influencing the other. If the event is assessed as stressful, three possibilities are distinguished: 1) harm/loss refers to damage that the person has already suffered, 2) challenges are occurrences that have the potential of containment and/or growth, 3) threat refers to expected damage or loss and is therefore future-oriented (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 53). Regarding challenges and threats, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) argue that "[...] threat and challenge are not poles of a single continuum; they can occur simultaneously and must be considered as separate, although often related, constructs" (p. 53.). Furthermore, threat and challenge differ in their emotional response. The subjective evaluation of challenges primarily generates positive emotions, whereas threat is afflicted with negative ones (Christ, 2005, p. 24). This can be compared to Selye's distinction between eustress and distress.⁹

Whereas primary appraisal assesses the quality of the event in terms of one's well-being, secondary appraisal analyzes the resources available when primary appraisal assesses stimuli as a challenge, threat, or harm/loss. In other words, it evaluates the options for coping with the stress-related situation. The evaluation of coping options focuses on whether a particular coping option can achieve the desired goal, whether specific coping strategies can be applied, and what potential consequences can result (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, p. 223; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, 35 & 53). One's evaluation of resources focuses on competence, social/peer support, and tangible material resources aiming at readapting and restoring poise in the person-environment relation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 82; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1992, p. 197; Schwarzer & Luszczynska, 2012, p. 31). The evaluation of the consequences occurs in coordination with further internal/external requirements and constraints (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, p. 223; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, 35 & 53). This conception of coping ties in with Bandura's (1977) understanding of

⁹ See Selye, H. (1976). *The Stress of Life*. McGraw-Hill, New York.

outcome expectancy and efficacy expectancy. Outcome expectancy is understood as the assessment of a person of whether certain conduct will conduce a particular result. Whereas efficacy expectancy describes one own's belief about the ability to successfully perform the behavior needed to achieve the outcome (Bandura, 1977, p. 193; Christ, 2005, p. 26).

Even if the designation of primary and secondary appraisal implies a (temporal) hierarchization that suggests that primary appraisal is prioritized, the two evaluations are viewed as intertwined and interdependent. It is essential to clarify that it is a complex interplay between the two and that they do not necessarily run off consciously or sequentially in time. The two processes can also coincide (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 43 & 53–54; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1992, pp. 197–198). As per Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1992), the terms "demand appraisal" referring to primary appraisal and "resource appraisal" for secondary appraisal seem more appropriate to avoid a non-existent and misleading temporal hierarchization of the two processes (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1992, p. 198).

The final form of appraisal that Lazarus and Folkman (1984) adduce is reappraisal. A new evaluation occurs due to new information about the environment, one's reaction, or its consequences. Reappraisals thus take place when there is a change in the person-environment relationship that provides information about whether physiological or psychological integrity is threatened and whether adequate resources are available to cope with these demands (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 38). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) stress that new evaluations do not differ essence-wise from demand and resource appraisal, but rather the dynamic character of the person-environment-transaction is displayed (p. 38). Reappraisals are thus evaluations that occur chronologically after demand and resource appraisals due to changed conditions of the person-environment relationship. In this regard, it should be noted that no objective changes to the situation through active intervention are required, but an inner-psychic confrontation with the situation can reinterpret the subjective threat character (Christ, 2005, p. 26; Kaluza, 2018, p. 46; Krohne, 2017, pp. 11–12; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 38).

Primary and secondary appraisals are not self-contained and separate processes; instead, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) emphasize that "[s]econdary appraisals of coping options and primary appraisals of what is at stake interact with each other in shaping the degree of stress and the strength and quality (or content) of the emotional reaction" (p. 35). Herewith is meant that the initial evaluation of the threat character of the situation can be mitigated in its anticipated strain if the individual's evaluation of the resources turns out to be positive. Finally, both appraisal processes induce the stress reaction and influence the individuals coping behavior to counter it (Christ, 2005, p. 27).

Coping process

If a situation is appraised as stressful and coping efforts are necessary to reduce stress, coping measures are implemented (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, p. 223). As per Lazarus and Folkman (1984), coping is defined as "[...] constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (p. 141). Lazarus and Folkman understand coping as a process influenced by appraisal and the emotions that result from it, thus influencing and changing the reciprocal relation between person and environment (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, pp. 223–224, 1988, p. 467). Inherent to the understanding of coping as a process belong various core characteristics. Among other, context is one core element, which implies that all coping actions and thoughts that a person performs are carried out within a specific context and are directed towards this context (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 142). It can be said that all coping efforts are adapted and directed to the respective contextual conditions. Besides context, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) also emphasize change, in the sense that the processual understanding of coping assumes that change is inherent. Accordingly, personal coping efforts change during a stressful situation. Thus, utilizing different coping efforts is inevitable and depends on the altering person-environment relationship (ibid.). The continuous change and non-static nature of coping are not arbitrary but rather the expression of the development of stress, the changing personenvironment relationship, and the accompanying individual evaluations. The alteration of this relationship is the product of coping efforts aimed at changing the situational circumstances or the emotional meaning (ibid., pp. 142-143). Although, as per Lazarus and Folkman (1984), the source of the variation of this relationship is secondary, it primarily should be brought into the focus that each alteration of this relationship leads to a reappraisal of the circumstances, the meaning for one's well-being, and efforts which can be performed. Cognitive reappraisals thus act as a mediator of the coping process (pp. 142– 143).

Coping efforts divide into problem-focused and emotion-focused coping within the transactional approach. The problem-focused coping approach centers around efforts to change or manage the stressor. Emotion-focused coping describes efforts to regulate emotions generated by a stressful event. The latter is primarily utilized when the subjective assessment shows that no modification or improvement of the situational/environmental conditions is possible (e.g., loss of a beloved person). In situations in which it is assumed, based on the evaluation, that the stressors can be directly dealt with and thus modified, people primarily resort to problem-focused coping (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980, p. 225; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 150; Stephenson et al., 2016, pp. 360–361).

Antecedents and outcomes of the stress process

As per Lazarus and Folkman (1984), various factors exist, so-called antecedents, which affect and influence the appraisal processes (pp. 55–56). In addition to factors influencing the appraisal process, Lazarus and Folkman delineate that the coping process and appraisal generate outcomes. Antecedents are differentiated between environmental and person variables. As person variables that influence the appraisal process, 1) commitments and 2) beliefs are delineated. These variables exert influence in different ways: First, they affect whether a stimulus is relevant to one's well-being. Secondly, they form the understanding of the situation and influence the emotions engendered and coping efforts; thirdly, they provide the fundament to evaluate the results (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 55–56). As per Lazarus and Folkman (1984), commitments voice what is significant to a person and ultimately determine what has meaning for a person. Commitments are motivational structures, such as one's own goals and values, affecting and influencing the subjective meaning of a situation (pp. 55–56). Commitments are said to have a motivating property that influences survival in life-threatening and persistent extreme stress situations or that "forges a will to survive and live" (ibid., p. 61) and thus determines coping efforts (ibid., pp. 61–62). The will to live is frequently understood as essential for survival in extreme situations (e.g., illness, captivity). The configuration of the will to live varies from person to person and dependents on one's prioritized commitment (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 61–62). In summary, commitments express what is essential to the person and shape the foundation of their decisions. The motivational property urges a person to make efforts to change the situation and thus contribute to maintaining hope. However, commitments have a vulnerability component which describes that the stronger one's commitments, "[...] the greater the potential for threat and challenge" (ibid., p. 80).

On the other hand, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) highlight beliefs, generally understood as convictions and expectations (generalizing and situation-specific expectations) of a subject to meet situational demands (Christ, 2005, p. 30; Dörre, 2001, p. 17; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 80). Among others, belief includes internal and external control beliefs, generalized self-efficacy expectations, and self-confidence (Christ, 2005, p. 30; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 65–77). It would go beyond the scope of this paper to outline all these concepts; however, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) designate as essential internal and external control beliefs and existential beliefs to stress theory (p. 80). Observing the impact of beliefs on the appraisal is difficult since they operate on a "tacit level" (ibid.). Beliefs about personal control describe how a person believes the outcomes of a relevant situation to one's well-being can be controlled. In this regard, it is emphasized that this assessment mainly influences appraisal in ambiguous situations. These control beliefs are not merely

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about the environment but also about whether one can control one's own response. The appraisal of the controllability of a situation influences the generation of stress. Thus, if a situation is assessed as controllable, it has a stress-reducing character. Finally, it is stated that the appraisal of the controllability of a situation and one's response affects emotions and coping (ibid., pp. 80–81).

In addition, existential beliefs are designated. By existential belief, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) understand "[...] faith in God, fate, or some natural order in the universe, are general beliefs that enable people to create meaning out of life, even out of damaging experiences, and to maintain hope" (p. 77). Commitments and existential beliefs differ because commitments refer to values, whereas beliefs deal with what a person thinks is true. Commitments furthermore have a "motivational-emotional quality" (Feather, 1975, as cited in Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 77), whereas beliefs are considered "affectively neutral" (ibid.). In short, existential beliefs are not emotional but help regulate generated stress emotions. However, they can involve emotions when commitments to a value, own integrity, or goal are in danger (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 77).

In addition to person variables, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) also discuss environment factors that influence appraisal (see Table 1).

Table 1: Transactional model of stress and coping: Environment factors

Environment antecedents	Definition
Novelty	"An event/situation that the person has not formerly experienced. The degree of novelty is differentiated regarding previous experience. Prior experience can consist of having experienced a alike situation before and information on a situation (reading, hearing, inference).
Predictability	Predictability implies that there are predictable environmental characteristics that can be discerned, discovered, or learned.
Event uncertainty	Probability of an event's occurrence.
Imminence	Imminence refers to the period of anticipation before an event's occurrence.
Duration	Duration of the stress-inducing situation. Duration is closely related to imminence. Only the temporal aspect is differentiated here. Imminence refers to the phase before an event, whereas duration refers to the phase during the incident.
Temporal uncer- tainty	There is certainty about the occurrence of a stressful event, but there is uncertainty about the exact time of occurrence
Ambiguity	When the information necessary for appraisal is unclear or insufficient, we say that the environmental configuration is ambiguous. Ambiguity is thus understood as situations in which information necessary for an appraisal is missing, unclear, or insufficient due to situational equivoque.
Timing of events in relation to the life cycle	Stressful events do not occur in a vacuum, but in the context of the individual's life cycle and in relation to other events, be they distant, recent, or concurrent."

Source: Own representation, data: Lazarus and Folkman (1984, pp. 82-116).

Ultimately, it can be said that person variables lend meaning to a (stressful) event and environment factors have the effectiveness to produce threat. However, due to the complexity, the listed variables are understood in dependence on each other and not isolated; otherwise, they lose their usefulness "as predictors of appraisal" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 114). After all, it is to be stated that both person and situation factors can produce or reduce threat (dual capacity) (ibid.).

By no means is the list of variables exhaustive. However, they were chosen because it is believed that they facilitate further understanding of the thesis and can function as a frame of reference for the analysis and help identify relevant training content by considering relevant aspects of the development of stress regarding captivity survival training.

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Finally, the transactional model of stress and coping considers the process' outcomes. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) formulate outcomes which affect social functioning, morale (psychological well-being), and somatic health (pp. 182–184). A distinction is made between short-term and long-term consequences, which is significant because they do not have to be in harmony (ibid., pp. 183–185). Consequently, it is possible that a stressful situation can be successfully managed in the short term but still cause undesirable/adverse outcomes in the long term (ibid., pp. 182–184).

3.1.3 Classification of coping and coping strategies

The scientific interest in coping is visible in the plethora of research papers that differ in their focus (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004, pp. 746-747). Operationalizing the concept of coping proves to be elusive. Identifying the structure of coping to understand how stress affects human well-being is portrayed in the variety of coping taxonomies (>100) and lower-order categories (coping strategies) (> 400) identified in the literature (Skinner et al., 2003, p. 216). The primary goal of a coping classification/taxonomy is to reduce the multitude of possible coping strategies that represent coping behavior to a parsimonious theoretical construct. The need for such a construct arises primarily from the possibility of formulating any number of coping strategies. For this reason, similar coping strategies from a specific set of possible coping strategies are combined into a superordinate coping dimension through factor analysis, and thus appropriately simplified constructs can be created that depict coping behavior and coping strategies on a hierarchical level (Duhachek & Oakley, 2007, pp. 220–222). As per Skinner et al. (2003), the lack of a unified classification that would allow for intersubjective comprehensibility leads to a massive slowdown of progress within this field of research. In addition, comparisons of study results are hardly possible because the categories/dimensions are study-specific (Skinner et al., 2003, pp. 216-217; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2016, p. 27). A significant challenge is that coping research has produced dichotomies in many classifications (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 148-149; Skinner et al., 2003, p. 226). The most used dichotomy is problem-focused vs. emotion-focused coping, focusing on the coping function (Skinner et al., 2003, p. 226). Coping functions are not equal to coping outcomes/consequences. Functions describe the aspiration of a strategy (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 149). Other such categorizations distinguish between their topological features, engagement vs. disengagement, approach vs. avoidance, or active vs. passive (see Table 2) (Skinner et al., 2003, p. 226; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2016, pp. 32-33). These different distinctions (see Table 2) tend to classify higher-order coping categories by reference to broad, structural distinctions and are based either on single coping functions or their topological features (Lazarus, 1996, pp. 292–293; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2016, p. 33). Despite the common utilization of these dichotomizations and taxonomies, they have become increasingly criticized because coping actions often cannot be assigned exclusively to one category distinctively since individual behavior (e.g., support-seeking) may have multiple functions and features¹⁰ (Lazarus, 1996, pp. 292–293; Skinner et al., 2003, p. 226). Criticisms include that the categories are not "conceptually clear, mutually exclusive, or exhaustive" (Skinner et al., 2003, p. 227). Furthermore, it is emphasized that the dichotomization oversimplifies the discussion on coping (ibid., p. 292). These challenges have led Lazarus (1996) and Skinner et al. (2003), among others, to the conclusion that the distinction based on single functions or topological features is not sufficient for research on coping and suggest not to utilize these distinctions (Lazarus, 1996, pp. 292–293; Skinner et al., 2003, p. 227; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2016, pp. 27–28). The different classifications differ in the number of higher-order categories representing coping strategies. Table 2 provides an overview of prominent taxonomies, differing from 2 to 5 dimensions as higher-order categories.

Table 2: Coping taxonomies: Higher Order Systems Construct Definitions

Authors	Construct Definitions
Two-dimensional models	Problem-focused: Coping aimed at managing the problem causing the stress
Lazarus and Folkman (1984)	Emotion-focused: Coping aimed at regulating emotional responses to the stress
Krohne (1993); Roth & Cohen	Approach: Cognitive and emotional activity oriented toward the source of stress
(1986)	Avoidance: Cognitive and emotional activity oriented away from the source of stress
Brandstadter & Renner (1990)	Assimilation: Transforming circumstances in accordance with preferences
	Helplessness: Adjusting personal preferences to situational constraints
Compas, Connor, Osowiecki, &	Voluntary: Responses to stress that involve volition and conscious effort
Welch (1997)	Involuntary: Responses to stress that are automatized
Three-dimensional models	
Moos & Billings (1982)	Problem-focused: Seeks to modify or eliminate the source of stress
	Emotion-focused: Manage the emotions caused by source of stress
	Appraisal-focused: Involves attempts to define meaning of a stressful situation
Heckhausen & Schulz (1995)	Primary control: Effort to influence objective events
	Secondary control: Efforts to maximize one's fit with the current situation
	Relinquishment of control: Forfeiture of control
E. A. Skinner, Edge, Altman, &	Autonomy: Coping efforts directed at coordinating actions directly within the environment
Sherwood (2003)	Competence: Coping efforts directed at coordinating one's own preferences, flexibly adjusting
	preferences to match available options and situational constraints.
	Others: Coping efforts that coordinate individual's reliance on others with the social resources available in the environment
Four-dimensional models	
Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub	Problem-focused: Coping aimed at directly changing the stressful condition
(1989)	Distraction: Coping aimed at avoiding the stressor by engaging in alternate activities
	Avoidant: Coping aimed at avoiding the stressor by physically or mentally distancing oneself
	Support: Seeking instrumental aid or emotional comfort from others
Five-dimensional models	
Ayers, Sandler, West, & Roosa (1996)	Problem solving: Active efforts aimed directly toward the source of stress, including all behavioral or cognitive efforts directed at instrumentally changing environmental conditions
(1770)	Seeking support: Soliciting emotional comfort, instrumental assistance, or spiritual guidance
	from outside parties
	Avoidance: Attempts to escape stressful conditions by physically or mentally withdrawing from the source of stress
	Distraction: Active attempts to deal with a stressful situation by engaging in alternative, more pleasurable activities
	Cognitive restructuring: Active attempts to change one's view of a stressful situation to view it in a more positive light

Source: Duhachek and Oakley (2007, p. 222).

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion on the development of a structure of coping see Skinner, E. A., Edge, K., Altman, J., & Sherwood, H. (2003). Searching for the structure of coping: A review and critique of category systems for classifying ways of coping. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(2), pp. 216–269.

Although Skinner et al.'s (2003) taxonomy is currently considered "state of the art" (Duhachek & Oakley, 2007, p. 221), the complexity of the taxonomy is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, for the present paper, it was decided to utilize the five-dimensional model by Ayers et al. (1996) (see Table 2 and 3) to categorize coping behaviors because it considers individual coping functions and topological features. Thus, it is assumed that the five-dimensional model allows for adequate categorization. Ayers et al.'s (1996) taxonomy¹¹ is introduced in Table 3. Table 3 displays the higher-order dimensions and designated strategies assigned to these dimensions. The five higher-order dimensions with a total of 11 "theoretically and empirically based" (Ayers et al., 1996, p. 931) coping categories combine both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping (function), as well as topological features such as active and passive (ibid.). Ayers et al. (1996) identified problem-focused strategies, direct emotion-focused strategies, distraction strategies, avoidant strategies, and support-seeking strategies as higher-order dimensions (pp. 928–930).

Table 3: Ayers et al.'s five-dimensional model of coping

Dimension	Problem-focused strategies
Definition	"Reflect cognitive and behavioural efforts at managing or altering the problem causing the distress.
Strategies /categories	Cognitive decision-making refers to all planning or thinking about ways to solve the problem. It includes thinking about choices, future consequences, and ways to solve the problem. It is not simply thinking about the problem but thinking about how to solve it. It involves planning and not executing actions to solve the problem. Direct problem-solving refers to efforts to change the problem situation by changing the self or by changing the environment. It involves what one does, not what one thinks."
Dimension	Direct emotion-focused strategies
Definition	"Reflects efforts to manage the emotional response to a stressful event by focusing directly on the it in an active and constructive fashion.
Strategies /categories	Seeking understanding includes cognitive efforts to find meaning in a stressful situation or understand it better. It involves seeking understanding of the situation and not seeking to put a positive interpretation on the situation.

¹¹ The underlying motivation of Ayers et al. to test the five-dimensional model was to create a coping taxonomy to capture instances of coping from children. However, since the theoretical foundations (emotion-focused and problem-focused coping) derive primarily from research investigating coping during adulthood, there is no problem in using the dimensions, including their definitions for a research project investigating instances of coping of adults.

Positive cognitive restructuring refers to thinking about the situation in a more positive way. It includes thoughts that minimize the problem or the consequences of the problem. Acceptance that one can live with the situation the way it is optimistic thinking and an example of positive cognitive restructuring. Expressing feeling involves the overt expression of feelings either by an action to express feelings, a verbal expression of feelings, or simply an overt release of emotion. It is a solitary activity and does not include discussing feelings with another person. It also does not include inappropriately acting out feelings by threatening or hurting another person."

Dimension	Distraction strategies
Definition	"Usage of other activities or stimulus to distract yourselves from dealing with or thinking about the problem situation.
Strategies	Physical release of emotions includes efforts to work off feelings with physical
/categories	exercise physically, or efforts to relax physically. There needs to be at least a moderate amount of physical exertion involved.
	Distracting actions include efforts to avoid thinking about the problem situation by using distracting stimuli, entertainment, or some distracting activity."
Dimension	Avoidant strategies
Definition	"These strategies attempt to manage emotion by trying to avoid or stop thinking about the problem entirely.
Strategies /categories	Avoidant actions include behavioral efforts to avoid the stressful situation by staying away from it or leaving it.
	Cognitive avoidance refers to efforts to avoid thinking about the problem. It includes fantasy or wishful thinking or imagining that the situation was better. It
	refers to cognitive activity and not behaviors one does to avoid thinking about it."
Dimension	Support-seeking strategies
Definition	"Comprised of problem-focused support and emotion-focused support.
Strategies	Problem-focused support involves using other people as resources to assist in
/categories	seeking solutions to the problem situation and seeking advice or information or
	direct task assistance.
	Emotion-focused support involves other people in listening to feelings or providing understanding to help the person be less upset."

Source: modified after Ayers et al. (1996, pp. 928-930).

The strategies of cognitive decision-making, direct problem-solving, and problem-focused support seeking are assigned to problem-focused coping. In contrast, all other dimensions and strategies function to reduce emotional reactions and manage and regulate the emotional response (emotion-focused coping) (Ayers et al., 1996, p. 931). Furthermore, Ayers et al. (1996) ascribe the topological characteristics active to cognitive decision-making, direct problem-solving, seeking understanding, cognitive restructuring, problem-oriented support, and emotion-oriented support (ibid.). All other strategies are considered passive coping (ibid.). Coping instances that directly address the source of stress are considered active coping (approach), whereas passive coping is characterized by avoiding the stress-producing situation (Ayers et al., 1996, p. 931; Duhachek & Oakley, 2007, p. 222).

3.1.4 Overview: coping and emotion regulation

The relationship between coping and emotion regulation (ER) will be presented in a short excursus. ER and associated strategies, such as situation selection (choosing which situation to engage with), external situation modification, cognitive change (reappraisal), and attentional deployment (distraction) (Gross, 2013, pp. 9–10), are highly relevant for understanding coping in captivity. However, first, a definition of emotions should be introduced, which does not claim to be comprehensive, but instead aims to create a basic understanding.

Emotions are often used synonymously with feeling in everyday life, whereas the psychological understanding distinguishes between the two. In the psychological sense, feeling, e.g., subjective experience/perception is one component of emotions of four in total. In addition to the affective component (feeling), emotions are attributed a physiological (physical reaction), expressive (behavioral), and cognitive (thought/information processing) component (Brandstätter et al., 2018, pp. 168–169; Sticher & Grießig, 2019, p. 40). The origin of emotion lies in internal or external stimuli appraised to be relevant to a person as part of an evaluation process (Gross, 2015, p. 5). However, emotions are not always related to an external situation; hence emotions can be engendered/intensified intentionally/unintentionally by thoughts or by substances such as alcohol. Consequently, emotions can be conditionally decoupled from the current situation or even compensated during a stressful event through thought processes by focusing on, for example, past or future positive situations (Brandstätter et al., 2018, p. 173).

In summary, then, emotions can be understood as a complex pattern comprising different components (Gerrig & Zimbardo, 2008, p. 454):

"Emotions such as anger, amusement, fear, and sadness arise when an individual attends to a situation and appraises it as being immediately relevant to his or her currently active goals. As emotions arise, they typically involve loosely coupled experiential, behavioral, and physiological responses: One

feels, behaves, and mounts whole-body responses." (Gross & Jazaieri, 2014, p. 389)

The fact that people are not helplessly at the mercy of their experienced emotions seems to be a consensus in research and is likely to be noticed by everyone in everyday life since people regulate their emotions constantly (Brandstätter et al., 2018, p. 221). Brandstätter (2018) emphasizes that ER is not only about minimizing negative emotional states but also about regulating positive affective states in certain situations (ibid.). Gross (1998) brought forward the following definition of ER:

"[...] refers to the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions. Emotion regulatory processes may be automatic or controlled, conscious or unconscious." (Gross, 1998, p. 275)

Depending on the goal, emotions can be influenced in various ways; for example, their experienced intensity and expression can be attenuated, maintained, or increased (Brandstätter et al., 2018, p. 222; Gross, 2013, pp. 8–9).

Brandstätter et al. (2018) and Gross (2013) argue that ER and coping are sometimes used synonymously. Both delineate that coping and ER are related but not synonyms. Their argument is based on the fact that coping is primarily aimed at reducing negative emotions or their negative affective experience, that coping lasts longer in spatial terms, and that ER, among other things, also considers the intensification of emotions, depending on the situation (Brandstätter et al., 2018, p. 222; Gross, 2013, pp. 8-9). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) state that coping aims to ameliorate and mitigate negative emotions, so coping can be understood as a type of ER (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, pp. 150–151). Scholars, such as Eisenberg et al. (1997), group coping and ER under self-regulation (Eisenberg et al., 1997, pp. 41-43). Nevertheless, a distinction can be made between emotion-focused and problem-focused coping. Problem-focused coping can be triggered by emotions that are perceived as distressing. Yet, the strategies that fall under problem-focused coping do not count as ER since they pursue the goal of changing the cause of the generated stress (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004, pp. 762-763; Gross, 1998, pp. 275-277). Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) conclude by reiterating that ER strategies proposed by Gross (2013) "can be considered emotion-focused coping because they are elicited in response to the depiction of disturbing, stressful events that the individual is unable to control or change" (p. 763).

3.1.5 Resilience and protective factors

The conceptual understanding of resilience is diverse and inconsistent (Luthar et al., 2000, p. 544). Profoundly, resilience "refers to positive adaptation, or the ability to maintain or regain mental health, despite experiencing adversity" (Herrman et al., 2011, p. 259). Conceptualizations of resilience range from trait-based approaches, e.g., the assumption that resilience is a stable characteristic of the person, to an outcome-based approach, that resilience is the product of adversity that facilitates recovery. More recent streams of research have taken a process-based approach to resilience, understanding resilience as a variable, dynamic and multidimensional process of adaptation (Herrman et al., 2011, pp. 259-260; Luthar et al., 2000, pp. 544-546). Resilience does not imply the absence of difficulty or experienced distress and the absence of long-term psychopathology (Bonanno, 2005, p. 266). Understandings that define resilience as a stable character trait associated with the invulnerability of resilient people were revised (Rönnau-Böse & Fröhlich-Gildhoff, 2020, p. 11). A tabular summary of prominent conceptual attempts of resilience has been compiled by Meredith et al. (2011), covering about 14 pages (see Appendix A Meredith et al. (2011)), thus making visible the dimension of the different conceptions. A detailed discussion of the different conceptions would be misplaced here. Despite the diversity of understandings, two points seem to be identifiable across definitions. On the one hand, many definitions include the assumption that various intrapersonal factors and systems, such as family and social networks, promote resilience; also referred to as protective factors/resilience factors (Herrman et al., 2011, p. 260; Meredith et al., 2011, p. 29). On the other hand, if resilience is understood as a process, there seems to be a consensus that resilience is context-specific and time-specific and thus not equally found in all life domains (Herrman et al., 2011, p. 260). Inherent in the understanding of resilience as a variable and dynamic process of adaptation and development is that resilience develops through the interaction between the environment and the individual, and this is dependent on the mastery experiences made, as well as experiences in general (Rönnau-Böse & Fröhlich-Gildhoff, 2020, p. 18).

In the context of resilience, protective factors describe resources that have a buffer effect against the negative effects of adversity in a stressful/potentially traumatic situation (Bonanno & Gupta, 2009, p. 151; Fröhlich-Gildhoff & Rönnau-Böse, 2019, p. 28).

Protective factors of a person are divided into personal (intrinsic) and social resources. Personal resources, also called resilience factors, are of interest to the present work. The protective effect of personal resources could be proven in empirical studies (Fröhlich-Gildhoff & Rönnau-Böse, 2019, p. 41; Turner et al., 2021). Since this paper focuses on teaching content for captivity survival training, social protective factors, such as family or social networks, are not further considered. However, their importance for recovery from

captivity should not be undermined. Personal protective factors classified as relevant for the following work are hardiness, self-efficacy, coping strategies, coping self-efficacy, and mastery experience. It can be assumed that these concepts are essential for training in general and survival in captivity. In Table 4, hardiness, self-efficacy, mastery, and coping self-efficacy are defined.

Table 4: Personal protective factors

Concept	Definition
Hardiness	Hardiness is understood as a stable personality trait.
	Three general characteristics of hardy persons:
	1. "the belief that they can control or influence the events of their experience,
	2. an ability to feel deeply involved in or committed to the activities of their lives,
	3. the anticipation of change as an exciting challenge to further development" (Kobasa, 1979, p. 3).
Mastery	Refers to a person's belief that they can resolve life's hardships and/or perform effectively in light of stress (situations) (Pearlin et al., 1981, p. 340; Yehuda et al., 2006, p. 385).
Self-efficacy	The belief system of a person "about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives" and exert control over their functioning (Bandura, 1990, p. 128)
	Sources of self-efficacy
	1. "Enactive mastery experience that serve as indicators of capability
	2. Vicarious experiences that alter efficacy beliefs through transmission of competencies and comparison with the attainment of others
	3. Verbal persuasion and allied types of social influences that one possesses certain capabilities
	4. Physiological and affective states from which people partly judge their capableness, strength, and vulnerability to dysfunction" (Bandura, 1997, p. 79).
Coping self- efficacy	"Perceived self-efficacy for coping with challenges or threats" (Chesney et al., 2006, p. 422).

Source: own representation. Sources are in-text.

Another protective factor realm is occupational resources, which can have a moderating effect. In the military, training is considered an occupational resource, and it was shown that confidence in mission preparations positively influenced adaptation to the mission environment and the associated demands (Adler & Castro, 2013, p. 43; Escolas et al., 2013,

p. 116). Despite the continuing disagreement on the extent to which resilience and hardiness can be trained, the fact that they can be influenced by training is undisputed and has been studied and confirmed above all based on training carried out in the military sector (Escolas et al., 2013, p. 116; Krueckel Oliver et al., 2020, pp. 151-152). Self-efficacy is a dynamic construct and a vital aspect and fundament of human agency. The belief that one is capable of controlling a situation and the stress response it elicits empowers people to act and persevere in adversity. If one does not believe in their own capabilities to generate desired effects, endurance and initiating actions to master a situation are less likely (Bandura, 1982, p. 123; Benight & Bandura, 2004, p. 1131). As shown in Table 4, selfefficacy is informed through mastery experience and vicarious experiences forming a sense of and strengthens self-efficacy. Self-efficacy has a buffering effect on stress and has a positive impact on the appraisal of a stress-producing situation, as it is evident that individuals with higher self-efficacy are more likely to appraise events as a challenge instead of a threat/stressful (Benight & Bandura, 2004, p. 1132; Turner et al., 2021, pp. 2-3). Additionally, individuals with higher self-efficacy are shown to be more effective and better at regulating their emotional responses elicited by a stressor. Therefore, it can be stated that individuals with a stronger sense of self-efficacy experience threatening situations to a lesser extent distressing and are more capable of proactively addressing the stressor, leading to a reduction of the physiological and psychological reactions triggered (Benight & Bandura, 2004, p. 1132; Turner et al., 2021, pp. 2–3). Since resilience is context-specific, it seems essential regarding extreme stress, such as that experienced in captivity, to provide individuals at increased risk with the opportunity to undergo training that will provide tools and facilitate the acquisition of knowledge to allow adaptation to the situation and facilitate coping and perseveration by strengthening protective factors such as (coping-)self-efficacy.

3.2 Humanitarian aid and its objectives¹²

The following section attempts to define humanitarian aid and its objectives. However, it is difficult to formulate an absolute definition due to the lack of an accepted sector-wide interpretation. For the present paper, therefore, a working definition is developed which does not claim to be absolute but rather considers relevant aspects for the further understanding of this thesis.

¹² The following chapter is a revised and adapted version of a chapter of my previously written term paper in Module 10 (1) Current Issues of International Security Management: Mandeau, Olivia (2021). Armed conflicts: security aspects and concepts. School of Economics and Law, Berlin.

Despite its global political relevance, both in academic discourse and in public usage, humanitarian aid is still characterized by ambiguity (Henzschel, 2006, p. 3). The current imprecise understanding leaves enormous room for different possibilities of interpretation. Even within the humanitarian sphere, there are frequently highly divergent perspectives "[...] about its task area[s], the dimensions of the humanitarian claim and corresponding philosophies of action" (ibid., p. 2, own translation). In general, humanitarian aid is associated with the readiness of actors to support people in distress and/or to provide aid. The vague understanding of humanitarian aid is not least due to the attribute humanitarian, which is not considered a protected term (see Afghanistan, where the term was used in combination with bombs) (Lieser, 2013, p. 14). The legal foundation for humanitarian aid is IHL, such as the Geneva Conventions (GC) and their Additional Protocols (AP). A lack of definition characterizes these documents, yet various authors refer to existing essential international legal documents, such as the GC, when questions of a uniform definition arise (Henzschel, 2006, p. 10; Lieser, 2013, p. 10). Compared to meticulously defined concepts, such as refugee or human rights, humanitarian remains a "[...] largely imprecise concept" (Henzschel, 2006, p. 10, own translation) in texts and norms relevant to international law (IL). For example, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which has the jurisdiction to interpret IL and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), does not seem to be able to produce a concise definition. Indeed, the ICJ, in its rulings and reasoning, falls back on the understanding of humanitarian aid of the International Red Cross Movement¹³ (ibid.). Despite the lack of a definition, common art. 3 of the GC, which applies in both international armed conflict (IAC) and non-international armed conflict (NIAC)¹⁴, mandates the ICRC or another impartial HAO to offer humanitarian assistance (Alff-Pereira, 2010, p. 9). Within the humanitarian community, a broad consensus exists that the actions of HAO are linked to minimum requirements and humanitarian principles; thus, not every philanthropic effort can fall under the designation of HA (Henzschel, 2006, pp. 11-12).

Characteristic of humanitarian aid organizations that have signed the *Code of Conduct for* the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) in Disaster Relief (CoC) is the commitment to the humanitarian imperative and the four basic humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, independence, and impartiality¹⁵, which are understood as constitutive for HA and thus form the normative framework for action. From the humanitarian imperative, the foundation of HA

¹³ See ICJ Reports 1986, 14 [98]: Case concerning military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua / Nicaragua v. the United States of America

¹⁴ For definitions of international and non-international armed conflicts, see Geneva Academy. (2017). Classification of armed conflicts [Online] Available from: https://www.rulac.org/classification, [last accessed 2022/03/31].

¹⁵ For definitions see UNOCHA. (2017). What are Humanitarian Principles? Policy and Development Branch, Geneva.

is clear: a universal ethos that postulates equal rights for all people based on their membership in humanity. From this ethical principle derives the right of every human being to a dignified level of existence. Moreover, preceding, and inherent to the humanitarian imperative is the principle of humanity - alleviating human suffering and saving lives which has been and continues to be understood as constitutive for HAOs. The humanitarian imperative and the principle of humanity are thus recognized as the overarching objective and foundation of humanitarian aid (Alff-Pereira, 2010, pp. 11–13).

Principled humanitarian aid is thus understood to be a temporary reactive action that intervenes in (domestic) events with the clear objective of supporting people in need and alleviating human suffering (Henzschel, 2006, pp. 11–12). As it is understood in this paper, humanitarian aid is, as Henzschel (2006) and Lieser (2013) indicate, more than meeting the logistical challenges of transporting needed resources from one place to another at a given time (Henzschel, 2006, pp. 13–14; Lieser, 2013, pp. 11–13). Instead, the positioning of HA is understood as a "multi-layered field of action and policy" (Henzschel, 2006, pp. 13–14, own translation). Humanitarian aid accordingly focuses on people whose lives are threatened and recognizes that this must be done in a principled way. Thus, for the understanding of humanitarian aid, humanitarian principles guide action and provide the normative framework.

3.3 Threats and risks to humanitarian actors on deployment: focusing on captivity¹⁶

The following sections will outline risks and threats to humanitarian actors focusing on captivity. Subsequently, captivity will be defined by introducing its various forms relevant to humanitarian aid. Then, the stages of captivity will be elaborated on. This is followed by coping with and adaptation to captivity, chiefly drawing on the experiences of prisoners of war (POW).

As a result of HAO's objectives, HAWs inevitably work in settings with increased risks and threats affecting the organization as a whole and the individuals working under its umbrella (Sarazen, 2020, p. 183). The concept of risk (risk = likelihood x impact) is not unique to the humanitarian sector. It describes the probability of a threat occurring and the impact/severity of a potentially harmful event (Metcalfe et al., 2011, p. 2; OECD, 2011, p. 20; Stoddard, 2016, p. 8). A threat is understood as "[a]ny safety- or security-related or other form of challenge to the organisation, its staff, assets, reputation or programme that

¹⁶ The following chapter is a revised and adapted version of a chapter of my previously written term paper in Module 10 (1) Current Issues of International Security Management: Mandeau, Olivia (2021). Armed conflicts: security aspects and concepts. School of Economics and Law, Berlin.

exists in the context where the organisation operates" (Bickley, 2017, p. 73). The prevailing risks which come along with the complex operational environments of HAO are diverse and (often) intertwined. As per Metcalfe et al. (2011), it is common within humanitarian SRM to focus on and prioritize the potential risks affecting humans, e.g., the affected population and HAW. Nonetheless, drawing a holistic picture of the prevalent risks seems vital (p. 2). The different risks can be clustered into three interrelating categories a) contextual risk, b) programmatic risks, and c) institutional risks (see Figure 1). These categories are designated as the "Copenhagen Circles" (Metcalfe et al., 2011, p. 2; OECD, 2011, p. 20).

Contextual risk Institutional risk Risk of state failure, Programmatic risk Risks to the aid return to conflict. Risk of failure to provider (security, development failure achieve programme fiduciary failure, and humanitarian aims and objectives. reputational loss, crisis. Factors over Risk of causing harm domestic political which humanitarian through intervention. damage etc.). actors have little control.

Figure 1: Copenhagen Circles: Categories of risks

Source: Metcalfe et al. (2011, p. 2).

Due to the scope of this paper and its focus on captivity, only limited attention is given to the first two categories. The first category, 'contextual risks,' refers to the broader context of operations mainly associated with social and political risks (Metcalfe et al., 2011, p. 2; OECD, 2012, p. 25). The second category, 'programmatic risk,' can be divided into two subcategories "[...]the risk of failing to achieve programme objectives, and the potential to cause harm to others" (Metcalfe et al., 2011, pp. 2–3). The final category, 'institutional risk', relates to the consequences affecting the implementing (I)NGO and its personnel. Various risks are subsumed under 'institutional risk,' referring to risks internal to the organization, potentially negatively impacting its operations, staff, and stakeholders. One of the most prominent risks is operational security risks – violence against HAWs (OECD, 2012, p. 27).

Various initiatives, such as the AWSD, a project of Humanitarian Outcomes, which documents attacks against HAWs since 1997, or Insecurity Insight with its project Aid in Danger, all pursue providing evidence-based data on attacks against HAWs and facilities.

For example, by systematically documenting major attacks (killed, kidnapped, wounded requiring immediate medical care) on HAW by AWSD, it has been possible to show that violent attacks increased in absolute numbers between 1997-2020 (see Figure 2) (AWSD, 2021a; ICRC, 2015b; Insecurity Insight, 2021b). In addition, the study "*Providing aid in insecure environments: 2009 Updates*" by the Humanitarian Policy Group noted a relative increase – attacks per number of deployed field staff – of 61% between 2006-2009, with a sharp surge of kidnappings (Stoddard et al., 2009, p. 1).¹⁷

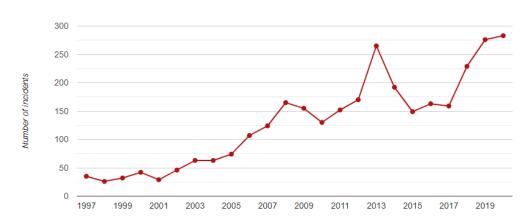


Figure 2: Total number of incidents between 1997-2020

Source: AWSD (2022b).

The widespread perception of increased risk is prone to several difficulties. The absolute numbers documented (see Figure 2) indicate an increase in major attacks and negative impacts on HAWs; however, determining a reliable incident rate for violence against HAWs by conferring the collected data on incident prevalence against the assumed total number of humanitarians operating in the project countries, has proved elusive¹⁸ (Stoddard et al., 2006, p. 7).

With regard to rising insecurity, different narratives exist in the humanitarian community. For further insights, see Collinson, S., & Elhawary, S. (2012). *Humanitarian Space: A Review of Trends and Issues* (HPG Report No. 32). London. Overseas Development Institute; Guidero, A. (2020). Humanitarian (in)security: risk management in complex settings. Disasters, n/a(n/a); Stoddard, A., Harmer, A., & DiDomenico A. (2009). *Providing aid in insecure environments: 2009 Updates*.

¹⁸ For detailed elaborations on identified difficulties on determining a reliable incident rate see Stoddard, A., Harmer, A., & Haver, K. (2006). Providing aid in insecure environments: Trends in policy and operations. Overseas Development Institute.

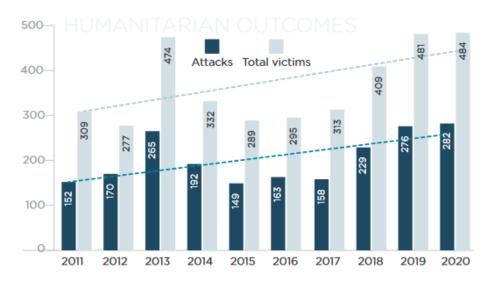


Figure 3: Major security incidents affecting aid workers, 2011-2020

Source: Stoddard et al. (2021b, p. 4).

After 2013, 2020 marks an all-time high in violent attacks (absolute numbers) against HAWs. In 2019, 276 verified major incidents were counted affecting 481 persons, most affected humanitarians constituting local staff (Stoddard et al., 2021a, p. 4, 2021b, p. 4). Although the COVID-19 pandemic raging in 2020 impacted humanitarian's ability to operate, which led to the prediction of a decrease in attacks due to travel constraints, slightly more attacks (282) have been registered, impacting 484 persons (see Figure 3), of which 117 perished (Humanitarian Outcomes, 2021b, p. 1; Stoddard et al., 2021b, pp. 2–4). National HAWs pay the brunt and price of violent attacks against humanitarians. The proportion of affected national staff increased to 95% in 2020 from 85% in 2016. A possible explanation for the increase could be travel restrictions for international HAWs due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Stoddard et al., 2021b, p. 4). Countries of deployment vary in their perilousness; violence against HAWs was carried out in 41 countries in 2020, with the vast majority concentrated in high-incidence contexts such as South Sudan (61 attacks), Syria (44), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (20), Central African Republic (CAR) (17) and Mali (17) (Stoddard et al., 2021b, p. 5).

Kidnappings are considered major attacks among bodily assault, shooting, aerial bombardments, and explosives. Figure 4 displays the trends in tactics/forms of attacks between 1997-2020 recorded by AWSD.

Bodily assault Explosives Kidnapping - Shooting Aerial bombardment 80 Number of incidents 60 40 20 2001 2003 2005 2007 2009 2011 2017 2019 1997

Figure 4: Trends in tactics of attacks against humanitarian aid workers

Source: AWSD (2021b).

Egeland et al. (2011) identify in their study "To stay and Deliver – Good Practice for Humanitarians in Complex Security Environment" kidnappings as the swiftest increasing type of attack against HAWs between 2005-2010 (Egeland et al., 2011, p. 11). However, accurate trend analysis and data on global kidnapping trends in general and within the humanitarian arena prove difficult due to insufficient documentation, non-uniform definitions, and secrecy leading to un-sourced statistics of kidnappings (Harmer et al., 2013, p. 4). When concentrating on available data within the humanitarian realm, including UN and ICRC staff, Harmer et al. (2013) conclude:

"Not only have kidnappings increased in absolute numbers and as a proportion of overall attacks on aid workers, but also the average global rates of kidnapping among the field population of aid worker have risen by 28 per cent in the past three years compared to the prior period." (Harmer et al., 2013, p. 4)

The aggregated kidnapping incident data between 1997-2013, acquired 372 kidnapping incidents, show that 14% were lethal and 86% percent of the affected survived (ibid.). The vast majority were freed due to successful negotiation, with a minor percentage being freed by rescue missions carried out by police or military actors (ibid.). As indicated above, national HAWs are paying a high price and are highly vulnerable to attacks; none-theless, Harmer et al. (2013) state: "[a]s with attacks generally, the kidnapping rates for international aid workers (who number far fewer in the field) are a good deal higher than for national staff" (p. 5).

Turning to more recent data on kidnappings, the AWSD recorded 60 kidnapping incidents affecting 125 persons referring to people who have been held for more than 24 hours, survived, or whose status was unknown in 2020. Persons who have been killed

while kidnapped are counted as killed (Humanitarian Outcomes, 2021a, p. 10, 2022). As Figure 5 displays, kidnappings remain a significant threat to HAWs and persist among shootings, and assault to the most prevalent type of major attacks (Stoddard et al., 2021b, p. 6). The continuous upwards trend over the past years, after a decrease between 2015-2017, can be seen in Figure 2-4.

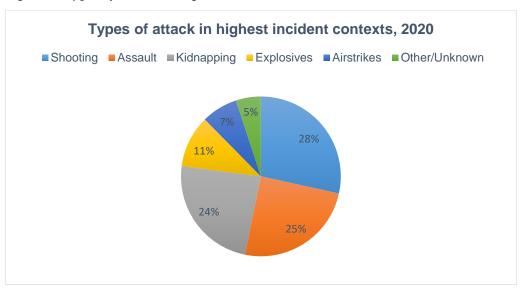


Figure 5: Types of attack in highest incident contexts, 2020

Source: Own figure, data: Stoddard et al. (2021b, p. 6).

The project Aid in Danger by Insecurity Insight has recorded 66 kidnapping incidents in 2020 in 15 countries, affecting 188 persons. National HAWs constitute the vast majority of the abductees (Insecurity Insight, 2021a, p. 1, 2021c, pp. 1–3). Whereas the AWSD considers under kidnapping persons held more than 24 and survived or their location is unknown, Insecurity Insight includes those who perished in captivity under "kidnapped." Furthermore, Insecurity Insight distinguishes within the category "kidnapped" between those who have been taken and demands for release have been made (kidnapped) and persons who have gone missing/disappeared, referring to persons who have been taken and no channels of communication for release negotiations have been opened (Insecurity Insight, n.d.). As a further differentiation, Insecurity Insights collects data on arrests, referring to persons held by state authorities or non-state actors officiating as a government (ibid.). In 2020 Insecurity Insight documented arrests affecting 97 persons (Insecurity Insight, 2021a, p. 1). Based on the differentiated definitions in the Codebook, Insecurity Insights collects and documents further data on kidnapping incidents which allows a more detailed picture of the incidents and persons affected by kidnappings. For example, for the year 2020, it was found that most kidnapping incidents involved one HAW or a small group of 3 persons being taken together. According to Insecurity Insight's statistics, 18 HAWs were killed in captivity (16 national and two international HAWs) in Somalia, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Yemen, all of whom were male. Furthermore, data show that approximately four times as many men as women were kidnapped. At the time of the report's release from Insecurity Insight, information on 64 abducted persons and their whereabouts/perpetrators were not available, and therefore they fall into the subcategory "missing/disappeared." Figure 6 displays the status, killed, released, or missing/unknown of kidnapped HAWs in 2020 in relation to one another in contexts where five or more humanitarians have been kidnapped. According to Insecurity Insight, most abductees were released after several days in 2020 (Insecurity Insight, 2021c, pp. 2–3).

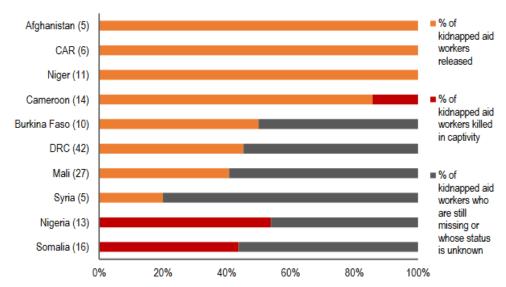


Figure 6: Status of kidnapped aid workers in 2020

Source: Insecurity Insight (2021c, p. 2).

This continuity, which is part of the reality of HAOs, is forcing HAOs to develop and determine a practical SRM framework (see Section 3.4) that reduces the impact of the prevailing risks/threats to save its staff's lives. Thus, making sure the beneficiary population's access to aid remains in place since often, INGOs respond to major attacks by pulling out their staff and putting their operations on hold, leading to minimized access of the population in need to (life-saving) aid (Fast, 2014, pp. 179–180).

3.3.1 Defining captivity

The preceding section outlined the risk to HAWs of being kidnapped. The following defines captivity by introducing its various forms relevant to humanitarian aid.

The subsequent section does not aim to provide legal definitions of kidnappings, abductions, or any other form of coercive holding of an individual against their will. Legal definitions differ depending on the national context (Morewitz, 2019, pp. 138–143). Since this thesis focuses on the survival of such an ordeal and useful training content, a legal definition is of minor importance. Instead, different forms of being held captive will be outlined to formulate a working definition, which considers relevant aspects for the further understanding of the present paper but does not claim to be absolute.

The existence of individuals being taken captive dates back to the "[...] dawn of civilization" (Morewitz, 2019, p. vii). People were taken into captivity during ancient Roman and Greek wars and enslaved. However, terminology to describe the phenomenon referring to being removed or seized by force to an (unknown) location differs depending on the characteristics of the incident (Schmid, 2020, pp. 757–758). For example, the term kidnapping – dates back to the 17th century and is composed of kid (child) and nap (nab), referring to snatching. Kidnapping, thus, historically refers to the abduction of children for various purposes, such as forced labor in American colonies (Heard, 2015, p. 1; Morewitz, 2019, p. vii).

The project *Creating common NGO Security Terminology: A Comparative study* by the Security Management Initiative (SMI) has analyzed relevant security terminology of different HAO, intending to create a shared vocabulary for the sector. The various forms of confinement, such as detention, abduction, kidnapping, hostage situation, and arrest, were considered. Based on the identified definitions of different HAO, SMI proposed terminologies that are drawn upon for the present paper to create an overview and working definition where the various forms of being held captive are subsumed under the term captivity. Each term will be briefly introduced in Table 5 to develop a shared understanding.

Table 5: Forms of captivity

Abduction	Kidnapping ¹⁹	Hostage-situa- tion	Detention	Arrest
"A person or group is forcibly taken against his/her/their will illegally but no demands are made. The abductors may intend to cause harm or force the abductees to do something for their benefit.	A situation where a person or group is taken and then threatened with harm with the aim of coercing money, goods, or services from either the individuals or those associated with them (including employers, friends, relatives) in exchange for the safe release of those kidnapped.	A person or group is held with his/her/their safety and subsequent release dependent on the fulfillment of certain conditions (usually political goals) defined by the captors.	A person or group is held against his/her/their will by another individual or group which does not intend to harm the detainee(s) and has not set any clear precondition for release.	The seizure of a person whether or not by physical force by someone acting under legal authority of the state body or officials (police, secret services, etc.) in connection with a crime or offence (which may or may not have actually be committed by the seized individual) and where the person is not free to leave."

Source: Own representation, data: Dick (2010, pp. 17-20).

The different scenarios of being taken/held captive illegally share that a person is being forcibly taken away/seized/sieged against their will. The difference between hostage-taking, kidnapping, and abductions manifest, among other things, in the motivation of the perpetrator's demands for the release or the intended "use" of the affected person, such as forced labor or political reasons (HPN, 2010, p. 226). The term "arrest" refers to official/state actors imprisoning a person allegedly having committed a crime under the respective law (Dick, 2010, pp. 17–20). Even though an official actor conducts the arrest, it can be extra-legal where the respective person is imprisoned without an arrest warrant or disappears while the responsible actor denies their holding, leading to no indication of the whereabouts of the affected person (HPN, 2010, pp. 225–227). Regardless of the nuances that distinguish these forms of captivity, they share the commonality that the individuals involved are deprived of their freedom. The length of confinement can last from

¹⁹ For an in-depth analysis and classification of different types of kidnappings see: Concannon, D. M. (2013). Kidnapping: An Investigator's Guide (2nd ed.). Elsevier insights. Elsevier Science, Burlington.

a few seconds (express-kidnapping) to years (Bickley, 2014, p. 151), and the conditions in captivity differ and vary from "[...]polite pressure to a life threat" (HPN, 2010, p. 225).

This paper subsumes the different types of deprivation of liberty under the term captivity since the motivation of the perpetrators and potential demands for the release of the person affected are of minor importance²⁰. The focus lies on surviving the coercive and potentially violent conditions of being held captive to identify teaching content. Hence, captivity is understood as a situation in which a person is held against their will, thereby depriving them of their liberty. The different terms will be used interchangeably in this paper since they all share the coercive deprivation of liberty, leading to a loss of self-determination and control (Busuttil, 2008, p. 128). It seems vital to mention that extra-legal arrests by governments are included in the working definition of this thesis. Whereas prison sentences imposed for a crime committed by an independent court and in accordance with Article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) - the right to a fair trial - are not considered.

3.3.2 Stages of captivity

The forcible taking of an individual, as described in Section 3.3.1, is often divided into stages varying from 3 – 5 phases, depending on how holistically the researcher/institution looks at captivity scenarios. For example, Ofstad (2017) defines four phases: 1) assault phase, 2) transportation phase, 3) captivity phase, and 4) release phase (p. 16). On the other hand, Busch (2016) adds the planning phase. With the inclusion of the planning stage Busch (2016) aims at creating awareness, among people with an increased risk of being kidnapped, of prevention and preparation so that, at best, a capture can be prevented, and the risk can be mitigated (p. xxiii). In addition to the five phases outlined, it seems vital to mention that the actual incident is resolved once a release is secured, an armed rescue mission is successfully conducted or escaping succeeded. However, the aftermath of being confined - reintegrating into life and adapting to post-captivity life poses another chapter (Hunter, 1993, p. 299; Segal et al., 1976, pp. 598–604; Stein et al., 2015, p. 119). Due to the knowledge that captivity presents mental and physical stresses (see Section 3.3.3) and returning home after such an ordeal presents its own challenges (Busuttil, 2008, pp. 132–134), a sixth phase is added to this thesis - reintegration/coming

The motivation is not relevant for the present work since it deals with surviving captivity. Nevertheless, the motivation of the kidnappers is highly relevant for other areas, such as successful negotiations. Here, it can be assumed that the motivation of the perpetrators is enormously relevant since it could presumably be deduced from this whether a negotiation is sought or not. Kocak empirically investigated the probability of hostages being killed depending on common responses of governments, see Kocak, M. (2007). Probability of Hostage Fatality in Hostage-Taking Terrorism: Negotiation Option and Characteristics of Negotiators. In: O. Nikbay & S. Hancerli (Eds.), NATO science for peace and security series. E, Human and societal dynamics: v. 21. Understanding and responding to the terrorism phenomenon: A multi-dimensional perspective (pp. 180–195). IOS Press in cooperation with NATO Public Diplomacy Division, Amsterdam, Oxford.

home. The six phases of captivity will be outlined to create a frame of reference for the analysis (Chapter 5).

Before presenting the phases of captivity chronologically, it seems necessary to point out that they can vary in their form depending on the case. This is because captivity experiences are individual and unique. Several researchers, including Ursano et al. (1996), in their research on POWs, have already elaborated in detail that the experiences of POWs and hostages differ in their forms and that the "one" identical experience does not exist (Hunter, 1988, p. 157; Stein et al., 2015, p. 116; Ursano et al., 1996, p. 444). Nevertheless, it is possible to generalize different phases and components of a captivity scenario; the execution/conduct differs depending on the case (Brandner & Michel, 2019, p. 208).

1. Planning and surveillance

The planning phase poses the first step in a captivity scenario. The intensity of planning is dependent on the perpetrators. Some attacks are neatly planned through where perpetrators invested a decent amount of time, and others are not. Opportunistic kidnappings are carried out as well. As per Busch (2016), the intensity of planning "[...] depends on their [captors] abilities and experience" (p. 98). It is widely acknowledged that inexperienced hostage-takers, such as opportunistic abductors, pose a more significant threat and are more dangerous than prepared perpetrators since their emotional arousal is more likely to guide their behavior (Busch, 2016, p. 98; Rahe, 2007, p. 388) (ibid.).

2. Attack phase/snatch

The second phase is the conduct of the attack/snatch, where the target is captured. The attack stage is considered the most dangerous situation of captivity due to the high stress level on both sides. The perpetrators will most likely experience an adrenaline rush and recognize that they have to use the surprise effect and shock of capture wisely to overpower the person affected (Busch, 2016, p. 100; Gasch, 2011, p. 108; Ofstad, 2017, p. 52). The tension, dynamic, and the pressure to succeed (perpetrator perspective) in this very situation can lead to an increase in propensity to violence and coercion to subjugate and gain control over the person, but since these scenarios are unique, other scenarios are possible as well (Busch, 2016, p. 100; Morewitz, 2019, p. 138). The surprise attack might lead to an incapacity to act on the part of the affected person. As per Gasch (2011), "[...] [e]xtreme stress and shock determine the individual and automatic behavioral preference of the particular victim at that moment" (p. 109, own translation). The courses of actions

of persons can be assigned to three categories, which are carried out instinctively/spontaneously and according to preference: flight, fight, or freeze. The first two options are classified as dangerous and potentially lethal because of the probable increased propensity to violence due to the pressure to succeed in abducting the target (Busch, 2016, p. 100; Gasch, 2011, p. 109; Rahe, 2007, p. 388).

3. Transport/re-transport

The transport phase follows immediately after the attack and aims to bring the affected person to a first holding facility. In this phase, too, it is impossible to predict precisely how it will be carried out (Busch, 2016, p. 109; Ofstad, 2017, p. 68). Depending on the scenario, kidnapped persons can be transported, e.g., via car, plane or on foot. A sub-stage of transport is the re-transport stage. Persons who have been abducted, especially by non-state armed groups and criminals, can assume that they will be re-transported from one hideout to the next. Reasons for re-transporting can vary, ranging from the assumption that actors who want to instigate a rescue are getting too close to the need to move the person because it was only temporary holding facility (Busch, 2016, p. 111).

4. Confinement

This stage represents the holding stage. After transportation, individuals are moved to a pre-determined location. As already outlined in the section on transport, the holding facility may be changed during captivity. The conditions of captivity vary from case to case and are

"[...] depending upon the time in history at which the incident occurred, the culture of the captor, the duration of captivity, its harshness, and the support received from others, both while in captivity as well as upon return." (Hunter, 1988, p. 157)

The configuration of the captivity experiences differs due to several factors, such as being held in isolation/with other people, deprivation, spacial density, inflicted violence, torture, immobilization, interrogations, gloom/brightness (Gasch, 2011, p. 109; Ursano et al., 1996, p. 444). The initial attempt to orient oneself depends on the conditions and harshness of the environment. Realizing the situation and its characteristic features of objectively uncontrollability and loss of self-determination will most likely trigger anxiety and fear (of death) (Gasch, 2011, p. 109).

5. Release, armed rescue, escape

This phase describes the resolution of the incident but is by no means the end of this experience. A new chapter opens once the captivity ends (see Aftermath/ Post-incident/ Re-integration/Recovery) (Ursano et al., 1996, p. 444). The resolution of a captivity situation needs to be distinguished between voluntary release and involuntary release (captors' perspective), either through rescue or escape. On the one hand, the release follows, for example, in the case of a ransom kidnapping, once negotiations and payment have been completed. Since the kidnappers' motivations are diversified, the reason for a release can vary. On the other hand, escape may be an option and may be planned during confinement and refers to the self-extraction of the affected person (Busch, 2016, p. 261). Finally, an armed rescue mission represents another possible scenario for ending captivity. Rescue missions are a delicate endeavor for all persons involved, usually carried out by special operation forces (SOF) to extract a captured person alive (Busch, 2016, p. 283; Gasch, 2011, p. 109). A rescue operation represents an additional risk for the captive. As described above, there is an increased potential for arousal during attack phases and pressure to succeed, which leads to an adrenaline rush. In addition, self-protection of the executing SOFs plays an instrumental role; the confined person is potentially perceived as a threat. These facts make emotional control and behavioral control vitally crucial so that the person to be rescued does not pose an additional risk. Emotional control during the attack phase is as decisive as during a potential rescue attempt (Busch, 2016, p. 283; Gasch, 2011, p. 111). The actual release phase often leads to confusion, disbelief, fear, and skepticism because of uncertainty, unpredictability, and a perceived sudden onset (Busch, 2016, p. 290).

6. Aftermath/post-incident/re-integration/recovery

Promptly after the termination of confinement, the individual often undergoes medical examinations, (hot) debriefings by law enforcement agencies and can contact their family. The shift between captivity and being free can be overwhelming and stressful (Hunter, 1993, p. 302). However, the chapter not only refers to the immediate post-release phase but also describes the time after a person is released from captivity. According to Ursano et al. (1996) and others, this phase, also called re-integration and recovery, (can) last a lifetime and is characterized by unique challenges and stresses and potentially physical and psychological long-term consequences (Busuttil, 2008, pp. 132–133; Speckhard et al., 2005, p. 19; Stein et al., 2015, pp. 119–120; Ursano et al., 1996, pp. 444–445). This stage is of enormous importance for the reintegration, adjustment, and long-term post captivity recovery of the affected persons (see Speckhard et al., 2005). Due to the focus of this thesis

this stage is only considered to a limited extend and will not be discussed further at this point²¹.

3.3.3 Coping with, adaptation to, and sequel of captivity

The experiences of people who have survived captivity have been analyzed in the field of POW (World War II, Vietnam War, and Korean War, Israeli- Egypt) and thus allow generalized conclusions to be drawn about the specific stresses of captivity, its situational circumstances, and applied coping behavior even though each experience is unique (Alexander & Klein, 2009, pp. 17–20, 2010, pp. 177–181; Deaton et al., 1977, pp. 245–255; Hunter, 1993, pp. 297–302; King et al., 2011, pp. 412–416; Pérez & Bahamon, 1999, pp. 98–105; Rahe, 2007, pp. 388–392; Segal et al., 1976, pp. 604–606; Strentz, 2018, pp. 319–324; Ursano & Rundell, 1995, pp. 433–439; Wood & Sexton, 1997, pp. 201–204). As Mullins and McMains (2020) state, data on civilian hostage conduct is scarce and limited (p. 511); therefore, this chapter draws heavily upon the body of literature on the captivity experiences of POWs, which has been researched in-depth (ibid.). It is believed that specific stressors of the POW experience and those of the interview partners of this thesis are partially comparable since the underlying circumstances are alike, even though they occurred at different times, in different contexts and the legal positions differ (combat vs. civilian).

Captivity is understood as a situation "[...]in which an individual is subjected to the control and will of another person or entity and surrenders²² power, autonomy, and independence" (Mohandie, 2002, p. 4). Based on studies of the POW experience, captivity "[...]is one of the most severe, enduring, and multifaceted of traumatic experiences" (King et al., 2011, p. 412). The situational circumstances of captivity are shrouded in coercive control, uncertainty, and unpredictability (Herman, 2015, p. 74). Both POWs and captured civilians can be subjected to solitary confinement, sensory deprivation, nutritional deprivation, immobilized for long periods by chains or handcuffs, forced to endure the most adverse hygienic conditions, and subjected to arbitrary, humiliating, and deliberate violence (Busuttil, 2008, p. 128; Neria et al., 1998, pp. 174–175). Captivity is characterized by a concatenation of extreme environmental man-made conditions that are qualitatively different from usual, everyday stressors and place "out-of-the-ordinary" (Kahana et al.,

²¹ For a detailed discussion see Aebischer Perone, S., Althaus, F., Chappuis, F., Aguirre Zimerman, N., Martinez, E., & Regel, S. (2020). Psychological support post-release of humanitarian workers taken hostage: the experience of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). British Journal of Guidance & Counselling, 48(3), 360–373; Busch, L. (2016). Taken Hostage Stories and Strategies: What Families, Employers, and Governments Should Do. Xlibris US, s.l.; Rahe, R. H. (2007). Recovery from captivity. In: G. Fink (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Stress (2nd ed., pp. 392–396). Elsevier Science; Academic Press, Amsterdam, Boston; Speckhard, A., Tarabrina, N., Krasnov, V., & Mufel, N. (2005). Posttraumatic and Acute Stress Responses in Hostages Held by Suicide Terrorists in the Takeover of a Moscow Theater. Traumatology, 11(1), 3–21.

²² The individual is **forced** to surrender power, autonomy, and independence.

1988, p. 58) adaptive demands on individuals to survive adversity (Herman, 2015, p. 74; Kahana et al., 1988, p. 58). As per Ursano and Rundell (1995), the stresses of captivity can be divided into physical and psychological stresses (Ursano & Rundell, 1995, p. 435).

Based on his research on hostage-taking and POWs, Rahe (2007) identified six stages of adaptation to captivity: 1) startle/disorientation (few seconds to minutes), 2) disbelief (minutes to hours), 3) hypervigilance (few hours to a few days), 4) resistance/compliance (several days to several weeks), 5) depression (persists several weeks to months), and 6) eventual acceptance (can last several months to years). The duration of the individual phases extends chronologically from the first to the last phase (Rahe, 2007, p. 388). Startle and disorientation are primarily initial reactions to capture (see Section 3.3.2). The development of this phase depends on situational conditions. However, the "[...] abrupt transition from life as usual to sudden, often brutal, subjugation" (ibid.) is a challenge, and rapid adaptation/assimilation is considered impossible. Characteristic is a sense of disorientation and startle/panic. Due to the short temporal dimension of this phase, as it shows relevance mainly during the capture, successful coping is difficult (ibid.). As per Rahe (2007), the focus is to regain orientation and control over the engendered emotions, such as anxiety (p. 388). The subsequent phase is characterized by disbelief. Coping in this phase is often characterized by a hope that the situation will soon be resolved, and conditions will improve. Due to the deprivation of freedom and the associated limited options for coping, those affected usually turn their attention inward (ibid., pp. 388–389). Disbelief is followed by hypervigilance. This phase is characterized by extreme vigilance, which most of those affected convert into orientation endeavors. Rahe (2007) adds that orientation does not begin in this phase but is perfected here as "unexpected talents" (p. 389) are released. Orientation behavior commences shortly after the point of capture by focusing, for example, on the transport route and time tracking. Once in a holding facility, orientation most likely concentrates on grasping a 24h rhythm based on external circumstances that allow conclusions about time, assessment of the environment in detail, and implementation of a structure in the immediate environment (ibid.). The fourth phase begins when the hostage-takers want to force the person to cooperate. Depending on the situational circumstances and the captors, coercive interrogations, violence, and torture may occur (not reserved for this phase). Here, the coping strategies vary greatly and can be divided into compliance and resistance behavior. Whether the person gives up resistance depends on the harshness of the violence and torture applied and the person's hardiness - however, any person can be forced to relinquish when a certain level of intensity and brutality is reached. However, those who have undergone explicit training in resistance to interrogation are likely to resist longer than untrained individuals, e.g., SERE (ibid.). In terms of coping behaviors and adverse and violent conditions, Rahe (2007) argues that physical training is important because "[...] flexibility exercises minimize the

risk of joint dislocations and bone fractures from ensuing torture sessions" (p. 389). In addition to this very pragmatic view of the added value of physical exercise, it also reduces stress and promotes sleep. When exposed to coercion, communication with other captives is considered one of the most important coping strategies - it reinforces the feeling of belonging to a group, and peers function as a support network (Rahe, 2007, pp. 389-390). The fifth phase - depression - can last for weeks to months and varies in symptomology. It is assumed that this phase begins as soon as affected persons realize and reflect on what they have lost; the focus is not only on the loss of freedom but on everything that makes life worth living. It should be explicitly pointed out that imprisonment can be accompanied by the perception that one's own future is lost. The constant uncertainty about one's fate, length of confinement, and other aspects foster depressive symptoms (ibid.). If available, one of the most effective coping strategies is communication and a support network (McMains & Mullins, 2015, p. 519; Rahe, 2007, p. 389; Ursano & Rundell, 1995, p. 444). In addition, skills used for distraction include withdrawal, imagination, and humor (Rahe, 2007, p. 390). The final phase of eventual acceptance can last for years, depending on the length of captivity. The beginning of this phase is characterized by a change in one's convictions - the hitherto inner resistance to the idea of extended captivity is replaced by the view that "[...] captives must make a more productive use of their time than waiting for rescue if they are to successfully tolerate their ordeal" (ibid.). Different coping strategies are utilized in this phase. Common strategies are focusing on the present; the future recedes into the background of one's thoughts. Structures are implemented and executed in a disciplined manner to create a sense of normality. New knowledge is acquired, such as learning a new language or engaging in creative tasks as a pastime (ibid.).

The following will outline common coping strategies that various researchers have identified. As outlined in Section 3.1.4, coping taxonomies are needed to display instances of coping in a parsimonious theoretical construct. Since Skinner et al. (2003) identified more than 400 different coping strategies (p. 216), the following will outline domain-specific coping strategies applied in captivity to get an overview in order to create a frame of reference for the construction of the category system for the analysis (see Section 4.2.3). Table 6 summarizes the different coping mechanisms of POWs. The table was created based on Ursano and Rundell (1995). Coping strategies that had a purely military reference, such as loyalty to the POW group or code of conduct, were not adopted. Ursano and Rundell's (1995) table of coping strategies is based on the research work of various researchers (see Ursano & Rundell, 1995, p. 436).

Table 6: Prisoner of war coping mechanisms

Prisoner of war coping mechanisms				
Emphasizing the greater Good	Conscious efforts			
Caring for another	Acceptance of fate			
Feeling closer to God	Communication			
Focusing on the good	Control of panic			
Loyalty to family	Discipline			
Motivation for life	Flexibility			
Survival for some purpose	Maintaining self-respect			
Defenses	Physical fitness			
Denial	Realistic expectations			
Humor	Repetitive behaviors			
Intellectualization	Rituals			
Obsessional thinking	Self-development activities			
Rationalization	"Talking to family"			
Relationship with captors	Well-controlled sensitivity			
Collaboration	Will to live			
Cultivating a relationship with captors	Psychological / Fantasy			
Resistance	Dissociation			
Study guards' habits and use the knowledge	Fantasies of retaliation			
to gain favor	Fatalism			
Withdrawal	Норе			
Social	Idealized expectations of post-release			
Buddy system	life			
Communication	Introversion			
Group activities	Passive-dependence			
Peer pressure	Personality flexibility			
Withdrawal	Psychological regression			

Source: modified after Ursano and Rundell (1995, p. 436).

In addition to the coping mechanisms presented in Table 6, this section will draw on the research of Deaton et al. (1977), who examined the coping activities of POWs in solitary confinement in Vietnam. Therefore, Table 7 lists the activities that do not appear in Table 6, identified by Deaton et al.

Table 7: Coping activities of POW in solitary confinement

Coping activities of POWs in solitary confinement			
Thinking about the future	Making up cover stories		
Pacing in cell	Memorizing stories		
Reliving family events	Mental diary		
Memory bank function	Planning escape		
Matching wits with captors	Watching insects		
Sleep	Games		
Health/Hygiene	Worry about family		
Inventing some object	Talking to self		
Making up cover stories	Thinking about suicide		

Source: modified after Deaton et al. (1977, p. 245).

Furthermore, the categorization of hostage' conduct/psychological reactions summarized in Table 8 by Strentz (2018), who is considered one of the leading researchers in the field of hostage behavior, will be drawn on for the analysis. Based on research, Strentz (2018) created a classification between "survivor" and "succumber." A survivor is understood as a person who has survived captivity and "[...] returned to a meaningful existence with strong self-esteem, and went on to live healthy and productive lives with little evidence of long term depression, nightmares, or serious stress-induced illnesses" (Strentz, 2018, p. 319). In contrast, succumbers are defined as "[...] those who either did not live through the siege, or, upon release or rescue, required extensive psychotherapy to deal with real or imagined problems" (ibid.).

Table 8: Psychological reactions of hostages

Survivors	Succumbers	
Had faith	Felt abandoned	
Contained hostility	Acted out aggression	
Maintained a superior attitude	Pitied self	
Fantasized	Dwelled in situation	
Rationalized situation	Despaired	
Kept to routines	Suspended activities	
Controlled outward appearance	Acted out of control	
Sought flexibility and humor	Exhibited obsessive-compulsive	
Blended with peers	behavior	
	Stood out as over-compliant or resistant	

Source: Strentz (2018, p. 319).

The position that individuals who require "extensive psychotherapy" as a follow-up are categorized as "succumbers" is problematic. Sequelae of captivity have been studied indepth by various researchers, such as Neria et al. (1998), Hunter (1988), and Ursano et al. (1986), with a focus on long-term psychological, physical, and cognitive consequences through longitudinal studies (see Beebe, 1975; Engdahl et al., 1991; Kral et al., 1967; Sutker et al., 1993; Tennant et al., 1986). The results show between 30-88% PTSD rates in POW survivors depending on the context of confinement (Neria et al., 1998, p. 174). Sutker et al. (1993) analyzed PTSD rates and psychiatric residuals in World War II Pacific theater veteran combats, including a group of veterans held captive in Japan. Outcomes in the POW group show a current PTSD diagnosis of 70% and 78% lifetime diagnosis of PTSD, whereas veterans who did not get captured show PTSD rates between 18-29% (Sutker et al., 1993, p. 240). Sutker and Allain (1996) investigated mental disorders of POWs of the World War II European and Pacific theater and the Korean conflict. 88% of POWs who were held in Korea showed PTSD symptomology, whereas POWs of the Pacific theater showed 76% and 54% of POWs held in the European theater were diagnosed with PTSD (Sutker & Allain, 1996, p. 21). These findings give insight into the severity and the resulting long-term consequences of captivity. The negative connotation of "succumbers" seems out of place and reinforces societal stigmatization of mental illness and captivity sequelae. Especially in the context of imprisonment, where empirical research indicates that captivity is characterized by concatenation of traumatic events that, under "normal" circumstances, would rarely be as accumulative, prolonged, and repetitive in form as the person involved would remove themselves from the situation as soon as possible (Herman, 2015, p. 74) should post-traumatic symptomatology be understood as a norm to abnormal experiences and not stigmatized as succumbed to.

3.4 Humanitarian security risk management

The preceding sections have explained different parts of captivity experiences. In the following, humanitarian SRM, which addresses identified risks such as being taken captive, will be outlined.

Given that humanitarian work is carried out in settings where armed conflict is occurring and/or human suffering is exacerbated by natural disasters, HAWs face specific threats and risks inherent to the operational environment (Bienczyk-Missala & Grzebyk, 2015, p. 221; Henzschel, 2006, pp. 11–12). Access to the population in need is essential to achieve the overarching goal and requires balancing the threats and risks against HAWs and assets, as well as the ability to operate in the field to deliver aid since high insecurity and volatile environments might compromise/impede the ability of (I)NGOs to access

the population in need leading to non-attaining the formulated goal and leaving the already vulnerable unsupported. To tare insecurity, humanitarian SRM becomes more prominent in humanitarian action to safeguard and protect staff and allow operations to continue (HPN, 2010, p. 7; Schneiker, 2018, p. 108).

Before SRM is introduced, it seems essential to create the definitional demarcation concerning safety and security. The widely respected reference tool for a targeted and systematic approach to SRM within the humanitarian realm, "Good Practice Review (GPR) 8: Operational Security Management in Violent Environments," brought forward the following definition of security "freedom from risk or harm resulting from violence or other intentional acts" (HPN, 2010, p. xvii) and of safety "freedom from risk or harm as a result of unintentional acts" (accidents, natural phenomenon or illness) (ibid.). The thesis' topic is related to security, as it is about intentional actions against the affected person.

SRM is broadly understood as a process aiming at managing risk and entails "[...] assessing an operational context; identifying and analysing risks to personnel, assets and operations; and implementing mitigating strategies and measures to reduce the likelihood and impact of an undesirable event" (ICRC, 2014, p. 14). However, a uniform definition of SRM within the sector does not exist. The GPR8 defines effective and "good" SRM as minimizing risks through mitigation strategies that focus on likelihood and impact so that residual risk can be kept as low as possible and be considered "acceptable." As per GPR 8, SRM entails several levels: security risk assessment including threat and vulnerabilities analysis, risk analysis, mitigation measures and risk threshold (risk above threshold leads to either transferring the risk or avoiding), development of a context- and situation-specific operational security strategy including security guidelines, also known as standard operating procedures (SOPs) or security manuals²³ (Beerli & Weissman, 2016, p. 71; HPN, 2010, pp. 8–9). Whereas the first edition of the GPR8 (2000) only considered protecting staff and the organization's assets as part of SRM, the revised document published in 2010 extends the reach of SRM to "programmes and reputation" following the understanding of SRM of the corporate world (Beerli & Weissman, 2016, p. 74; HPN, 2010, p. 7; van Brabant, 2000, pp. xii-xiii). Among scholars, ambiguity exists in determining what effective/good SRM aims at; since "freedom from risk" as the definition of security suggests "[...]is an unattainable objective in war zones, there is a tendency to identify good security management with an absence of 'unjustified risks'" (Beerli & Weissman, 2016, p. 74). Important to note that holistic SRM focuses not only on preventive measures preventing/avoiding an incident from occurring – but also on personal capacity building

²³ For a critical discussion of the institutionalization see Beerli, M. J., & Weissman, F. (2016). Humanitarian Security Manuals: Neutralising the Human Factor in Humanitarian Action. In: M. Neuman & F. Weissman (Eds.), Saving lives and staying alive: Humanitarian security in the age of risk management (pp. 71–89). Hurst & Company, London.

to enable persons to survive a critical incident and ascertain that the crisis incident management team (CIMT) is operational and adequately trained. The latter requires establishing incident-specific contingency plans (HPN, 2010, pp. 7–10).

SRM is a comparably young subfield of humanitarian aid, having evolved over the last three decades (Stoddard, 2020, p. 119). During 1990 through efforts from individuals, SRM became more prominent and an area of concern. O'Neill indicated that there was no SRM approach to implementing projects back in the 1990s, which was reflected in no prior assessments in conflict zones, no capacity building to foster and improve personal security through training, nor available security procedures (O'Neill, cited after Stoddard, 2020, pp. 119-120). Among other things, surges in violent attacks against HAWs have led to understanding and impelling that assessing, managing, and mitigating risks is a necessity to remain operational and an ethical and legal duty of care (DoC) obligation (Stoddard, 2020, p. 121). Experts, such as Merkelbach (2011), understand DoC as a "[...]legal obligation imposed on an individual or organization requiring that they adhere to a standard of reasonable care while performing acts (or omissions) that present a reasonably foreseeable risk of harm to others" (Kemp & Merkelbach, 2011, p. 20). In the context of humanitarian aid, DoC is, among others, understood as the organizational responsibility to implement targeted risk mitigation measures and to establish support structures that have both a preventive character to avert incidents at best, and a proactive character, so that the necessary support is available when an incident has occurred. Furthermore, DoC includes the obligation to acquaint persons with prevailing risks and with the reduction measures implemented (Bickley, 2017, p. 8). SRM, including pre-deployment security training forms one component of the organizational responsibility for staff well-being, health, safety, and security (ibid.).

The formation of an expert team, coordinated by NGO consortia InterAction and RedR, in late 1998 led to the first global interagency training with the result of INGOs utilizing components from the very training to produce security plans and improve security (Stoddard, 2020, p. 122). Since then, humanitarian SMR has continuously evolved and improved throughout the sector with varying levels of sophistication (Stoddard et al., 2016, p. 3).

The developments in the 1990s led to an examination of risks and their reduction to an acceptable minimum, which gradually led to the establishment of SRM systems (Bruderlein & Gassmann, 2006, p. 68; Schneiker, 2018, p. 112; Stoddard et al., 2016, p. 8; van Brabant, 1998, pp. 112–115). Van Brabant's (1999) article "Security training: where are we now" captured a momentum that, in retrospect, represents a turnaround in the field of SRM in humanitarian assistance. In 1999, SRM was still in its infancy and was impelled

by perceptions of increased insecurity, heightened media attention due to abducted, injured, or killed HAW, and claims for compensation from the affected person or relatives against the employing organization (van Brabant, 1999, p. 7). In 2010, van Brabant took stock in his article "Managing Aid Agency Security in an Evolving World: The larger Challenges" in the EISF Article Series. Van Brabant notes, on the one hand, the "[...]impressive growth in investment and advances in operational security management by and for international aid agencies" (van Brabant, 2010, p. 4). On the other hand, several researchers, including van Brabant point out that these developments do not run through the entire sector but apply mainly to established INGOs (Schneiker, 2018, p. 112; van Brabant, 2010, p. 5). The view that security is a luxury or an add-on has faded over the past two to three decades and continues to fade and is reflected in the developments of the INGO's approaches to tackling prevalent risks (van Brabant, 2010, p. 5).

In addition to risk assessment, management, and mitigation, capacity building through training among staff members is a core tire of SRM to enable field staff to adjust their behavior and increase security awareness to the contextual circumstances. Given the operational realities of HAWs, SRM's overall aim is to manage and mitigate risk to an acceptable minimum and enable staff to make an informed consent decision while considering residual risks (Bickley, 2017, p. 46; Stoddard, 2020, p. 125). Security training is one pillar of SRM preparedness and allows staff to learn about and partially train worst-case scenarios, such as hostage survival (Bickley, 2017, pp. 16&46). The following chapter will elaborate on security training, mainly hostage survival training, as part of HEAT courses.

3.4.1 Preparedness for deployment: pre-deployment captivity survival training

Given the reality that life-threatening and lethal incidents cannot be entirely prevented, targeted security training is needed as part of an SRM system to allow staff at increased risk to enhance awareness, facilitate coping, and ensure preparedness in the event of an incident (Blyth et al., 2021, 311&316). Security training aims to build individual capacity and strengthen organizational resilience so that INGOs remain operational in volatile and aggravating conditions. It is thus about reducing vulnerabilities holistically because, as Blyth et al. (2021) state, "[w]here resilience is weak or absent, the negative implications for the organization, its staff and the beneficiaries of assistance can be significant" (p. 312).

Security training is summarized within the humanitarian realm under hostile environment awareness training (HEAT). However, a sector-wide understanding of HEAT that goes beyond "[...] preparing individuals to face an unusual level of personal risk [...]" (ibid., pp. 312–313) does not exist. Blyth et al.'s (2021) research on HEAT and resilience has identified seven focus areas that are discussed among security professionals, which

need to be agreed upon: 1) content focuses on what competencies are needed and what knowledge and skills need to be trained, 2) delivery focuses on the method of knowledge transfer, 3) duration focuses on course length that varies between 1-5 days, 4) intensity focuses on how intense (realistic and immersive) the learning experience should be, 5) examination focuses on whether the course should be a pass or fail, 6) frequency refers to the learning cycle and when a refresher course is needed, and 7) who should take a HEAT course focuses on whether international and national staff should be trained in HEAT (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 313).24 Despite the ambivalence on several issues, including content-related questions, consensus widely exists on the delivery of such training

"[...] through an immersive experience in order to contextualize the meaning of knowledge, while concurrently developing 'muscle memory' within simulated high-stress conditions. HEAT should vaccinate individuals against debilitating stress during unusual emergency situations." (ibid., pp. 312–313)

The supreme objective of HEAT is thus to improve awareness, enhance and convey skills and provide instruments to enable field staff to identify and tackle risks and perform as safely and securely as possible (Persaud, 2014, p. 17). Ultimately, a HEAT course aims to promote individual and team resilience, hardiness, and self-efficacy, so that individuals can adequately counter risks by maintaining their ability to react in a threatening and stressful situation based on previously trained skills and imparted knowledge (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 316; Persaud, 2014, p. 17; Turner et al., 2021, p. 3). The characteristic of novel threat scenarios is the initial shock, disbelief, and uncertainty that can incapacitate action. The theoretical part and the simulations both hope to enable participants to apply the imparted knowledge to reduce the initial reaction and the accompanying disbelief that can lead to a delay between hazard identification and action. As part of this high-fidelity and stress inoculation training (see Meichenbaum & Deffenbacher, 1988), people can be given blueprints that become a repertoire of courses of action that, at best, can be drawn upon during an incident (Blyth et al., 2021, pp. 315-316; Mullins & McMains, 2020, p. 515). In this regard, Blyth et al. (2021) emphasize that teaching "[...]pre-formed problem-solving 'options' is essential, as the ability to act in threatening situations is imperiled by fear and stress" (Blyth et al., 2021, 315-316). An essential point that Blyth et al. (2021) makes to highlight the positive aspects of immersive learning is:

²⁴ The Danish CaC Section conducted a study measuring the effect of CaC training and performed an impact analysis of the program. The study addressed the forgetting curve of students and elaborated on the necessity of refresher training because the knowledge once acquired, regardless of the learning method, is lost over time. In addition, the study compared the retainment of knowledge among the different intensity levels of CaC which span across theoretical input to a simulated captivity (CaC-A, CaC-B, and CaC-C). It is clear that people who have gone through a simulation retained knowledge better. In conclusion, the study shows that simulation makes a positive difference in terms of knowledge retention (Jørgensen, 2018, pp. 1-5).

"[b]y running through simulated conditions, people are more likely to move through the stages of belief, deliberation and action more quickly and effectively. They will more likely recognise the effects that stress has upon them as an individual — having experienced it before — and will be more likely to prioritise effective courses of action to address real, rather than perceived, threats." (pp. 317–318)

Turner et al. (2021) also emphasizes the added value of immersive training and describes that stress exposure training has a long history in other disciplines, such as medicine, sports or psychology, and the military. Turner et al. (2021) describe the idea as "[...] exposing individuals to stressors as a way of strengthening them for future exposures" (p. 5) to be able to react appropriately in an actual incident. Explicitly concerning HEAT courses that integrate simulative components, Turner et al. (2021) emphasizes

"[p]sychological and physiological activation of the stress response is required in order for the individual to learn about their "stress signature" and engage coping mechanisms that can then be observed and improved upon through training. The opportunity to practice the management of stress responses under psychological supervision leads to greater preparedness, self-efficacy, and resilience when future stressors are encountered." (ibid.)

As mentioned above, there is no consensus on various aspects of HEAT, and no sectorwide standardization exists. A lack of standardization can be seen, for example, in the fact that the length of HEAT courses varies among providers, between 1 to 5 days (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 313). Furthermore, there are different views on the extent to which stress-inoculation simulations should be included in the training (ibid.). Persaud (2014) demonstrated in her research that the interviewed security professionals, for the most part, recognize the benefits of simulations (p. 8). It was also noted that the training must be carried out effectively to avoid psychological and physical damage (ibid). Concerns with stressinoculation simulations relate primarily to potential re-traumatization of participants either due to prior traumatic experiences as a HAW or in a private setting (Blyth et al., 2021, p. 314). Within the discussions about the best possible preparation of HAWs, it is and must be considered that a "one size fits all" solution is not feasible. Consensus exists that training must be adapted to the specific context, drawing on information gathered through risk analysis and different training levels²⁵ are necessary depending on the risk context. Here, Blyth et al. (2021) argue that the goal should not be to determine a onesize-fits-all solution but rather to agree on principles for topics and knowledge transfer

²⁵ For a reference curriculum including determining factors for which training intensity/level is needed see Persaud, C. (2014). NGO Safety and Security Training Project: How to create effective Security training for NGOs. EISF; Inter-Action

methods, e.g., when to apply theoretical, practical, and immersive training methods (p. 16).

Moreover, looking into the status quo of existing consensus on teaching content/areas to be covered, Blyth et al. (2021) extracted a list of training topics based on 32 semi-structured interviews with security officials from the humanitarian sector (pp. 315–316). In addition to topics such as hotel and guesthouse security, self-defense, kidnap and ransom awareness, arrests and detention were also identified (ibid.). Suppose HEAT is not just a ticking the box exercise to demonstrate DoC. In that case, HEAT tries to cover the complex reality of HAWs in the field and prepares them for diverse scenarios in the best possible way by covering a wide range of topics. To get a better idea of what topics are recommended to include in a HEAT about captivity scenarios, the reference curriculum of the project NGO Safety and Security Training Project: How to Create Effective Security Training for NGOs authored by Persaud and published by EISF was examined. The goal of the project is to support NGOs identify appropriate security training practices and provide a reference curriculum that humanitarian actors can utilize when "[...]developing, refining and implementing security training" (Persaud, 2014, preface). The security training is divided into three levels (basic-advanced); the context and the context-specific risks decide which level is completed. Kidnapping is labeled, among other topics, as an "elective" in the advanced or "Personal Security in violent environments" courses (ibid., p. 58). Persaud (2014) recommends that the captivity part addresses kidnap prevention, response, and survival (see Table 9).

Further, the open-access HEAT curriculum of ENTRi was examined. On the first day of the training, a one-hour lesson on kidnapping and hostage-taking is taught in a classroom environment, followed by a two-hour simulation the following day (ENTRi, 2013, pp. 2–3). The topics covered are displayed in Table 9.

Table 9: Overview of HEAT reference curricula

Institution/Project	Content recommended	
NGO Safety and Security Training Pro-	• "Overview patterns, trends and tactics for captivity and other specific risk situations.	
ject	Overview of potential captors and motives.	
	The phases of an abduction or kidnapping.	
	Strategies for surviving capture, transport holding, rescue, and release"	
ENTRi	"Know the basic facts about kidnapping and hostage-taking;	
	Be able to recognize and avoid kinds of behavior that might increase the potential of being a target for hostage-takers;	
	Understand the sequence of events;	
	Be familiar with the hostage incident management procedures;	
	Be able to utilize/apply practical risk prevention and mitigation methods;	
	List what to do in case of a successful evasion	
	The objectives of the two-hour simulation:	
	Behave properly during the capture phase;	
	Recognize personal or teammate stress effect;	
	Cope correctly during the captivity phase;	
	Recognize personal/team wrong or hazardous behavior;	
	Collect information about the kidnappers;	
	Behave correctly during an armed rescue;	
	Develop and practice personal stress management strategies for handling unique circumstances"	

Source: Own table, data: Persaud (2014, p. 72) and ENTRi (2013, pp. 2–3)

The topics mentioned above do not represent an existing consensus within pre-deployment captivity survival training. However, they were the only curricula that could be identified for international missions.

3.4.2 Value and utility of Hostile Environment Awareness Training

Empirical work investigating the value and utility of HEAT is scarce due to several reasons. As highlighted by Blyth et al. (2021), ethical reasons complicate examining the value and impact of HEAT, since impact evaluations require a control group that would be neglected security and safety information and training before deployment (ibid., p. 325).

Roberts (2021), has however, conducted an outcome evaluation of HEAT with 264 World Vision staff. The evaluated course was conducted in collaboration with the Headington Institute and utilized simulation-based learning and psychoeducation (p. 5). Results of the study show that HEAT prepares participants for hazardous situations and that the stress intensity of the simulations has no negative effect but reduces the novelty of the situation. Furthermore, it was shown that participants perceive that their personal security awareness has increased, and subjective perception of increased preparedness for critical incidents has been identified. Contrary to hypotheses that this HEAT would increase resilience and self-efficacy measured quantitatively, this was not the case (ibid., p.17). Roberts (2021) states that these results are surprising and cites several explanations. One possible explanation could be that after participating in a HEAT, participants make a more realistic assessment of whether or how they can handle a critical incident because they have firsthand experience of a simulated high-stress scenario and their reaction (Roberts, 2021, p. 17; Turner et al., 2021, p. 9).26 Roberts (2021) nevertheless concludes the meaningfulness and necessity of HEAT courses. The qualitative data clearly shows that participants, including individuals who survived a critical incident such as riots, kidnapping, or armed attackers, could access and apply the imparted knowledge after completing the HEAT (Roberts, 2021, p. 20). The results of the quantitative data demonstrate that HEAT had no adverse effects on the individuals. As an outlook, it is pointed out that future research needs "more staggered immediate testing of the participants' levels of resilience, stress vulnerability, and self-efficacy" (ibid., p. 21) to verify/falsify the data (ibid.).

Another research paper by Turner et al. (2021) that investigated increasing the perceived self-efficacy and critical incident coping self-efficacy in HAW through resilience training, explicitly high-fidelity HEAT, concluded that "[...] regression analysis indicated that higher levels of self-efficacy related to higher resilience levels. General self-efficacy and critical incident coping self-efficacy (CICSE) were stronger after the training, even when controlling for histories of trauma" (p. 1). The research suggests that one's perception of self-efficacy leads to increased resilience. Turner et al. (2021) demonstrates that tailored security training, designed to empower people to cope with critical incidents, "[...] seems to help bolster aid workers' sense of efficacy and, in turn, their level of resilience" (p. 10). These results are consistent with Bandura's assumption that when individuals are given the opportunity to have a mastery experience, this can positively influence their perception of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982, p. 126; Turner et al., 2021, p. 10).

The above research on the benefits of HEAT courses by Roberts (2021) and Turner et al. (2021) analyzed the overall benefits of HEAT. Since the thesis is primarily concerned with

²⁶ For further elaborations and explanations see Roberts (2021, pp. 16–17).

captivity survival, one additional research paper by Strentz and Auerbach (1988), who have investigated hostage management and training, will be outlined. The training Strentz and Auerbach (1988) analyzed are not HEAT courses for HAWs, but courses conducted by the Special Operations and Research Staff (SOARS) at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). A total of 6 field training exercises (FTXs) were investigated in 1985 with 57 civilian airline employees who had no previous hostage survival training or had survived captivity (Strentz & Auerbach, 1988, pp. 653–654). For each training, subjects underwent pre-instructions either receiving knowledge about emotion-focused coping, problem-focused coping, or a control presentation. The subsequent simulated captivity lasted four days (ibid., p. 652). Results of the study show that the simulated abduction and four-day holding phase indeed induced stress and that participants primarily made use of the coping strategies they were taught in the theoretical pre-instruction (ibid.). Furthermore, Strentz and Auerbach (1988) were able to determine that

"[...] subjects who received training in the use of emotion-focused coping techniques [.] reported the lowest anxiety and overall emotional distress levels and were rated as exhibiting the lowest levels of behavioral disturbance during captivity" (ibid., p. 658).

In conclusion, Strentz and Auerbach (1988) recommend that people who undergo such training, due to increased risk, should be trained primarily in emotion-focused coping since it seems to help prepare the respective person to regulate the emotional response (ibid. p. 659). Another finding of relevance to training institutions is that immediately after the release, stress levels dropped quickly, however 15 hours later, the stress response partially exceeded the stress level of the captivity situation. Here Strentz & Auerbach (1988) state that this reaction must be considered in the planning of training and associated intervention options (ibid. pp. 657–658).

The intention is not to equal military institutions and humanitarian actors but to refer back to Clausewitz, who in 1832 stated in his book "On War" that soldiers should not be confronted with the reality of war only when they are deployed (Clausewitz, 1989, p. 122). The approach appears transferable to humanitarian actors due to the work environment. It is a plea for targeted security training that focuses on resilience and self-efficacy so that people who are confronted with a life-threatening and stress-inducing situation can draw on a pool of knowledge from previous mastery experiences that allows them to act and regulate emotions with the goal of survival. Finally, Başoğlu et al. (1997) should be cited here, who in their research on PTSD and torture survivors emphasize psychological preparedness and again point out that knowledge and mastery experiences can lead to psychological preparedness and that targeted confrontation with specific and controlled

stressors may lead to a perception of mastery, and the subsequent harmful effects of uncontrolled stressors may be mitigated, thus acting as a protective factor or a buffer (Başoğlu et al., 1997, p. 1422; King et al., 2011, p. 417).

4. Research design

The preceding chapters outlined the theoretical framework of this thesis including necessary background information on captivity and pre-deployment captivity survival training. In the following, along the research questions, the survey instrument and the evaluation method will be elucidated to ensure intersubjective comprehensibility.

4.1 Survey instrument: expert interviews

The decision to use a qualitative approach utilizing semi-structured expert interviews was made due to the assumption that the interview partners have inherent and specific "operational knowledge" (Kaiser, 2021, pp. 41–42) to demonstrate, regarding their experiences in captivity, stresses faced, coping strategies utilized and pre-deployment training and therefore can provide knowledge that otherwise would hardly be possible to access in the way needed to perform the desired analysis. Empirical qualitative research heavily relies on expert interviews, as they are particularly suitable for this purpose since the thematic steering of the interview is made possible. Furthermore, they offer the necessary flexibility so that different interview situations can be reacted to, and the interviewees are allowed to help navigate and shape the interview with their impulses and, as a result, can share designated aspects that were not considered in the preliminary theoretical considerations (Gläser & Laudel, 2010, pp. 30–42).

In summary, expert interviews allow for generating knowledge that is not yet available/accessible in the way needed. The aim is ultimately to make up for the lack of research conducted on this subject; primary sources shall be established utilizing semi-structured expert interviews.

4.1.1 Conceptualization of semi-structured interview guidelines

The reflections on the relevant and purposeful questions were carried out in the process of operationalization, which divides the research questions into different analysis levels in the first step, then defines question complexes, and in the last step, formulates the specific questions for the interviews (Kaiser, 2021, pp. 65–69). In the abstraction of the research questions, the following analysis levels were identified: pre-deployment captivity survival preparation, captivity including challenges/stresses faced while in captivity, coping strategies, the impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training and recommendations on vital training content, and from these, corresponding topic complexes were formed into main categories. The questions aiming at stresses/challenges and coping

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strategies are integrated into the phases of captivity (see Section 3.3.2) and the respective offender profile to make specifics visible per phase. The question complexes were arranged chronologically; the first question complex focused on the introduction and relevant information about the person to be interviewed, followed by more general questions on the motivation to work in the humanitarian/development sphere to build a rapport. Additionally, a question about what it is like for the person to talk about the abduction was integrated so that the interviewer knows whether certain aspects need to be considered to be as trauma sensible as possible. Within this set of questions, direct questions were used primarily. Even though Kaiser (2021) recommends asking open and general questions at the beginning to give the participant the possibility of a longer and more detailed statement, it was decided not to do so in the first set of questions since the objective was to collect critical data (pp. 76–77). The second topic complex focuses on organizational and personal preparation for captivity survival and starts with an open question, allowing for a detailed statement. This complex then contains further structuring questions that can be used if relevant aspects were not mentioned but do not necessarily have to be asked in all interviews (Kaiser, 2021, p. 78). Pre-deployment preparation is followed by the question complex covering the captivity experience. The question complex on the captivity experience is structured chronologically, starting with the capture phase, followed by the transport, confinement, and rescue/release phases. This set of questions, as well as the sub-questions on individual phases, started with open questions. The structure remained consistent throughout each phase. The open and broad questions were, if necessary, supported by structuring and direct questions. Each phase started with what happened to learn more about the initial situation and its conditions, which challenges/stresses the person faced, and finally, how they coped with the challenges faced. Subsequently, the interview guideline²⁷ differs concerning the group affiliation of the interview participant (see Section 4.1.2). In the case of a participant who has undergone predeployment training, open-ended and structuring questions are used to address the impact of preparation on survival in captivity. Finally, both groups are asked about essential training content utilizing open and structuring questions to directly integrate the survivors' perspectives into the recommendations of teaching content. Before the interview was concluded, participants had the possibility to add comments to address topics not covered during the interview.

To obtain usable answers and, above all, to avoid influencing the participants, which would affect the openness of the results, it was attempted to formulate the questions so that they contained neither suggestions nor insinuations. For this reason, it was decided

²⁷ See Appendix V.

that the interview guidelines should be tested in advance. Therefore pretests were conducted - individuals were selected to provide feedback during a pretest interview so that any contradictions, inconsistencies, or the like could be resolved (Kaiser, 2021, pp. 82–83; Kirchhoff, 2010, p. 24). A total of two test runs were conducted. Furthermore, the interview guidelines were shared with persons familiar and unfamiliar with the topic of captivity survival to get feedback on the structure and content and ensure suggestions nor insinuations were avoided. The person who was not familiar with captivity survival focused on filtering out suggestive questions. The persons, who were familiar with captivity survival (training), have reviewed concerning structure, comprehensibility, stringency, and adequacy (Kirchhoff, 2010, p. 24).

After the pretests and feedback loops were completed, the interview guidelines were revised to incorporate the comments. In addition to the pretest, a specialized SERE psychologist was consulted to provide feedback on structuring the question complexes, substance, question formulation, and comprehension. Again, comments and suggested improvements were integrated. Finally, the interview guidelines were approved by the thesis' supervisors.

4.1.2 Selection of and access to participants

The criteria presented below for selecting participants allow for a narrowing down and systematic selection. The essential criterion for participation is that the person has been taken captive abroad; no distinction is made between detention, arrest, kidnapping, abduction, and hostage-taking (see Section 3.3.1.1). A further main distinction and thus an authoritative criterion is the group formation within the participants. Since the objective is to determine a diverse range of challenges and coping strategies to make them visible, extract valuable training content and learn whether the pre-deployment training had a personal value to some participants, two groups are formed. **Group 1**: People held captive and have completed specific pre-deployment training. **Group 2**: People who have been in captivity and have not received any pre-deployment preparation. In addition, no distinctions were made between:

- Nationality
- No differentiation in terms of the point of time of the captivity
- No distinction as to the length of captivity
- No geographic delimitation as to where the captivity took place (not in a person's home country)
- State or non-state actors as the perpetrator

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Drawing on the experiences of a diverse group of people will allow drawing a more holistic picture of the stresses of captivity and the coping strategies applied. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of different perpetrator groups will determine whether a differentiated view on those makes sense regarding training content.

These perimeters were made because it can be assumed that people who meet the primary criterion (captivity survived abroad) have necessarily dealt with the stresses of captivity, survival, and coping strategies in captivity and can therefore contribute different perspectives and experiences. Here, participants will be given the opportunity to present their views and experiences to utilize their experiences to identify essential training content for captivity survival training and investigate the subjective value of pre-deployment captivity survival training. Therefore, it is assumed that through interviews with the selected individuals, it is likely that valuable information can be obtained to answer the research questions.

Due to the thesis topic's sensitivity and secrecy/concealment, access to suitable interview partners has not been randomized. Previous professional experience in the humanitarian aid realm and crisis incident management simplified access to fitting interview partners. Two interview partners are former work colleagues and friends of the author. Furthermore, through professional experience with the subject of conduct after capture, the author could participate in international conferences covering the respective topic. These conferences served as an additional access point to suitable participants. Two interview partners were met at these conferences; thus, the interviewer and interviewees knew each other before the interview. It seems vital to point out that the author is aware of the influence of a trust relationship between participant and researcher on information retrieval. In addition, the existing professional network was helpful in opening channels of communication with suitable interview partners could be established by utilizing the existing network. As a result, 11 people were approached, all of whom responded, and seven people were willing to contribute to the present thesis.

All participants (see overview in Table 10) consented to the non-anonymous use of the transcribed interviews.

Table 10: Summary of participants

Name	Brief introduction	Pre-deployment preparation
Steve Dennis	Humanitarian aid worker. Dennis was taken by a non-state actor in Kenya/Somalia in 2012 for four days and was freed by an armed rescue operation.	Attended a hostage awareness session and read security manuals for humanitarian aid workers.
Kerry Jane Wilson	Australian development worker. Wilson was held by a non-state actor in Afghanistan in 2016 for about four months and was subsequently released through negotiations.	Read security manuals for humanitarian aid workers.
Peter Moore	British development worker. Moore was taken captive in 2007 by a non-state actor in Iraq and was held for 31 months and subsequently released through negotiations and prisoner exchange.	Attended a hostage awareness session.
Bernd Mühlen- beck	German development worker. Mühlenbeck was taken captive by a non-state actor in 2012 and held for 33 months and was subsequently released through negotiations.	Attended a HEAT training, including a kidnapping simulation.
Simon Mauchline	Australian humanitarian aid worker. Mauchline was held by the Syrian Regime in 2018 for 48 days in Branch 235 – Palestine Branch 28 – run by Syrian Military Intelligence and released through negotiations. Mauchline was taken together with Lautwein.	No training, or exposure to the topic prior to the unlawful detention.
Martin Lautwein	German humanitarian aid worker. Lautwein was held by the Syrian Regime in 2018 for 48 days in Branch 235 – Palestine Branch – run by Syrian Military Intelligence and was subsequently released through negotiations. Lautwein was taken together with Mauchline.	Theoretical workshop on captivity survival.
Samuel Goodwin	US-American traveler. The Syrian Regime held Goodwin in 2019 for 63 days, split between Branch 215 ²⁹ run by Syrian Military Intelligence	No training or exposure to the topic prior to the unlawful detention.

²⁸ For further insights into the conditions in Syrian prisons see: Amnesty International. (2016). 'It breaks the human': Torture, Disease and Death in Syrian's Prisons. London. Amnesty International. And Motaparthy, P., & Houry, N. (2015). If the dead could speak: Mass deaths and torture in Syria's detention facilities. New York/N.Y. Human Rights Watch [Online] Available from: https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/12/16/if-dead-could-speak/mass-deaths-and-torture-syrias-detention-facilities.

²⁹ See footnote 28.

and Adra Prison and subsequently released	
through negotiations.	

Source: Own representation.

Limitation of sample selection³⁰

Captivity is a life-threatening incident which is inevitably reflected in the pool of participants. Given that not all individuals who are taken captive survive, bias cannot be avoided; thus, the pool of participants is subject to survivor's bias. Therefore, both the existing research on experiences in captivity and the present work can only draw on the experiences of those who survived. Furthermore, during the identification and contact of the potential interviewees, it became apparent that very few had undergone pre-deployment training as part of their deployment preparation. Of the seven individuals, only two individuals were prepared for captivity survival by their employer. Three others had at least read about the topic or participated in hostage awareness sessions as part of other assignments. This limitation will influence the research results on the subjective perception of the utility of pre-deployment captivity survival training (see Section 5.3).

4.1.3 Preparation for and conduct of interviews

Before the interviews, all participants received a study information leaflet³¹ introducing the researcher, the context in which the thesis is written, and informing all participants about the objectives, approach, procedure, and anonymity/confidentiality. It was explicitly pointed out that the results (not the transcripts) will be made available to third parties and that if publication opportunities arise, these will be pursued. The study information also includes a note on voluntariness, anonymity, and limitations of anonymity and asked the participants to sign a consent form, where a clear indication was made whether participants wished to be named or anonymized and return it to the named contact person. All participants indicated to participate non-anonymized. The explicit mentioning that the results will be made available to third parties allowed participants to give their informed consent about anonymization/non-anonymization. A note that the consent can be withdrawn before submission of the thesis has been integrated (Kaiser, 2021, p. 57). In a second step, it was decided to share an informational letter³² outlining the interview structure without delineating the content-related questions. The aim was to give the participants insight into what they would be facing due to the topic's sensitive nature aiming

³⁰ For a critical reflection of the research methods and limitations see Chapter 8.

³¹ See appendix III.

³² See appendix IV.

to avoid any surprise effects. The informational letter also included information on the availability of a specialized psychologist if desired.

All interviews were conducted between 9/28/2021- 10/10/2021. Five of the seven interviews were conducted in English. Mühlenbeck's and Lautwein's were conducted in German. Relevant text passages for the analysis from Mühlenbeck and Lautwein were translated into English by the author of the thesis³³. All participants were interviewed in their native language. Six interviews were conducted via video conferencing tools due to the different geographical locations. The interview with Lautwein was conducted in person, as both are located in the same city. A maximum duration of 90-120 minutes was agreed upon in advance - here, reference was made to Kaiser's (2021) assessment, who notes that the best results can be generated if the time frame of an interview allows for immersion into the research problem (p. 65). The interview lengths varied between 90 minutes and 175 minutes. All but one exceeded the targeted maximum time of 120 minutes. In this regard, Kaiser (2021) states that "good" expert interviews usually last longer than the agreed time. All interviews were recorded (p. 65). Subsequently, a transcription was made, leading to interview transcripts (pure verbatim protocol) forming the material for the analysis (328 pages in total)³⁴. The recommended transcription rules of Kaiser (2021) were followed (p. 115). All interview partners had the opportunity to authorize their transcripts. Three participants used this option, but none of the transcripts required any relevant changes in content. It is worth noting that there was a comment regarding grammar, which can be attributed to the transcription form pure verbatim. Mayring (2022) notes regarding pure verbatim protocols: "the transcript is very near to the natural language, but reading it is not easy, sometimes requires some practice" (p. 132). Therefore, it was decided to linguistically clean up the quotes used in the analysis without changing the content to affect readability positively.

Before the recording started, there was a short conversation with all participants. The interview structure was pointed out again; participants were informed that breaks can be taken at any time and that they do not have to answer questions they are uncomfortable with. In addition, the participants were again asked whether they wished to be named or anonymized. The aim was to make the interview situation as pleasant and trauma sensitive as possible. At the end of the preliminary talk, consent to record was obtained (Kaiser, 2021, pp. 65–67). As elaborated in Section 4.1.1, two different interview guidelines were

³³ Consent for translations was obtained in advance.

³⁴ If interested in the interview transcripts for further research projects, please contact Olivia Mandeau <u>o.mandeau@gmail.com</u>. Bilaterally and in consideration of the interviewees, a transfer can be discussed.

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utilized, depending on the group affiliation of the participant. Follow-up questions and structuring questions were asked situation-specific and as necessary (ibid. p. 66).

4.1.4 Ethical considerations/researcher's duty of care towards participants

The author is aware of the sensitive issue this thesis is dedicated to. Therefore, the author has undergone a briefing by a psychologist familiar with captivity survival and conduct after capture training to minimize the risk of retraumatizing interview partners. The briefing aimed at reflecting and adapting the interview questions to minimize the risk of retraumatizing the people sharing their experiences. Moreover, important information was shared with the author on psychoeducation and behavior if any participant would be triggered during the interview.

Furthermore, after the interview, all participants had access to a specialized psychologist if desired.

4.2 Evaluation method: a qualitative content analysis³⁵

The evaluation procedure will be presented to ensure intersubjective comprehensibility by elaborating the analysis' rule-oriented conduct.

Qualitative content analysis is considered an evaluation method of qualitative research and is intended to interpret material (Mayring, 2015, p. 11). Mayring (2015) understands content analysis as a social science methodology and formulates precise points about what a content analysis should pursue and what its goal is:

- 1. "Analyze communication.
- 2. Analyze fixed communication.
- 3. Proceed systematically.
- 4. Proceed in a rule-guided manner.
- 5. Also, proceed theory guided.
- 6. Pursue the goal of concluding certain aspects of communication." (p. 13, own translation)

Mayring (2022) differentiates three basic types of interpretation: summarizing, explicating, and structuring content analysis (pp. 67–68).

³⁵ The following sections are a revised and adapted version of a chapter of my bachelor thesis: Mandeau, Olivia (2020). Eine inhaltsanalytische Betrachtung der Mossul-Trauma-Response unter besonderer Berücksichtigung humanitärer Prinzipien. Akkon-Hochschule für Humanwissenschaften, Berlin.

The basic type of structuring content analysis will be utilized for the present work (see Section 4.2.3). However, it should be emphasized that it is a lean on the methodology. Nevertheless, the systematic is not meant to be undermined; quite the contrary. Mayring (2022) describes in this regard that content analysis is not a "[...] standardized instrument that always remains the same; it must be fitted to suit the particular object or material in question and constructed especially for the issue at hand" (p. 66). Nevertheless, Mayring (2015) created a general flow model for qualitative content analysis, which consists of 9 steps, (1) determination of the material, (2) analysis of the situation of origin, (3) formal characteristics of the material, (4) direction of the analysis, (5) theoretical differentiation of the research question, (6) determination of the analysis technique, (7) definition of the units of analysis, (8) analysis of the material, and (9) interpretation (p. 98). The first seven points represent preparatory steps before proceeding to the actual categorization of the material (ibid.). The individual steps on the conduct of the method will now be presented, following the content-based structuring flow model.

4.2.1 Determining the material

Step 1: Determination of the material

The interview transcripts serve as the underlying material for the analysis.

Criteria were formulated in advance based on which potential participants were approached. However, since this study does not claim to be representative and since it is a qualitative and not a quantitative analysis, only a small number of participants were selected to generate knowledge to answer the research questions. Indeed, the survey could have been widened to gain further perspectives and experiences on the underlying topic and thus be able to differentiate more strongly or draw conclusions. However, as this was not possible due to various factors (scope of the present work, access to potential participants, and limited time for processing), the participants were identified based on previously defined selection criteria (see Section 4.1.2). These criteria acted as a filter in identifying potential interviewees. The interviews were transcribed and provide the corpus of material to be analyzed.

Step 2: Analysis of the situation of origin

See Sections 4.1 – 4.1.3

Step 3: Formal characteristics

The length of the transcripts varies from 53,000 to 146,000 characters. It should be reiterated that open-ended questions left it up to the participants to decide how detailed their answers would be. In addition, the trusting relationship between researcher and interviewee seems to have been reflected, at least in part, in the length of responses and could be one explanation for the varying length.

4.2.2 Direction of analysis

The paper aims to identify stresses, challenges, and coping strategies in captivity so that relevant teaching content for hostage survival training can be extracted from the survivor's perspective and investigate the subjective utility of pre-deployment captivity survival training. The direction of the analysis is thus determined by the research questions and the sub-questions posed in Chapter 1.

4.2.3 Determination of techniques of analysis and establishment of a concrete procedural model

Mayring (2022) formulates the goal of structuring content analysis as "to filter out particular aspects of the material, to give a cross-section through the material according to predetermined ordering criteria, or to assess the material according to certain criteria" (p. 74). Furthermore, Mayring (2015) divides structuring content analysis into further subtypes: formal structuring, content structuring, typifying structuring, and scaling structuring (pp. 92–95). Since the research questions aim at a content-related examination of the material to be analyzed, a content structuring content analysis seems suitable since it pursues filtering out a content structure that is to be ordered according to selected criteria. The theory-guided categories determine which content is extracted from the underlying material and used for the analysis (Mayring, 2015, p. 103). The foundation of the category system is deductive; however, it requires the addition of inductive categorization in dependence on the research questions to be answered displayed in the respective level of analysis (see Development of the category system). After the analysis technique has been determined, the procedural model of the analysis will be as outlined below.

Step 1: Units of analysis

The goal of the definition is to determine the code, context, and analysis units. Defining these units of analysis in advance allows intersubjectivity in the conduct of the analysis. Hence, the aim is to allow a potential second coder to achieve similar results (Mayring, 2022, pp. 64–65).

Mayring (2022) defines these units as follows:

"The **coding unit** determines the smallest component of the material which can be assessed and what the minimum portion of text is which can fall within one category. The **context unit** determines the largest text component which can fall within one category. The **recording unit** determines which text portions are opposed to one system of categories." (p. 64)

A single word is defined as a coding unit. Context units are predefined as an entire paragraph or even entire answer complexes. Finally, the recording unit is the individual interview transcript of each participant.

The following will summarize step 2-4

Step 2: Theory-guided category development.

Step 3: Formulation of definitions, anchor examples, and coding rules.

Step 4: Creation of the coding guide.

Definition: Category

Since there are different working definitions of category and code in the plethora of literature, this paragraph will define which term is used for this thesis.

Kuckartz (2010) does not distinguish the terms code and category but uses these two terms synonymously. Kuckartz (2010) understands a code or category as "an identifier [...] that is assigned to text passages" (p. 57, own translation). Categories can be single words, word combinations, or sentences whose explicit occurrence in the text is not obligatory (ibid., pp. 57–60).

Development of the category system

The core of the qualitative content analysis is the category system (Mayring, 2022, p. 63). Defined categories, with the help of which the analysis is to be carried out, emerge theory-guided during the structuring approach: "[t]he fundamental structuring dimensions must be exactly determined. They must derive from the issue/statement of the problem concerned, and must be theoretically based" (ibid., p. 89). The category system serves as a working tool by which the underlying material can be coded (ibid., p. 63). Characteristic

4. Research design

for the structuring content analysis is that categories are developed deductively and defined with the help of the research question, the theoretical framework, and the general interest of knowledge. A deductive approach requires an intensive examination of the material and the literature, from which the categories are finally conceived. The underlying research questions were broken into individual terms to determine which topics must be covered in the operationalization process.

The development of the category system for this thesis differs slightly depending on the specific research questions (see Chapter 1). Since coping strategies and the individual challenges/stresses per phase of captivity are to be identified, a mixed approach of deductive-inductive categorization is required. Specifically, this means that the main category that acquires "challenges and stresses" is divided into the deductively formed main categories "psychological and physical stresses"; however, the main categories are supplemented by inductively formed subcategories to allow a more differentiated and detailed visualization. To extract coping strategies, two steps were used. First, to encapsulate the coping strategies, the main categories are the higher-order dimensions brought forward by Ayers et al. (1996); thus, Ayers et al.'s five-dimensional model of coping functions as the category system to answer the research question of displaying coping strategies (see Section 3.1.3). Second, since Skinner et al. (2003) identified more than 400 coping strategies (p. 216), and it would go beyond the scope of this thesis to code the material without limiting the ways of coping domain-specifically to captivity, coping strategies used by POW and hostages were presented in section 3.3.3. to get a better understanding of strategies utilized in captivity. Thus, the vast majority of coping strategies assigned to the higher-order dimensions are deductively formed by drawing on research from the military realm (see Section 3.3.3). Based on these main categories and subcategories, the material was coded, and thus, instances of coping were assigned to deductively formed categories. The categories assigned to analysis level 3 "impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training," are deductively originated from the research interest. Categories assigned to analysis level 4 were inductively formed to capture recommendations for teaching content by survivors of captivity, as this analysis level seeks to conceive recommendations without theoretical presuppositions. Despite the strict rule-bound nature of content structuring, a mixed procedure between deductive and inductive category formation is possible (Mayring, 2022, pp. 92-95). Furthermore, inductive category formation is used if the theoretical framework falls short of explaining a statement of particular interest.

Overall, various main categories and subcategories emerged from the theory-based operationalization process, which are recorded in the code directory in Appendix VI. The code directory entails a definition of each category, anchor examples, and coding rules, which

are determined based on the literature and, if necessary adjusted, after reviewing the material. It is worth noting that the discriminatory power/delineation of the respective categories is relevant for the assignment of the respective text passages. In addition, the coding rules act as an enabler to assign the text passage to one category if ambiguity is prevalent (Mayring, 2022, p. 89). Finally, categories enable the author to look at the material, filter systematically, and afterward process it (Mayring, 2015, pp. 65–106).

After the category formation, the material was sorted several times so that a back-checking of the categories was guaranteed.

Coding process

After the category system has been finalized, all interview transcripts are coded. In this step, the material is worked through line by line, and all text passages relevant to answering the research questions are assigned to a category (Mayring, 2022, pp. 91–92). In the present study, computer-assisted coding was carried out using MAXQDA software. If specific text passages could be assigned to several categories, demarcation/coding rules were formulated. If a text passage is multi-coded despite coding rules, it will be made transparent. As a result, 1243 text passages were assigned to all categories (see Appendix VII).

Step 5: Material run-through and preliminary coding (software-based coding with MAXQDA)

Following the finalized category system, the material was sifted. The categories were tested in a first pass to see if the discriminatory power and the formulation of the definition/category fit (Mayring, 2022, p. 92).

Step 6: Revision of category system

A back-check of the categories' functionality and a review of definitions and coding rules contribute to the reliability and validity of the results obtained (Mayring, 2022, p. 92). As a result, a slight revision of the category system occurred to make individual category definitions more precise. Subsequently, the material was edited again, and the changes were considered.

Step 7: Final material run through – see coding.

5. Analysis

The following chapter and sections will present and contextualize the results per category, depending on the actor holding the person captive. The theoretical framework and the background information on captivity serve as a frame of reference (see Chapter 3). The presentation of the results does not occur per interview partner in order to make qualitative and quantitative aspects visible.

5.1 Analysis level 1: pre-deployment captivity survival preparation

Within this category, the material was coded to determine if the individuals had either been prepared for survival in captivity by their employer through security training or workshops or if they had been personally exposed to the issue. As part of the employer preparation, the subcategory *Information on Contingency Management/Crisis Incident Management* was formed to find out whether individuals in captivity could draw on the knowledge of how the organization would proceed in the event of an abduction.

Except for Mühlenbeck, none of the seven individuals had completed pre-deployment training that included a captivity survival simulation (Dennis, pos. 21; Wilson, pos. 7; Moore, pos. 38; Mühlenbeck, pos. 20). Apart from Mühlenbeck, Lautwein was the only one exposed to the subject matter as part of the employer's deployment preparation. The difference in the preparation of Lautwein and Mühlenbeck lies in the fact that Mühlenbeck underwent a kidnapping simulation that took place six months before the start of his Pakistan deployment, while Lautwein only attended a theoretical workshop (Mühlenbeck, pos. 20 & 31; Lautwein, pos. 19-23). Prior to the simulation, Mühlenbeck underwent, there was no in-depth theoretical preparation on behavior and survival strategies in captivity (Mühlenbeck, pos. 22). The behavior of the participants was then reviewed in a debriefing session. The simulation lasted about 3 hours. The abduction was simulated by armed individuals and conducted during a bus ride on the training grounds. Subsequently, the blindfolded and handcuffed participants were taken to a holding facility and interrogated one by one (Mühlenbeck, pos. 34). During debriefing, the behavior of each participant was reflected upon, and behavioral recommendations were given. For example, the truthful answering of questions in interrogations was addressed. Mühlenbeck additionally reflects that

"[a] key phrase that I then remembered and that also helped me a lot at the moment of my actual abduction: 'Keep calm.' These are two benign-sounding words, but they really help tremendously." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 36–38)

Lautwein, on the other hand, was prepared exclusively theoretically for conduct in captivity in a one-day workshop which took place four month before he was unlawfully arrested (Lautwein, pos. 21–23). In addition to whether governments, explicitly the German government, negotiate releases, the different forms of kidnapping and the distinction between kidnapping and war captivity were explained (Lautwein, pos. 25). Furthermore, the following topics were discussed:

"[...] behavior towards the kidnappers, for example, passive behavior aiming at not posing an additional stress factor to them. Behavior recommendations were aligned with the different phases of the kidnapping. On the other hand, of course, how to create a daily routine or how important it is to establish a routine. Dealing with stress and boredom was echoed. Also, how dire boredom can be. One of the things that stuck in my mind the most was the guiding principle that if there is still no solution after 48 hours, you should be prepared for a longer stay and reckon with weeks or months until anything happens." (Lautwein, pos. 27)

Additionally, armed rescue missions were addressed as a last resort with both their challenges and risks (Lautwein, pos. 29). No information was provided about specific interrogation techniques but rather about the value of the person's physical integrity. Within the workshop, physical integrity was understood as the preservation of the value of the person: "our value lies within our health and that with damage our value decreases, and therefore we would actually not have to expect violence" (Lautwein, pos. 33). Lautwein cannot recall any exposure to mental stressors in captivity (Lautwein, pos. 35).

Wilson looked into literature on hostage survival in advance. However, the knowledge Wilson gained was limited to the risks associated with an escape and that the best possible time for escape attempts is the attack phase. In terms of behavior, recommendations were: "[...] don't antagonize your kidnappers. Do what they tell you to do. Don't look at them. [.] Get them to see you as a human being" (Wilson, pos. 11).

Both Moore and Dennis had the opportunity to participate in a brief hostage awareness session in advance as part of another deployment. The topics covered there were the stages of captivity, the importance of building relationships with the kidnappers (Dennis, pos. 23–27), as well as "[...] trying to humanize yourself" (Moore, pos. 41). In addition to the awareness session, Dennis read open-access guidelines, such as "Staying Alive: Safety and Security Guidelines for Humanitarian Volunteers in Conflict Areas" from the ICRC (Dennis, pos. 25). "Staying Alive" has a 3-page chapter on abductions where the issues of abduction, post-capture, health, relationship with captors, negotiation, and release are addressed (Roberts, 2005, pp. 149–153).

5. Analysis

Since Goodwin was not kidnapped in the course of his professional duties, there was no preparation by an employer. Likewise, Mauchline's employer did not facilitate captivity survival preparation (Mauchline, pos. 15). Moreover, neither Mauchline nor Goodwin looked into captivity survival before their confinement (Goodwin, pos. 13; Mauchline, pos. 27–29).

None of the participants were informed by their employer about the crisis management procedure in an abduction case or cannot recall whether such information was provided (Moore, pos. 34; Lautwein, pos. 17; Mauchline, pos. 25; Mühlenbeck, pos. 18; Dennis, pos. 17). Wilson was self-employed at that time, and no contingency plan was in place (Wilson, pos. 144). Goodwin was on a private trip, and crisis management preparations for a kidnapping case did not exist (Goodwin, pos. 15).

5.2 Analysis level 2: captivity

To answer the research questions, level 2 of the analysis differentiates between 1) the phases of captivity (see Section 3.3.2) and 2) the offender profile to allow differentiated insights. The superordinate level of analysis are the stages of captivity. Each phase of captivity follows the same analysis structure. The analysis starts with an outline of the situational circumstances/conditions. It is followed by the visualization of the challenges and stresses faced during each phase, and finally, a display of the utilized coping strategies.

On the one hand, the presentation of the situational circumstances and the outlining of the challenges/stresses are necessary to understand what the individuals reacted to with the coping strategies utilized. On the other hand, training content can be derived from the experienced stresses and applied coping strategies. The subdivision according to offender profiles is made to see if this has any relevance for deriving teaching content.

5.2.1 Attack and transport

The attack and transport phases are presented and analyzed in conjunction since the attack phase does not allow for a separate analysis due to its short temporal dimension. The structure of the analysis is described in Section 5.2.

5.2.1.1 Overview of the initial situation: state actor as the perpetrator

Martin Lautwein and Simon Mauchline

Lautwein and Mauchline were deployed as HAWs in the northeastern Syrian town of Qamishli when Syrian regime forces detained them in 2018. The two were moving around the city on foot and were approached near a checkpoint and asked for their visa documents/passports, which were taken from them. Lautwein initially assumed Kurdish Security Forces had approached them. Lautwein and Mauchline were then ordered to follow and were escorted to a nearby Syrian Army checkpoint (Lautwein, pos. 39; Mauchline, pos. 31). Mauchline describes the snatch as: "chaotic is not the way I describe it. I think it was pretty methodical. And it wasn't violent at that point in time, but there was definitely a threat of violence in the air" (Mauchline, pos. 37).

After a short wait, Lautwein and Mauchline were taken by car with heavily armed soldiers, unbound and unblindfolded (Mauchline, pos. 49; Lautwein pos. 57), to a building where they went through a bureaucratic process (Lautwein, pos. 61). For several hours, both were interrogated separately and then locked in a cell in an underground complex together for more than 24 h (Mauchline, pos. 51). After Lautwein's and Mauchline's first night in captivity, they were taken to the airport in Qamishli in the late afternoon/evening via vehicle, blindfolded and handcuffed, and taken to an unknown location in the cargo area of a plane with others, presumably Syrian, captives. In hindsight, Lautwein and Mauchline know that they were transported to Damascus (Mauchline, pos. 59; Lautwein, pos. 101). Upon arrival in Damascus, both were presumably taken by bus to the Palestine Branch prison, also known as Branch 235 (Motaparthy & Houry, 2015, p. 8), which is under the Syrian military intelligence's control. Both spent 48 days in Branch 235.

Samuel Goodwin

Goodwin was in Qamishli in 2019, moving through the city on foot, when he was approached by armed Syrian regime soldiers (knows in hindsight) and instructed to follow (Goodwin, pos. 21). Goodwin was stripped of all his belongings. Within minutes, Goodwin was taken by car to an office and interrogated for several hours. Goodwin assumed that he was being held by Kurdish forces controlling most of Qamishli (Goodwin, pos22). Following the interrogations, Goodwin was driven by heavily armed officers to a compound and detained in a cell (Goodwin, pos. 48). In the following evening, Goodwin was taken to the airport in Qamishli, accompanied by armed individuals and blindfolded, and then transported to Damascus by plane in the cargo hold (Goodwin, pos. 72–76). Once

in Damascus, Goodwin was taken to the airport terminal and handcuffed to another person. Shortly after, Goodwin was driven into Damascus by vehicle, initially without a blindfold. During the transport, Goodwin was blindfolded (Goodwin, pos. 78). Goodwin describes the arrival as follows:

"And we stopped, I was taken out, still handcuffed to this kid, still blindfolded, walked down the stairs of this facility, and when we got to the bottom of the steps, they unhandcuffed me, took the blindfold off. And, you know, I was in this dungeon." (Goodwin, pos. 78)

Goodwin is relatively confident that he was detained in the Syrian military intelligence prison Branch 215, also called "the branch of death" (Motaparthy & Houry, 2015, p. 8) by Syrian detainees (Goodwin, pos. 78). After about a month, Goodwin was transferred to Adra civilian prison (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 16), and the night before his release, he was transferred back to Branch 215 (Goodwin, pos. 170 & 202).

5.2.1.2 Overview of the initial situation: non-state actor as the perpetrator

Steve Dennis

Dennis was in Kenya in 2012 at Daadab Refugee Camp due to a "VIP visit" (Dennis, pos. 29) by the Secretary-General of the organization Dennis worked for (Dennis, pos. 123). The organization had set up a compound in the camps from where operations were conducted. The group of visitors left the compound in a convoy of three vehicles. Dennis describes the situation as follows:

"But these three just popped out and presented in front of us. Guns out to stop us. Our last vehicle had just come out of our compound, and we were spaced 100 or 200 meters apart. I guess because of these IEDs [improvised explosive devices], you try to drive separately, and three people presented on that back vehicle as well. We were in an area with loose sand, so the driver in our cars said they have guns, and he hit his accelerator to try to get out of there. But the wheels just started spinning and throwing sand everywhere. And so, these guys started shooting. I got shot in the leg. A guy behind me got shot in the chest [.]. We got trapped up in this barbed wire fence, and the vehicle stalled, and he got out, and then he got shot there, and the car was disabled. The three of us in the vehicle were each shot, and then there was a lot of commotion, and I was taken out of the vehicle at that point. The second car could go to the side, knock through this barbed wire fence, and get clear. And then the third vehicle, they tried to get out of there, too, but the wheels spun. There is a person right

beside the driver, and he got shot four times, once in the head, and he was killed. The person next to him was shot in the leg. And the two behind were not shot, but they're still in the vehicle. So, then the driver was taken out of that vehicle. Somebody got in, and they drove up to where I was. I was put into the vehicle as well. So, the three plus the other three and then all of us drove a little bit to this one other area very close to us. [.] There were two more people waiting, and they got in. And so, eight of them and four of us. And that's the snatch." (Dennis, pos. 29)

Dennis and his colleagues were transported in the agency's vehicle for about an hour towards the Somali border. During the one-hour drive, the driver knocked down several bushes and trees, which caused the vehicle to break down. Before continuing on foot, the affected individuals could take a first aid kit (two of the four individuals, including Dennis, were shot) and water from the vehicle. After a one-hour walk, they remained out in the bush until nightfall. This continued for the next four days: the affected remained in the bush during the day, and at night the transport continued on foot (Dennis, pos. 45).

Kerry Jane Wilson

Wilson was in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, when she was abducted in 2016 from her office, also used as sleeping quarters. The building was located in a guarded compound. At the time of the kidnapping, local colleagues of Wilson were in the building.

At about 5:30am, armed men opened the door to Wilson's bedroom, entering the room with the words "security," indicating they belonged to the national security (Wilson, pos. 15):

"So, I, I said: 'Yes. What do you want?'. And they took a quick look around the room, and then they went out again, and they left the armed guy behind. And I heard them going up the stairs to where the young ladies were staying, but they would have locked their door. Whereas I don't like locking doors, but it wouldn't have made any difference. They came back down, and it was only then that I realized that you know this, this was not right. Um, so they put plastic handcuffs on me." (Wilson, pos. 15)

Wilson was then the only person led out of the building past her colleagues and armed guards, who were all lined up. Her colleague resisted the kidnappers' order not to turn around and was incapacitated by force (Wilson, pos. 15). After a few minutes, Wilson was moved from the first car to the trunk of another vehicle. The transport took an estimated

30 minutes (Wilson, pos. 15). Wilson was transferred several times during her four months of captivity (Wilson, pos. 4).

Bernd Mühlenbeck

In 2012, Mühlenbeck was in Multan, Pakistan, at home, which he shared with colleagues. The residence was located in an armed compound. Mühlenbeck was in his room skyping with his wife showing her pictures taken during the day, when he heard loud noises in the hallway. Mühlenbeck checked the hallway, saw nothing unusual, and assumed that his colleagues were receiving visitors. However, when another noise occurred, Mühlenbeck opened the door and found himself face to face with three abductors: "I saw three guns pointed at me" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 44). Mühlenbeck describes the situation as:

"There were three jumping jacks, jumping up and down, standing there in front of the door, terribly nervous, shouting at me, and pointing with the weapons on the floor. In the beginning, it was very loud, very nervous, chaotic, and so on, but then, perhaps due to my calm behavior in the situation, it calmed down, and the voices subsided, and they started to talk normally." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 44 & 46).

Mühlenbeck's wife bore witness to the attack via skype. The open folders obscured his wife's image, but she could see what was happening.

Shortly after, Mühlenbeck was led out of the building in handcuffs, where a vehicle was waiting in which his Italian colleague was already sitting (Mühlenbeck, pos. 44). The vehicle started moving and left the compound (Mühlenbeck, pos. 46). Mühlenbeck and his colleague were tied up and had black cloths over their heads during the 30–45-minute drive. During the ride, a shot was fired in the vehicle: "the bullet must have gone into the back cushions just above us" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 58). Later it was explained that one of the kidnappers wanted to move the gun from the back to the front and accidentally pulled the trigger (Mühlenbeck, pos. 58).

Mühlenbeck was transferred to seven different houses during his 33 months of captivity. During the re-transports, he was dressed as a woman, wearing a burqa and jewelry (Mühlenbeck, pos. 58).

Peter Moore

Moore was in Baghdad in 2007. He worked as an IT consultant at the Ministry of Finance Data Center. Moore was abducted from his workplace: "Iraqi police came in en masse and about 100 of them" (Moore, pos. 49). Once outside, he was surrounded by Iraqi police officers and saw his security team leader being disarmed by the police (Moore, pos. 49). Moore and his four security guards were initially transported in Iraqi police vehicles. Moore assumed they were arrested for improper documentation (Moore, pos. 51). Moore describes that no physical force was used toward him, but his security team sustained face and torso injuries. Moore and his colleagues were loaded into two more cars and taken to two different interim holding facilities within the first hour. During the process, Moore was blindfolded and handcuffed. Eventually, Moore and two security guards were "[...] transferred into this like false compartment in the back of a truck, and that's where we were in [.] for nearly two days. So that's when we were transported down [to Basra], Southern Iraq" (Moore, pos. 74). Moore was re-transported several times during his captivity, which lasted two years, seven months, and one day.

5.2.1.3 Stresses and challenges³⁶

After the situational conditions were queried, all participants were asked what challenges/stresses they perceived in that situation. As outlined in Section 4.2.3, the main category *Stresses and Challenges* is divided into psychological and physical stresses. However, the analysis of the perceived stresses and challenges during the attack and transport phase is to proceed within the main category *Stresses and Challenges* since the differentiation does not add value at this early stage. The responses show clear patterns in terms of perceived challenges. Objective situational conditions, such as weapons, were less identified, but the initial stress reaction was perceived as challenging (see Figure 7). The stresses and challenges are presented below according to the actor who kidnapped the affected person to make potential differences visible.

³⁶ The term "challenges" within the analysis does not entirely correspond to the definition of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) presented in Section 3.1.2. On the one hand the stresses are outlined and on the other hand the challenges. The challenges in the analysis refer mainly to the management of and coping with one's own stress reaction and adapting to the contextual demands.

5.2.1.3.1 State actor as the perpetrator

For reasons of clarity, the stresses and challenges faced by the persons, who were being held captive by the Syrian Regime, are shown in Figure 7. The percentages indicate how many people named these stresses/challenges.

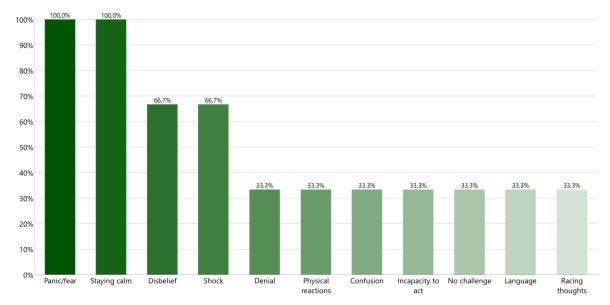


Figure 7: Stresses and challenges during attack

Source: Own figure.

Figure 7 shows that fear and panic were triggered as a reaction to the situation and were mentioned as a challenge in all interviews. However, it should be noted that these only developed in the course of the situation, as all participants initially assumed that Kurdish security forces were approaching them. Both the knowledge that they possessed Kurdish visas and the fact that Kurdish units were considered "friendly to the West" and controls in Qamishli were not uncommon did not initially lead to a direct threat perception (Lautwein, pos. 39; Goodwin, pos. 24). Goodwin, on the other hand, explains that he was already confused at the time he was asked to follow: "I thought they were Kurds. And that was one of the reasons why I was so confused because I was like, we have a good relationship" (Goodwin, pos. 24).

Eventually, Mauchline and Lautwein were told to follow. Lautwein realized that his incoming guess that Kurdish security forces were controlling them appeared incorrect since they were walking toward a checkpoint of Syrian regime soldiers. He describes, "it was actually clear to me, shit that it's not Kurdish security forces [.], but that seems to be Syrians [security forces] who have taken us" (Lautwein, pos. 39). When asked what challenges Lautwein faced, he said:

"I can't say that very well, I think, because I was simply in shock. So, I just went along with it. [.] Yes, I didn't want to admit at first what is happening now [being taken]. And I couldn't even imagine what was going to happen. [...] But that actually [...] pretty quickly turned into panic. Well, a complete incapacity to act. I couldn't think at all anymore." (Lautwein, pos. 43–47)

Lautwein describes his stress response primarily characterized by fear, panic, shock, and disbelief. Mauchline, who experienced the same situation, describes: "Well, I mean, I think at that point [.] it wasn't that challenging. I find that to be not so challenging because I was thinking, what can I actually do here?" (Mauchline, pos. 39).

Concerning the first transport phase in Qamishli (see Section 5.2.1), only Mauchline mentioned a direct challenge/response: "So we were just, I guess, inwardly panicking […]" (Mauchline, pos. 45). Lautwein describes in his recollection that that transport phase was characterized by emotional numbness and blurriness (Lautwein, pos. 69–71). Goodwin names racing thoughts as his initial response:

"Inside, though, I mean, my wheels were turning as fast as they had ever turned before. I was, I was really uncomfortable. I had a ton of things on my mind[.] Its kind of like, this is like a duck. It's like you see a duck swimming across the water. You look very calm. But underneath the, you know, the legs are moving real, real fast. But you don't see that." (Goodwin, pos. 44)

Concerning the attack phase, all participants said that the efforts to remain calm were perceived as a challenge (see Figure 7). All three underwent a bureaucratic process, including interrogations at their first holding facility/office, with initial accusations of having entered the country illegally and being spies. They spent about 24–36 hours in a cell before being re-transported. The challenges and stresses faced during the second transport (see Figure 8) are now elucidated. Before their re-transportation, Mauchline and Lautwein bore witness to another person being tortured (Mauchline, pos. 65; Lautwein, pos. 81). These details are mentioned because it can be assumed that these experiences influenced the perception of the re-transport, and the stresses can only be presented in the respective context.

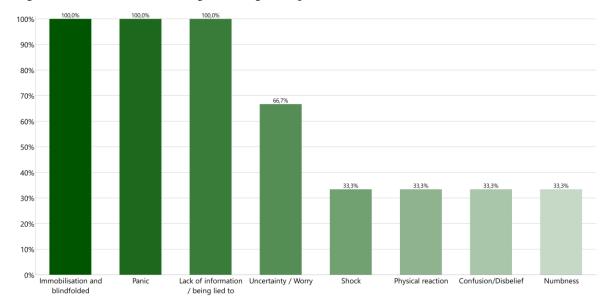


Figure 8: Stresses and challenges during transport

Source: Own figure.

Uncertainty already plays a significant role at this point, as well as the feeling of being permanently lied to or receiving false information or no information at all, which acts as an amplifier of uncertainty (Goodwin, pos. 80; Mauchline, pos. 53; Lautwein, pos. 65). Knowledge allowed them to partially recognize misinformation when they were told they would be handed over to their embassies in Damascus. All knew that their home countries did not have diplomatic relations with Syria. In this regard, Goodwin cites that he was primarily concerned about where he would be taken and describes: "I remember thinking like I have never in my life been flying on an airplane and not known where the plane is going. [.] Absolutely. Absolutely scared" (Goodwin, pos. 84 & 86).

Mauchline also points out that not knowing where you are going and being deprived of the possibility to perceive your surroundings is stress-inducing:

"I think we were[.] tied up, I think, and our wrists were bound. And we were blindfolded, so I mean, that is a panic-inducing sort of state, I think, for anyone [.] You don't really know anything. But yeah, the not knowing where you are going is really awful. I can confirm that. So, the not knowing of where we're going or why is an awful feeling. And you know, being blindfolded, and bound is awful at the best of times, but in those circumstances, it's pretty horrific for sure." (Mauchline, pos. 53)

All describe the flight to Damascus as panic-inducing (see Figure 8). Lautwein describes the flight as such as a challenge

"[...] then we were just put in the plane's hold. That was also really terrible because we just squatted between the luggage. And at some point, the plane really started moving; it was deafening. So incredibly loud. And I didn't even hear that the landing wall was closed, and I was terrified that I would fall out the entire flight. I felt like I was sitting on the edge. At some point, we approached the landing, which was also bad because we were very steep in the landing approach, and I had incredible pressure on my ears. So, so strong, I was wondering [.] whether we were just landing or whether we were going to crash. And then we landed. [.] I was deprived of any possibility to act during the transport phase. I was handcuffed. I was blindfolded. So that made me panic, of course. This is, I would say, a very frightening situation." (Lautwein, pos. 101 & 105)

Lautwein describes the situational circumstances and his stress reaction. Apart from Lautwein, no one had any perceptible physical reactions (Lautwein, pos. 49). Both Mauchline and Goodwin are sure that a change in their heartbeat must have occurred but did not notice it.

5.2.1.3.2 Non-state actor as the perpetrator

For clarity, the challenges and stresses are presented in Figure 9. The percentages indicate how many people named the stresses/challenge.

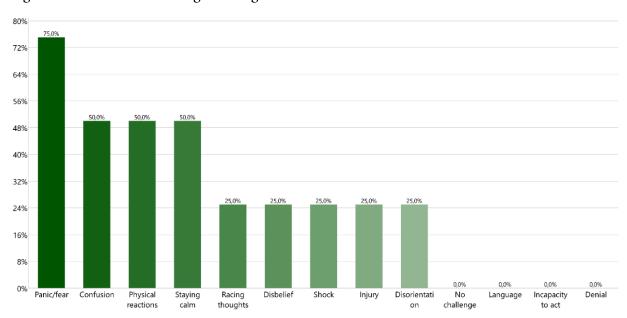


Figure 9: Stresses and challenges during attack

Here, too, fear and panic were triggered as a reaction to the situation and were identified as stresses or challenges in 75 % of the participants. All interview partners have in common that they were abducted at gunpoint. Dennis is the only person who has been injured during the attack phase and, unsurprisingly, states that disorientation and disbelief were a challenge (Dennis, pos. 35). Mühlenbeck describes that he was not anxious during the capture phase but rather in uproar. It is worth noting that it cannot be ruled out that the kidnappers administered narcotics to Mühlenbeck without him noticing (Mühlenbeck, pos. 44). Mühlenbeck identifies racing thoughts caused by the situation-specific uncertainty as a challenge (Mühlenbeck, pos. 50). Wilson describes that she was anxious and confused "because it happened so fast" (Wilson, pos. 23). Moore found it challenging to remain calm and described that "the fear of death is quite overwhelming" (Moore, pos. 63).

During the transport phase, it is evident that being handcuffed and blindfolded represented a stressor for all of them. Again, uncertainty is more prominent and named a stress factor by 75 % (see Figure 10). Fear and panic reportedly remain unchanged, although it should be noted that a sharp change compared to the attack phase would have been surprising, as all were transported immediately after the attack for an extended period. Regarding Moore's transport phase, which lasted about two days, he describes, "the shock of capture was a very stretched out period over sort of 48 hours because we get shunted around all the time" (Moore, pos. 109).

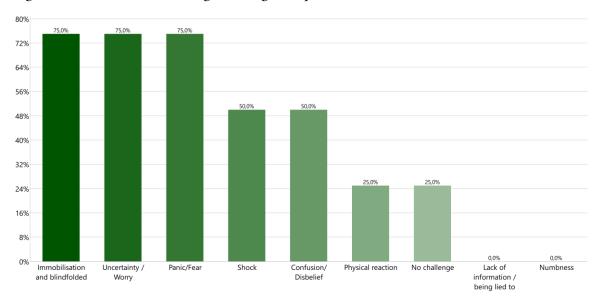


Figure 10: Stresses and challenges during transport

It can be concluded that one's own stress reaction to the situation was perceived as a challenge above all, in addition to immobilization and uncertainty. Compared to Mauchline, Lautwein, and Goodwin, physical reactions during capture were more prominent in this group.

5.2.1.4 Coping strategies

The category *coping strategies* analyzes the strategies utilized during the attack and transport phases based on Ayers' coping dimensions (see Section 3.1.3). The subcategories, including definitions and anchor examples, can be found in the code directory in Appendix VI. Most of the identified coping strategies during the attack and transport phase took place during the transport phase. Coping strategies during the attack phase, either than giving in and passivity have hardly occurred. This is not surprising and in line with Rahe's (2007) elaborations on coping during the attack (see Section 3.3.3).

5.2.1.4.1 Problem-focused strategies

This dimension aims to determine which strategies are used that focus on the stress-producing situation and aim to bring about a solution or a change in the situation/the self. The strategies *planning* and *direct problem-solving* could be identified during the attack and transport phase, which were formed deductively. Figure 11 visualizes the hierarchical structure of coping, including coping responses, coping strategies, and coping dimension.

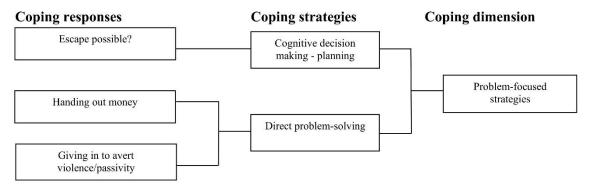


Figure 11: Problem-focused strategies during attack and transport

Cognitive decision making - planning

Only three text passages could be assigned to this strategy. They will briefly be outlined despite their less prominent utilization.

During their transportation phase, Dennis, Moore, and Lautwein actively looked for ways to escape the situation. However, in their short planning processes, all three compared the feasibility with the situational constraints and concluded that an escape would not have been feasible (Lautwein, pos. 105; Moore, pos. 105; Dennis, pos. 45).

Direct problem-solving

In addition to the planning strategy, Moore, assuming Iraqi police arrested them, handed the kidnappers money during the drive:

"[...] I have some dollars on me. So, in South America, you know, I've come across corrupt police. Five hundred American dollars can get you out of most problems. So, I pulled money out of my pocket, and I gave it to the guy. And he looked at it, and he threw it out of the window. And I think that's when I thought, 'that's not right. This is an abduction,' you know." (Moore, pos. 51).

Moore not only drew on experiential knowledge to try to solve the situation but also, based on the reaction of the kidnappers, he concluded that this was potentially a kidnapping.

In addition to Moore's instrumental action of trying to resolve the situation, it could be seen in all interviews, at a behavioral level, that people "decided" to comply or give in. Distinguishing whether it was an active coping response, or an automatic response is only possible to a limited extent. All participants implicitly mentioned the loss of control during the attack and transport phase, but only three people explicitly mentioned relinquishing control, being compliant, and being passive (Dennis, pos. 43; Wilson, pos. 31; Lautwein, pos. 73). Here it can be distinguished based on the formulations whether it represents a result of being overwhelmed and the accompanying incapacity to act (e.g., Lautwein, pos. 51 & 73) or a more active action as described by Wilson: "You know, better just go along with it; otherwise all you will get is a crunch on the head with the butt of a Kalashnikov" (Wilson, pos. 31).

It is noticeable that the adapted behavior (compliance/passivity) is not mentioned as a strategy by all persons, although all behaved compliantly or passively. It seems as if outwardly adapting one's behavior and acting compliant was not perceived as such. However, it can be seen that all of the persons gave in to the situation and were well aware of the

situational constraints. Therefore, it can be assumed that passivity and giving in as a strategy are of relevant significance.

5.2.1.4.2 Direct emotion-focused strategies

This category encapsulates which strategies were used to regulate and manage the emotional reaction by focusing on the stressful situation. Instead of instigating direct actions to alter the stressor, the person attempts to control and regulate the feelings using various cognitive and behavioral strategies. As such, the following strategies, which were deductively formed as subcategories, could be identified: *focus on the positive*, *acceptance*, and *self-encouragement* (see Figure 12). Self-encouragement is an exception; this category was formed inductively.

Coping responses Coping strategies Coping dimension Uncertainty as opportunity Focusing on the kidnappers' Focus on the positive statement Survival rate Accepting the situation Direct emotion-focused strategies Accepting dominance of (Resigned) acceptance perpetrators Accepting loss of control It will be alright Self-encouragement remaining calm You're not doing anything wrong

Figure 12: Direct emotion-focused strategies during attack and transport

Focus on the positive

The strategy focus on the positive records whether or not individuals focused on positive aspects of the situation. The category could be found exclusively in Dennis and Mauchline. Mauchline initially used the situational uncertainty of what was to come to consider all possibilities and focus on a possible positive scenario:

"Without knowing what they plan to do in my head, that was still, logically speaking, a chance of it not being a long process. So, it might not be the end of the world." (Mauchline, pos. 53)

Mauchline utilizes uncertainty as an opportunity for a potentially positive outcome. Dennis drew on the knowledge of survival rates in response to the kidnappers' statements, which reiterated that the intent was not to kill them but to obtain ransom (Dennis, pos. 45). The focus on positive aspects of the situation seems to have functioned to avoid generated thoughts that intensify distressing feelings.

(Resigned) Acceptance

Resigned acceptance describes the process of accepting the situation because altering is not an option. Acceptance of the situation could already be determined in three interviews at this early stage (Mühlenbeck, pos. 38&64; Mauchline, pos. 57; Moore, pos. 61, 82&93). Moore describes the process of resigned acceptance as follows:

"[...] the reality is there was nothing I could do. And I had to accept there was nothing I could do. I couldn't escape. I'm surrounded by people. We were handcuffed and put into the vehicle. And then ultimately, we were put into like a secret compartment of the back of the truck. So, there was no way out. I looked, you know, can we get out of this or this? There was no way out of it. There's nothing I could do. So, I just had to accept that there was nothing I could do and got to go with the flow. It's out of my control. There's nothing I could do about it." (Moore, pos. 61)

What is salient in this respect is that before realizing that the current situation had to be accepted, all of them evaluated their options for altering the situation but concluded that no change could be brought about.

Remaining calm and self-encouragement

Across all interviews, it could be identified that all interview partners focused on staying calm, although, interestingly, none of the individuals could explicitly explain, either than through self-encouragement, how they managed to do so. However, it is recognizable that remaining calm required great exertion on the person's part. It could be identified across the interviews that there was no choice but to remain calm, as this would have potentially intensified the threat and danger (resigned acceptance) (e.g., Mühlenbeck, pos. 38; Lautwein, pos. 53&111). It is noticeable that the effort to remain calm appeared in conjunction with self-encouragement, mentioned manifold. Some of the affected persons repeated to themselves that there was no sense in panicking and focusing on the situational limitations that would not allow them to move out of the situation and presupposed this approach to focus on the possibilities that one can influence: to stay calm (e.g., Mauchline, pos. 41). Mühlenbeck adds that everything will be all right, and a resolution is possible (Mühlenbeck, pos. 54). Goodwin also focused on this approach, but he drew on the knowledge that he had done everything "right" and, thus, self-encouraged himself to remain calm: "telling myself you're not doing anything wrong. You've done all the necessary steps to come here. You've worked with the right people" (Goodwin, pos. 34).

5.2.1.4.3 Distraction strategies

In this early phase of the abduction, only four text passages (transport phase) could be assigned to the strategy *distracting actions*, which records whether and which activities people used to distract themselves from the stressful situation and avoid thinking about it. Moore describes that he chose to sleep during the transport because he could not change the situation (Moore, pos. 82). Wilson distracted herself with counting during the transport phase, primarily because "[...] I was so terrified" (Wilson, pos. 19). The focus on counting, which tries to distract from the actual situation, acts as an anxiety reduction technique aiming to subside the emotional response by directing the attention. In addition to this, Wilson describes that it also served to orient her so that if someone asked how far they had driven, she would have an approximate answer (Wilson, pos. 19). Here, it becomes apparent that coping responses cannot be assigned to just one strategy in some cases, as they pursue different functions (see Section 3.1.3). An excerpt from Dennis' interview shows how he turned his focus to supporting a colleague, distracting himself from the situation:

"At first, I was put in the car next to my colleague with, and I would say, a more severe gunshot wound on his leg. And so, I tried to help with the first aid

there [.]. So, helping him with that was a good thing to focus on." (Dennis, pos. 43)

This again shows the interdependencies of coping responses. It becomes visible how attentional deployment and distraction behavior are mutually dependent. Thus, the focus on the actual situation briefly recedes into the background.

5.2.1.4.4 Avoidant strategies

This category coded the material to determine the extent to which the affected persons used avoidant strategies. Their function is to remove oneself from a dangerous environment, either mentally or physically. Since the situational conditions do not allow one to remove oneself physically, the focus is on mental withdrawal or controlling thought processes away from the stressful situation. Ultimately, it is about reducing contact with the stressor and escaping from the non-contingent environment. The identified strategies are selective attention/attention deployment and thought stopping/controlling (see Figure 13).

Again, it appears that during this early phase of the abduction, these strategies only play a limited role. In total, these strategies could be identified in three interviews. The design of these strategies differed depending on the individual. For example, Wilson explains, "I was trying not to think basically" (Wilson, pos. 33). In this regard, it can only be assumed that Wilson was trying not to allow thoughts to amplify the emotional response; however, since there was no further elaboration, it cannot be said with certainty.

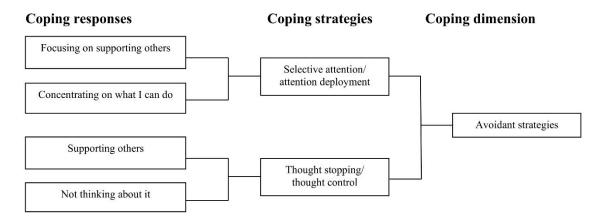


Figure 13: Avoidant strategies during attack and transport

Furthermore, an excerpt from Mauchline's interview shows that scenarios were indeed thought through that would presumably have led to an intensification of the emotional response, which Mauchline was able to minimize/limit by directing his attention and accepting the loss of control:

"[...] the stuff that you can't control is pointless, accept it [acceptance]. So don't think about it [thought stopping]. So, I was doing that, and I always do that. So as much as I could, I was going thinking, I need to concentrate on where I am and what I can do and not am I going to get my head cut off when I get somewhere else when you don't know what is going to happen? So, I would think of that less and think more; what can I do right now? [attention deployment]. And I think that sort of helps me. And that did help me, probably." (Mauchline, pos. 57)

The preceding description shows the complexity and interdependencies of coping behavior. On the one hand, Mauchline expressed that the fact that he had lost control had to be accepted to apply further coping strategies. Building on this, the strategy of thought stopping, which has a clear avoidance component, functioning not to allow catastrophizing by suppressing potentially life-threatening scenarios, thus staying in the present and identifying opportunities to influence the immediate environment and one's reaction. In the next step, Mauchline describes attention deployment by blocking out the uncertainty that seems/is beyond control and focusing on the present.

5.2.1.4.5 Support-seeking strategies

The material was coded to determine whether emotion-focused and/or problem-focused support -seeking strategies were utilized. Only problem-focused support seeking strategies were found in two interviews. Problem-focused support seeking refers to turning to a person to help solve the problem, seek advice, or seek direct task support.

Problem-focused support seeking during attack and transport describes behaviors that rely on third-party support to resolve the situation and/or draw attention to oneself. This category could be identified exclusively in Lautwein's and Mauchline's interviews.

Lautwein and Mauchline were standing on the tarmac (in the car) of the airport in Qamishli before they were taken to Damascus. Since they had not been blindfolded, they could perceive (information-seeking) that there were other people in the immediate vicinity. Lautwein then describes that Mauchline, and he saw an opportunity to get third-party support:

"[...] The car parked next to [.] the crowd. And then we tried to make eye contact with the people, hoping [...] that someone would see us. However, the guards in the car noticed that, too. Then they drove us to the other side of the plane" (Lautwein, pos. 101).

As outlined in Section 3.1.3, coping functions differ from coping outcomes/consequences, visible in Lautwein's elaboration.

5.2.1.4.6 Information-seeking strategies

Information-seeking as a dimension is not integrated into Ayers et al.' five-dimensional model (see Section 3.1.3). This dimension was deductively derived based on the elaboration in Section 3.3.3. The strategies that comprise this dimension were formed inductively. The extent to which the participants tried to find further information about the stress-inducing situation is recorded within this dimension. All active efforts aim to gather information that can be utilized to alter/influence the immediate environment, and information that helps manage or subside the emotional response are assigned to this dimension. Strategies identified are *communication among each other*, *inquiring information*, and *orientation/observation* (see Figure 14).

During the snatch phase, none of the participants used coping strategies or mentioned them during the interviews that would have allowed them to be assigned to this category.

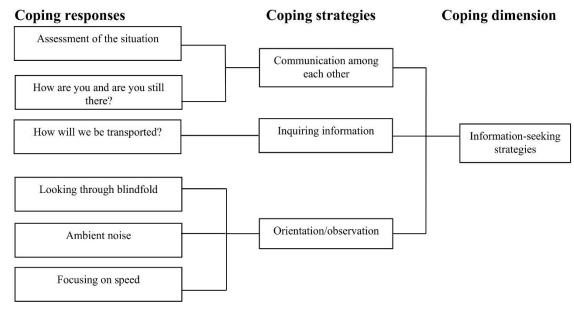


Figure 14: Information-seeking strategies during attack and transport

Communication among each other

Communication options between abductees were limited during the attack and transport phases, so communication occurred via physical contact to make sure the other person was still in the same vicinity or to check on their well-being. Mühlenbeck elaborates: "The first reaction was that Giovanni and I agreed with a nudge or something, that nothing had happened and that we were okay" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 62). Lautwein and Mauchline also report this type of communication, explaining that they had already prepared the night before (cell in Qamishli) to be blindfolded and made plans (planning) on how to signal to each other that they were still in close vicinity to avoid an additional stressor:

"We must have thought that was going to happen [being blindfolded]. So, we were doing that during the journey [tapping]. You know, and also from the bus to the prison from the airport [.]. [.]. We were tapping each other. [.] Just as [indicating] 'I'm here, so don't stress' sort of thing, and we had that planned" (Mauchline, pos. 55)

Based on Mauchline's and Mühlenbeck's explanations, it becomes apparent that this strategy primarily had the function of subsiding the emotional reaction and ensuring that it would not be further intensified due to assumptions that the respective other person was no longer present.

Moore had the opportunity to communicate with his security team during the transport and took advantage of that opportunity to assess the situation:

"I remember saying: 'Do you think we're going to survive this?' And he said he didn't know. So, I thought, okay, that's not what I want to hear. I was kind of hoping for some more optimistic kind of comments about how to deal with it. Yeah, I remember thinking, 'oh well, I won't ask you for any more advice." (Moore, pos. 95–97)

Inquiring information

The strategy of inquiring information was used to obtain information from the captors. This strategy could only be identified in Lautwein's case and refers to direct communication with one of the perpetrators to find out how they would move them to Damascus: "I asked him how we will be transported. He said, 'you will see" (Lautwein, pos. 97).

This strategy demonstrates that the function of a coping strategy and its outcome are not equal, as elaborated in Section 3.1.3.

Orientation/Observation

The far more prominent strategy, which occurred in six interviews, is grouped under *orientation/observation*. As displayed in Figure 14, the orientation responses are diverse and creative. For example, subjects who were blindfolded reported trying to orient themselves by the speed of the car to get a sense of how far they were from where they were taken, turns or (known) ambient sounds were used to find out more about the environment (e.g., Mühlenbeck, pos. 58&65; Wilson, pos. 35; Lautwein, pos. 101). Wilson describes:

"When you reach the gate of the compound, you stop outside, and you either toot the horn and the guard on the inside, or the whoever will come and drive the gate open. And the gates are always this huge, great thing, and you always have to drive them open. So, I heard him. He stopped, he tweeted. The door was dragged open. He drove in. So, I knew we were in another compound" (Wilson, pos. 35).

Mühlenbeck could identify that they were passing through a toll station, so they were probably moving onto a highway (Mühlenbeck, pos. 58). In the case of Mühlenbeck and Wilson, the importance of country knowledge becomes apparent, as they could derive information from it. Lautwein also resorted to similar strategies in that he was able to identify by the engine sound and the way he got into the vehicle that he was in a bus with a diesel engine (Lautwein, pos. 101).

5.2.2 Confinement

The confinement phase describes the entire time the person is held and follows the attack and transport phases. Some participants were transferred several times during their detention; these re-transport phases are not considered. The structure of the analysis is outlined in Section 5.2.

5.2.2.1 Overview of the situational conditions: state actor as the perpetrator

Martin Lautwein and Simon Mauchline

Mauchline and Lautwein spent their first night together in an underground cell in Qamishli. The dark cell had about 20sqm, wool blankets, a small integrated wet room,

and a small basement window, from which they could not look outside, but fresh air came in (Lautwein, pos. 81). Even though Mauchline and Lautwein retrospectively say that it was a "good" cell (Mauchline, pos. 65), Mauchline describes the cell as a "nightmare" (Mauchline, pos. 65).

Arriving at Branch 235 in Damascus, both initially describe it as a bureaucratic process where they were stripped of all their belongings and strip-searched (Lautwein, pos. 117; Mauchline, pos. 92). Mauchline refers to so-called "welcoming parties" (Mauchline, 92) – a term coined by Syrians who are detained/forcibly disappeared by the Assad Regime and brutally tortured upon arrival in prisons (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 6). Mauchline is confident they were protected from these practices but elaborated on the atmosphere upon arrival:

"You could feel the violence in the air and these guys that were sitting around, and there was blood lust. That's the word. It's blood lust. [.] [T]hey were used to fucking people up. I know that sounds really weird in hindsight, but it's totally true. I mean, they humiliate people, I think, and try and make them feel not human when they arrive. And I mean, it still worked. What they did for us was humiliating. It was awful" (Mauchline, pos. 92)

Subsequently, both were led into the prison – here, the memories of the first hours differ. Shortly after, both were brought into a room, and each one had to stand with his toes and nose touching the wall in a different corner. Mauchline was then taken out of the room: "I didn't dare [to] turn around. But that was the last time I heard anything from Simon for five weeks" (Lautwein, pos. 122). Mauchline does not mention the time spent together in the first cell in Damascus (Mauchline, pos. 92). Mauchline was then transferred to the

"[...] underground into a really small cell. [...] [T]hey threw me in there and shut the door, and it was, you know [.], that really dark room that was only two by four meters or whatever and just a really dank thing, and there was like a little blanket in the corner." (Mauchline, pos. 92 & 100)

Mauchline spent five weeks in solitary confinement in two cells, mainly in the one described above.

Lautwein spent his first three nights and the end of his imprisonment on the floor where Mauchline and he were briefly kept together. Lautwein calls this level the "interrogation floor" because of the interrogations and torture sessions in the corridor. After the first three days, Lautwein was also moved to the cellar. The conditions were comparable to those of Mauchline. Both assumed that the other was dead, as they had been told in the interrogations (Lautwein, pos. 156–157; Mauchline, pos. 142). After about five weeks of

solitary confinement, Mauchline and Lautwein were reunited. The two spent the remaining weeks together on the interrogation floor, where conditions – not the interrogations and torture sessions in the corridor – improved. The food rations were increased; they got medicine against lice, were allowed to take showers, go to the toilet longer, got a table, etc. (Lautwein, pos. 238; Mauchline, pos. 148–152). Both were interrogated at least twice during their solitary confinement, surrounded by sounds of torture, and survived psychological and physical torture themselves (Lautwein, pos. 124&180; Mauchline, pos. 65&100). Under "normal" circumstances, Mauchline and Lautwein received two meals/daily, alternating between bulgur or rice, rice-oil soup, bread, egg, and olives (Mauchline, pos. 100; Lautwein, pos. 124), and the amounts were minimal. They were allowed to leave the cell for about 1 to 2 minutes a day to wash themselves, use the bathroom, and refill their water bottles. Within their cells, they had plastic bottles as a loo, which they had to clean during their 1-2 minutes trip to a "bathroom" (Lautwein, pos. 124; Mauchline, pos. 94&100). Mauchline was kept in handcuffs for about two weeks in solitary confinement and was starved for several days (Mauchline, pos. 108).

Samuel Goodwin

Goodwin also spent his first night in Qamishli in a cell he described as "in the middle of nowhere" (Goodwin, pos. 48). Once in Damascus, Goodwin was presumably taken to Branch 215. He describes his arrival as follows "I was in this dungeon" (Goodwin, pos. 78). Goodwin was also subjected to a bureaucratic process, strip-searched, and was then moved to the basement into a cell comparable in size to Mauchline's and Lautwein's: "I will never forget, what he said when he put me in the cell and said: 'Food, water, toilet. Knock. Otherwise, quiet, no talking,' and he slams the door and left" (Goodwin, pos. 78). Goodwin spent approximately 30 days in Branch 215, split between two cells in the basement. The entire time in Branch 215, Goodwin was in solitary confinement. Goodwin describes the conditions as:

"I was by myself, no window. The only human interaction I had was for a few seconds in the morning and evening when the guards brought bread and boiled potatoes, and water. I had to request to go to the bathroom, as I mentioned, and I was usually allowed to." (Goodwin, pos. 90)

His second cell was smaller but had a window (Goodwin, pos. 110). Like Mauchline and Lautwein, Goodwin was exposed to the sounds of torture daily in Branch 215 (Goodwin, pos. 92). After about 30 days, Goodwin was transferred to a civilian prison (Adra), held in communal cells with more than 40 men. Goodwin describes the conditions as an "upgrade" (Goodwin, pos. 172). He made friends with some fellow inmates and had limited

access to the yard, a bed, books, paper, and pen (Goodwin, pos. 185 & 190). During his time in Adra, he was tried four times without an interpreter (Goodwin, pos. 170). One day before his release, Goodwin was transferred to Branch 215 – at that time, he did not know that he would be released the next day (Goodwin, pos. 203).

5.2.2.2 Overview of the situational conditions: non-state actor as the perpetrator

Steve Dennis

Unlike all the other interviewees, Dennis was not held in a building at any time but was in the desert/bush with his colleagues and the kidnappers. The transportation phase "transitions into captivity" (Dennis, pos. 45). During the four-day abduction, the individuals waited in a bush during the day and walked for about 10 hours after nightfall (Dennis, pos. 45). Dennis describes that they ran out of water quickly, and food was hardly available either. Dennis lived on a candy bar: "the chocolate bar kept me going for four days" (Dennis, pos. 45). The long runs were made more difficult by the ubiquitous thorns that dug into the shoes (Dennis, pos. 51). Physically, Dennis describes that "my feet were so sore, actually. Our legs, our bodies were so sore" (Dennis, pos. 58). Dennis explains the relationship and interaction with the captors: "I guess it was civil. There were no beatings. We never had our hands bound or a hood over our heads" (Dennis, pos. 74).

Kerry Jane Wilson

Wilson was transported several times during her captivity. Wilson describes her first holding facility in more detail. She was moved to a room in a compound: "with kind of mattresses all around [.] the walls with cushions leaned up against the wall, you know, and carpet on the floor, that kind of thing" (Wilson, pos. 35). Wilson was chained to a bed, received food three times a day, and had a tin bowl as a toilet (Wilson, pos. 50). The "security measures" were lifted during her captivity after one kidnapper tried to sell Wilson to another group. Not only was Wilson chained to a wall, but they also locked the guards in with her, who had no key to the outside, and those who were outside neither had a key to the chain (Wilson, pos. 84). Conditions improved over time; Wilson explains, "by the time we finished [.], I had Diet Coke and apples and a toothbrush and a hairbrush and a box of medicine" (Wilson, pos. 86). Regarding the relationship with the kidnappers, Wilson elaborates that they regularly asked her what she needed to "demonstrate that he was a good Muslim and a good person and hardly kidnapping at all" (Wilson, pos. 88), as

well as "he [main kidnapper] wanted me to respect him, [.] he was very needy around me. He felt, you know, 'you are my friend, Kerry Jane. My only friend'" (Wilson, pos. 82).

Bernd Mühlenbeck

Mühlenbeck was held in seven different facilities for varying lengths of time. Mühlenbeck spent the first two weeks handcuffed, blindfolded, and immobilized by a chain attached to a stone. The movement radius was less than 1 m (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). Up until the fourth house, which was located in North Waziristan close to the Afghan border (October 2012), Giovanni and Mühlenbeck were held in the same room. The size of the rooms varied from 2x1.5 m to a former goat pen (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). Partly, Mühlenbeck and Giovanni shared the room with their kidnappers. Depending on where Mühlenbeck was held, a wet room was integrated into the holding space, the chains were longer, and windows were present/absent. In the fourth house, Mühlenbeck spent about 14 months alone in a room; Giovanni was next door until he was transferred to a different group (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). The cell that Giovanni occupied until his transfer was also inhabited by other hostages over time, including the former head of the Pakistani intelligence service ISI and the son of the former Pakistani prime minister. During this time, Mühlenbeck bore witness to torture/infliction of violence (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). Mühlenbeck was handed over to another group in the sixth house (approx. May 2014) and had about 40 different guards (Mühlenbeck, pos. 88) while being held captive, which is why it is not possible to speak of "the" relationship with the kidnappers. However, it can be seen from the interview that relationships were built and that the supply situation improved depending on the location of the holding facility. Mühlenbeck describes that "suddenly we got things we had wished for. Body spray or sometimes shampoo or toothpaste, even pain killers were possible" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). Mühlenbeck says about the relationship with the kidnappers:

"If I had met some of them, not all of them, but some of them under entirely different circumstances in entirely different areas, places, I could have imagined being friends with them. That goes more in the direction of Stockholm syndrome. Yes." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 86)

There were joint activities, such as playing Yahtzee or learning languages (Mühlenbeck, pos. 84). The last house Mühlenbeck was held in was in areas where the US military was engaged in warfare against the Taliban. Mühlenbeck and Giovanni were not released together. Mühlenbeck was informed in 2015, after his release, that Giovanni was killed by a drone strike.

Peter Moore

Moore was transferred on average every two months, spending varying periods in the respective holding facilities (Moore, pos. 121–122). Moore summarizes his time in captivity as follows:

"So, in all the time I was held, we were being held in a room in a house with a locked door. For the first few months, we had one chain, and it wrapped around our wrist with a padlock on and then went around and wrapped around my ankle with a padlock on and then wrapped around the other one with a padlock on. [...] The four British guards were split into two groups of two. And every sort of four weekish, I was transferred to the other set of guards. Eventually, [.] after three months, myself and two of the British guards were transported to somewhere in the middle of Iraq. Um, we were still chained, but they moved the chain, so it was around our ankle, but also to a grill in the wall, so we couldn't move very far. Maybe three meters tops. And we, yeah, we have TV, we weren't blindfolded. It depended on the guards; we were blind*folded sometimes and not others* [.]. *After the first year, I was then on my own,* and I was predominantly handcuffed [.] with the chain around the grill in the wall, but I was in the same room as the Iraqis, so my conditions physically were a bit harsh because I couldn't sit up all the time. But because I was in the room with the Iraqis, I was able to sort of talk to them more[.]. And then, in my final year, I managed to get off the chains, and I was able to walk around the room and things like that. So that was better. My final year was still better, but that's it in summation." (Moore, pos. 113)

Moore spent three-quarters of the first year blindfolded (Moore, pos. 247). He was moved between the northern and southern factions of the Shiite militia; the conditions varied accordingly. For example, access to toilets required a demand. Regarding the relationship with the guards, Moore describes that

"They made it very clear. A couple of the guards made it very, very clear: yes, you know, we are happy to do all this stuff, play games, whatever, but we will kill you if we are told to." (Moore, pos. 158)

Moore was the only one of the five abductees to survive captivity. He was told during his captivity that his security team was dead (Moore, pos. 202).

5.2.2.3 Stresses and challenges: state actor vs. non-state actor

After roughly elaborating on the conditions of captivity, this category is intended to represent the stresses and challenges faced by the interviewees during their confinement. Table 11 lists the identified stresses and challenges according to the main categories of physical and psychological stresses divided by the actor holding the person. Each entry is followed by a percentage indicating how many people named this stressor to allow for comparison between the respective actor holding the persons. In order to display the variety of stresses faced, sub-categories have been formed (see Section 4.2.3). However, due to the scope of the identified stressors an evaluation of each stressor is not feasible. Further, the objective of the underlying research question is not to critically analyze all stresses but to display which stresses are prevalent in a captivity scenario. Definitions and anchor examples can be found in the code directory in appendix VI.

Table 11: Stresses (and challenges) in confinement: state actor vs. non-state actor

State actor: psychological and physical stresses (n=3)	Non-state actor: psychological and physical stresses (n=4)	
Psychological stresses		
Psychological stresses (general) (100)	Psychological stresses (general) (100)	
Losses	Losses	
Loss of control/self-determination (100)	Loss of control/self-determination (100)	
Loss of freedom (100)	Loss of freedom (100)	
Loss of identity (0)	Loss of identity (25)	
Uncertainty (general) (100)	Uncertainty (general) (100)	
Fate uncertainty (100)	Fate uncertainty (100)	
Outside world: how do loved one's cope? (66,7)	Outside world: how do loved one's cope? (75)	
Crisis Management efforts: am I being forgotten? (100)	Crisis Management efforts: am I being forgotten? (100)	
Misinformation/being lied to (100)	Misinformation/being lied to (75)	
Court hearings (33,3)	Court hearings (0)	
Psychological torture/violence (100)	Psychological torture/violence (general) (0)	
Solitary confinement (100)	Solitary confinement (0)	
Mock executions (66,7)	Mock executions (0)	
Constant surveillance via camera (66,7)	Constant surveillance via camera (0)	
(Constant) threats of violence (100)	Constant threats of violence (25)	
Becoming a witness to violence/torture (100)	Becoming a witness to violence/torture (25)	
Your friend is dead/free (66,7)	Your friend is dead/free (0)	

Brightness/darkness (66,7)	Brightness/darkness (0)
Excruciating boredom (66,7)	Excruciating boredom (50)
Interrogations (66,7)	Interrogations (0)
Nightmares: waking up to a bigger nightmare	Nightmares: waking up to a bigger nightmare
(66,7)	(0)
Intrusive thoughts (100)	Intrusive thoughts (100)
War zone (0)	War zone (50)
Language barrier (33,3)	Language barrier (50)
Being separated (66,7)	Being separated (33,3)
Fear/terror (100)	Fear/terror (100)
Confusion (66,7)	Confusion (25)
Disbelief (33,7)	Disbelief (0)
Despair (33,3)	Despair (0)
Hopelessness (focus on survival) (66,7)	Hopelessness (focus on survival) (0)

Physical stresses

Physical stresses		
Physical health (general) (100)	Physical health (general) (100)	
Diarrhea (66,7)	Diarrhea (0)	
Weight loss (100)	Weight loss (75)	
Injuries/wounds (33,3)	Injuries/wounds (33,3)	
Hygiene (100)	Hygiene (75)	
Malnutrition (66,7)	Malnutrition (25)	
Infliction of violence/torture ³⁷ (66,7)	Infliction of violence/torture (general) (0)	
Beating (66,7)	Beating (25)	
Starvation (33,3)	Starvation (0)	
Immobilization/chained/handcuffed (33,3)	Immobilization/chained/handcuffed (75)	

Source: Own representation.

As shown in Table 11, the variety of psychological stresses is more prominent and diverse than the identified physical stresses. Although the category *infliction of violence/torture* falls under physical stresses, the psychological effects or the resulting stresses influence mental health and cannot be considered separately.

Uncertainty and *losses* will be presented below as examples to provide a "better" understanding of the challenges/stresses the individuals had to adapt to and cope with. It was

³⁷ During the interviews, torture methods were not explicitly queried and coping strategies under torture were not inquired about. Participants were able to share their experiences, but it was decided to refrain from asking structuring questions in this context for reasons of trauma sensitivity.

decided to analyze *uncertainty* and *losses* separately, as it can be assumed that these two stressors contribute to identifying training content and that starting points for coping can be identified. Based on the stressors presented, it is apparent that not every stressor offers the possibility to derive training content but instead helps paint a holistic picture of "the" captivity experience.

5.2.2.3.1 Uncertainty

"A normal or average prisoner spends their time counting down the days to the end of the sentence. But hostages count up. Uncertainty there is significant." (Goodwin, pos. 112)

The stressor *uncertainty* overshadows people's experience in captivity and has various facets. In the present work, uncertainty could be divided into the following levels: *fate uncertainty*, *outside world: how do loved ones cope*, and *crisis management efforts: Am I being forgotten*. The fact that the persons received misinformation or were lied to act as an amplifier of uncertainty. Uncertainty was a stressor for all persons, which is not surprising in the context of captivity.

Goodwin describes uncertainty during captivity, which will be cited here as a representative of all participants:

"One of the biggest challenges throughout my entire captivity was just the uncertainty, just overwhelming uncertainty of anything. [.] Uncertainty really became like its own living organism, you know, it was starting to grow its legs there. [...] Based on the information that I had, I believed that the outcome of my situation, you know, there were so many potential outcomes, right, and I didn't even have information that could eliminate one of them from the table. So, was I going to be released in five minutes? Based on the information that I had, I believed that was possible. Was I going to be there forever? I thought that was possible. Were they going to shoot me or torture me or stop feeding me? All of these things?" (Goodwin, pos. 60 & 91–92)

Based on the interviews, the feeling that options cannot be weighed or eliminated can be identified manifold. The subjective assessments of the outcome of the situations (fate uncertainty) seem to be strongly influenced by the situational circumstances. For example, it is clear from Lautwein and Mauchline that both firmly believed that they would be killed in captivity. The only difference between them and the rest of the interviewees is that they survived torture, including mock executions, and had to bear witness, like Goodwin, to other people being tortured (Lautwein, pos. 180; Mauchline, pos. 65&108). Mauchline

describes that he never gave up hope. However, the situational conditions were not very promising: "[...] I think most of the time I was not thinking, I'm just getting out. Never. No, that didn't happen. [.] It's a very dark place" (Mauchline, pos. 136). Their captors told Dennis, Wilson, Mühlenbeck, and Moore that they were in for ransom/prisoner exchange. In terms of the hopeful underlying attitude of the individuals that they would be released, this, among other factors, seems to have had an effect.

Furthermore, none of the individuals abducted in the course of their deployment had been informed of the organization's crisis management procedures in advance (see Section 5.1), which not only led to uncertainty about who or how the person's release would be accelerated, thus, intensifying uncertainty and worry, but also that individuals in captivity did not know whether or how their families would be supported leading to worry and rumination.

5.2.2.3.2 Loss of control and loss of identity

"Mental problems? Oh, my goodness. It's it is such a minefield, and you just got to find things to occupy your mind, to try and stop it from sliding over the edge into the abyss." (Wilson, pos. 61)

Wilson summarizes how salient mental stressors are in captivity. Stresses and challenges of confinement are unimaginable to people who have not experienced incarceration. In addition to uncertainty, loss of control is an omnipresent stressor identified in all interviews that must be dealt with to facilitate survival in captivity (e.g., Goodwin, pos. 54; Mauchline, pos. 106; Moore, pos. 332). Mauchline describes the loss of control and links it to feeling de-humanized:

"I feel there's a big loss of control, so they make you not human. They try and make you a number. They try and make you feel like you're not human by doing whatever they do, so they dehumanize you, which is a really gross feeling. And so, your loss of control over your ability to do simple things, listen to music, eat when you want, piss when you want. These things, they take it from you." (Mauchline, pos. 105)

Loss of control seems to be a logical consequence of imprisonment. However, due to its impact, this should be mentioned here since the affected persons show that by employing certain coping strategies, they managed to regain a sense of control within a limited scope, which is relevant for the recommendation of teaching contents. In addition to the loss of

control, the stressor of loss of identity, particularly named by Wilson, should be presented:

"It is so overwhelming. The world has turned upside down that you don't know who you are anymore. And that is such a surprising thing. That would never have occurred to me, but I think it's very common. I mean, one minute you're the director of an NGO [.] and the next minute you're pretending to be an obedient Afghan woman. Not raising your eyes and looking at men, and then you just think, fine, if I go on playing this role for very much longer, am I ever going to find my way back to who I really am? Or am I somehow going to be set in this mold, and I won't be able to get out of it again? And it's really, really confusing, overwhelming loss of identity because it's all very well for them to write in the manual. Do what you're told. It's not so easy. Yeah, yeah. Putting up this front of something which you are not." (Wilson, pos. 61)

Wilson, in her interview, continues describing the impact of the loss of identity by explaining that it does not feel right: "[...] this is not right. I'm being a wimp. I'm just doing what they tell me to do, [but] I should fight for myself" (Wilson, pos. 138).

Wilson is the only one who explicitly states this, although it can be inferred from the coping strategies chosen by others that loss of identity plays a more prominent role. Wilson describes in detail how her adaptation influenced her mental health and self-esteem and how it felt contrary to intuition.

5.2.2.4 Coping strategies

The category *coping strategies* is intended to analyze the coping strategies utilized during the confinement phase. The subcategories, including definitions and anchor examples, can be found in the code directory in Appendix VI. The evaluation is based on the coping dimensions and coping strategies as subcategories. In addition to the 11 coping strategies suggested by Ayers et al. (1997), various other coping strategies were formed deductively (see Section 3.3.3) and inductively.

5.2.2.4.1 Problem-focused strategies

This dimension aims to determine which strategies are used that focus on the stress-producing situation and aim to bring about a solution or change in the situation/the self. Problem-focused strategies are used to actively influence the situation to either produce

desired outcomes or avert undesired outcomes. The underlying understanding of this category, then, is problem-solving. It should be emphasized that confinement is understood as a problem, but individual stresses can be addressed through problem-focused strategies. During the confinement phase, various text passages could be assigned to this dimension, which correspond as subcategories to *planning*, *cognitive readiness*, and direct problem-solving/instrumental action divided further into the following strategies: *humanizing*, *building rapport*, *instrumental compliance*, *negotiation*, *manipulation inquiry*, *instrumental complaint*, *health maintenance/promotion*, *and structuration*. Figure 15 provides an overview of the variety of strategies used.

Coping dimension Coping responses Coping strategies Planning escape Planning Respecting local customs (Hijab) Joint conversation/activities Humanizing and building rapport Sharing private information and sticking to religion Satisfying needs through inquiry Inquiry Behavioral compliance to Problem-solving strategies improve conditions/avert Instrumental compliance punishment Complaining about conditions, Instrumental complaint, negotiating and manipulating to negotiation, and produce desired outcome manipulation Exercising to maintain physical health Implementing structure/routine Health maintenance/promotion and structurization Active attempts to improve hygiene Making insoles to prevent injuries Actively used time to prepare for being separated Actively used time to prepare for (Cognitive) readiness anticipated torture Preparing for anticipated

Figure 15: Problem-focused strategies during confinement

Source: Own figure.

scenarios

Planning

Planning as a subcategory could be identified mainly in terms of escape planning. Moore describes that "Yeah, we always planned it. We had a plan. We had a plan right from the early days, in fact, but we never had the chance to instigate" (Moore, pos. 162). Actual planning or thought processes relating to a potential escape were mentioned more frequently during the transport phase (see Section 5.2.1.4.1). It can be assumed that these possibilities receded into the background during confinement due to the situational conditions. Mauchline, Lautwein, and Goodwin were held in state prison. Lautwein describes the prison, and its security measures as follows:

"It was like a tiger cage in the zoo. And it was somehow super exhausting because you had to stop somehow every 10 meters. So, there was always a barred door in the aisles, every few meters in between. Moreover, they didn't have a master key or anything." (Lautwein, pos. 122)

Based on the description, it only seems logical that an escape would have been hardly feasible. The same applies to Wilson, Moore, and Mühlenbeck because of their immobilization or physical health. This is not about making assumptions that people do not plan their escape but about showing that the situational constraints hardly allow thinking of escape.

Direct problem-solving/instrumental action

Direct problem-solving/instrumental action strategies were found in all interviews. A total of 129 text passages were assigned to different strategies, thus, clearly indicating the importance. Since the strategy of direct problem-solving (refers to instrumental actions) suggested by Ayers et al. (see Section 3.1.3) seems too broad in order to outline the different instances of coping, further strategies have been assigned to the dimension of problem-solving, which all share the fact that they are instrumental actions. The strategies of humanizing, building rapport, instrumental compliance, negotiation, manipulation, inquiry, instrumental complaint, health maintenance/promotion, and structuration were identified (see Figure 15). Two main goals should be achieved through instrumental actions. First, the goal of improving the immediate environment/conditions consists of the strategies of humanizing, building rapport, instrumental compliance, inquiry, negotiation, manipulation, and instrumental complaint. Second, the goals of structuring everyday life through self-determined actions and health maintenance consist of the strategy of health maintenance/promotion and structurization.

Humanize, building rapport, and instrumental compliance

In terms of improving the immediate environment or conditions, behaviors that can be grouped under the terms *building rapport* and *humanizing* were identified across all interviewees whom a non-state actor abducted. As per Busch (2016), "to humanize is to cultivate, to improve, and to civilize. [...] Establish your identity, be recognized as more than just a hostage" (p. 126). Wilson impressively shows immediately after arriving at the first holding facility how she uses her knowledge of experience to gain respect as a person:

"I know what these Pashtun guys think about foreign women. You know, they think they're all prostitutes, etc. So as soon as he took the blindfold off me, I put it on my head as a headscarf. And I could see how surprised he was at that. He went: 'dooo' and looked at me[.]. Then he went out, and he came back with a headscarf [.] From then on, I insisted on being treated as a respectable Afghan woman. This was a very clear message that I was giving to this young guy. By putting his handkerchief on my head, I was saying 'I am not comfortable in your, in the presence of an unknown male with my head uncovered.' So that pushed his buttons. He knows how to treat a respectable woman. Of course, she should not be made to have an uncovered head, a bare face in front of non-family men. So, he was going to behave with that. And from then on, he treated me meticulously. As an Afghan gentleman should treat an Afghan woman." (Wilson, pos. 45–49)

Wilson demonstrates through this act that she draws on experiential knowledge and adapts her behavior to influence her treatment by her captors. Her behavior obviously provoked astonishment and demonstrated respect for the local custom that Wilson used to her advantage.

In addition to humanizing, identified especially in Mühlenbeck and Moore, it was possible by talking about their homes and partners (Mühlenbeck, 70; Moore 173) to identify behaviors that can be grouped under building rapport. It should be noted that Moore fictionalized his wife because based on the kidnapper's reactions to the fact that everyone on the security team was married, he concluded being married might be beneficial. Moore maintained his fictitious wife and marriage for almost three years (Moore, pos. 164). For example, Moore reports joint discussions:

"[...] And people say you shouldn't talk about politics and religion. I got on with this militia. I talked about politics and religion all the time with them. What was that? Where do you think Iraq was going? You know, what was the Iranian influence on Iraq? What was the Saudi influence on Iraq? Yeah, so obviously, I was a bit careful. My line was on the religious aspect, so remember, I had already lied. [.] So, I made a point that I would not convert to Islam.

That wasn't going to happen. That was my life. So, we did a lot of discussions about the difference in Catholicism and Islam, but in reality, I didn't know what I was talking about. So, it's only when I got out, I realized that actually, they have my complete misinterpretation of Catholic religion versus Islam anyway. I think where things got a bit more difficult, I had to be more careful. Obviously, talking about women and their wives I had to be more careful. You know, sort of like the role of women in the West versus in the Middle East. But I was able to play a little bit safe with that because I've not been in the UK for so long. I've not been in Europe for like ten years. Yeah, I was able to put across that, you know, my perception of how things are in England are very, very old. You know if it got twitchy, I let them win." (Moore, pos. 226–234)

Moore describes that he could build a relationship through joint conversations and that he remained steadfast regarding "his" religion, which can be categorized as humanizing. He showed that he belonged to a religion and had a value system, but also that he remained "faithful" to it and continued to make decisions about his life. Mühlenbeck describes similar scenarios in which he talked about religion but sided with the kidnapper when necessary to avoid being perceived as provocative but also remained steadfast to his religion (Mühlenbeck, pos. 86). Before discussing instrumental compliance, it should be stated that a clear difference between individuals detained by the Syrian regime and those abducted by a non-state actor became apparent in terms of building rapport and humanizing. The conditions and structure in Syrian prison complexes offer little to no opportunity to employ these strategies. Lautwein and Goodwin both say that there was a relationship with individual guards (Goodwin, pos. 126; Lautwein, pos. 170); however, when comparing the accounts of the two groups, it becomes apparent that it was on a different level. Goodwin cites that the guards were primarily children and had no authority, and there was a language barrier, but

"We still had kind of a relationship, you know, you still start to kind of laugh and smile or try to be friendly, and these guys were nice to me. They brought me food and laughed, and they always called me Samwell because my full name is Samuel. But in an Arabic accent, they said, Samwell." (Goodwin, pos. 126)

Regarding Mauchline, it should be noted that he chose resistance, defiance, and opposition as a general survival strategy, which is outlined in Section 5.2.2.4.3. This influenced his relationship with the guards:

"Not great. Like I said, I was prickly most of the time as well. You know, [.], some of them were particularly nasty to me. [.] I think my relationship with one of them was OK. It wasn't really good because they were starving and

beating me, so it was bad. It was mostly just really negative." (Mauchline, pos. 124)

Except for Mauchline, none of the interviewees mentioned intentionally going into opposition. Based on the interviews, it can be concluded that most of them were actively compliant on the behavioral level. Goodwin states, "I cooperated with them. I tried to answer their questions as best I could. I told the truth one hundred percent of the time" (Goodwin, pos. 34). Wilson also describes that she followed established rules

"he was fine so long as I didn't look around the corner of the room and see his face. Because he didn't want me to see his face. And I, you know, I knew the kidnap rules that you don't do what they don't want you to do. So, he didn't peep at me, and I never peeped at him." (Wilson, pos. 50).

Mühlenbeck and Moore also clarify that they adjusted their behavior accordingly not to antagonize their captors and to demonstrate that there was no threat or danger from their side: "I was a safe person. [...] I wanted to show I wasn't a threat" (Moore, pos. 141).

Mühlenbeck describes his actions "I always tried not to do anything or say anything that could upset them. And forcibly sided with them when necessary" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 86). Lautwein describes similar behaviors; however, he delineates active compliance/passivity from initially being intimidated leading to "submission" (Lautwein, pos. 298): "[...] they really broke me in those first three days. And then being passive was already an increase with regard to my self-esteem, because it was conscious" (Lautwein, pos. 298).

It should be noted that compliance is enforced by the demonstration of power (chained, use of force, deprivation of liberty) and does not imply that the persons would have subordinated themselves mentally. Instead, it shows how individuals adapted to a role they are forced into and altered their behavior according to the expectations set out.

Mühlenbeck and Moore conclude that their behavior and relationship with the guards influenced their conditions of captivity (Moore, pos. 158). As per Mühlenbeck:

"Yes, I think so. I think if I had behaved differently, I wouldn't have gotten a lot of the things or maybe wouldn't have received books. Or would not have gotten cigarettes in the last four months." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 90)

Inquiry, instrumental complaining, negotiation, and manipulation

In terms of conditions, it is apparent from Wilson, Mühlenbeck, and Moore that they had opportunities to get, within reason, items they wanted or needed through inquiry. Wilson,

for example, got medication through inquiry (Wilson, pos. 100). Moore describes using food to work his way up step by step to see if the guards would even concede him anything: "So but what it showed was that I was able to ask for things and get it. So that's how I started small" (Moore, pos. 190). Furthermore, Mühlenbeck adds that he asked to get something to write on, "[...] and then they built a little table" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). This was out of question in Dennis' situation due to his situational circumstances - they were moving by foot through the bush.

A contrast between the group being held by a state actor and that being held by a non-state actor could be identified regarding satisfying needs through inquiry. Goodwin and Mauchline do not comment on this, and Lautwein describes that he did not ask for anything (Lautwein, pos. 148).

In conclusion to this complex of topics, three quotations of Moore shall be brought up, who achieved an improvement of his conditions by instrumental complaining, manipulation and was able to bring about compromises by negotiation:

"No, I was still being kept in chains for quite a while. For overnight, they've put them on at night. But I do remember in the final year when prisoners, when the Americans released some of the Iraqi militia from their prison, the number two commander got released, and he came to see me, and I complained to him about being in chains at night. Because I said, the Americans haven't done that to you. You know, why are you doing this to me? And so, he agreed to take the chains off completely, provided I didn't try and escape. I mean by that time, I was so weak." (Moore, pos. 117)

Based on this behavior, the complexity of coping becomes visible again. Moore rules out escape due to his physical condition and tries to improve the situational conditions through communication with the second commander by convincing him to loosen the chains. The reasoning Moore uses draws from knowledge (you were not treated that way) and appeals to the norm of reciprocity, e.g., the expectation that benefits will be returned.

Furthermore, since Moore was moved between two factions of the same militia, and conditions were different, he realized that the different guards did not coordinate with each other regarding Moore's conditions:

"So, I was able to manipulate it quite a bit because, to start with, they split themselves into two factions. [.] When I moved to different factions, I got a completely different set of guards. [...] It came down to the fact that I realized that they didn't really talk to each other because I would say to one set of guards, 'do you want me to do this, or do you want to do what the others did?' And they were like, 'well, I didn't know the others did that sort of thing' [.].

And that's when I twig that these guards don't talk to each other. [...] I was able to play it off; I was able to say, like, you know, the South didn't keep me in chains, why are you keeping me in chains, which was a total lie. They just didn't talk to each other. So, I was able to sort of play that off a bit. [...] From there, you know, from my perspective, that was game on. You know what? What else can I get out of these people, you know?" (Moore, pos. 117&145&158)

Moore describes how he manipulated the different sets of guards aiming to improve his conditions. Moreover, Moore again shows that he could reach a compromise by negotiating with his captors. Within the material to be analyzed, this behavior could only be identified in Moore's case and within the context of executions. Compromise does not delineate bringing about an agreement that nothing would happen to the person, but rather that if the kidnappers decided to kill Moore, they would then do it quickly. Moore describes the process as follows:

"[...] we will kill you if we're told to, [.]I mean. (...) It was out of our control if they were going to kill me. [.] Nothing I could do about it. And I sort of said to them, look, you know, that's fine if you're going to kill me, but can you do it quickly? You know, I don't want to be tortured and dragged out, and they said, yes, they would do that. They agreed to that. That they would kill me quickly." (Moore, pos. 158–160)

Moore depicts during the interview that he made a conscious decision for himself to survive captivity and that if the captors killed him, it was not because he had done anything but because they had decided to kill him (Moore, pos. 215). Impressively, Moore again shows the complexity of adaptation and coping. His goal was to survive, but he also realized that he only had limited influence and used communication to influence the manner of a potential execution if he was to be killed.

Health promotion/maintenance and structuration

In addition to efforts to improve the situation by adapting one's own behavior (compliance) and through building rapport, inquiry, complaint negotiation, and manipulation, the structuring of everyday life through self-determined action and health promotion/maintenance will be outlined. Structure and routines could be identified across all interviews. The function of this behavior can be divided into two areas: averting health deterioration or maintaining health and supporting mental health (see Section 5.2.2.4.4).

Dennis describes that he was constantly focusing on finding ways to improve the immediate situation. Because of the ground conditions and the thorns, Dennis, for example, made soles out of a deck of cards so that the thorns would no longer injure their feet (Dennis, pos. 51).

In the area of health promotion, all individuals were found to maintain exercise, food intake, sleep, and hygiene as best as they could to avert deterioration in physical health. However, health promotion/maintenance and structuration seemed to play a more significant role in maintaining mental health (see Section 5.2.2.4.4).

(Cognitive) readiness

Finally, the strategy (cognitive) readiness will be elaborated. Cognitive readiness was assigned to the dimension of problem-focused strategies since it is about being prepared for anticipated situations to mitigate the emotional response and remain capable of acting by having an action plan available for various situations. Ultimately this strategy was employed to reduce the surprise effect when new and unknown situations presented themselves. The tendency is to avert undesired outcomes in terms of an intense emotional reaction and reduce uncertainty by previously having played through anticipated scenarios. The category could be identified in Mauchline, Lautwein, and Dennis. For example, Dennis addresses the fact that the kidnappers were carrying grenades and drew on knowledge gained at a grenade awareness workshop to prepare both himself and his colleagues for a potential detonation:

"Yeah, I guess thinking and planning. In terms of [.] trying to think of what types of situations would come up and what would be a good response. They had grenades. [.] They [grenades] land, take one step, lie down feet towards a grenade, and cover bits. And so, I talked with my colleagues who weren't there for that thing [awareness session] and just saying, look, you know, just a thing that we should know [sharing recommended behavior]. And if there are gunshots, we should get down as low as we can, covered and closed." (Dennis, pos. 83)

In Mauchline and Lautwein, this kind of preparation can be identified manifold. For example, during the first night, they planned how to stay in contact in case they would be separated. Despite the visible planning process the semantical content of the quote refers to cognitive readiness, thus it has been assigned to the strategies *cognitive readiness* instead of *planning*.

"Yes, we actually agreed on knocking signs. We then said okay, what do we do when they separate us? If they separate us, we would knock on the wall. [.] We realized that if I knocked three times, then whoever answered would also knock three times. So, then we said one would knock three times, the other five times, and the other would knock four times. And again, so alternating, and then knocking six times again in response. So that was sort of the plan for us, if that actually happens, that we get separated, then we just keep knocking on walls according to the pattern [.]." (Lautwein, pos. 91)

In addition, the two discussed what courses of action remained available in the event of torture:

"What do we do when we get tortured? We had seen that obviously, people were being tortured. For example, agreements such as that torture would mean that we would no longer come home in one piece because we believed we only have value if we are unharmed. For us, the consequence was that if they tortured us, we would simply disappear because it would be difficult to give us back somehow, in our opinion at that time. And then, for example, we also agreed that for us, as soon as torture becomes apparent, that would mean that we would try to commit suicide. And not just to protect ourselves, so to speak, but also to protect everyone else. [.] The knowledge that we had at that time [let us believe] that torture would inevitably mean death for us." (Lautwein, pos. 89)

It is emphasized that this conclusion was based on the content of Lautwein's pre-deployment captivity survival preparation, in which participants were told not to expect violence because they were only of value as unharmed hostages (see Section 5.1). The evaluation of this situation is thus directly linked to knowledge imparted during pre-deployment security training, which aims at empowering people to survive imprisonment. However, as the analysis continues, it becomes apparent how fatally this knowledge has affected their hope of survival. Citing suicide (ideation) as coping with a situation is diametrically opposed to the notion of "to cope." The decision to include this quote and integrate it into the framework of coping strategies was made because it shows the importance of knowledge about experiences in captivity so that individuals in a similar situation do not conclude that they will not survive due to exposure to violence. Suicide is not meant to be romanticized. However, based on the explanations of why Mauchline and Lautwein arrived at this conclusion, it becomes apparent that suicide, in this case, would not have been - at least not recognizably - an act of desperation. Instead, it would have been an act of self-determination and recognition that the only control left to the person in this very situation to protect himself and others was suicide. Lautwein himself describes it as "not

just to protect ourselves, so to speak, but also to protect everyone else"; the perception that suicide seems to be an act of protecting oneself shows the situation's brutality.

Finally, it can be stated that Lautwein mentally went over various scenarios in solitary confinement and emphasized the subjective importance of anticipating events for preparation, such as interrogations or the recording of propaganda videos:

"So, I was perfectly prepared for my plea in court. We also played [recorded] this propaganda video that was never broadcast. I said exactly the sentences that I had prepared. And it was exactly what they wanted to hear. In the end, I said that I didn't know what I was doing and that I was terribly sorry. And then I put the old German proverb: 'Ignorance is no excuse' in there, and they were all super satisfied and thought that was really good." (Lautwein, pos. 200)

Despite the experiences made, the outward adaptive effort to be capable of meeting the expectations of the perpetrator is remarkable and cognitive preparedness/readiness seems to have assisted Lautwein in this process.

5.2.2.4.2 Opposition strategies

Within this dimension, which is not included in Ayers et al.'s coping taxonomy, the aim was to find out to what extent people actively fight the source of stress by using opposition or resistance behavior. The dimension was formed deductively based on the explanations in section 3.3.3. The strategies identified are *resistance behavior*, *verbal and physical aggression*, and *fantasies of retaliation* (see Figure 16).

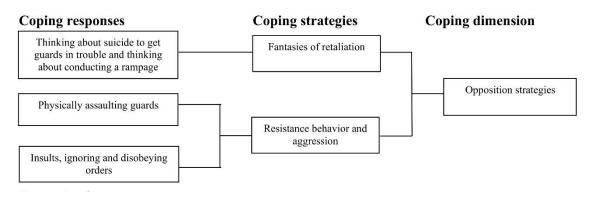


Figure 16: Opposition strategies during confinement

Source: Own figure.

Resistance behavior and aggression

Resistance behavior and aggression occurred exclusively in Mauchline while being held in solitary confinement and stands in direct contrast to instrumental compliance (see Section 5.2.2.4.2). Mauchline illustrates that resistance was his default control he used to cope with captivity.

Mauchline elaborates:

"All of that is saying, you've got no control, and they take all your control away and even the camera. I've thought about this [camera] in hindsight, too. It's a really malicious form of them saying: '[.] You do exactly what we want you to do. And nothing outside of that.' Stuff that I did to take back my control was very deliberately a pain in the arse, so, you know, again, I've said this before, I wouldn't recommend it to people. But I feel, I bet it's true, [.]my brain would have snapped if I would not have done this, though, I genuinely think that. So, I think people need to have at least some sense that you've got a control of something. [.] They definitely had made it clear that they can kill me whenever they want, and I can't do anything. So, I thought, I've got nothing to lose. But if I make things a little bit harder for them and a little bit more annoying then that will be satisfying for me[.] And, yeah, definitely irritated some of them on an individual level, which is cool and definitely irritated, the boss of the prison who came in a couple of times and yelled at me. But yeah, that worked for me. I think, and I've thought about this in hindsight. I thought, you know, I can't control much, but I can control this. So, I did that. And it did make things easy for me, like I've said, but I think my brain survived because of that. I had a feeling of satisfaction, and it sounds really morbid, but the feeling that you're going to even if you die, you're going to die under your own, sort of way, you know, you're calling the shots." (Mauchline, pos. 106)

Mauchline describes his resistance during the interview, explaining that he responded with insults, ignoring orders, and disobeying them completely. Furthermore, Mauchline details a situation in which he used physical violence against one of the guards: "[...] I also beat up one of their guys or half beat one up and sort of strangling him" (Mauchline, pos. 101). The resistance behavior and aggression Mauchline used were based on the motivation to regain control and the knowledge that he could not change the fact that they could kill him but could influence how he stayed "true" to his person and maintained self-respect. Mauchline describes that through his oppositional behavior, he maintained his dignity by deciding with what attitude he would die. In particular, it should be noted that Mauchline's behavior lifted him from a passive position of compliance to an active position characterized by (perceived) control. Based on the analysis so far, Mauchline's behavior appears counterintuitive. With the active use of violence and resistance behavior,

his physical integrity was repeatedly violated, and conditions worsened for him. Mauchline explains why he behaved the way he did:

"This wins for me twofold. One, I get to do a few hours where I'm making these [crafts] things³⁸. And the second thing is when they came in, happened only twice, where they ransacked my room, pulled everything up and took everything away, and physically assaulted me. When they were over [.] I managed to turn it in my head and make it a positive thing. I was just like, I'm annoying you, so that's a good thing. So, it was a win-win." (Mauchline, pos. 155)

As per Mauchline, opposition behavior allowed him to protect his psyche. In return, he accepted being handcuffed for weeks, not being given food for days, and increased exposure to coercion and physical and psychological violence. Mauchline delineates that he was able to positively cast the violence inflicted upon him verbally and non-verbally through reframing and cognitive restructuring, which triggered a sense of satisfaction and a sense of control. Based on the explanation, it seems as if Mauchline tried to create an equilibrium against the injustice that happened to him by actively resisting to raise his morale.

Fantasies of retaliation/revenge

Revenge is "an action in response to some perceived harm or wrongdoing by another party that is determined to inflict damage, injury, discomfort, or punishment to the party judged responsible" (Aquino et al., 2001, p. 53). Revenge fantasies were identified exclusively in Moore and Lautwein, with Lautwein describing a collaborative planning process with Mauchline. Moore's elaboration on revenge fantasies is interlinked with suicide ideation:

"I thought I was going to die in custody, right? I didn't want to be executed. I didn't really want to get ill. I didn't want to have a heart attack or something like that. Because I've been taken off the chain, they took the chain off me, and they put it on a shelf in a cupboard, and there was a hook in the living room that held a light, and it was really strong. The Iraqis used to exercise on this hook. So, I thought, you know what? I'm going to hang myself with this chain. And I thought about the reasons why, you know, principally I could choose how I died when I died. Hopefully not painful. But really, my main reason for doing it was that I knew the Iraqis would be in real big trouble seeing me hanging there and letting that happen. And I like the idea of getting them in trouble, but I wanted to see that reaction. But obviously, if I'm dead and I'm

³⁸ Mauchline was not allowed to craft.

hanging there, I can't see their reaction, right? So that really annoyed me. So, at that point, I made a very conscious decision that I was going to get out alive, and if they were going to kill me, it's because they chose to kill me, not because I did something that made them kill me. So, if they said to me, can you stand up? I'd say, ok, I'm standing up now because you said so. OK, here we go. So, I was much more careful. And that was my turning point, really. I will make this out alive [...]." (Moore, pos. 214–215)

What becomes apparent from Moore's remarks is that suicide ideation is perceived as the last self-determined action to escape from the environment. For Moore, it was not just an opportunity to die in a self-determined manner, as he assumed he would not survive, inferred in part by the fact that the entire security team was already dead. It almost seems like a self-assurance that there is a self-determined way out if the situation becomes unbearable. However, Moore states that his main reason for contemplating about suicide were revenge fantasies. Moore then describes that addressing the reasons why suicide seemed like an option, which were primarily based on revenge, reignited his will to survive, strengthened his passive and instrumental compliance, and led to adjusting his behavior to increase his chance of survival. Lautwein states:

"Yes, my planned rampage. There were weapons in the guard's room. [.] They let us go to the toilet at night; by then, all the guards were already in their dormitory. It was really in the final phase, where we were already trusted. And it would have been possible to overpower this one guard and get to these weapons. So, we didn't even have to overpower him, he slithered after us, and we would have to turn left, and then we would have been at the weapons. And that was kind of a thing; we planned that too. We dated that for the [indicates date] [.] The plan was to get the weapons and shoot around us. And then try to use the telephone in the room to see if we could use it to make a phone call to Germany. I can't say whether we would have really been able to do that. I don't know. That wasn't the point at all." (Lautwein, pos. 192)

Lautwein's statement addresses two levels: On the one hand, he describes thoughts of revenge, which, as the research acknowledges, mainly tries to restore a balance between the respective actors. On the other hand, Lautwein delineates that part of the plan was to be able to make a call to Germany (instrumental action). Both levels aim to lift themselves into an active position.

5.2.2.4.3 Direct emotion-focused strategies

The category encapsulates which strategies were used to regulate and manage the emotional reaction by focusing on the stressful situation. Instead of instigating direct actions to alter the stressor, the person attempts to control and regulate their emotions using various cognitive and behavioral strategies. The following strategies, which were deductively formed as subcategories, could be identified: *maintaining a structure and hygiene*, *focusing on the positive*, *cognitive reframing/re-interpretation*, *acceptance*, *self-encouragement*, and *stress management techniques* (see Figure 17). Self-encouragement is an exception; this category was formed inductively.

Coping responses Coping strategies **Coping dimension** Establishing and maintaining a Maintaining a structure and hygiene structure and hygiene Uncertainty as opportunity Focusing on input by kidnappers Focus on the positive Focusing on what I have (food, blankets etc.) / positive aspects of the situation (reunion) Accepting the situation and loss of control Accepting potentially being Acceptance Direct emotion-focused killed strategies Acceptance through imagination and reframing Re-interpretation through "facts not fears" Cognitive reframing/reinterpretation Giving detention a sense -"constructing a second identity" Little victories and experience of "adaptation to environment" and regaining a sense of control Self-encouragement Positive self-talk/encouraging thoughts Self-encouragement through successes of others Stress management Meditation, breath work, exercising, sleeping, yoga techniques

Figure 17: Direct emotion-focused strategies during confinement

Source: Own figure.

Maintaining hygiene, structure, and routine

Regarding structure and routines, Mauchline, Goodwin, and Lautwein unanimously indicated that establishing them was important (Lautwein, pos. 150; Goodwin, pos. 116;

Mauchline, pos. 114). In addition, Lautwein emphasizes in a follow-up telephone conversation that a structure is a tool to evoke and maintain the discipline to continue and persevere by giving oneself a framework that is not predefined and forced upon one from the outside. Lautwein emphasizes that the structure provides support and is an act of self-determination and thus serves to regain control since it was built and implemented under one's authority. Mauchline also argues that control is central in this context (Mauchline, pos. 114). In addition, it increases one's sense of effectiveness, similar to ticking off items off a to-do list, Lautwein says, so that endurance is additionally strengthened. The content of the structure varies from person to person, but what can be observed among Mauchline, Lautwein, and Goodwin is that movement/exercise was part of it, mental activities for mental employment, hygiene, and for some praying (Lautwein, pos. 134&164; Mauchline, pos. 114–116; Goodwin, pos. 116).

Lautwein describes, for example:

"And then I really started to roll up this blanket in the morning and say okay, I'll lie down again in the evening [.]. And then, of course, the point is, if you don't sleep anymore, you must keep yourself busy. You need things to do. And I think that was the biggest challenge, finding things." (Lautwein, pos. 134)

Goodwin describes his structure as follows:

"I had [a] time when I was going to exercise. I was going to do some push-ups and sit-ups, core exercises. Then I was going to pray during this time, and I was going to tell stories to imaginary people during this time. And then I was going to just meditate or just stare at the ceiling and hope that time was passing faster than I thought. And then I was going to, you know, I should be getting food, so I'm going to stretch out the amount of time that I take to eat it. And then I should be at a point where I can go to sleep [.]. And that routine became something that I relied on and so super important." (Goodwin, pos. 116)

Another point that seems vital is the significance assigned to maintaining hygiene. Maintaining personal hygiene was utilized to maintain physical health (problem-solving) and served to maintain self-respect and dignity. Lautwein describes, "actually, to give someone two-four minutes a day just to clean themselves in such a dirty environment, is quite humiliating" (Lautwein, pos. 150). Lautwein calls it a victory that he managed to organize himself to use the few minutes effectively by dividing them into 30-second blocks, each of which he devoted to a different body part, thus maintaining hygiene (Lautwein, pos. 148–150). In this statement, the importance of structure and hygiene for mental health

becomes visible again, as well as that one's self-organization, and achievement of goals (maintenance of hygiene) can strengthen morale.

Individuals often cite having implemented a structure in combination with information-seeking strategies. Here, the interdependence of strategies is again evident – temporal orientation (see section 5.2.2.4.8) influenced the timing of activities, at least for Goodwin and Lautwein (Goodwin, pos. 90; Lautwein, pos. 134).

Wilson, Moore, and Mühlenbeck also mentioned implementing a structure and routines. However, it should be noted that due to the immobilization by chains, flexibility in implementing a structure was reduced, and individuals focused more on mental activities. All mentioned movement/exercise as an essential part of a structure; implementation depended on situational conditions (immobilization), with stretching exercises also being used (Wilson, pos. 50&86; Moore, pos. 140&188; Mühlenbeck, pos. 84). Mühlenbeck cites that his captors' prayer times ultimately influenced his daily structure and sleep schedules (Mühlenbeck, pos. 84). Moreover, Dennis cites that "there wasn't really enough time to keep a routine or exercise" (Dennis, pos. 81).

Again, it becomes clear that the conditions of confinement influence the extent to which individuals can implement structures and routines.

Focus on the positive

Focusing on the positive could be identified across all interviews. This category includes three different areas: *uncertainty as an opportunity, focusing on the kidnappers' input,* and *focusing on what I have/positive aspects of the situation.*

Regarding *uncertainty as an opportunity*, it can be deduced that this seems to correlate significantly with the assessment of the chances of survival. Individuals who assumed that they would survive and that it would ultimately be "only" a matter of time until they were back home used the uncertainty to focus on the positive ending and held on to it (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70&82; Moore, pos. 196&243). The assessment of one's own chances of survival seem to partially relate to experiences of violence, either bearing witness or being subjected to physical violence themselves (see Section 5.2.2.4.1 cognitive readiness). Framing uncertainty as an opportunity is not suggesting that interview participants constantly remained optimistic about a positive outcome. In this regard, it should be noted that the assumption that one will survive captivity was dependent on the situational dynamics, the mental state and may well be described as fluid instead of absolute and constantly present.

Focusing on kidnappers' input is an interesting aspect and could be identified in four interviews. Dennis describes a situation in which the kidnappers communicated that they were not interested in killing them:

"One guy was kind of indicating 'no shoot. No, no, no dimali, dimali' there's no problem in Somali, 'money, money.' And, you know, kidnap for ransom is a big thing in Somalia. To hear it from sort of somebody that you might not trust, it's nice to hear. Yeah, it definitely was good to know." (Dennis, pos. 45)

Here an ambivalence becomes visible, which Dennis himself addresses. Despite the strangeness and the deprivation of liberty, a level that leaves room to believe what is said and thus allows to focus on the positive statement of the individuals responsible for the potentially traumatic experience is visible. A similar situation could be identified in Wilson. One of the abductors calmed her down by reassuring her that nothing was going to happen to her which led to the subsidence of Wilson's (physical) stress reaction (Wilson, pos. 37).

The last area refers to *focusing on what is available and the positive aspects of the situation*. Goodwin describes the former and its importance:

"[...] I provoked gratitude for the food and water I was being given. You know, they'd bring me food and water, and I would think to myself: well, this is a really horrible place to be in, but I have food and water. Some people don't have that. And that was just a little bit of strength, even for just a couple of minutes." (Goodwin, pos. 90–91)

Goodwin's elaboration that focusing on available food and water, which is the minimum to keep a person alive, gave him the strength to continue is remarkable by showing that he was able to evoke gratitude despite the extreme situational conditions by ordinariness. Lautwein and Mauchline both describe that their reunion evoked hope, and a more positive outlook. Here, both note that at this point, their conditions - more food, table, chairs, shower, less/no physical violence - changed and allowed them to focus on the positive improvements (Mauchline, pos. 148; Lautwein, pos. 178). Lautwein makes another statement in this regard that is directly related to improved conditions but addresses the flip side. Even though this statement is only indirectly related to focusing on the positive, it should be mentioned here:

"But still, of course, from that moment on, the pressure was there. It could end at any moment. So, the fear is that it will get worse again. Was it good for me to see Simon, yes it was. But on the other hand, there is a fear that I no longer had. This fear that they will separate me from him again and take it away again." (Lautwein, pos. 238)

Lautwein's statement shows that his efforts to adapt to solitary confinement succeeded in attenuating the affective component of emotions, but this created a certain degree of fragility as conditions improved and represented a perceived vulnerability for him. Finally, another quote from Lautwein should be cited, who describes the moment when he was handed a prison uniform after being locked up without clothes for several weeks:

"The day I was reunited with Simon, I was given a uniform. [.] So, on the one hand, you're like, okay, now I'm really one of the others here. And on the other hand, it was, it sounds strange because people always say that uniforms dehumanize, but for me, it was more of a recognition that I am a human being who is now allowed to wear a uniform. [.] That was a great moment for me." (Lautwein, pos. 178).

It is scientific consensus that unification, among other things through uniforms, takes away the individuality of persons. One result of this can be the dichotomous affiliation construction of "we" and "they" (Fredriksson, 2021, p. 50). Classical othering processes valorize one's own identity based on the devaluation of "the supposed other." Lautwein's statement "now I'm really one of the others here" almost acts as a sense of connection to people who suffer a fate similar to his own. Lautwein's assessment focuses on the positive aspects, going so far as to say that the uniform clothing is a reminder of himself being human.

Acceptance and cognitive reframing/re-interpretation

The strategy *acceptance* depicts the extent to which individuals mention accepting the situation. Three areas could be identified within this category: *accepting the situation*, *accepting the loss of control*, and *accepting being killed*. In addition to acceptance, the strategy *cognitive reframing/re-interpretation* of the situation is included here, as the two categories are closely intertwined. *Cognitive reframing/re-interpretation* captures how people change the perception of a situation and its emotions through reinterpretation or by applying a new frame by taking a different perspective.

Acceptance of the situation could be found in five interviews.

"I think, first of all, you've got to accept the situation you're in, so you need to focus on your situation in that room. Just concentrate on improving your own well-being. So, forget about the outside world. Forget about anyone back home, all this sort of stuff. Just forget all of that, and you've got to focus on your own well-being." (Moore, pos. 128)

With Moore's statement, it becomes apparent that acceptance was used as a mechanism to enable further coping behavior/action to be established to improve everyday life. Moore's remarks show that acceptance is facilitated by thought control/suppression and requires attention deployment. The interdependence of coping strategies becomes visible again, and it becomes evident that coping behavior does not emerge in isolation but forms a net that facilitates the adaptation to the situation. Acceptance is not synonymous with resignation but enables the adaptation to situational constraints by acknowledging the loss of control over self-determined action and identifying possibilities that allow options for action.

The second area of this category, to accept being killed, captured how individuals dealt with their fate in terms of potentially not surviving. This category could be identified in three interviews. Moore explains that it was out of his control whether he would be killed, but he still tried to influence how he might die (see Section 5.2.2.4.1). Mauchline, on the other hand, describes:

"Thinking if I'm going to die [.] on a humanitarian mission, that's pretty badass. That is not bad. So, in my head, that's not the worst thing, you know, it's not. And it's not. So that was a thing where I was like, well, if I'm going to die, then you know, I want to die with, it sounds dumb as well, but just because no one is watching or anything, but you just go, I wouldn't mind doing that with a bit of dignity. And so that was always high on my list to die in dignity and to not be scared. And so, I mean, I've had that for a long time. So that was part of what my thinking was in there. So even without hope, the hope that I had was that I could die an okay death, I guess, which sounds really morbid, but it's just partly that I was thinking that helped as well when I was like, I am going to die. Go out in a way where you're looking at the person [...] who shoots you or whatever it is, whatever those little things are that help, you know?" (Mauchline, pos. 138)

What becomes visible based on Mauchline's remark is that the adaptation to the thought of one's own death was made more conducive by reframing in combination with meaning-making. On the one hand, Mauchline explains that it would not be the worst thing to die on a humanitarian mission. It seems as if the experience is given meaning to compensate for the feelings experienced. On the other hand, Mauchline describes how he restored his human dignity by wanting to die without fear. Ultimately, it appears that Mauchline has fostered acceptance through meaning-making to help cope with the situation/with fate uncertainty and brought about a change in perspective that alters the losses and the fear of one's own death. It is to be emphasized that accepting being killed is not to be

confused with giving up or wanting to die; it is a coping strategy applied to attenuate the emotional response and make the thought of one's own death more bearable.

With regard to cognitive restructuring/reframing, the way Mauchline and Lautwein dealt with the information that the other was dead should be detailed. Lautwein and Mauchline gave surprisingly similar answers in their interviews about how they dealt with this information:

"Nevertheless, I don't know, within these five weeks, I somehow came to terms with the fact that I wouldn't get out of there alive either, and the thought that Simon was no longer alive was rather relieving for me in the situation. So, because I thought, he's just got it over with. Yes, everything was just strange. Really so strange. But yes, well, Simon is dead now. [...] So, that was really a relief for me." (Lautwein, pos. 160)

"[...] it's all a game of them fucking with your head because both those answers are quite awful. When you're in there like him, being set free is good. But then also you get that sense of pure isolation. Of him being killed is awful. But then, you know, I was also in such a bad situation, you know, being dead is better than this at the moment, and that's probably true as well." (Mauchline, pos. 142)

Unlike Lautwein, Mauchline was unsure whether Lautwein was released or killed. Nevertheless, both describe the information caused them relief because they assumed that the other would thus no longer be exposed to the situation. The fact that a friend has been potentially killed engenders negative emotions. Lautwein and Mauchline both describe reframing this information. Since the two assumed that they would not survive captivity, they focused less on the fact that the other was dead and more on the fact that the person was no longer exposed to the situation. Mauchline also describes thought suppression and control to cope with the information (see Section 5.2.2.4.5).

Constructing a second identity

Lautwein employed a coping strategy called *constructing a second identity* within cognitive reframing.

Lautwein describes:

"I started imagining being an agent in there and reiterating that there would most certainly be an evacuation plan to get us out. And we would just have to find out as much as possible about this place. And that's what I did. Today when I go to the toilet, I look at this corner, tomorrow at this one. Or when I was taken somewhere for interrogations or something like that, I looked again; what do I see there? And I put all these details that I collected into the 'I'm packing in my suitcase' game. Lots of details, like which types are the surveillance cameras, which company are they from or from which company are the neon lights on the ceiling, etc. [...] I lived in this world [.] at some point this was my world, [I believed] that I am an agent in here. And that more or less made me feel like I had the upper hand. That was the kind of thing where I thought, 'well, if you only knew.'" (Lautwein, pos. 136&190)

What can be seen here is that Lautwein ascribed meaning to his captivity through the notion of having infiltrated a Syrian prison as an agent. The self-assurance that there would be an evacuation plan appears to act as reassurance that the situation was temporary. This constructed identity caused Lautwein to think differently about captivity (reframing) by giving him a straightforward assignment, adapting his behavior, and gathering as much information as possible. It should be emphasized that Lautwein used this strategy to lift himself from the passive role (obedient/passive detainee) into an active role. Accordingly, this strategy also functioned as employment, especially in combination with "I'm packing my suitcase," which functioned as a memory bank since Lautwein aimed to memorize detailed information to feed it into accountability endeavors providing information to law enforcement agencies (Lautwein, pos. 138). An essential component Lautwein describes is that because of the reinterpretation of the situation, he had a sense of superiority and control, which he describes as "uplifting" in terms of his mental health and raising morale (Lautwein, pos. 190). Lautwein does not describe this strategy as an escape strategy but rather as changing the frame to influence the emotional experience, ascribing meaning to it, and as a comprehensive engagement.

Facts not fears

The phrase *facts not fears* stems from Lautwein's and Mauchline's interviews – it is a shared coping strategy that describes the process of cognitive reframing/reinterpreting.

Lautwein describes *facts not fears*, as follows:

"You have many fears. And you have things that you imagine could happen. However, when you go back and say, okay, what has actually happened so far? What has actually happened to us? If, for example, even if you were tortured, you look at your body and say okay [.] we were battered, but we were not in a state where you couldn't have given us back at any time. Yeah, I think that

helped us both a lot. So, we didn't always push the fears away, but we confronted them and worked through them." (Lautwein, pos. 196–198)

Mauchline adds:

"I would say, can we talk about facts if I was feeling uneasy. And we would talk about facts, and we would just go through what we thought were facts [.] because it's hard to be rational in that situation. But if you are rational, you would realize that things were hinting that they were going to set us free. So, we would go through that. [.] It's just us reiterating what's happened and what the logical next step would be. It was actually pretty good. I mean, it was easier when we thought we were going to get set free." (Mauchline, pos. 159)

Mauchline and Lautwein show how they came to re-evaluate the situation by taking a more "rational" (Mauchline, pos. 159) position, thus, making the situation become more bearable. Reinterpretation did not allow them to revise their assessment that they would die in captivity entirely but at least created a level that included the possibility of survival.

Self-encouragement

Self-encouragement describes the indication of affirmations to inject perseverance and hope. Self-encouragement could be identified in all interviews through a variety of behaviors. For example, Wilson focused on the fact that people she knew had survived a kidnapping, and this knowledge acted as an affirmation of her perseverance:

"[...] I often thought about my friend [indicates name] who'd been kidnapped. I think she's been kidnapped the previous year in Kabul. [.] And they released her after three months. So, I just used to think about her that if she managed, it will be alright." (Wilson, pos. 94).

Mauchline's self-encouragement took the form of personified hope by repeatedly telling himself that certain people would not give up until they found him: "But then I always thought that [indicates name] and a few other people would be doing everything to get me out. Which meant a lot" (Mauchline, pos. 174). Trusting and believing in third parties that they will work relentlessly to secure a release thus serves here as hope-instilling and presumably strengthens the perseverance to continue to endure. This form of self-encouragement is also visible in Lautwein (Lautwein, pos. 226–228). Dennis, on the other hand, focused on memorizing phone numbers:

"Remembering phone numbers for a time when I needed them. And I guess that is almost like a mantra in itself. A reminder that there will be a time where this would be useful[.]." (Dennis, pos. 87)

The ways of self-encouraging listed all have a self-regulatory function in that they are comforting and instill persistence. However, self-encouragement appears as a very complex phenomenon in the context of captivity and can hardly be considered in isolation. Own resources, such as hope, self-efficacy, experience, experiential knowledge, faith, and the will to survive, are interdependent and must be understood as a symbiotic ossature, from which the strength to persevere is nourished, supported by self-encouragement.

Stress management techniques

This category is intended to capture the extent to which individuals use stress management techniques to reduce the level of stress they experience. It focuses on direct behavioral techniques, such as breathing exercises, which were performed and thus influenced the stress experience. This category does not deny the other category's regulatory function. Stress management techniques were identified in four of the seven interviews (Mühlenbeck, pos. 125; Goodwin, pos. 90; Mauchline, pos. 114; Moore, pos. 350). Breathwork, meditation, yoga exercise, exercise, and sleep were mentioned. The participants did not make any further comments in this regard either than having utilized those techniques.

5.2.2.4.4 Distraction strategies

According to Ayers et al. (1996), distraction strategies are divided into the physical release of emotions and distracting actions. Based on the material, it is not recognizable whether individuals used distraction behavior to physically release emotions because it cannot be identified whether exercise should fulfill this function. Accordingly, in particular, *distracting actions* could be identified as a coping strategy (see Section 3.1.3).

Distracting actions have been identified in all interviews and can be subdivided based on their functions. On the one hand, distraction strategies, or all activities that individuals used, functioned to pass the time, and counteract boredom since boredom makes space for intrusive thoughts. Second, distraction strategies were used to distance themselves from their emotional experience. Distracting actions vary but can be categorized as physical movement, mental activity, crafts, and, when present, activities that require the presence of additional items (TV, books) (Dennis, pos. 83; Moore, pos. 130; Mauchline,

pos. 100 &130; Lautwein, pos. 134 & 164; Wilson, pos. 75; Goodwin, pos. 90; Mühlenbeck, pos. 70&84). As an example, it should be mentioned that both Mühlenbeck and Mauchline built a chessboard. Therefore, not only can the manufacturing process be considered a distraction, but also the following chess games:

"When I was able to make arts and crafts, I made that chessboard, which I touched on before. And that was cool. So, we played that every morning after breakfast, we'd play three games minimum of chess, which was, you know, it's like a good hour gone, and it sounds like nothing, but that is a beautiful hour." (Mauchline, pos. 150)

The distraction activities used are so varied that they go beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it can be said that individuals rely on a mix of actual actions, such as building a chessboard out of trash or old newspapers, as well as mental activities, such as counting, I'm packing my suitcase, calculations, or constructing a transportation network:

"At one point, I couldn't really move very much. So, I was looking at the wall, probably like less than a meter away. So, there were like dots on the wall. [.]. So, I imagined that they were towns on a railway system. And you know, what would be the optimum of that? [.] [Would you] run more in the morning and evening and that sort of thing? What would be the population of the towns to warrant the train?" (Moore, pos. 130)

Within the interviews, distraction was attributed a high value, among other things, because it directs attention away from the aspects that promote rumination and worry. In this regard, the strategies *thought control/suppression* and *attention deployment*, which partly functioned symbiotically with distraction, have been mentioned manifold (see Section 5.2.2.4.6). The separation of thought control, distraction, and attention deployment, which is an inherent feature of distraction, seems hardly possible in the context of captivity since the strategies are interdependent. Moreover, due to the situational conditions, few possibilities allow for classical distracting actions by more pleasant activities so that the transition from distraction and avoidance through fantasy and imagination seems fluid.

5.2.2.4.5 Avoidant strategies

This category coded the material to determine the extent to which people in captivity use escape strategies. The function is removing oneself from a dangerous environment. Ultimately it is about reducing contact with the stressor and escaping from the non-contingent environment. Due to the situational conditions in captivity, individuals cannot turn

away physically unharmed but rely on their mental strength to "remove themselves." Within this category, *mental escape*, e.g., all efforts to mentally remove oneself from the environment, *wishful thinking*, *suicide*, *selective attention/attention deployment*, *and thought control*, were identified as coping strategies (see Figure 18).

Coping dimension Coping responses Coping strategies Suicidal ideation to escape environment Suicide Suicide attempts Fantasizing/daydreaming about other places Escape through reading/writing Mental escape Maintaining a connection to the outside world by reliving shared Avoidant strategies experiences This can't get any worse Wishful thinking I will survive / I will be released Not focusing on the future - day Selective by day attention/attention deployment Concentrate on what I can do and control Efforts not to allow intrusive Thought-control/thought thoughts suppression Trying not to think about my colleagues

Figure 18: Avoidant strategies during confinement

Source: Own figure.

Thought control and attention deployment

As already explained in Section 5.2.2.4.4, the transition between attention deployment, thought control, and distraction appears to be fluid. Here, again the avoidance component of thought control and attention deployment will be elaborated. Thought control

and attention deployment could be identified in six interviews (Dennis, pos. 51; Mühlenbeck, pos. 56&80; Mauchline, pos. 74&144; Moore, pos. 128; Lautwein, pos. 140&154; Wilson, pos. 33&65;).

Uncertainty about what might happen was described as a stressor by all participants (see Section 5.2.2.3.1), which intensified the experienced distressing feelings and was perceived by most as enabling intrusive thoughts. Another stressor that intensified the emotional response was thoughts of home and how people at home were coping. For example, Lautwein describes, "you can't even think about nice moments from before or about home, because that leads to a mental crash" (Lautwein, pos. 154). Mauchline mentions the thought of Lautwein as challenging, and it can be assumed that it triggered feelings perceived as distressing. Mauchline describes:

"I definitely thought about him, but just not, you know, not all the time. I thought about him. Definitely the first week I was thinking Martin is going to be suffering, that's what I thought because I thought about how bad I felt and, how much he was panicking, and I wasn't. He would be in so much trouble because I was struggling big time, and so I thought, I've no idea how he's going to be, especially that first week. After that, it became harder because I just didn't have the energy to think about too many things other than a few things. So, I didn't think about him all the time. And also, after I thought maybe he was free or dead. It was hard for me to think about him because both these things weren't really great to think about." (Mauchline, pos. 144)

Mauchline demonstrates the dynamics of coping behavior by showing how his coping has changed. However, what is apparent from his remarks is that he, at least partially, tried to avoid thinking about Lautwein's fate. In conclusion, affected individuals had to make considerable efforts to suppress or avoid thoughts that led to an intensification of distressing feelings. An important strategy for this is selective attention/attention deployment, or directing and distracting attention so that those thoughts can be suppressed as best as possible:

"Yeah, I guess keeping focused on not worrying about others back home and worrying about ourselves here. There will be a dedicated delegation; they'll have all the resources in the world. I can't worry about them. I have to worry about here. That was a challenge." (Dennis, pos. 51).

Attention deployment was mentioned mainly in the context of family and friends. General uncertainty seems to have been uniformly identified as leading to an intensification of the emotional experience so that attention was averted, enabled by distraction strategies. Here, the interdependence of strategies becomes apparent. To redirect attention to

prevent intrusive thoughts, alternatives were needed, which were made possible by distraction strategies. The quote from Dennis brings out another layer that has relevance in the context of thought suppression and attention deployment. Dennis prioritized the well-being of the on-site team, thus, diverting attention away from his worries about home and self-encouraging himself with the knowledge that his family/friends have access to various resources. This combination of strategies is also visible in Mühlenbeck and Moore (Mühlenbeck, pos. 56; Moore, pos. 128).

Mental escape

Efforts to mentally disengage were identified across all interviews in the form of daydreaming, fantasizing, and mental activities, such as reading books in one's head that carried one into another world. The variety of escape strategies is impressive and shows the subjectivity of human coping responses. Mauchline describes that:

"It wasn't total escapism, but definitely it was something about being an escape, [.] you can kind of take yourself mentally out of it a little bit, but you obviously dictated physically by the fact that you're on a concrete floor and you're getting bitten by lice and all that sort of shit. So, I think it's compromised by that a lot. But, yes, to an extent, you can kind of get out of it a little bit." (Mauchline, pos. 120)

Mühlenbeck illustrates writing and reading as strategies to withdraw mentally:

"My very personal strategy was to push back everything around me, repress it, and kill it off, so to speak, by writing and reading. And I then lived in my little world." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 84)

Wilson depicts in an impressive way how vivid mental activities can become and in what intensity she succeeded in mentally escaping from the environment:

"So, I think I'd read some of them three or four times in my head, and it got so real to me that sometimes when somebody interrupted me with a meal or something, and I was going to start reading again, I once looked around for the book. You are going off your head. This book is in your head. It's not here." (Wilson, pos. 63)

Furthermore, Goodwin and Wilson describe additional functions of escape other than escaping the immediate reality:

"Just keep my mind working, so I would think about different people I knew and try to remember things about them and maintaining this connection with the outside mentally was really important. And so, I tried to do that. I would think about people or places that I traveled or experienced. Or places that I [had] been to. Just to remain in the world. Just maintaining any type of psychological connection with the outside was really important." (Goodwin, pos. 132)

"I think that's what you have to do, isn't it? You've got to part away from the obsessing about what's going to happen, what could happen?" (Wilson, pos. 65)

Escape strategies are utilized to mentally separate from the environment to prevent rumination on the one hand and to maintain a connection to the outside world on the other, according to Wilson and Goodwin. Goodwin describes mental withdrawal through fantasizing and visualization as a tool to maintain a connection to the world - the dimension of isolation becomes visible and shows that mental escape strategies are utilized to break this isolation to maintain a connection to the outside world.

In the case of escape strategies, too, the transition to distraction appears to be fluid. Given the situational circumstances, escape strategies do not only appear to be a way to maintain a connection to the outside world and thus, to one's own (former) life, as Goodwin suggests, but also to allow to access a safe(r) space that attempts to exclude the reality of captivity.

Wishful thinking

Wishful thinking describes "a thought process in which one interprets a fact or reality according to what one wishes or desires it to be" (American Psychological Association, 2022). Wishful thinking could only be identified in a few instances across the interviews; however, it seems as if all individuals in captivity almost manifested that they would survive by clinging onto life and not giving up, which act as a goal formulation (desire), and many strategies sap off of this (see Section 3.1.2 commitments). Hence, it can be assumed that wishful thinking has more significance than shown here.

As an example, statements by Mauchline and Goodwin are cited that describe wishful thinking. For example, Goodwin describes holding onto the thought that "this wasn't how things were going to end[.]" (Goodwin, pos. 91). Mauchline expresses that on one of the first nights, he thought that "you know, I had no idea what's going to happen next, but I stupidly thought, well, this can't get any worse" (Mauchline, pos. 92).

Both Mauchline's and Goodwin's approaches act as a shield against potentially imminent events. Considering the situation and the lack of information, it seems to be a way to save one's own resources and avoid rumination. Moreover, it can be assumed that wishful thinking has the effect of giving strength or holding onto goals/commitments (see Section 3.1.2).

Suicide

As already mentioned in Section 5.2.2.4.2 cognitive readiness, the connection between coping and suicide might meet criticism since life is inherent to coping. Nevertheless, suicidal thoughts and suicide attempts shall be presented here as active attempts to ultimately escape from the environment. However, it is worth noting that there is no intention to romanticize suicide, but addressing it seems indispensable for training. Suicide ideation could be identified exclusively in Moore. However, his suicide ideation is linked to thoughts of retaliation and has been assigned to opposition strategies. Lautwein is the only one who attempted to commit suicide.

Lautwein twice attempted to take his own life and delineates it as an act of self-determination:

"I witnessed a rape the night or the day before my very first interrogation. I was interrogated on day three, I was told Simon was dead, and if I didn't cooperate, I would be tortured. I was then forced to watch what was happening in the hallway [torturing sessions], and it was clear to me that now was the moment. It was a rational decision for me. It was so bizarre because it was so serene. So, first of all, Simon did it too, now it's my turn, we agreed on that. And it was also strange because I wasn't afraid at all. It was more like an act of self-determination. I went through all the options, and suicide was one of those options that I had prepared myself for. [.] I was entirely at peace with myself. I thought every thought through and concluded that this is the consequence. [.] The second attempt was later. They went hard on me during the interrogation and conducted a mock execution. The most shocking thing was that the mock execution wasn't so traumatizing for me at that moment. It was the fact that I thought: wow, yes [it's over]. I yelled at him and provoked him into pulling the trigger. And then the worst thing was that I really thought, this is over now. Finally. And it continued. That's when I tried to kill myself, but fortunately, I failed. It was control for me. I also think it's terrible that many people label you as depressive when you talk about it. For me, however, that was willpower. So, I don't know; I wasn't depressed, at least not at the time. However, I was in a world [with] such a responsibility [towards Syrians

working with the NGO and other team members]. You will often be stigmatized as mentally ill when one talks about it. But I think that has been one of the most powerful moments in my life. So, I don't know. It sounds macabre, but anyone can throw themselves off a chair. Hanging yourself from a radiator while sitting down not. Anyone can slit their wrists but biting and tearing them open with stones is not something you can do just like that. I do not know. Today, I'm super thankful that I wasn't successful. Maybe the only critical thing I see is that at the time, I didn't manage to perceive a different reality than the one I was in. I might criticize it, but not the conclusions I drew from it. That I think is a demonstration of extreme willpower." (Lautwein, pos. 180–182)

Lautwein was found in time by prison guards, as he was under camera surveillance (Lautwein, pos. 180). Lautwein describes suicide as a last resort from a reality that, in his assessment, offered no room for hope of improvement or resolution, as well as keeping his word to Simon. In addition to this, Lautwein also depicts suicide as an act of self-determination and willpower to escape the brutality and the underlying motivation to protect others (Lautwein, pos. 183). In this regard, he continues in the interview that it is clear to him in hindsight that the Syrian Intelligence had all the information they needed, and suicide would not have protected others (Lautwein, pos. 184).

5.2.2.4.6 Support-seeking strategies

The material was coded to determine whether emotion-focused and problem-focused support strategies were utilized in captivity.

Emotion-focused support seeking

Emotion-focused support seeking describes turning to another person for emotional support, which could only be found in Mauchline and Lautwein. After being reunited, both reported that confidence and hope concerning survival in captivity were more present (Lautwein, pos. 238). Mauchline describes that Lautwein's presence alone was supportive and raised hope:

"So, we were able to converse and talk, and I can't tell you how amazing that is when you haven't talked to anyone and then having one of your best friends next to you is amazing. It gives you hope." (Mauchline, pos. 148)

The strategies used by Mauchline and Lautwein to reassess the situation in order to influence the emotional response are elucidated in Section 5.2.2.4.3

Spiritual support/faith

Spiritual support or belief describes relying on spiritual/religious belief to cope. Faith-based or spiritual coping can be understood as a framework to facilitate a purpose, hope, a sense of meaning, perseverance, acceptance, endurance, a sense of belonging/connectedness to others/God, reliance and trust in others/God to support coping (Ozcan et al., 2021, p. 3; Peres et al., 2007, pp. 346–347; Wortmann, 2013, pp. 1647–1648).

Mühlenbeck and Goodwin mention spirituality, religion, and faith in the context of coping strategies. Mühlenbeck and Goodwin held on to their Christian faith, which on the one hand, gave them the confidence and hope that they would eventually be released (Mühlenbeck, pos. 94; Goodwin, pos. 91). On the other hand, Goodwin explains faith as an entity that could not be taken away and was not subject to external control: "But no matter what, I knew that my faith was absolute and that could not be taken from me, and I found a lot of strength in that" (Goodwin, pos. 91).

Goodwin attributed immense value to faith in helping to cope with captivity: "There was nothing more important to me during captivity than my faith" (Goodwin, pos. 13). Goodwin expresses in more detail the effect his faith had on his time in captivity:

"A lot of that came from faith, from a spiritual standpoint, like, I believe I'm going to get through this because I don't think this is what is meant to take my life. [.] Believed I was committed to staying strong and doing. [...] I remember thinking, like, what am I being prepared for through this? [.] Like I thought a lot about like if God brings you to it, he'll bring you through it." (Goodwin, pos. 134–136)

Goodwin's trust in his faith, and thus in God, is evident from his description and affects his underlying attitude of surviving imprisonment and maintaining hope. Faith is evident in Goodwin in that he trusts that although God has put him in this situation, he will get through it and that his faith has given him the strength to persevere. Another component that Goodwin addresses is that the experience of captivity serves to prepare him for future experiences. This reveals that Goodwin assumed a future by continuing to anticipate a positive ending and gave meaning to the experience by assuming that it was a preparation for the time to come.

Problem-focused support seeking

Problem-focused support seeking was found exclusively in Goodwin. Through the support of other detainees who received visitation at Adra prison, Goodwin was able to smuggle a message out that made it to his family in the United States:

"One of them even smuggled a note out of the prison that made it to my father because at Adra, you can have visitors, and he sent a note out. And so, you know, these guys did everything in their limited power to help me." (Goodwin, pos. 172)

The note was hidden in dirty laundry, handed over to a visitor who made sure to forward it to Goodwin's family (Goodwin, pos. 196). In this case, too, the interdependence of coping becomes apparent. Using information-seeking strategies, Goodwin could share his whereabouts on the note so that the outside world would know about it.

5.2.2.4.7 Information-seeking strategies

Information-seeking as a dimension is not integrated into Ayers et al.'s five-dimensional model (see Section 3.1.3). This dimension was deductively derived based on the elaborations in Section 3.3.3. The strategies captured by this dimension were formed inductively. The extent to which the participants have tried to find out further information about the stress-inducing situation is recorded within this dimension. All active efforts to gather information to alter/influence the immediate environment and information that help manage or subside the emotional response are considered. The strategies identified are communication among each other, inquiring information, and orientation/observation (see Figure 19).

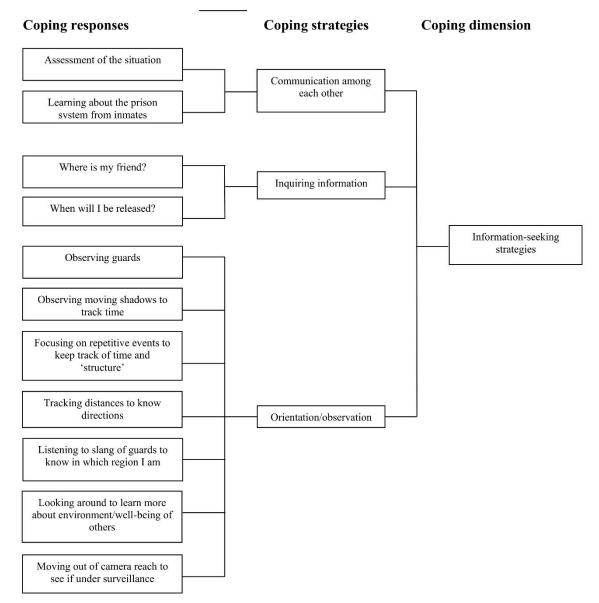


Figure 19: Information-seeking strategies during confinement

Source: Own figure.

Communication among each other

Communication among each other with the goal of eliciting information about the situation is a less prominent strategy due to situational circumstances and the uncertainty that accompanies it. However, this will be presented here because Goodwin's transfer to Adra Prison (see Section 5.2.2.1) brought him into contact with other imprisoned individuals who could share information about the situation, Syria's prison system, and his whereabouts:

"And of course, they had, you know, some of the worst stories you can imagine you've probably heard them, but they told me these stories firsthand. They showed me scars on their body from some of the most horrible things that I think most of us couldn't imagine. These are firsthand accounts; it wasn't as if you were reading this in a book or watching it on TV. These are real things that have happened." (Goodwin, pos. 172)

Other people's experiences with the Intelligence Branches in Syria acted as a source of information about the place and system from which Goodwin had just been transferred. The individuals' Goodwin was imprisoned with reiterated to him that "Adra is kind of like the way out. If you make it to Adra, then you're kind of on your way out" (Goodwin, pos. 172). This was another source of information and allowed to draw a picture of how the system works and helped reassessing the situation.

Inquiring information

Another strategy that was used to obtain information is *inquiring information*. Within this subcategory, it was possible to identify behavior that either followed up on when one would be released or, if one was abducted together, like Moore, Mühlenbeck, Mauchline, and Lautwein, where the other person remained. Both Mauchline and Mühlenbeck reported asking the guards about the whereabouts of their colleagues and friends (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70; Mauchline, pos. 142). Mühlenbeck was told Giovanni had been transferred to another group. Mauchline was informed at different times that his friend was dead or had been released:

"They said that he was dead. But before that, they said, hinted that he'd been set free as well. So, I think over a couple of days they said both those things because I said, you know, how is my friend? [.]I remember asking that in one of the interrogations, and they answered it. I think they answered it both ways. He said he was set free and then I think they reneged on that and said he was dead, and I couldn't work out which one it was. [.] It's all a game of them fucking with your head because both those answers are quite awful. When you're in there like him, being set free is good. But then also you get that sense of pure isolation. Of him being killed is awful." (Mauchline, pos. 142)

The quote above illustrates that the information that people in such situations receive upon request does not necessarily bring relief but can be an additional stressor. Coping with information like this is outlined in Section 5.2.2.4.4 thought control, acceptance, and cognitive reframing/re-interpretation.

Mühlenbeck additionally delineates that he initially mainly queried about how the negotiations were unfolding and whether a release was foreseeable, but then concluded from the permanently changing answers that these statements could not be relied upon and refrained from doing so (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70). Moreover, Wilson explains that she would have had the opportunity to inquire information but chose not to, because of the assumption of being lied to: "And I'm not going to humiliate myself that I have to sit here and listen to these men lying to me" (Wilson, pos. 67).

Apparently, information-seeking strategies are mainly used to reduce situation-specific uncertainty, but the result often does not correspond with the intended goal.

Orientation/observation

In the dimension of information-seeking, orientation/observation is the most frequently utilized strategy and was identified across all interviews. As displayed in Figure 19, the implementation of orientation strategies is diverse and creative. Orientation illustrates the various efforts to orientate oneself temporally and spatially and/or to find out more information about the immediate environment, mainly by observation.

Particularly for individuals who have been sensory deprived for extended periods by blindfolds or have been incarcerated in rooms/cells that do not have windows, it can be seen that they either orient themselves by focusing on recurring events, such as shift changes of guards or breakfast, to recognize a sense of time and a 24h rhythm. From this, individuals could deduce how long they had been in captivity (Moore, pos. 247; Lautwein, pos. 134). In addition to this, it is described how individuals could orientate themselves by observing shadows (Lautwein, pos. 134) and estimating what time of day it was: "You couldn't see whether the sun was coming up or down, but there was a shadow on the wall you could see, which would sort of indicate what the time was" (Mauchline, pos. 100). Goodwin describes the importance of a sense of time:

"I realized how important keeping track of time was for remaining psychologically in tune, and that's another thing, it really is the only thing that grounds you in reality, when everything else around you doesn't seem real, and you're being lied to." (Goodwin, pos. 90)

In fact, Lautwein, Mauchline, and Goodwin carved a calendar on the wall to count the days in captivity (Goodwin, pos. 90; Lautwein, pos. 134).

Dennis, on the other hand, oriented himself primarily based on the stars to get a feeling in which direction they were moving: "[...] knowing where the stars are, and as they

moved over the course of the evening or the night, I could pick out my direction quite well" (Dennis, pos. 27). Furthermore, Dennis focused on approximate distances via calculations of how long they had been walking at what pace (Dennis, pos. 70).

Other orientation strategies relate to individuals, such as testing whether the installed cameras were being monitored to understand whether they were under surveillance 24/7. Mauchline and Lautwein were able to confirm this assumption by moving out of the camera angle triggering a response from the guards (Lautwein, pos. 232, Mauchline, pos. 100). In addition, Moore was able to use the different Arabic dialects his captors spoke to determine which faction he was currently with and thus able to roughly narrow down where he was being held in Iraq. Further, Moore gathered information on how the different factions coordinated with each other regarding his treatment and the conditions of his confinement aiming to influence them (see Section 5.2.2.4.1) (Moore, pos. 149). Wilson could tell by the supplies, among other things, and the fading sounds of war that she was no longer in rural Afghanistan but closer to a city. In fact, Wilson was able to confirm her assumption by looking out a window without the kidnapper's noticing (Wilson, pos. 100).

In conclusion, it can be stated that by utilizing information-seeking strategies, be it through inquiry, orientation, or exchange with other persons, the individuals attempted to reduce uncertainties and to re-establish self-evident points of orientation (place and time) to align actions accordingly, as well as to establish structured normality within the scope of their possibilities. In addition, it can be derived that information-seeking coping responses aim at reducing the accompanying emotional discomfort caused by uncertainty.

5.2.2.4.8 Interim conclusion

The range of coping strategies in captivity is visible from the length of the analysis and the variety of strategies utilized.

Based on the analysis results, it is visible that all individuals used both problem and emotion-focused strategies despite the enormous challenges and situational constraints. The goal-directed problem-focused strategies show a variety of strategies that, depending on situational constraints, aim to bring about positive change or avert negative consequences. Despite the variety of strategies, similarities are evident. If one considers the situational circumstances in relation to the offender profiles, conclusions for teaching content emerge. Problem-focused strategies built on influencing situational conditions through humanizing or building rapport appear to be an option primarily for individuals who find themselves held by a non-state actor. As shown in the analysis, the possibilities

of building rapport and humanizing in the Syrian regime's prisons are hardly possible due to the prison structures. In addition to these strategies, it is noteworthy that the strategy of instrumental compliance, not to be confused with submission, played an essential role for most interview participants in averting negative consequences. According to their own assessments, behavioral adjustment improved conditions for individuals abducted by a non-state actor. Except for Mauchline, all individuals outwardly adapted and tried not to antagonize their captors. Regarding opposition strategies, it can at least be concluded within this sample that these were not prominent strategies or that participants did not explicitly mention them. To what extent fantasies of retaliation were more prominent than explicitly mentioned cannot be said. It is clear from Mauchline's explanations that he assesses that his behavior worsened prison conditions.

Additionally, to the aforementioned strategies, which primarily indicate that individuals performed a role to influence their captivity, individuals employed strategies that directly addressed the perpetrators. The strategies inquiry, complaining, manipulation and negotiation are problem-focused strategies that pursue similar functions. Whereas inquiry to satisfy needs could be identified in most individuals held by a non-state actor, manipulation, negotiation, and complaining were less prominent. On the one hand, they sought to influence negative conditions in one's own favor, and on the other, they were ways of satisfying needs. In this regard, a line of distinction based on the perpetrator became visible. Persons in Syrian captivity either did not consider this or did not dare to do so. In this respect, it seems logical that there is a connection between relationship building and inquiry. Successfully influencing captors through building rapport and humanizing increases human empathy and, conversely, can lead to the possibility of appealing to that empathy through various strategies, such as inquiry, complaining, and thus influences conditions (Busch, 2016, p. 130). Further to strategies related to interacting with abductors to exert influence, other problem-focused strategies were identified to improve the situation through self-determined action.

In terms of strategies influencing the emotional response or aimed at preventing the intensification of feelings perceived as distressing, it is evident that a range of strategies were employed. Direct emotion-focused strategies can be identified in all interviews, and self-reliance on subsiding the emotional experience becomes apparent. Despite different thought processes and configurations of emotion-focused instances of coping, the strategies of acceptance, focus on the positive, maintaining a structure, and self-encouragement are prominent strategies identified across most interviews. With regard to distraction and avoidance strategies, the analysis highlighted that the primary function is to reduce contact with the stress-producing situation, and it could be made visible that individuals activate resources to remove themselves from the situation mentally. Especially with these

two strategies, but also with hygiene, structure, and routine, it must be pointed out that they do not only pursue one function in terms of adaptation. Further to serving the function of distracting and mentally withdrawing, it becomes clear that any occupation serves to counteract excruciating boredom through these and other strategies. Not only to pass the time but also to prevent intrusive thoughts from arising and negatively influencing the emotional experience. Especially regarding distraction and avoidance strategies, the complexity and interdependence of coping behavior is salient, and it becomes clear that coping strategies can mutually facilitate one another and enable each other.

Support-seeking strategies that capture either problem-focused or emotion-focused support could only be presented to a limited extent. In research works of different authors (Rahe, 2007, pp. 389–390; Ursano & Rundell, 1995, pp. 435–436), support-seeking strategies were identified as vital strategies; this is not the case in the present work. Possible explanations are that persons were either taken alone or separated during their captivity and had no third party to seek support from, so they were left to self-reliant coping. What is visible is when people are held together, such as in Mauchline and Lautwein's case, that they support each other through shared coping strategies to persevere and influence the emotional experience (see Section 5.2.2.4.3). Just like Mühlenbeck, Mauchline and Lautwein describe that shared distraction activities (chess, other games) were used to keep themselves busy. How vital the shared strategies were cannot be deduced from the interviews; however, it is apparent in Lautwein and Mauchline that their reunification, and thus the end of their isolation, raised morale and endurance. Regarding problem-focused support-seeking strategies, it is clear that Goodwin used this exclusively. The dependence on situational conditions becomes visible again.

Information-seeking strategies exhibit relevance at all stages of captivity. It can be concluded that individuals used information-seeking strategies mainly to reduce uncertainty and thus influence the emotional experience. In addition, information-seeking strategies again show that other strategies, such as structure, are based on temporal orientation. Once again, it can be seen that specific coping strategies facilitate and enable other strategies or influence their design.

Finally, it can be stated that the different coping strategies paint a differentiated picture of coping in captivity, which facilitates an understanding of the strategies' functions, the interdependencies, and the dependence on the situational context. Particularly regarding teaching content, the enormous similarity of strategies used by individuals should be considered on the one hand, and the situational limitations detailed on the offender profile, as these influence which possibilities for coping exist.

5.2.3 Release

The release phase describes the actual resolution and subsequent return home. The analysis structure remains consistent with the attack, transport, and confinement phase.

5.2.3.1 Overview of the initial situation: state-actor as the perpetrator

Martin Lautwein and Simon Mauchline

Lautwein and Mauchline met the Czech ambassador in prison nine days before their release and thus knew that governments were working toward their release (Mauchline, pos. 168). The ambassador assured Mauchline and Lautwein that it would be "a matter of days" (Lautwein, pos. 250) before the two would be released (Lautwein, pos. 254). On August 9, 2018, Mauchline and Lautwein were ordered to remove their prison clothes and put on their personal clothes, which had been taken from them upon arrival. After several hours, they were asked to follow, given their private belongings, and taken in separate cars accompanied by heavily armed personnel to a Syrian government building (Mauchline, pos. 184 & 187). After having to wait in a room, the Czech ambassador came and informed them that they were about to travel home (Lautwein, pos. 254). Shortly after, they were again reassured by the Czech foreign minister, who picked them up in Damascus, that they would soon be traveling on (Mauchline, pos. 199; Lautwein, pos. 254). Lautwein and Mauchline were taken to Damascus Airport, where a champagne reception was held; Lautwein describes the atmosphere as "comical" (Lautwein, pos. 270). They were then broad to the plane, where their identities were again verified. A medical examination took place, and a psychologist was part of the delegation who picked them up (Lautwein, pos. 170; Mauchline, pos. 197). Lautwein and Mauchline were then taken to a European city, where they were separated. The next day, both traveled on to Berlin. Individual debriefings with different authorities took place during the initial days. Lautwein was received in Berlin by his family. Mauchline remained in Berlin for a few days before continuing his journey home (Lautwein, pos. 270; Mauchline, pos. 199–202).

Samuel Goodwin

Goodwin was told by a guard at Adra prison on July 25, 2019, that he would be transferred. Based on the information he received from other prisoners, there was a possibility that he was being released. However, during his four court hearings, Goodwin was told he would be transferred again to an Intelligence Branch before being released. After a bus

ride, Goodwin was taken back to Branch 215 and placed in solitary confinement (Goodwin, pos. 202–204). Goodwin was transported to a government building without hand-cuffs or blindfolds the following morning. He got back his passport and cell phone. While waiting in the government building, a Syrian staff member told him, "Sam? You're very lucky President Assad has agreed to release you" (Goodwin, pos. 204). Together, Goodwin then ate with the staff and was led to a convoy of vehicles that would take him out of Syria. Goodwin knows in retrospect that Lebanese special forces took him to Lebanon. During the journey inside Syria, no one communicated with Goodwin. After crossing the border into Lebanon, Goodwin was told that he was now safe and in Lebanon (Goodwin, pos. 204). Goodwin was taken to a hotel in Beirut and later to General Abbas Ibrahim, where he met his parents (Goodwin, pos. 204).

5.2.3.2 Overview of the initial situation: non-state actor as the perpetrator

Steve Dennis

In the early morning hours of the fourth day, before the march was to continue, Dennis and his colleagues were freed by an armed rescue mission of a Somali militia:

"They're putting branches over this bush we are in, and then gunfire just lights up the whole sky[.]. [G]unfire and running and yelling. And this was a militia that was coming through and just kind of moved along and chased these guys away. They killed one, they chased them away, and we were all inside this bush, lying down and trying to hide. I think we talked a little bit like, maybe this is another group. What's going on? We didn't know it was a rescue. And then [.] they came to us, they told us to come out and [.] they knew a little bit of English, and they said 'rescue, rescue [.], no ransom, no ransom, rescue, rescue.' And there's a lot more of them. They had uniforms, bigger guns. We followed them. We didn't know if it was a rescue or not and got in their cars." (Dennis, pos. 45)

Dennis and his colleagues were transported via vehicle to a Kenyan military base, receiving primary medical care. While still en route to the military base, the affected individuals were allowed to contact their organization to inform them they were on their way. Once at the military base, the individuals were given the opportunity to call their families. Finally, they were transported to Nairobi via helicopter (Dennis, pos. 107).

Kerry Jane Wilson

On the day of Wilson's release, the head kidnapper came in, instructed her to follow him, and informed her that she was being released. Wilson explains that there had been signs or information from the kidnappers that negotiations about her release were ongoing in the weeks before. However, Wilson was aware of the problems that came with the demands for ransom, so consequently, the announcement of her release came as a surprise to her (Wilson, pos. 107). Wilson was taken by car to a previously agreed location and was instructed to remain in the car until someone came to pick her up. Wilson was subsequently taken over by British military and police units and flown out (Wilson, pos. 107).

Bernd Mühlenbeck

After Mühlenbeck had been transferred to another group in May 2014, he was told at the outset that that location would be his last before heading home. The lead person also communicated that he would now initiate negotiations (Mühlenbeck, pos. 71). Once negotiations got underway, proof of life (PoL) questions were forwarded. Mühlenbeck was taken to the place of communication to identify himself during a phone call and to answer the PoL questions (Mühlenbeck, pos. 72). On October 9, 2014, Mühlenbeck was released; Mühlenbeck had to get into a car, dressed as a woman and was driven to the Afghan border, where the handover to an intermediary took place (Mühlenbeck, pos. 74). After first counting the money, the kidnappers came up with an incorrect sum, leaving Mühlenbeck unclear if his captivity would come to an end. The correct sum was verified after recounting the money, and Mühlenbeck was handed over to the intermediary who transported him to Kabul. Once in Kabul, Mühlenbeck was taken over by the German military, who took him directly to the airport and flew him out to Marsar I Sharif (Mühlenbeck, pos. 74-75). He was medically examined and informed of a psychologist's availability if needed. After a two-day stay in Marsar I Sharif, Mühlenbeck flew to Germany with the Bundeswehr unit responsible for his release and was reunited with his wife (Mühlenbeck, pos. 74–75).

Peter Moore

Moore was woken up early in the morning and told to get ready as he would then be released. Having been told the same for months, Moore did not believe the person and initially did not get up. Then, another person asked Moore again to get up and reiterated that he would be released. Moore followed the request but did not believe the kidnappers,

who told him they had an appointment at noon at the British Embassy to hand him over. Moore was then driven to a building and led into a room full of people. There, a person who said he worked for the Iraqi government introduced himself to Moore and told him that he would take him to the embassy in Baghdad (Moore, pos. 270–274):

"I got in his car, and we drove to the British Embassy, you know, and [.] the first thing I saw was a guy who looked completely out of place in a bright pink shirt. I didn't know who he was. I didn't know where I was, but he had to be a British government official totally out of place." (Moore, pos. 274)

Moore was medically examined upon arrival at the embassy, and a hot debriefing was conducted with law enforcement officials (Moore, pos. 299). Moore remained at the British embassy in Baghdad for three days and then flew to London. During the first few weeks, Moore underwent several debriefings with various law enforcement agencies and military units (Moore, pos. 292 & 301–313).

5.2.3.3 Stresses and challenges

After the situational conditions had been queried, all participants were asked what challenges/stresses they perceived in their situations. Figure 20 displays the identified stresses and challenges during the release phase. The stressors will only be briefly delineated in the following to avoid repetition.

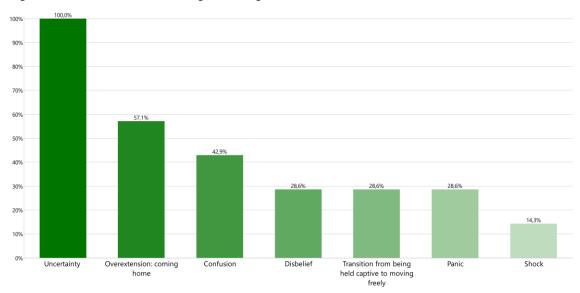


Figure 20: Stresses and challenges during release

Source: Own figure.

The most prominent stressor mentioned by all participants was *uncertainty*. Uncertainty during release primarily refers to how the release will unfold and fate uncertainty, meaning the question of whether the release will even take place. Specific to the release phase are the challenges *overextension*: *coming home* and *transitioning from being held captive to moving freely*.

Overextension: coming home describes the overwhelming challenge of being brought back to one's old life and seeing family members immediately after release. Four of the seven interviewees perceived this as challenging. Lautwein describes:

"And the next morning, we drove to Berlin. And that was difficult, I think, simply because somehow, I arrived in Berlin just 24 hours after being released from prison. And that was too early. You must face your family and your relatives and everything like that. And nobody was prepared for that. [.] My mother asked directly on the phone [how I was treated]. She was directly like, we were told that you would be treated well there, wasn't that the case? And then you stand there and think to yourself, shit. That was really hard." (Lautwein, pos. 272 & 286–288)

The *transition from being held captive to moving freely* describes the challenge of adapting to the changed situation. As explained in Sections 5.2.2.4.2 and 5.2.2.4.3, it requires enormous effort to adapt one's behavior to the expectations and situational conditions in captivity. The challenge *transition from being held captive to moving freely* describes the readaptation to the immediate release situation. However, exemplary quotes are also given that already deal with the debriefings and the first weeks after release. Wilson's account of the actual situation of being approached by a person who picked her up from the car during her release portrays this challenge:

"I sat there, and eventually somebody opened the door and said: 'Are you Dr. Kerry Jane Wilson?' And I said: 'yes.' He said: 'Let's go.' And I said: 'But I've got a blindfold on' and I heard a slight exasperation in his voice, he said: 'Take it off.'" (Wilson, pos. 113)

Wilson's comment that she did not remove her blindfold without having been instructed to do so seem plausible after months in which self-determined action had little room and decisions about one's actions and life were externally determined. Moore describes the challenges poignantly during the debriefings:

"I think the biggest challenge I had was I was still in hostage mode. From my perspective, I've just been moved to a new location with a strange bunch of people, which was exactly what happened to me in Iraq. So, they started asking me all these questions, so I just played the same game as I did with the militia.

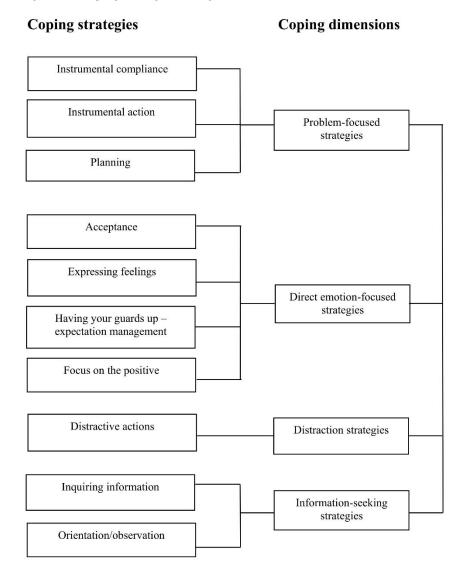
I knew whatever I wanted if I could convince the top guy in that team to get it, I get it [...]. I'm in debrief with SO15, the British counter-terrorism unit and I just start regurgitating the same story, you know, because they want to know my background. So, I'm like, yeah, I'm on the Brazilian bank of the Amazon, you know, and in my mind, I can visualize the sun rising. Yeah, I can really see it. You know, I've told this story a thousand times. I've really got it embedded in my head. And they stopped me in the interview; they said, 'Look, Pete, you know, we know you've never been to Brazil. We know you're not married. And it was like shit, you're right. I am not. And then, like it all sort of crumbled in my mind." (Moore, pos. 181–182 & 290)

Moore's behavior also seems plausible, as this behavior and the stories he partly made up represented his reality for almost three years. Lautwein's, Moore's, and Wilson's comments demonstrate the importance of ensuring that individuals who conduct debriefings or are part of a release in any capacity are adequately trained and sensitive to the challenges so that the perceived overwhelm during transition and homecoming is not further intensified by their behavior. The other stressors mentioned (see Figure 20), such as confusion, disbelief, panic, and shock, hardly differ from those presented in Sections 5.2.1.3 and 5.2.2.3 and represent one's own stress response. The distinction that can be discerned is that optimism and hope played a more prominent role during release than in the other phases of captivity. Differences based on the offender profile are not discernible in this phase.

5.2.3.4 Coping strategies

The category *coping strategies* is intended to analyze the coping strategies utilized during release. The subcategories, including definitions and anchor examples, can be found in the code directory in Appendix VI. The presentation of coping strategies during release differs from Sections 5.2.1.4 and 5.2.2.4 because the strategies identified are similar to those during the other phases. Figure 21 shows on the right side the identified coping dimensions. The respective coping strategies are assigned to the dimensions on the left side. A presentation of the instances of coping is omitted, as this would be repetitive.

Figure 21: Coping strategies during release



Source: Own figure.

Fundamentally, it can be seen from the material, similarly to the attack/transport phase, that strategies that control the emotional response play a more important role during release than problem-focused strategies. This finding is hardly surprising, as the room to maneuver here is once again massively limited. For example, the strategy having your guards up - expectation management, which is assigned to the dimension of direct emotion-focused strategies, was named in this clarity only during release. However, it can be assumed that it already plays a vital role during confinement. Within this strategy, the goal was to control the emotional reaction by not letting take over one's expectation that it was almost over so that a mental breakdown could be prevented if the kidnappers were lying (Goodwin, pos. 206; Mauchline, pos. 184).

5. Analysis

The problem-focused strategies employed during the attack and transport phase refer either to identifying opportunities for escape and planning whether this would be feasible or to instrumental compliance and passivity as not to negatively affect the situation (Wilson, pos. 107 & 113-119; Moore, 298 & 272; Dennis, pos. 45). Instrumental action is seen exclusively in Dennis concerning his behavior during the rescue mission to protect his life (Dennis, pos. 109). Information-seeking strategies also had the primary function of reducing uncertainty during release. For example, Dennis determined from the travel directions that they were moving in the direction from which they originally had come (Dennis, pos. 45 & 107). Distraction strategies were not prominent and could be found primarily in Mauchline and Lautwein, playing chess and distracting themselves during their waiting time after having been instructed to put on their street clothes (Mauchline, pos. 184).

5.3 Analysis level 3: impact of pre-deployment training

Analysis level 3 assesses the extent to which the content of the workshop or training subjectively had a positive or negative impact on survival in captivity and coping. The primary focus is on the assessments of Mühlenbeck and Lautwein, as they are the only two individuals who were prepared explicitly by their employers. However, assessments of other interview partners who dealt with survival in captivity in advance are also considered (see Section 5.1). The category is supplemented by the subcategories *positive impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training* and *negative impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training*. This category is not representative, and no causality between preparation and coping can be drawn due to the research design. Instead, the objective is to display whether preparation subjectively led to the assessment of having influenced one's coping behavior in captivity.

5.3.1 The positive impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training

Both Mühlenbeck and Lautwein articulate that deployment preparation positively impacted their coping behaviors (Mühlenbeck, pos. 114; Lautwein, pos. 292). As stated in Section 5.1, Mühlenbeck received little theoretical input on conduct after capture prior to the simulation. Afterward, the participants' behavior was reflected upon during debriefings, and behavioral advice was given. Mühlenbeck describes the simulation as follows:

"The whole simulation lasted three hours, and we had to remain in a kneeled position, a forced posture. You are not allowed to move. And there are all kinds of things happening around you. For example, a pistol bolt suddenly

clicks next to your head. You only perceive this acoustically. And it's fascinating how realistic it seems to you, even though you know in principle that you're only in a kind of training situation and that nothing can actually happen to you." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 34)

During the interview with Mühlenbeck, he compares the simulation with his actual abduction:

"Yes, but all in all, it was very realistic, and I have the comparison with the original. That was relatively close to the whole thing. It was set in a fictional Arabian region, and a few things were different from the original. So, for example, we were subjected to loud Arabic music, which is incredibly annoying when you're kneeling there like that, and your eyes are closed. That's quite disturbing, I'd say, but all in all, it was very impressive." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 34)

Fundamentally, Mühlenbeck depicts that the access phase and the following experience during the simulation have similarities to his kidnapping and adds that despite its training character, the situation was perceived as surprisingly real. Finally, Mühlenbeck elucidates how the pre-deployment training supported him with coping in captivity and links his behavior during the attack to the kidnapper's attitude:

"Yes, as I said initially, the key phrase 'keep calm' was undoubtedly a very decisive one. Moreover, it helped me during the actual seizure, the capture phase, and throughout the entire time. Simply that, it also convinced me that it makes no sense at all if you lose it. You'll achieve nothing anyway and, at best, something negative. [...] Keeping calm and focusing on yourself, yes, that were the crucial things." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 114)

Regarding the attack phase Mühlenbeck elaborates:

"In the beginning, it was very loud, very nervous, chaotic, and so on, but then, perhaps due to my calm behavior in the situation, it relaxed, and the loud tone subsided, and they started to talk normally." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 44 & 46).

Since Mühlenbeck did not receive a in depth theoretical introduction to conduct after capture but reflected on behavior after the simulation, no further conclusions can be drawn about the content or the extent to which the simulation was helpful. However, what can be derived from Mühlenbeck's elaborations is that the cue to "keep calm" was vital for him and helped him throughout his captivity. As per Mühlenbeck, it ultimately influenced his behavior and led to the assessment that non-cooperative behavior or "losing it" would not achieve a desirable goal.

In contrast to Mühlenbeck, Lautwein had only a theoretical workshop, which dealt with different topics on survival in captivity (see Section 5.1). Lautwein describes the influence as follows:

"I was very negative at the beginning of my solitary confinement. I strongly rejected what the Bundeswehr guy [trainer] had said in the seminar beforehand. Primarily because he was from the Bundeswehr. I had tried everything before [and] was super whiny. Then I played the super tough guy, tried everything, and bounced off everywhere. So, eventually, I tried as a last resort to remember what he actually told me [trainer]. And I actually started to redesign my entire daily routine, so to speak. It started with finding a daily rhythm. So, I tried to find parallels. This started when I figured that a guard was always present for two meals and two trips to the toilet. Well, so that were the first fixed points of time that I could see. [.]. You don't have much food, and you don't have much to drink, and you might as well sleep all day. But the trainer just said, by no means waste the time you are held captive. You must remain mentally active. So, I really started rolling up this blanket in the morning and saying, okay, I'm not going to lie down again until the evening. And, of course, the point is that when you're no longer sleeping, you must keep yourself busy. You need things that you, yes, that you can do. And I think that was the biggest challenge, finding things to do." (Lautwein, pos. 134).

Lautwein's remarks demonstrate that he could draw on the knowledge imparted to structure his everyday life (see Section 5.2.2.4-5.2.2.4.9). However, Lautwein shares that he initially resisted resorting to the knowledge because of an inner defensiveness toward the trainer due to his military association. This point seems relevant for the conceptualization of training. The argument is not to systematically exclude people from the military sector but to transparently address the potential challenges posed by the interaction between military and humanitarian actors.

It is recognizable from the assertions that the workshop supported Lautwein in structuring his everyday life. In addition, Lautwein expresses the following positive aspects:

"Yes, absolutely. So, definitely, on the one hand, it definitely led me to have basic knowledge about captivity and survival in captivity. There's quite a lot of information you can draw from that you wouldn't otherwise have. So, for example, after 48 hours, I knew okay; now it could take forever. And I think that takes a lot of pressure off because then you can set yourself up differently than if you're sitting there all the time thinking, 'Oh, maybe tomorrow, maybe tomorrow, maybe tomorrow.' I think that was the main thing where you can say that it made a huge difference. Yes, and the workshop made you come up with ideas swifter that could help you practically. So, if the natural need of a

person is to crawl into a corner and maybe sleep because you don't have the energy due to lack of food, you wouldn't just come up with it by yourself and realize: 'Ah, I have to work.' Quite a lot of what you do contradicts what you would imagine at the time. You know, as a human being, I either want to be strong and stubborn, or I want to be small and weak and create pity. The only thing that helps is not standing out. A lot of things contradict the logic that one would normally have. If no one had predicted it to me, it would have taken at least a lot longer for me to try it out. [...] That was an excellent basis, so I felt well prepared except for the point with the violence. So, not in advance, but I realized that I could apply these things during my imprisonment. So, everything came in as it was taught in this training, except for the information on violence." (Lautwein, pos. 296 & 306)

Lautwein's explanations show that the knowledge he received during his preparation exerted influence on various levels. On the one hand, it is recognizable that the knowledge affected his daily routine, and Lautwein was able to identify starting points for coping (structure, temporal orientation, staying mentally active) more swiftly in his estimation and was able to fall back on a pattern of action. On the other hand, Lautwein describes that his mindset was shaped by the information he received in training. Above, Lautwein explains that the fact that he had already been detained for 48h influenced his assessment in that he was prepared for this situation to last for a long time. Finally, Lautwein expresses that he was sensitized by the knowledge shared on behavior in captivity and to pay attention to certain aspects that enable coping:

"Do I drive fast, how many turns, things like that, and later orientation. Expect recurring events. So, in the end, yes, there is always food and guards to take you to the toilet. But to really pay attention to, ok, when do I receive food, which guard is there when food is given, where do you go and things like that. I think that if I hadn't been sensitized in advance to pay attention to this, I would either not have noticed anything at all or even such inconspicuous things as the shadow, which wasn't even clear. It was very shallow on the wall. [.] I was just sensitized to pay attention to such things. And if I would have done these things at all otherwise, it would have taken me much, much longer to figure it out." (Lautwein, pos. 294)

Lautwein concludes that the sensitization through the workshop foreshortened the time it took to apply and employ the recommended coping behavior. Furthermore, he formulates that he was unsure of whether he would have even come up with the idea of applying these strategies or focusing on certain things without the pre-deployment preparation.

In addition to Lautwein and Mühlenbeck, Wilson and Dennis describe situations where prior knowledge or knowledge that third parties provided impacted their behavior and emotional response. For example, Wilson explains: "I knew the kidnap rules that you don't do what they don't want you to do. So, he didn't peep at me, and I never peeped at him. So, we set up rules" (Wilson, pos. 50). Wilson describes that she was able to draw on knowledge that she had read in manuals for HAWs, which triggered compliance with established rules. Furthermore, Dennis adds that his colleague, who was the only one who had completed a HEAT, shared her knowledge with her colleagues at the beginning of the transportation phase:

"And actually, a colleague of mine did take a HEAT course before, and I think she was saying this is a kidnapping, and apparently, the first 45 minutes are the most stressful. [...] I think really essential is the idea that the 45 minutes, in the beginning, are the most intense and stressful, and risky. That was huge when my colleague said that, and it got me from, I would say, a confused state. I didn't deny that it was a kidnapping; I was confused; what the hell is this? But I think it was just a couple of words that got me quite focused on what it was. And then, ok, if that's the case, then I have to go into non-threatening. I have to keep my hands visible and not hold anything that can look threatening." (Dennis, pos. 33 & 117)

Dennis illustrates how he was able to draw on knowledge from another person. He describes the effect on two levels; on the one hand, it enabled him to focus, and, on the other hand, Dennis was able to adjust his behavior to not be perceived as a threat. Dennis concluded that adapting one's behavior and de-escalating can presumably increase the chance of survival in such situations.

5.3.2 The negative impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training

The subcategory *negative impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training* displays whether content shared during the training/workshop made the person feel insecure or negatively affected survival in captivity. Text passages assigned to this category could only be identified in Lautwein. Mühlenbeck denied that content negatively influenced his survival and perseverance (Mühlenbeck, pos. 116). As already stated in Sections 5.2-5.3, the information that persons in captivity did not have to expect violence influenced Lautwein's and Mauchline's survival appraisal. Lautwein describes the impact of this information as follows:

"I was told that we would be treated well because we are Westerners, and with torture or violence, our value decreases, it diminishes, so to speak. You tell someone they won't hurt you, but for example, in the first few days when you don't know the customs yet. I knock, the guard comes in and tells me to sit down. I don't understand, or I am not fast enough, and he kicks me hard in

the stomach. And then suddenly, already on day two, this border to violence is transcended, whereas I was actually told there would be no violence against us. I think it's really irresponsible that training concepts leave out that topic. I can't even explain why it is left unconsidered. Because for me, it was super bad because I assumed that nothing would be done to me, and then harm is inflicted upon me, and I conclude, yes, well, now everything has collapsed. I won't come home either. That's the consequence for the people who are stuck there. One of the main pillars [confidence and hope] breaks away on day three because someone kicks me in the stomach, and a few days later, you are tortured." (Lautwein, pos. 302)

The consequences of such information are made painfully clear by Lautwein's elaboration and have been addressed in the analysis. However, to avoid repetition, the emphasis is that training content must be carefully selected to ensure that training intended to facilitate the survival of individuals in captivity, to prepare and raise their awareness does not result in the opposite. In addition, the information that violence must not be expected is contrary to the experiences of POWs and countless individuals who were held in captivity, regardless of the perpetrator profiles (state vs. non-state actor) or status (military vs. civilian). Daniel Rye, James Foley, Kayla Mueller, and Amanda Lindhout can be cited as examples.³⁹

5.4 Analysis level 4: recommendations on teaching content from a survivor's perspective

This level of analysis captures teaching content the interview participants identify - as survivors of captivity – as essential and thus are imperative to include into training. The category was formed deductively and is supplemented by inductively formed subcategories. The following subcategories were identified: *pre-incident phase*, *captivity survival*, *crisis management efforts*, *post-incident phase and aftermath*, *additional knowledge*, and *training design and objectives*. Unlike the rest of the subcategories, the subcategory *training design and objectives* does not address specific teaching content but the design of a training. Within the individual subcategories, no attention was paid to quantitative aspects, as this allows for heterogeneity and different perspectives to be utilized to identify a broad spectrum of teaching content. As elucidated in Section 4.1.2, one strength of the

³⁹ See: Chulov, M. (2019). Isis wife and alleged Kayla Mueller jailer: 'Our husbands became like wild animals'. *The Guardian* [Online] Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/31/isis-wife-alleged-kayla-mueller-jailer-umm-sayyaf-husbands-wild-animals, [last accessed 2022/03/31]; Damsgård, P. (2016). *The ISIS Hostage: One Man's True Story of 13 Months in Captivity*. Atlantic Books, London; Lindhout, A. (2013). *A House in the Sky: A memoir*. Scribner, New York; Tebbutt, J. (2013). *A long walk home: One women's story of kidnap, hostage, loss - and survival*. Faber & Faber ltd, London.

heterogeneous group is that different aspects relevant to the individuals can be considered and put together to a holistic picture.

5.4.1 Training design and objectives of training

Although the focus is on identifying training content, the assessment of people who survived incarceration will be addressed here in terms of training design and objectives.

1. Training objectives: empowerment and leaving no black holes

Regarding the objective of the training, Lautwein emphasizes that the overall goal should be to empower people so that they are aware of their abilities:

"Empowerment. In other words, giving people abilities or making them aware that they have the necessary abilities because most people have the abilities. It's about making people aware of their own abilities. [.] Where they conclude and realize [.] 'I know that this is within me' [...]." (Lautwein, pos. 308)

Lautwein's comments appeal to a training design that focuses on fostering a general sense of self-efficacy and coping self-efficacy (see Section 3.1.5). Lautwein further criticizes existing training approaches that seek to prevent re-traumatization of individuals by omitting the confrontation with one's traumas in the context of preparation for captivity, as triggers are to be avoided. Lautwein emphasizes that the goal must remain that individuals are not re-traumatized but explains the importance of realistically addressing stressors, as well as experiences made so that individuals can be prepared individually and adequately:

"Simply create a realistic insight. I think that's enormously important. And that topics are addressed openly. So, there must be no dark black holes or anything like that at the end. I believe that this topic must be addressed much more seriously and, in more honesty, than in previous training [stressors of captivity and previous trauma]. And thereby also in a better accompaniment than it is mostly done so. And I believe, for example, that it is also important for an individual to somehow deal in advance with traumas that the person already has, and the training approach that is usually taken is: we do not want to retraumatize participants. Actually, we prepare people to be confronted with their traumas again in the worst possible way. And that's why I think [.], yes, simulation is cool, practical skills, everything is cool, these topics must be included. But first and foremost, we must prepare people to be confronted with their worst memories and to get a new bad memory on top of it. Thus, this claim somehow seems false. Yes, we don't want to re-traumatize people. It's just hypocritical and wrong, I think. I personally believe that this is the wrong

way to go because we don't want to prepare people roughly, but each person individually. The person must get through it. And that's why I think one of the most important points is to deal with your own traumas that you have before. And I think that's something that would also have to happen in this preparation for captivity. A person can sit down and say, okay, what have I experienced, and what would that do to me in this situation? Maybe my experience of violence is not only a trauma but also a tremendous strength and not as negative as I think." (Lautwein, pos. 308–310)

Lautwein brings together several points here. On the one hand, he describes that the goal of such training must not leave any "black holes," e.g., omitting topics. On the other hand, he argues that training should be designed to prepare people individually by addressing and finding space for their own experiences, especially traumatic experiences. Lautwein reasons that people in captivity are potentially confronted with their traumas and that training should be the place to look at these experiences and reflect on what vulnerabilities and strengths are associated with them. By reflecting on preexisting trauma and placing it in the context of captivity, Lautwein seeks to allow people to perceive it as a potential source of strength rather than a predetermined weakness, thus empowering participants.

2. Theory and simulation

Four interviewees explicitly pointed out that a simulation is the best option for preparation (Moore, pos. 316 & 326; Mauchline, pos. 218; Mühlenbeck, pos. 118; Dennis, pos. 129). However, Moore describes that some preparation is better than none:

"I think in preparation for pre-deployment, doing some training is better than not. [.] But certainly, obviously, sort of like a couple of days of actual handson training, just getting exposure to what might happen is probably the best. I mean, there is the sort of briefings that you can do what they call level A [refers to CaC training]. And I think they're good, you know, I think they're good if you can't do anything else. And certainly, from an NGO perspective, that's probably a cheaper option. So, yeah, I think doing any sort of training is better than none." (Moore, pos. 316)

However, Moore describes the best option as a mix of theory and hands-on training, referring to a stress inoculation approach (see Meichenbaum and Deffenbacher (1988)).

"[...] Yeah. I think the only way you could really stress inoculate is to experience it, you know, see how you react and then do it again and react in a different way. You know, that's the only real way you can do it." (Moore, pos. 326)

Moreover, Dennis also explains that it is best to prepare people at increased risk when a simulation is done well. Dennis' justification is similar to Moore's by referring to the practical application of knowledge, debriefings, and repetitions. This allows participants to see how they react and develop their skills accordingly (Dennis, pos. 129). Mauchline additionally describes that the theoretical introduction to various coping strategies and subsequent practical exposure to a captivity scenario provides the opportunity to apply and adapt them according to personal preferences (Mauchline, pos. 218). Most interview partners advocate for training that combines theory and simulation. This view supports the approaches presented in Section 3.4.1.

3. Debriefings

Lautwein describes that he considers debriefings essential in the context of training so that both the teaching content and the simulations can be classified, and lessons learned can be drawn from them:

"I actually believe the debriefing after the training is essential. Because I think you can show people everything and present everything and whatever. But if you don't place it in the right context for them afterward, then it's all for nothing." (Lautwein, pos. 320)

In addition to Lautwein, Moore and Dennis cite debriefings as a vital part of pre-deployment training for reflection on the simulation and as a means to readjust applied behavior (Dennis, pos. 129; Moore, pos. 326).

5.4.2 Pre-incident phase

The pre-incident phase describes the phase prior to the occurrence of the abduction. The themes mentioned by the participants are presented below.

1. Informed consent: what are the risks?

Informed consent was mentioned primarily concerning the risk of abduction. The recommendation is that employers inform individuals before being deployed about the risk to help make an informed decision (Mühlenbeck, pos. 127).

2. Stick to the security plan, and security is everybody's business

This level primarily describes an established security culture. Mühlenbeck addresses that individual colleagues did not adhere to implemented security guidelines, such as curfews (Mühlenbeck, pos. 127). Compliance with security plans requires that the employer ensures that they exist, that regular context-specific adjustments are made, and that people in the field are familiar with them. Additionally, Mühlenbeck referred to people having to follow the rules (Mühlenbeck, pos. 127). In this regard, it seems necessary to emphasize that people must follow these rules in a disciplined manner. However, the employer is responsible for making the reasonableness of these rules transparent so that compliance can be justified therein. In terms of understanding security and the responsibility for security, Moore addresses: "I think the first mistake I made was my thinking; security is not my problem. I've got a security team. That's the security team's problem. That was a massive mistake" (Moore, pos. 332). Moore's comments again refer to an established security culture built on everyone's understanding that security requires and is everyone's responsibility.

3. Avoidance: do not be an easy target

Avoidance is interdependent with existing and functioning security plans and comprehensive SRM (see Section 3.4). The best way to protect oneself from captivity is to reduce vulnerabilities. Moore and Lautwein explicitly mention the renunciation of routines and insist that avoidance is everyone's responsibility (Moore, pos. 332; Lautwein, pos. 326).

4. Gut feeling

Gut feeling refers to the instinctive feeling that something is wrong. Dennis explains:

"I met a crisis manager for the U.N. who had interviewed all U.N. captive people four-six years after they were released. All of them said the same thing that they saw something suspicious, but they went ahead anyway. And I really like to bring that up because actually two people on our trip before the VIPs or as a VIP has arrived by plane, [.] saw somebody outside the fence who looked suspicious. And they [.] talk about this guy who looks suspicious, [.]. Ok, well, I guess we got to get on to the convoy. He turned out to be one of our captors." (Dennis, pos. 117)

The recommendation for training content is to reinforce that if persons notice something odd and their gut is signaling it, ignoring it is not the best choice. Training should understand this subject area as a call for facilitating awareness. Moore also depicts that on the way to work the day he was abducted; he already had an uneasy feeling because the radio was not working and wondered if it needed to be fixed before he continued his journey:

"There were red flags along that route that we should have pulled out on, and we didn't. And I remember something happening en route. It had nothing to do with being taken hostage. It was a radio problem. And because the security team didn't react to it, I didn't react to it. But at the time, I remember thinking, should we not turn back or stop or something because of this radio problem? And, of course, had we turned back, none of us would have been taken hostage. But the problem is, of course, we wouldn't have known that right now. But I think that needs to get across. Avoid at all costs, and security is everyone's issue." (Moore, pos. 332)

Training should thus, among other areas, raise awareness of red flags, conspicuity, and the importance of gut instinct.

5.4.3 Captivity survival

The subject area of captivity survival refers to all instructional content pertaining to or facilitating survival in captivity.

1. Survival rates

Moore suggests that addressing survival rates reduces uncertainty and thus influences the evaluation of an abduction:

"That's really handy knowing things like survival rates. They are really high as well. That's really good. You know, I didn't know that. I think you just assume that if you're kidnapped, it's game over; you're going to die. Yeah, that's not true. [.] I always say, you know, even if you get kidnapped, survival is still an option. It's always an option for you, you know? Yeah. And you've just got to sweat it out." (Moore, pos. 348)

Derived from this, it can be recommended to integrate hard facts into the theoretical part of training so that persons in captivity can resort to the knowledge that positively influences the overall appraisal of the situation.

2. Stages of captivity

Moore and Dennis emphasize that the captivity phases (see Section 3.3.2) and their specifics should be taught in training. Moore accentuates that he would base training on the individual stages and concludes, "I mean if I knew that pipeline [stages of captivity], I'd be much more clued in" (Moore, pos. 347). Dennis adds that knowledge of the stages and situation specifics, such as the increased risk of being injured during the first 45 minutes is essential information so that one's behavior can be adjusted and attention directed accordingly (Dennis, pos. 117).

3. Stressors of captivity

Four interviewees explicitly expressed that the presentation of stressors faced while being held captive is necessary:

"I would start with what happened to me. So, say this is my experience, and then I could flow very easily into breaking it down and saying, well, what was the worst about it? And I would really focus on a personal sense of a loss of control. This is what mentally will kill you. [.] I think that would be a recurring theme with captives. You know, the hopelessness of having no control is what kills you. You can get tortured, beaten, everything like that. It is nowhere near as bad as them taking your control and taking away all your hope. So, if they take this, I think you're in a lot of trouble mentally. I think [.] you would be able to stretch it out [survival] a lot more if you were aware [.] [of what] they were doing to you." (Mauchline, pos. 221)

Mauchline delineates the need to address the loss of control. As the presentation of stressors and challenges in Section 5.2.2.3.2 shows, this stressor is inherent in the experience of captivity. The relation Mauchline draws between knowing what the perpetrators do to you and how it affects your survival should be reason enough to incorporate stressors into training. As Lautwein explains (see Section 5.4.1), the goal must be to leave no "black holes" and to draw a picture as holistically as possible. Accordingly, the recommendation can be derived to include the identified stressors (see Sections 5.2.1.3, 5.2.2.3, and 5.2.3.5) and those identified in other research (see Section 3.3.3) into training content and address their effects.

Explicitly, Lautwein's recommendation to address violence inflicted on one's own body and violence against others should be mentioned here:

"I would have liked to learn more about it. Well, for one thing, distinctions must be made; so, what is general violence inherent to the place where I am?

You make a mistake, and you get consequences for it, especially if you don't speak the language. How are you supposed to communicate? So, what is violence inherent to the place, and what is violence that really goes against me. [.] Not talking about the subject and denying it is the wrong way. [...] Not only addressing violence against one's own body but also violence against others. I believe it is vital to pay more attention to it. Coping with it, I thin is quite clear; you are powerless anyway [.]; perhaps it is more about talking about the injustices happening there." (Lautwein, pos. 300 & 316–318)

Lautwein emphasizes that the fundamental inclusion and consideration of physical violence, both against oneself and others, is necessary and that not addressing it can have negative consequences. These consequences are displayed in the analysis and Section 5.3.3. Lautwein describes coping with violence against others and oneself as "powerlessness," yet the knowledge that physical violence can be inflicted on one is important because it can influence the appraisal of one's chances of survival. Furthermore, Lautwein emphasizes a differentiated view on violence.

4. Coping strategies and coping options

The need to impart coping strategies was noted in all interviews. Goodwin summarizes the rationale for integrating coping strategies:

"I mean, yeah, you have no choice but to figure out how to cope. Now that's a pretty abrupt and steep learning curve, so maybe if you've got some prior knowledge, that adjustment isn't quite as jarring, which could be a positive." (Goodwin, pos. 230)

The coping strategies that should be addressed depend on the interviewee and their perceived individual challenges during their captivity. Fundamentally, however, it can be seen that coping strategies should be provided so that individuals are given clues that they can best put into practice and personalize (Mauchline, pos. 218–219; Moore, pos. 250). Therefore, the enumeration of every single coping behavior would be misplaced here. Instead, it can be seen that people would primarily address strategies that they utilized. Accordingly, the analysis of the present work can be used as a foundation for conveying and deriving coping strategies to integrate into training. Addressing coping strategies has the effect of providing individuals with a toolbox. It aims to put individuals into the position and initiate a thought process that prompts participants to address their potential coping and own responses in case they are taken captive. In this regard, Mauchline refers to the benefits of mental preparedness and delineates that confronting one's own coping and potential captivity can facilitate adaptation and coping in captivity (Mauchline, pos. 218).

In terms of content to be taught, Wilson describes, "What you might just [want to] be prepared for: How to deal with your mind, how to deal with fear, how to deal with uncertainty" (Wilson, pos. 138). Wilson addresses the need for stress management techniques that the affected person can apply to attenuate and control their emotional response. In six interviews, stress management techniques were identified as valuable and necessary (Mühlenbeck, pos. 125; Goodwin, pos. 228; Lautwein, pos. 322; Mauchline, pos. 225; Moore, pos. 350; Wilson, pos. 138). In addition to the focus on emotion-focused coping, it is clear that problem-solving strategies, such as discussions on escape, approaches to improve the immediate environment through, e.g., humanizing, building rapport, compliance, and inquiry are thematized (Wilson, pos. 138; Moore, pos. 334–348).

In conclusion, it can be deduced that there should be a broad representation of coping strategies used by individuals who survived captivity. The goal is to create a toolbox that is as comprehensive as possible, which people in captivity can draw on, providing them with a reference point and options for action. It is an appeal to training institutions to not only tell people to cope with the situation and to follow the rules but to enable them to activate their resources by offering them starting points and a process of mental preparedness. In this regard, Wilson says: "It's all very well for them to write in the manual 'Do what you're told. It's not so easy" (Wilson, pos. 61). The calls to adapt should supported with concrete possibilities for action so that the challenges can be handled in the best possible way and, as Goodwin points out, the learning curve is not quite so steep. As can be seen from the analysis, coping and adaptation in captivity is anything but easy, so training should be supportive by providing and teaching coping strategies.

5.4.4 Crisis management efforts

Crisis management efforts describe all topics related to information on how the organization responds and proceeds in the event of a kidnapping.

1. Evacuation plans of the remaining staff

The knowledge about evacuation plans is especially relevant when humanitarian aid organizations work in contexts where (national) staff are systematically repressed and attacked by the government/other actors for carrying out humanitarian work. In Syria, this is the case (Mauvis, 2020; Wieland, 2021, p. 2). Lautwein describes:

"People talk about interrogations but relatively little about the people outside. For example, I can only be relaxed during interrogation if I know that my people have been evacuated or are safe. [.] Because theoretically, the task of

the people on the outside is to clear the way so that he [person taken] can talk unhindered in every interrogation." (Lautwein, pos. 314)

The lack of knowledge about this influenced Lautwein's behavior during the interrogations, which exposed him to further risks, such as violence, by not cooperating to protect others (Lautwein, pos. 184). Hence, to reduce this uncertainty and allow affected people to not worry about their colleagues outside and endanger their well-being by non-cooperation, it is recommended to inform staff about evacuation and contingency plans activated in such a case before their deployment.

2. Contingency plans: how does the employer proceed in the event of a kidnapping?

Given that none of the individuals were informed about how the organization would proceed in the event of a kidnapping (see Section 5.1) and the complex nature of uncertainty in captivity, this theme is significant. On the one hand, knowledge of how the organization proceeds to secure a release is essential so that persons in captivity understand how lengthy such a negotiation process can be. On the other hand, information about ransom policies and negotiation policies of the organization, and the legal framework must be provided so that hard facts may replace assumptions in captivity. This knowledge can thus impact several levels: reducing uncertainty, having the assurance that the organization will make an effort to secure your release, you and no one is forgotten, fostering the mind-set that the person is prepared for a long time in captivity and thus mentally prepared (Dennis, pos. 127; Wilson, pos. 142–144).

5.4.5 Post-incident and aftermath

The post-incident and aftermath phase was introduced in Section 3.3.2 but did not receive further consideration in the analysis. Nevertheless, it was noticeable in the set of questions on teaching content that some participants would explicitly like people to be prepared for the chapter following a release.

1. Immediate period post-release

Immediate period post-release refers to the immediate hours to days after release. In Section 5.2.3.5, the challenge/stressor *overextension: coming home* was outlined. The teaching content of this subject area relates to this identified stressor.

For example, Lautwein reported how challenging it was to deal with his family immediately after being released. In this regard, it is recommended that both the crisis management team and the pre-deployment training addresses these challenges and provide tools and a support structure to relieve the person (Lautwein, pos. 286–288). In addition, Lautwein mentions that having a "management" to support organizing and managing the calls immediately after the release would unburden the person. Furthermore, Lautwein emphasizes that the person who supports managing initial contacts with the family could also take over the phone calls if they become too overwhelming. This would still ensure that families receive the information they need and should receive (Lautwein, pos. 286).

2. Adaptation, recovery, and coping strategies

Adaptation, recovery, and coping strategies refer to the people's process and how they cope with the challenges after being released. For example, Moore describes the challenge of readjusting to freedom, considering that he did not expect to return home:

"Yeah, the hardest part was getting released because you talk about the shock of capture. Of course, [.] they always said I was going to be released, but I never believed them. So, when I was released, I had gone through the same shock [.] again because it's a shock. It's the complete change of everyday sort of living, you know? Very weird." (Moore, pos. 241)

Moore describes going through a similar adaptation process after his release as he did when adapting to captivity. Section 3.3.3 outlined Rahe's phases of adaptation to captivity. Rahe identified similar phases of adaptation and recovery post-release, which can be a starting point for training content if the post-incident chapter is included in pre-deployment training.

Wilson refers to the stressor of loss of identity and formulates that coping with it post-release might be more lightweight if one had already (mentally) engaged with this stressor in advance:

"[...] Those other feelings of disintegration because your world is turned upside down and somebody changes you to the wall. I mean, that's something that is difficult and so unexpected, honestly. And if it wasn't so unexpected, I think it might be a little bit easier to cope with." (Wilson, pos. 136)

Wilson's remarks can be related to both the post-incident phase and the time in captivity. Here it is again a matter of mental preparedness and the reduction of the completely unknown. Mühlenbeck addresses the need for training content that provides individuals with information on external resources and support structures:

"Showing possibilities, what you can do afterward, what are the opportunities, which agencies can you turn to. Psychological support yes, no, that is certainly also individually different." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 122)

Based on Mühlenbeck's elaboration of external support, the recommendation can be derived that employees should be informed about existing support structures and options where they can turn to after a critical incident. This requires an understanding that when a person is released, their captivity is resolved, but this is not the end of their experience. Ultimately, what is needed is the establishment of support structures by the employer and networks that support individuals during recovery.

3. Coping strategies

Both Mühlenbeck and Wilson describe that preparation should also consider coping strategies after release to navigate the adaptation process better. Mühlenbeck delineates:

"I would like to see an additional module that deals with what to do after a hostage situation has ended. How to behave, how to develop a strategy to get the whole thing out of your head or pushed into the background." (Mühlenbeck, pos. 120)

Wilson does not focus on coping and adaptation as a whole but describes the challenge of dealing with individuals who were affected by her abduction:

"Well, there's so much to deal with once you've got out, you know, I mean, the people like [indicates name] who've been waiting and working. And how to deal with them. How to cope with the relationship with those people? I've done this to this person." (Wilson, pos. 134)

Wilson describes the challenge of dealing with individuals who have been affected by one's captivity and points to a subjective sense of guilt, indicating that she is responsible for the pain of others. This topic was not addressed in the interviews, but it seems important to acknowledge that when people are abducted together, there is a risk that not all of them survive. In this regard, potential reactions, and a possible ways of coping with such a scenario should be communicated. Based on Mühlenbeck's and Wilson's remarks,

the recommendations to consider the stressor during training and provide possible coping strategies can be derived. However, since the present work deals with survival in captivity, this cannot be further specified.

4. Trauma awareness and captivity sequelae

Interview participants address the sequelae of captivity and the resulting need for consideration. Trauma awareness and captivity sequelae require that employers understand that captivity is a high-impact scenario and that the post-incident phase is part of the employer's duty of care. Wilson describes:

"So, I do think it's really important for people to understand that kidnapping is not just a short period of intense fear and physical restraint, et cetera. It is a long-term mental health issue. Yeah, that's something that people don't understand. You know, the whole thing about mental health. People have so much resistance to the whole idea, don't they? [.] If it was clear from the beginning that all these events have mental health consequences, which can be severe or unaccountably severe or incredibly long term, then people would take it a bit more seriously, I think." (Wilson, pos. 130)

Dennis adds:

"Yeah, and then I think another important phase is the post-incident phase, which I put into my teachings because I think, you know, PTSD, the amount of people that commit suicide through PTSD. And you think of the mountain of resources dedicated to crisis management, and then that tapers off, [once] they're released. It is over. And it's maybe a bell curve thing. The amount of resources to security, management, and prevention is low, crisis management is high, and follow-up is low again." (Dennis, pos. 117–119)

Interestingly, both address the problem that mental health consequences and after-care are not adequately considered. The two comments refer to different levels of relevance for both employers and training institutions. Basically, it is reiterated that awareness of trauma needs to be brought into focus. Trauma awareness should not only be considered regarding captivity as a traumatic experience, in that a person should survive but also in terms of the sequel of these experiences. Dennis describes the unequal allocation of resources between security, prevention, crisis management, and follow-up. In light of the fact that the consequences of captivity have been outlined through research (see Section 3.3.3), and the outlined experiences of the interview participants suggest how painful such an experience is, mental first aid, trauma, coping with traumatic experiences as well as the

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aftermath of captivity should be integrated into pre-deployment training, and employers need to ensure adequate psychosocial aftercare.

5.4.6 Additional information

In addition to specific knowledge about captivity, crisis management, and life after incarceration, several sets of issues were mentioned that can be supportive while being held captive:

- 1. Language
- 2. Country information
- 3. Driver's training
- 4. Grab bag
- 5. Behavior under fire

Language barriers as an additional challenge were mentioned several times. In terms of teaching content, it is recommended that people have a basic command of the respective national language (Goodwin, pos. 224). With regard to country information, the analysis showed that these partly influenced direct problem-solving strategies, such as humanizing and building rapport (see Section 5.2.2.4.2). The importance of this knowledge was explicitly stated to implement coping behaviors based on it (Goodwin, pos. 224). Driver's training, grab bag, and behavior under fire are topics Dennis addresses that are directly related to his abduction. Dennis describes driver's training as essential so that the person driving is trained for ambush situations and can react on sandy roads according to the conditions. Having walked through the bush for several days, Dennis alludes to the importance of making people aware of the need to carry an equipped grab bag so that basics, such as food/water, are available for a certain period. Behavior under fire is also mentioned due to the attack phase and the armed rescue mission and serves to increase the chance of survival (Dennis, pos. 117).

5.5 Discussion of outcomes

Considering the length of the thesis and the analysis results, the results of coping strategies during confinement have already been summarized in an interim conclusion. This discussion revisits and discusses salient points relevant to answering the overarching research questions (see Chapter 1). It focuses on aspects that allow the derivation of teach-

ing content to provide recommendations and does not primarily engage with the individual coping strategies or single stresses since the primary goal is to identify teaching content. The discussion is divided into subchapters depending on the research questions.

5.5.1 Stresses and challenges of captivity

"I felt like I had committed suicide but was still alive, and that kind of goes back to feeling exactly the way the Syrians wanted me to. Just cut off from any control in my life because I felt like I had died, like I had been removed from the earth. I mean, just totally cut off. So, I felt like I was dead, but I wasn't. I was still alive; I was still existing." (Goodwin, pos. 66)

Above, Goodwin describes in vivid terms the experience of his captivity. The depiction of the stressors and challenges faced by individuals in captivity brings to light the brutality of the experience. Since stressors and challenges were presented separately according to offender profiles and stages of captivity, it was possible to visualize the differences and similarities between the different captivity scenarios and their conditions. As stated in Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3, it is apparent that only "one" captivity experience does not exist. However, captivity is a situation that produces stressors and challenges that all interview partners identify, regardless of the offender profile. The identification of stressors that all interviewees identify is not surprising and has already been stated by several scholars, including Lazarus (1984). Therefore, the classification of captivity as a universal stressor (see Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.3) can only be agreed upon based on the analysis results. Since this thesis aims to make stressors and coping strategies visible based on the captivity phases, conspicuous features of the individual phases will be addressed.

One difference that appears to be instrumental in the primary appraisal and the stress response it elicits is the configuration of the attack phase. A clear tendency could be made visible during the attack and transport phase, showing that the interview participants perceived their stress reaction as challenging. The individuals whom a non-state actor abducted were all attacked ambush-like, whereas the individuals who were extra-legally detained by the Syrian regime were arrested in an apparently normal passport control situation. It became apparent, through self-reports, that this unsurprisingly led to a time delay in the stress reactions in the group taken by the Syrian regime. It seems important to note that the coordinated and calm conduct of the snatch phase (Goodwin, pos. 22; Lautwein, pos. 39; Mauchline, pos. 37) contributed to how the situation was initially appraised. The distinction in Dennis' case is primarily that the imminent threat to life and limb was not merely anticipated but was objectively present due to the force of the weapon and the

sustained injuries. The own stress reaction, which all identified as a challenge, has a similar effect and is comparable (see Sections 5.2.1.3 - 5.2.1.3.2).

The stressors and challenges that could be identified during confinement are presented in their range in Table 11. The table compares each stressor based on the offender profile. Some stressors, such as loss of control, loss of freedom, uncertainty, and lack of information on crisis management efforts, could be identified across all interviews. Other stressors, such as psychological torture (e.g., solitary confinement), the constant threat of violence, and becoming a witness to torture, were mentioned primarily by individuals detained by the Syrian regime. The analysis and presentation of the stressors, without critical classification, would lead to the conclusion that persons detained by a state actor would most likely be subjected to violence. In contrast, persons abducted by non-state groups would not have to fear this. However, this needs to be looked at critically. On the one hand, a distinction can be seen within the group arrested by the Syrian regime. While Lautwein and Mauchline themselves survived torture, Goodwin was spared. On the other hand, there are many fates of people abducted by non-state actors who were subjected to torture and violence (see Footnote 38). In conclusion, it can be shown that within this sample, physical violence and torture were experienced exclusively by persons in Syrian captivity during the holding phase. Dennis experienced violence in the context of the attack phase. It is emphasized that captivity as such is already characterized by coercion and violence, and this is in no way to be relativized. Instead, it is about the direct use of violence during the confinement phase. Given that Syrian intelligence prisons are known for their human rights violations and systematic torture (Amnesty International, 2016; Motaparthy & Houry, 2015), it cannot be concluded that the likelihood of being tortured or exposed to violence is higher when detained by a state actor, nor that the likelihood of being subjected to violence decreases when the perpetrator is a non-state actor. Therefore, generalizable statements about the probability of being exposed to violence cannot be made.

Besides situational conditions, the analysis displayed the immense variety of psychological stresses having to cope with in captivity. As elaborated, the stresses are dependent and vary on the situational conditions and the respective captors but certainly are characterized by unpredictability and uncertainty. Since Insecurity Insight found for 2018 that kidnappings often occur in groups (see Section 3.3), addressing the issue of being separated as well as possible coping strategies seems essential in this context since it is evident that all individuals who were kidnapped with other individuals were separated in the course of their captivity.

During the release phase, the analysis showed that stressors that had already been identified were still relevant and were named by the persons concerned. In addition to the identified stressors, others were mentioned directly related to the changing situation, explicitly transitioning from being held to moving freely. The stressors associated with release refer to challenges to re-adapting to self-determination and navigating through the changed situation. In summary, it can be concluded that both external and internal stimuli elicit a stress reaction in a captivity situation. However, it must be mentioned that the situation engenders the internal stimuli provoking the stress reaction.

Since the goal of this thesis is to identify targeted teaching content from the survivor's perspective, the question that arises is to what extent the identified stressors should be integrated into training. Overall, it can be stated that the integration represents a clarification of goals for what persons must be prepared for to facilitate coping and survival. Furthermore, the separate listing of stresses depending on the offender profile again enables a differentiated view of possible, previously little, or unconsidered content, which must be viewed critically and differentiated. It is salient that the experience of violence in this sample - shows differences based on the perpetrator profile and that especially the topic of torture and exposure to violence must be considered so that people can draw on the experiential knowledge of others and do not necessarily come to the conclusion of not surviving in a comparable situation. The preservation of physical integrity seems to influence the likelihood of survival appraisal (see Section 5.3.2). This is not to suggest that captivity in which people remain physically unscathed is less challenging, but rather to show that physical and psychological violence must be addressed within training because, as it appears here, they influence survival and endurance in captivity and the conclusions for a positive resolution.

In terms of stressors, it can be deduced that the core characteristics are similar, although differences exist in situational conditions. The identified stressors reflect the situational conditions to a certain degree and offer the possibility to show starting points for coping through their presentation. Loss of control as a stressor, for example, can be compensated for by specific coping strategies outlined in the analysis and, if integrated into pre-deployment captivity survival training, allows participants to identify possibilities of influence and thereby learn how to regain control. Furthermore, considering the loss of identity seems indispensable. Regarding Wilson's comments on the loss of identity (see Section 5.2.2.3.2) that she would never have suspected this form of a stressor is vital to pay attention to. Wilson describes how the loss of identity affected her mental health and self-esteem. Since individuals who are held captive must adjust their behavior and play a role contrary to their usual behavior, the difficulty of playing and adapting to this role and its consequences and challenges should be addressed and integrated into training curricula.

5. Analysis

Accordingly, it seems reasonable for training institutions to include the identified stress-ors in principle into their teaching content. Consideration of the stressors allows participants to gain a better understanding of captivity. When embedded in a discussion, the stressors in combination with coping strategies can be used to identify opportunities that, at best, facilitate coping and adaptation.

Unanimously, all participants perceived their stress response as challenging. Hence, by presenting and explaining the possible psychological and physical reactions to extreme stress, individuals learn that this reaction is a normal response to an abnormal situation. Therefore, besides considering basic concepts that explain the human stress response, the integration of the phases of adaptation to captivity, brought forth by Rahe (2007), seems like a helpful approach since it is domain-specific (see Section 3.3.3). In the next step, such training must then impart specific coping strategies to facilitate coping with and controlling one's response.

In addition to the situational conditions that have a stress-inducing effect, the stressor uncertainty, which encompasses various levels in its complexity, was named by all interview participants. Uncertainty refers to one's fate and being at the mercy of others and includes questions about how the employer ensures working on securing the release (crisis management efforts), dealing with the rest of the team in the field, and dealing with one's own family. The individuals involved perceived these issues as stressful, as no information was provided in advance. These uncertainties can be eliminated by integrating and disclosing the relevant information in a training session. It is utopian to think that integrating crisis management efforts will prevent uncertainty in captivity; however, this knowledge can partially counteract rumination, intrusive thoughts, and worry and provide assurance that both the family is taken care of, and that the employer is committed to working on resolving the case. Furthermore, the feeling of being forgotten, which was also described in the context of uncertainty, could be counteracted by integrating these topics since once the crisis management approaches are presented, certainty about them is made possible.

Finally, the reasons mentioned above to integrate stressors and the derived training content suggest that training providers and employers who do not yet take these topics into account should integrate them and thus allow a more sophisticated and holistic picture of captivity to be drawn.

5.5.2 Coping strategies in captivity

In terms of coping with the attack and transport phase, it is apparent that both problem-focused strategies, such as planning and direct problem-solving, and emotion-focused strategies to attenuate and control the emotional response were utilized. However, it becomes apparent that resorting to strategies to reduce the emotional reaction seem more prominent since the situational conditions do not allow self-determined decisions to leave the situation, and the possibility of altering the status quo during these phases is minimal. As elaborated in Section 3.3.3, Rahe's adaptation phases could be identified. Particularly concerning the attack and transport phases it becomes apparent from the interviewees that rapid adaptation is highly challenging, and that startle and disorientation are initial reactions. As already elucidated in Section 5.5.1, it is recognizable that the conduct of the attack phase influences the initial appraisal of the situation and thus, influences the intensity of the initial reaction requiring significant efforts to control engendered emotions (see Sections 5.2.1.3.1 & 5.2.1.3.2).

Interestingly, Mühlenbeck is the only one having completed a HEAT who relates the dynamics of the attack phase to his behavior and suspects that his calm conduct influenced the tension (see Section 5.3.1). The second phase, disbelief, as outlined by Rahe (2007), which is mainly characterized by the fact that persons hope for the situation to be resolved, accompanied by turning attention inward, can also be recognized in the coping responses of the participants (see Section 5.2.1.4.2, e.g., remain calm, self-encouragement, focus on the positive). Based on the dimension of information-seeking, vigilance towards the situation is identifiable, triggering coping strategies primarily focusing on orientation. Finally, it can be noted that some individuals have tried, within reason, to identify possibilities that enable them to take action in the situation (see Section 5.2.1.4.1) despite various constraints/stresses. Nevertheless, coping efforts focus primarily on various strategies to control the emotional response. From this, it can be deduced for training that especially emotion-focused coping strategies and stress management techniques are highly relevant to allowing de-escalation in the situation, thus, reducing the likelihood of getting harmed and gaining a sense of control over one's situation. Furthermore, strategies that direct the person's attention to focus on controlling one's feelings and physical response appear to be important not only in terms of the potential positive effect in subsiding the intensity of the emotional response but also offer the possibility of a sense of self-control in a situation that is perceived as uncontrollable. Regarding coping during the release phase, it can be stated that individuals, similar to coping during the transport phase, mainly resorted to emotion-focused strategies.

In terms of coping, during the confinement phase, individuals' immense variety of coping behavior becomes visible and clearly recognizable that individuals were able to identify ways to influence the conditions despite the situational constraints. Before the discussion refers to general aspects to derive teaching content, it should be noted that it is salient that hopelessness, to varying degrees, did not lead to people giving up (suicide is not understood as giving up). The very assumption that one would not survive imprisonment would suggest that people would resign and give up, but this is not evident in any of the participants' shared coping endeavors. This phenomenon can potentially be explained by the motivating property of commitments outlined by Lazarus & Folkman (1984). Not only do commitments determine the subjective meaning of a situation, but they influence survival in life-threatening and persistent extreme situations. In summary, commitments express what is essential to the person (e.g., survival) and shape the foundation of their decisions. The motivational property urges a person to make efforts to change the situation, instigates the will to live, and thus contributes to maintaining hope and persistence (see Section 3.1.2).

When coping strategies are considered throughout captivity⁴⁰ the most salient feature is the similarity at their core, regardless of whether individuals have addressed the issue of survival in captivity in advance. Essentially, it can be seen that despite the massive situational constraints and stressors, all individuals applied problem-focused strategies to improve the immediate environment or avert negative consequences. The creativity and design differed individually, but similar action tendencies are recognizable, such as structure and hygiene. In terms of problem-focused strategies, it is apparent that the individuals involved scanned their environment for influence and did so in an impressive range. In this regard, it seems essential to point out the situational specificity since certain coping strategies were only possible in certain settings. For example, Dennis' situational conditions show that otherwise prominent strategies, such as structuration, are not a reference point for coping. From this, it can be deduced for specific training contents that it seems vital to present the different coping strategies, including their function, considering the situational conditions so that people are enabled to recognize the starting points for exerting influence in the respective situation and are given tools that they can apply in a modified and individualized form. Since it is apparent from the analysis that coping strategies have a high degree of similarity at their core, with only the configuration being adapted to individual preferences and situational constraints, transferring these strategies as part of training is a way to provide individuals at risk with a blueprint so that they do not have to cope with confinement without any specific knowledge. Even though coping behavior is individual and dependent on one's appraisal of the situation, the identified coping strategies should find their way into curricula, as it can be assumed that individuals would resort to similar strategies in the event of a captivity scenario. A preceding discussion of helpful coping strategies could flatten the learning curve and reveal possible

⁴⁰ An overview of all stresses and coping strategies per captivity phase identified can be found in Appendix I.

courses of action. In this regard, the research of Strentz (see Section 3.4.1) should be adduced. In empirical research, Strentz et al. found that individuals who had studied coping strategies in advance used these primarily during the four-day simulated confinement. In addition, it was measured that individuals who primarily utilized emotion-focused strategies had lower stress levels. Thus, it can be deduced that besides the recommendation to draw a holistic picture and show the interdependencies of coping, a goal of training should be to teach emotion-focused strategies. Another rationale for integrating survivors' coping strategies is Bandura's assumption that learning through vicarious experience increases self-efficacy (see Section 3.1.5). By considering coping strategies that survivors have used, vicarious experiences and successes can be made visible, and the necessary mindset, which provides starting points for regaining control, can be demonstrated. Essential for this is integrating the situational conditions and the self-reported functions of individual coping strategies.

Moreover, the analysis clearly shows how important prior knowledge of individuals is in assessing their chances of survival and coping in captivity, as it influences the appraisal process and coping behavior. This is where training must be as comprehensive as possible and should draw on people's experiences to prepare them in the best possible way. As outlined in Section 3.1.5, resilience is domain-specific, so imparting identified content, such as common coping strategies and identified stressors, should aim at strengthening this domain-specific resilience as part of the training by drawing on experiential knowledge from survivors and aiming to expand the individual's knowledge base. This is because it is to be assumed that, despite the individual expression of coping (see Section 3.1.2), individuals in captivity will be able to draw on this knowledge and thus have instructions for action at hand that will not force them to adopt coping behaviors without guidance in a highly stressful and life-threatening situation in which performance and rapid adaptation are crucial (see Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3).

Further, it can be stated that everyday self-evident actions, such as maintaining hygiene, function as acts of self-determination and regaining control. This seems essential for identifying teaching content since these mundanities, although limited and subject to an external structure, offer a starting point to regain control and reveal the mindset persons in captivity adapted. As detailed, loss of control is one of the major stressors identified; providing guidance on how to regain control thus seems vital. This mindset emphasizes the relevance of integrating coping strategies in conjunction with their function and situational conditions. Lazarus & Folkman (1984) and Bandura (2004) delineated that one's own control beliefs either function as stress-intensifying or stress-reducing, especially in ambiguous situations. Since loss of control has been identified as a major stressor and that one's own belief of control is relevant for the generation of stress, it can be concluded that

tools for mastering one's own stress response as well as possibilities for regaining control have an enormous significance for the emotional experience of captivity. Furthermore, if coping strategies are integrated, including their function and the situational constraints, it can be assumed that one's coping self-efficacy is bolstered (see Sections 3.1.2, 3.1.5, and 3.4.2).

What is salient in the analysis is that most interviewees outwardly adapted their behavior and complied to improve their conditions and increase their chance of survival. From their own assessment, it appears that behavioral adaptation has positively impacted their conditions in captivity. Regarding compliance, the opposition behavior of Mauchline should be revisited. Because Lautwein and Mauchline were arrested together and incarcerated in the same prison, the different coping approaches allow for comparison in terms of the conditions of confinement. Overall, it can be concluded that Mauchline's conditions, without relativizing Lautwein's experiences, were different. As stated, Mauchline is the only one who resorted to active opposition and aggression. Lautwein, like all the others, primarily adapted his behavior outwardly so as not to provoke the perpetrators. As indicated by others, compliance subjectively positively influenced the conditions of confinement; Mauchline is confident that his behavior had a negative impact on the conditions of his confinement and describes:

"Yes, I did 100 percent. And again, this is very obvious when you put my case next to Martins, which is such a good case example because there's a control there isn't there. Him being the grey mouse which worked for him really well, he got fed better. They didn't beat him physically as much. And again, I'm not discounting any of the suffering, which was horrific, absolutely horrific—nothing to do with that. But I definitely got treated differently. I got fed a lot less. I got put in handcuffs. I got beaten more than him. It definitely influenced how much they fed me, it influenced how much they tortured me or beat me physically, [.] how they starved me, all that stuff." (Mauchline, pos. 108)

In his reader, *Everyday Management in Captivity: Perspectives from Reality*, Lautwein (2021) describes a "grey mouse" as a person who does not require special attention, who does not pose a risk, and who is cooperative and compliant. Lautwein states in this regard that:

"It's easy to imagine that this kind of interaction doesn't encourage the selfesteem of the captive. That's why it's even more important to remember that this is just a roleplaying game. The detainee is not a "grey mouse," only acting as one. Never forget that!" (Lautwein, 2021, p. 12) Based on Lautwein's explanation, a connection to Wilson's remarks on loss of identity can be seen (see Section 5.2.2.3.2.). Except for Mauchline, all interview partners took on this role and can be classified in the category "grey mouse," which as stated can affect a person's self-esteem and identity.

The comments on "grey mouse" can be classified as "survivor" according to Strentz (2018) (see Table 9 and Section 3.3.3.). Mauchline himself states, he would not recommend his strategy to anyone. Based on the different conditions between Lautwein and Mauchline, it does not seem appropriate to train people (civilians) to resist in captivity. However, within this dimension, the variability and individuality of coping behaviors are evident. Even though it appears that Mauchline's behavior led to a worsening of his conditions, this strategy or behavior had added value. As per Mauchline, it functioned to protect his psyche, and he could draw strength from his victories that boosted his mental state and raised morale. Strentz (2018) refers to people who "acted out aggression, stood out as over-compliant or resistant, acted out of control" (Strentz, 2018, p. 319) as "succumbers". In addition, he describes survivors as people with "strong self-esteem" (Strentz, 2018, p. 319). Although in Section 3.3.3, this classification has already been critically discussed, it should be pointed out again that the division based on coping behavior/psychological reactions is to be understood as problematic. Both Lautwein and Wilson argue that cooperation and compliance have immense effects on self-esteem and that it is an enormous challenge to perform the role of "grey mouse." Further, despite the consequences, Mauchline chose or used "counterintuitive" coping behavior and would be classified as a "succumber," according to Strentz, which must be contradicted here. The different ways of coping show the diverse ways of dealing with the stressors in captivity. Therefore, they should be considered in the respective context and consider the self-reported function so that evaluative classifications, such as those of Strentz (2018), do not subsequently degrade the massive exertions to the survival of people in captivity.

Finally, the intuitive assumption that opposition brings mainly negative consequences in terms of conditions in captivity is shown by Mauchline. Even though active opposition strategies (aggression and resistance behavior) should not be taught in survival training, as it can be assumed that they negatively influence the chances of survival, it is recommended to address the challenge of adaptation (grey mouse) and the functions of opposition as detailed by Mauchline. Moreover, displaying possibilities to mentally oppose and resist the kidnappers to help raise morale seems like a valuable option to support perseverance.

Concerning strategies that influence the emotional reaction and are aimed at preventing an intensification of feelings perceived as distressing, it is evident that distraction and various avoidant strategies play an important role and could be identified across all interviews. In this respect, the analysis showed that it makes little sense to consider coping strategies in isolation since interdependencies are formed, leading to mutual facilitation and enablement of other strategies. Coping must be understood and considered a net, where each individual string contributes to coping and adaptation. The totality of strategies utilized must be taken into account to draw a holistic picture of coping, intended to enable persons to combine the different approaches to best influence the situational circumstances (direct problem solving) and subside the emotional experience. Individual scholars, such as Deaton et al. (1977), who have studied coping strategies of POW, argue, based on the identified self-initiation of coping strategies, that integrating coping strategies into training does not possess a necessity (p. 252). This conclusion must be contradicted. Arguments in favor of integrating coping strategies and thus directly considering the survivor's perspective are presented in the analysis, discussion of results, and conclusion. Not only are people with incarceration experiences in favor of integrating these into training (see Section 5.4.3), but as explained, it can be assumed that the learning curve is flattened and thus adaptation to captivity is facilitated as a result, and that psychological preparation and personal engagement with the issue is initiated.

Moreover, it can be detailed that it is not possible to make visible in its entirety which strategies addressed which stressors as mentioned in Section 5.2.2.3 - this would be useful for a detailed presentation and identification of training content so that coping strategies could be provided based on the respective stressor.

After providing substantive justifications for why coping strategies should find their way into curricula, this chapter will conclude by demonstrating the utility of the hierarchical representation of coping strategies through Ayers et al.' five-dimensional coping model. Hierarchical recording through the five-dimensional taxonomy allowed the different coping behaviors and their activities to be classified into higher-order dimensions. This is where the present work differs from those presented in Section 3.3.3. The grouping of strategies makes the different instances of coping and coping possibilities with similar functions and topological features visible. It is essential to capture and represent the complexity of coping, which was possible due to the five-dimensional model of Ayers et al., to paint a comprehensive picture of coping in captivity. In this respect, the analysis was able to show that an isolated consideration of coping strategies and coping instances is insufficient and thus threatens to miss their complexity. Finally, it became evident that some strategies are dependent on others, and thus interdependencies and symbioses develop.

5.5.3 Teaching content from a survivor's perspective

As elaborated in Chapter 1 and Section 3.4.1, there is no standardization of HEAT training in general and captivity survival training in particular. Since the goal of this thesis is to address this gap regarding captivity survival training, the opinion of survivors concerning essential teaching content is indispensable and has been utilized to identify teaching content to prepare people for captivity. The recommended teaching content by captivity survivors has been presented in Sections 5.4 -5.4.6.

The teaching contents that captivity survivors designate as essential can be assigned to several levels. The category pre-incident phase alludes to measures to prevent an incident. On the one hand, it is a matter of the employer enabling persons to make an informed decision as to whether an assignment is suitable for the respective person under these circumstances by pointing out existing risks. In addition, topics have been designated that address a culture of security and behaviors that enable people to adapt their behavior preventively. The subject area of captivity survival includes teaching content that paints a holistic picture of captivity for individuals based on the stages of captivity (see Section 3.3.2), explicitly advocating for considering stressors and hard facts such as survival rates. Further to this, the provision and inclusion of coping strategies are mentioned so that persons have a toolbox to resort to. Themes mentioned in relation to crisis management efforts provide a sense of security and certainty that the employer cares about the fate of the affected person and a sense that individuals can be cooperative in interrogations without risking the lives of others. Post-incident themes relate to the awareness that captivity has lasting consequences that must be addressed with trauma awareness and support structures. Additional information includes topics mentioned due to the different situation specifics that can affect coping and survival in captivity. Finally, the topic of training design and objectives of training were mentioned. In this regard, people alluded to which objectives such training should pursue, and which design would be optimal. Fundamentally, it is recognizable that the topics' designated aim is to reduce uncertainty by addressing relevant information in advance that can be drawn upon and enable coping throughout captivity and post-captivity.

When comparing the teaching contents mentioned and the identified stressors, it can be recognized that the teaching contents named explicitly address many of the stressors identified.

Since no standardization exists, no statement can be made about whether the interview participants' topics are already integrated into training courses. Chapter 3.4.1 presented the curricula of the Security Training Project and the open-source curriculum of ENTRi. Since only rough learning objectives are outlined, no direct comparison can be made as

to whether these curricula already consider the recommendations for teaching content. However, what is salient is that neither curriculum explicitly mentions addressing the stressors of captivity. Technical knowledge, such as the phases of captivity, prevention, and coping strategies, is considered. It is not possible to say whether other topics are integrated, such as crisis management efforts, or to what extent coping strategies are considered.

In conclusion, it can be recommended that training institutions and employers adopt the survivors' recommendations and subject their curricula to a critical evaluation and adapt them if necessary.

5.5.4 Impact of pre-deployment training

Based on the results from Section 5.3-5.3.3, it can be seen that people who have completed pre-deployment captivity survival training/workshop or have dealt with the topic privately were able to draw on the respective knowledge. Furthermore, the analysis made visible that the participants' subjective assessment is that the training/knowledge positively impacted coping in captivity; however negative aspects were shared as well.

As detailed throughout the analysis and as outlined in Section 5.5.2, it is salient that the coping strategies, regardless of the intensity of preparation, differ little at their core. To avoid misguided conclusions, this conspicuousness will be critically discussed here by addressing the limitations of this category. Interestingly, hardly any differences can be discerned between the coping behavior of people who have undergone training and those who have not (see Sections 5.2.1-5.2.3). Differences in the design of actual instances of coping are visible, but the strategies employed cannot be distinguished based on deployment preparation. It is evident that all persons resorted to information-seeking strategies, distraction strategies, direct-emotion focused strategies, problem-focused strategies, and avoidant strategies. Again, there is no visible causality between training and behavior. In this regard, it is emphasized that the research design does not allow for such causalities. Thus, the theme that no differences can be made visible cannot be used to deny pre-deployment training its importance and value. Lautwein's statement that it may take longer for a person to discover starting points for coping seems logical but cannot be elaborated on, verified, or falsified because the timing of implementation of coping strategies was not recorded⁴¹. To conclude whether Lautwein's assessment is correct, further research would

⁴¹ For insights into the evolution of coping activities of POW in solitary confinement see Deaton, J. E., Berg, S. W., Richlin, M., & Litrownik, A. J. (1977). Coping Activities in Solitary Confinement of U.S. Navy POWs in Vietnam. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 7(3), 239–257.

need to examine whether there is a difference in coping strategies over time between individuals who have had training and those who have not had access to such training.

In conclusion, the discernible self-initiation of coping behaviors and strategies should not lead to erroneous conclusions that question the need for pre-deployment captivity survival training. Instead, the main question should be whether an identifiable distinction between trained individuals and a control group is necessary if the subjective assessment of the individuals is that such training has prepared them (see self-efficacy in Section 3.1.5 and Section 3.4.1). Simply put, if training achieves that a person in captivity has the confidence in himself/herself to persevere and feels prepared, this is already a positive property of training. Nonetheless, this raises the need for further qualitative and quantitative empirical research to examine this causality to allow informed conclusions about the value and benefits of such training.

6. Recommendations

This chapter presents an overview of teaching content recommendations. Since recommendations have already been deduced in the analysis and the discussion and justified why these recommendations are necessary, they are presented compactly without further explanations. Within this chapter, the recommendations of the interview partners presented in Section 5.4 -5.4.7 are adduced and supplemented by the additionally derived teaching content based on the analysis. It is salient that based on the recommendations by the interviewees, a holistic view of captivity, of all phases, is suggested, rather than focusing only on survival in captivity (see Section 3.3.2).

Table 12: Overview: recommendations for teaching content

Group of themes	Teaching content to be integrated		
Pre-incident	1. Informed consent: What are the risks?		
phase	2. Security culture (compliance with the security plan and own responsibility)		
	3. Avoidance: Do not be an easy target		
	4. Gut feeling		
Captivity survival	1. Survival rate		
	2. Stages of captivity, including salient features of each phase		
	3. Stresses and challenges of captivity		
	4. Coping strategies, including functions and situational constraints		
	5. Stress management techniques		
	6. Anxiety reduction strategies		
	7. Stages of adaptation to captivity		
	8. First aid (psychological and physical)		
	9. Human stress reaction to extreme stress/psychological responses to extreme stress		
Crisis manage- ment efforts	1. Evacuation plans of the remaining staff		
	2. Contingency plans: how does the employer proceed in the event of a kidnapping?		
	3. Legal implications of negotiations		
	4. Family liaison: How is my family supported?		
Post-incident and	1. Immediate period post-release		
recovery	2. Trauma awareness		
	3. Coping strategies		

	4.	Availability of support network
		, 11
	5.	Stages of adaption and recovery from captivity
Additional information	1.	Language
	2.	Country information
	3.	Driver's training
	4.	Grab bag
	5.	Behavior under fire
Training design and objectives	1.	Empowerment
	2.	Comprehensive insight into "the" captivity experience: leaving no "black holes"
	3.	Considering the trauma history of participants
	4.	Theory and simulation
	5.	Debriefings

Source: Own representation.

7. Conclusion

With the help of the theoretical examination of psychological key concepts, such as stress and coping, captivity, and captivity survival training, the first part of this thesis created the basis for the subsequent content analysis. Through the semi-structured expert interviews and their analysis with reference to the theoretical framework, the stresses, coping strategies, recommendations for teaching content, and the subjective perception of the value of captivity survival training could be revealed. Based on different analysis criteria, such as the differentiation between the perpetrators and the phases of captivity, discerned and essential insights into survival in captivity could be provided, focusing on the identification and derivation of teaching contents.

Since this thesis aims not only at making the stresses visible but primarily to extract teaching content, it can be stated that the research design has succeeded in revealing both qualitative and quantitative aspects depending on the offender profile and the phases of captivity. The analysis showed that stressors increase immeasurably, especially when people are in holding facilities (see Table 11). A detailed analysis of each identified stressor would not have been effective in answering the research question, nor would it have been feasible due to the scope of the thesis. However, core aspects of the analysis show that regardless of offender profile, there are specific stressors that all individuals experience. In addition, it could be shown that the own stress reaction to the contextual demands represents a challenge. In contrast to stressors that all individuals identified, some distinctions could be made visible based on the offender profile that has relevance to training content. The most salient distinction is the one according to the experiences of violence. Here, this sample discerns a clear line of distinction that shows that persons in state captivity have all witnessed torture and two-thirds of the persons have themselves survived torture. For a critical discussion of possible conclusions, see Section 5.5.1. Finally, it can be assumed that the presentation of stressors captured a wide range of stresses inherent to being held captive. However, it must be critically noted that a complete picture cannot be drawn because, as presented in Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3, captivity is a unique and individual experience, reflected in the challenges and stresses faced. In addition to the objective of making the stresses visible to draw a better understanding of captivity, this paper aims to derive teaching content from the stressors. As already mentioned, it is impossible to derive teaching content from every stressor; rather, the presentation of the stressors is understood as a possibility to draw a realistic picture of captivity and function as a goal clarification to inform training institutions about what people must be prepared for. Nevertheless, stressors could be identified where logical conclusions for teaching content could be drawn from (see Section 5.5.1).

Identical to the objective of the research question regarding stresses, the second sub-question on which coping strategies were applied has two objectives. Firstly, the goal is to make coping strategies visible in the situational context of the respective confinement situation. Secondly, the objective is to extract teaching content based on conspicuousness. In principle, the analysis shows that the research methods, both the survey instrument and the content analysis of the material, could answer the research question satisfactorily. The underlying five-dimensional taxonomy for capturing coping strategies allows the complexity and mass of coping instances to be assigned to appropriate strategies and subsequently to the superordinate dimensions. The assignment to higher-order categories, thus allows for a reduced representation of the unbounded variability of coping instances by classifying them into a parsimonious theoretical construct. By utilizing the five-dimensional coping taxonomy, the instances of coping, coping strategies, and the dimensions of coping could be made visible, which ultimately allows a clear domain-specific presentation of the recorded strategies with reference to their function and topological feature.

As coping strategies were evaluated based on the phases of captivity, it was possible to show which strategies were primarily relied upon during each phase. Essential results of the analysis regarding the phases of captivity show that the coping behavior during the attack, transport, and release phase is mainly inward-directed and serves to regulate emotions. In the holding phase, it becomes impressively visible how, in addition to emotionfocused strategies, problem-focused strategies are increasingly applied so that the situation can be improved, and negative consequences be prevented. The analysis of coping strategies has not only been able to reveal differences in the coping strategies used, which are mainly associated with situational circumstances and personal preference but has been able to show enormous similarities in the instances of coping and strategies used. The individual strategies assigned to the dimensions differ primarily in their configuration but not in their function. In addition to the identified similarity of strategies, it became apparent that strategies are interdependent, mutually dependent and that individual strategies are vital in enabling other strategies. From this, it was concluded that the identified coping strategies should find their way into training curricula to flatten the learning curve and facilitate coping. Given that the results indicate that loss of control and adaptation to the new role present enormous challenges, considering coping strategies can provide knowledge of how other individuals managed to cope. The integration of coping strategies will not make the experience less traumatic and less challenging; however, it is likely that if existing knowledge can be drawn upon, adaptation will be simplified, and, most importantly, the unknown and new components can be reduced.

In addition to analyzing challenges, stresses, and coping strategies used to derive teaching content for captivity survival training, direct inquiry into key instructional content during

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the interviews identified sets of topics that captivity survivors determine essential. The core aspects of this level of analysis include topics from prevention to recovery from captivity, which can contribute to the standardization of teaching content. Furthermore, the mentioned teaching contents of the interviewees allow the direct integration of the survivor perspective. Therefore, it can be assumed that these topics are essential for survival in captivity. Finally, the identified teaching contents by survivors were supplemented by the derived recommendations and presented in Chapter 6. However, it is to be noted that the tabular presentation of the recommendations in Chapter 6 provides only an overview; the discussion and analysis provide further explanations and justifications as to why these topics must be considered.

In answering the main research question, it becomes apparent that a one-sentence answer is not possible due to the underlying complexity and the various steps used to answer it. However, through the analysis, recommendations for teaching content could be derived and identified that, in their entirety, answer the main research question.

In addition to the three questions already addressed, the thesis aimed to assess the subjective perceptions of individuals who have undergone pre-deployment captivity survival training concerning the value of such training in captivity. The analysis made visible that the participants' subjective perception is that the training positively impacted coping in captivity. However, negative impact was shared as well. Concerning the negative impact, it becomes apparent how vital it is that trainers are aware of the impact information can have. Furthermore, it becomes visible how crucial it is to standardize training content to strengthen and facilitate coping and exclude content that negatively impacts appraisal and perseverance in captivity. In response to the question posed at the beginning, it can be stated that persons were able to draw on the knowledge and the subjective perception is that the design of coping activities were influenced by it. The analysis also included perspectives from other participants who engaged with content on captivity survival outside of a training context. The unanimous statement was that knowledge of how to survive in captivity influenced one's behavior and triggered behavioral adaptation. Due to the size of the participant pool, it must be noted that these results are not generalizable nor representative.

It can be stated that the present work shows only conditionally novel results. Concerning the recording of stresses and challenges in captivity, the demonstrated results can be classified as a supplement to military psychological research on POWs. Based on the different mandates of humanitarian aid organizations and military actors and the resulting narratives (held by the enemy), the analysis nevertheless adds value to academia and practice. Moreover, listing these stresses and challenges of exclusively civilian persons and pre-

dominantly persons from the humanitarian aid or development cooperation sector is indispensable for conceptualizing training content. Without knowing what persons potentially experience in captivity, a meaningful and goal-oriented identification of teaching content seems impossible since these determine what is needed to prepare participants. Above all, identifying stressors based on civilian persons represents a distinction from the previous results of military research. Insights into stressors and challenges exist through the many autobiographical memoirs of civilians who survived captivity. However, despite the small sample, the thesis systematized stresses and made them visible based on the perpetrator profile and phases of captivity, allowing a differentiated view of these.

Furthermore, concerning coping strategies, it must be highlighted that the present work could not gain any new insights since military psychological research has been interested in this area for decades and produced a plethora of research papers on coping. However, focusing on civilian personnel instead of POWs yields knowledge that is hardly available to date (Mullins & McMains, 2020, p. 511). In summary, while there is minor difference in the substance of the identified stressors/coping strategies between the groups of individuals, the thesis nevertheless provides sector-specific knowledge due to its focus on civilian individuals, primarily HAWs. Hence, the thesis adds value to the scientific debate and practice due to the theoretical and methodical approach. Research on POW investigating coping strategies mostly leaves it to the non-hierarchical presentation of the individual activities (see Section 3.3.3). The hierarchical representation through the coping taxonomy allows the complexity of coping behavior to be presented in a manageable way and permits the grouping of different coping instances sharing the same function and topological feature. Even though the research results on a theoretical level mainly support existing knowledge from research studies from the military context, as well as guidelines on behavior in captivity (see Chapter 2), the differentiated presentation of stresses and coping strategies based on the phases of captivity, as well as on the offender profile, could ensure a discerned perspective of the same, which has been missing so far.

In terms of the subjective perceptions of the added value of such training, it can be noted that this is particularly relevant for training institutions and employers. As outlined in Section 3.1.4, Blyth et al. (2021) state that there is a lack of empirical evidence on the value and impact of HEAT training. Since this thesis did not investigate the value of HEAT training comprehensively but explicitly examined the captivity survival part, assessments can solely be derived in this regard. Due to the research design, causality cannot be demonstrated, and generalizations cannot be made given the small sample. However, this part of the thesis provides a basic understanding of how people assess the value of the training/workshop they attended. Predominantly, it is visible that participants who have

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attended pre-deployment training attribute added value to it and conclude that coping and survival were positively impacted.

In summary, it can be stated that although individual components of the present work have not generated any comprehensive new findings, the configuration and the objective of the present work have indeed yielded novel results. The linkage of stresses, coping strategies, and direct inquiry into essential topics allow recommendations to be provided for teaching content that has not been empirically presented to this point. Thus, the lack of empirical identification of teaching content, as noted by Blyth et al. (2021), could be addressed. Furthermore, the problem of the non-existing standardization of captivity survival training can be tackled by utilizing this thesis' outcomes.

In conclusion, due to the lack of standardization of HEAT and its teaching content, the thesis mainly contributes to training practice and was able to systematize teaching content and ensure valuable, differentiated insights into the experience of incarceration by incorporating the survivor perspective, from which people at increased risk can hopefully benefit.

8. Limitations and outlook

Finally, the present work will be critically reflected upon, and limitations will be pointed out. In addition, outlooks for further research work based on the identified limitations will be given where possible. Fundamentally, it can be stated that the chosen research design can be assessed as largely positive. The survey instrument allowed the generation of primary sources.

Concerning the interview participants, some aspects that influenced the results of the present thesis should be critically addressed. On the one hand, it should be noted that despite the enormous corpus of material (see Section 4.1.3), the number of interview participants is relatively small. Since the thesis aims to contribute to the standardization of teaching content, it would be desirable to verify the results with a larger sample so that the representativeness of the results can be ensured. On the other hand, the sample is male-dominated, and the experiences of females are underrepresented. As presented in Section 4.1.2, this is not an intended scenario; however, the author could not identify a more balanced pool of participants. Because of this unbalanced participant pool, there are implications for the research findings. The results are influenced in that gender-specific issues do not find weight in this thesis. As a result, no insights about specific stressors, such as genderspecific forms of violence and hygienic situations, could be generated. To be inclusive in the context of standardizing instructional content, the need arises for further research that prioritizes the female perspective and, if necessary, specifics related to stressors and coping so that gender-specific recommendations for instructional content can be identified. Moreover, it should be noted that no generalizable statements can be made about the stressors of detention by state actors, as the Syrian regime arrested all interview participants whom a state actor detained. Therefore, the extent to which these experiences or explicitly the identified stresses can be generalized or transferred cannot be assessed. Nevertheless, it remains to be stated that the general stressors mentioned by all participants are to be expected regardless of context and perpetrator in a situation where a person is held captive.

Furthermore, it should be critically noted that all interview participants represent international humanitarian aid workers or were deployed/traveling as Westerners in the respective country. Since the present work refers primarily to the field of humanitarian aid, it should be noted in this regard that an exclusively Western perspective is thus presented. However, the humanitarian aid realm is largely composed of national humanitarian aid workers also affected by kidnappings. The perspective of national aid workers is essential for standardizing teaching content, as it prevents one-sided mapping of stressors and coping. Thus, this limitation also gives rise to further research approaches since it can be

assumed that national aid workers - depending on the country's context - encounter specific stressors and challenges needed to be considered for standardizing teaching content.

In addition, other potential limitations or at least issues that potentially affected the results should be addressed. The data collection is based on self-reports, so it should be noted that reporting bias cannot be ruled out. Reporting bias refers to the selective provision or outright withholding of information. This potential limitation is inherent to research approaches based on self-report. To what extent this influenced the results is not apparent. In addition to reporting bias, it should be reiterated that the pool of participants is fundamentally subject to survivor's bias. Furthermore, some of the interview participants are active as trainers sharing their experiences in the context of security training. Again, this raises the question of whether the determined teaching content might be affected by their professional involvement with the subject matter.

With regard to the execution and evaluation of the interviews, further limitations emerged. After the interviews had been transcribed, it became apparent, in the coding process, that more targeted follow-up questions at certain points would have increased the yield of results. However, it should be noted that a certain amount of restraint was exercised due to the topic's sensitivity. Nevertheless, the subjective assessment is that this did not negatively influence the quality of the material. In addition to this, it appeared to be partially challenging to strictly adhere to the selectivity of individual categories within the evaluation method since the meaning of individual statements could be assigned to different categories. On the one hand, this results from the interdependence of coping strategies and, on the other hand, from the fact that individual text passages named challenges, stressors, and teaching content or coping strategies and can thus be assigned to several categories.

Moreover, it should be made transparent that individual participants were quoted more frequently than others. One possible explanation for this is that the persons who already had a relationship of trust with the interviewer were more willing and comfortable to share their experience in more detail leading to detailed material for the analysis.

In conclusion, the fact that coping strategies appeared similar independent of whether a person had completed pre-deployment captivity survival training should be addressed since this finding needs further investigation to assess the impact, as Blyth et al. (2021) and Persaud (2014) detailed (see Chapter 2 and Section 3.4.2). This raises the need for further qualitative and quantitative empirical research to examine this causality to allow informed conclusions about the value and benefits of such training.

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Appendix

I. Overview of stresses and coping strategies in captivity per phase

Stresses, challenges & coping strategies per phase of captivity

A	ttack phase	Transport phase	Con	finement	Resolution
St Di	anic/fear aying calm isbelief nock enial nysical reactions onfusion capacity to act anguage acing thoughts jury	Immobilization and blindfolded Panic Lack of information/being lied to Uncertainty/worry Shock Physical reaction Confusion/disbelief Numbness	Psychological stresses Losses Loss of control/self-determination Loss of freedom Loss of identity Uncertainty Fate uncertainty Outside world: how do loved ones cope? Crisis management efforts: am I being forgotten? Misinformation/being lied to Court hearings Psychological torture/violence Solitary confinement Mock executions Constant surveillance via camera (Constant) threats of violence Becoming a witness to violence/torture Your friend is dead/free Brightness/darkness	Excruciating boredom Interrogations Nightmares: waking up to a bigger nightmare Intrusive thoughts War zone Language barrier Being separated Fear/terror Confusion Disbelief Despair Hopelessness (focus on survival) Physical health stresses • Diarrhea • Weight loss • Injuries/wounds • Hygiene Malnutrition Infliction of violence/torture • Beating • Starvation • Immobilization/chained/handcuffed	Uncertainty Overextension: coming home Confusion Disbelief Transition from being held captive to moving freely Panic Shock
Direct of Direct of Direct of Distract of	m-focused strategies Cognitive decision makin Direct problem-solving emotion-focused strategies Focus on the positive (Resigned) Acceptance Self-encouragement – ren etion strategies Distracting actions int strategies Selective attention/attenti- Thought stopping/thought et-seeking strategies Problem-focused support- ation-seeking strategies Communication among e	on deployment control	Problem-focused strategies Planning Humanizing & building rapport Inquiry Instrumental compliance Instrumental complaint, negotiation & manipulation Health maintenance/promotion and structurization (Cognitive) readiness Direct emotion-focused strategies Maintaining a structure and hygiene Focus on the positive Acceptance Cognitive reframing/re-interpretation Self-encouragement Stress management techniques	Avoidant strategies Suicide (ideation) Mental escape Wishful thinking Selective attention/attention deployment Thought control/thought suppression Support-seeking strategies Emotion-focused support Problem-focused support Information-seeking strategies Communication among each other Inquiring information Opposition strategies Fantasies of retaliation Resistance behavior & aggression	Problem-focused strategies Instrumental compliance Instrumental action Planning Direct emotion-focused strategies Acceptance Expressing feelings Having your guards up – expectation management Focus on the positive Distraction strategies Distractive actions Information-seeking strategies

II. Overview recommendations for teaching content

Recommendations on teaching content Pre-incident phase Captivity survival Crisis management **Additional information** Training design & Post-incident & objectives efforts recovery Informed consent: What are Survival rates Evacuation plans of the Immediate period post-Language Empowerment the risks? Stages of captivity, remaining staff release Country information Comprehensive insight into Security culture including salient features of Contingency plans: how Trauma awareness "the" captivity experience: Drivers training (compliance with the each phase does the employer proceed leaving no "black holes" Coping strategies Grab bag security plan and own Stresses and challenges of in the event of a Considering the trauma Availability of support Behavior under fire responsibility) kidnapping? history of participants captivity network Avoidance: Do not be an Legal implications of Theory and simulation Coping strategies, Stages of adaption and easy target including functions and negotiations recovery from captivity Debriefings Gut feeling situational constraints Family liaison: How is my family supported? Stress management techniques Anxiety reduction strategies Stages of adaptation to captivity First aid (psychological and Human stress reaction to extreme stress/psychological responses to extreme stress

III. Study information⁴²

Dear participants,

I appreciate your interest in participating in my research as part of my master's thesis at the Berlin School of Economics and Law.

The master's thesis will investigate and systematically look into coping mechanisms in captivity to draw on the participant's experiences and extract subjectively useful training topics. Furthermore, concluding the subjective utility of a hostile environment awareness training (HEAT), focusing on conduct after capture (CaC), is intended.

This cover letter is intended to inform you about the objectives and the procedure of the thesis. Therefore, please read the text carefully and, if there are any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me; I will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Upon reading this information, if you are willing to participate, I kindly ask that you sign the attached consent form and return it to me via E-Mail (s_mandeau20@stud.hwr-ber-lin.de).

Objective and purpose of the research

This thesis intends to investigate whether people who have been in captivity and have undergone captivity/hostage survival training beforehand were able to access the knowledge imparted. Additionally, to understand whether such training (subjectively) influenced the coping mechanisms/activities in captivity. The examination of the coping mechanisms/activities used by the affected people who have received pre-deployment training might allow conclusions to be drawn about the subjective value of captivity survival training in each particular case. In addition, people who have had mission preparation training will be asked which training content they deem essential for targeted conduct after capture trainings.

Furthermore, people who have not undergone training pre-deployment will be included to determine and assess teaching content that would have been helpful for targeted mission preparation training.

From this approach, it can be deduced which content should be taught in order to adapt and improve existing curricula, if necessary, and to increase the theoretically assumed value of such training. Based on the results, teaching content/recommendations could be

⁴² The original layout was not adopted for the appendix.

developed, which could/should be included in the training. This will ensure that possible situational coping mechanisms can be specifically trained in a preparatory setting and possible coping techniques can be provided and increase awareness on the matter to facilitate coping.

Procedure

After the interviews have been conducted, a transcript of each will be made, and these will form the material for the analysis. The audio files will be deleted once transcripts are produced.

Each participant will be sent their transcript before the statements are used for analysis to make changes or deletions if necessary. The participants are thereby asked to authorize their transcripts.

Subsequently, I will carry out a qualitative content analysis. Drawing on the theoretical framework, the results are then put into context, will be discussed, potential recommendations on teaching content will be provided, and the subjective utility of hostage survival training will be elaborated on.

After the study is finished

The master's thesis will be made available to both supervisors for evaluation and published in the university library. If publishing parts of the thesis outside the university library is possible, this will be pursued. In the case of publication outside the university library, I will contact all participants again beforehand.

After the finalization of the thesis, each participant receives a digital version, if desired.

Anonymity

Depending on your preferences, no personal data will be utilized in the research. However, if you wish to be named, this is possible.

If you choose to have your data anonymized, no personal data will be used. However, since data will be collected on the location of the abduction, the group of perpetrators (it is sufficient to indicate whether they were state or non-state actors), and the length of captivity, people who know about your captivity may be able to identify you from the information obtained and used.

If you wish to remain completely anonymous, I will code/adjust the data obtained from you. It will then still be of use for the research, but the possibility of a third party identifying you will be mitigated.

Please select in the consent form below (page 3) if you would like your data to be anonymized or not.

Voluntariness and withdrawal from the study or withdrawal of authorization

Your decision to participate in this study is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate in this study, you may withdraw your participation at any time.

Consent form	
I,carefully read the information about the study, and research project of Ms. Olivia Mandeau.	(Name) have I hereby agree to participate in the
I agree that the data collected as part of the research p non-personalized manner for the master thesis of Ms	·
Please indicate whether you would like your data to b	oe anonymized or not :
□ Anonymized	
□ Non-anonymized (personal data will be used	in the research)
Place and date	
Participant signature Printe	ed name of participant

IV. Informational letter⁴³

Dear participants,

I appreciate your interest in participating in my research as part of my master's thesis at the Berlin School of Economics and Law.

Due to the topic's sensitive nature, I would like to provide you with more information. Therefore, this leaflet is intended to inform you about the interview structure and the topics I would like to cover. Moreover, this informational letter aims to inform you about the possibility of contacting a SERE psychologist who deals with captivity survival professionally after our interview.

Interview structure

1. Preliminary talk

- Objectives
- Anonymization
- Approval to record
- Ethical considerations

2. Interview start - start recording

- a. Introduction of participants
- **b. Organizational preparation** [only relevant to participants who received predeployment training]
- c. Personal preparation
- **d.** Taken into captivity / taken hostage / kidnapped [focus on activities, behavior, and coping strategies]
 - Over-powering
 - Transport / Re-transport
 - Confinement / Condition of confinement
 - Release/Rescue/Escape
- e. Influence of pre-deployment captivity survival training for coping during captivity [only relevant to participants who received pre-deployment training]
- f. Training content
- g. Comments

⁴³ The original layout was not adopted for the appendix.

- h. End of interview stop recording
- 3. End of interview stop recording

Follow-up offer

Since the nature of my research is sensitive, I would like to make sure to have a support network in place. In the background, I am supported by a trained psychologist who deals in depth with the subject of conduct after capture professionally. Therefore, if you see the need to talk to a psychologist after the interview, this is easily possible. Contact details will be provided on time.

V. Semi-structured interview guideline

Preliminary talk

- The objective of the study
 - o own introduction
 - o Objective:
 - o Importance of interviews for the study
 - Utility of the material
- Anonymization
- Care
 - o Breaks
 - Psychologist
 - o No need to answer questions you are not comfortable with
- Approval to record

Interview start - start recording

- Introduction
 - \circ Intro \rightarrow warm-up
 - Can you please introduce yourself, gladly taking into account your profession and the motivation why you work in the field of humanitarian aid / development
 - Motivation?
 - How did you come to work for the organization/company you were working for at the time of your captivity?
 - What is it like for you to talk about and engage with your experience in captivity?
- Organizational preparation [participants with pre-deployment training]
 - How did your employer prepare you for your deployment?
 - Did you receive country information? What did they cover?
 - Did you undergo a specific deployment security briefing
 - Were you informed about the risk of being taken captive?
 - Were you educated on how the organization would proceed in the event of a kidnapping/abduction/hostage scenario/unlawful detention? →Did you receive tangible information on their handling before your deployment?
- **Personal preparation** [participants without pre-deployment training]
 - o Have you dealt with the issue of kidnapping/imprisonment beforehand?

- If yes, how, and what information did you encounter?
- Were you informed about the risk of being taken captive? If not, did you personally deal with it in advance? If yes, how?

• Kidnapping/Abduction/Hostage-taking/detention

- Snatch / Overpowering
 - Can you describe how, where, and when the situation of the kidnapping took place? [Snatch]
 - Where did you get taken? (Country)
 - When did the kidnapping/hostage-taking take place?
 - Were you alone at the time of the abduction?
 - Was the overpowering calm, coordinated, chaotic, or violent?
 - Were you aware of what was happening at that moment?
 - What were the challenges for you in this situation?
 - Thoughts, emotions, physical reactions, orientation
 - How did you deal with the challenges? How did you cope?
- o Transport / Re-transport
 - How did the transport phase go?
 - How were you transported? Plane, boat, car, by foot
 - Were you re-transported, or did you stay at the same initial spot?
 - What were the challenges for you in this situation?
 - What were your thoughts at that time?
 - Did you have (perceptible) physical reactions?
 - How did you deal with the challenges? How did you cope?
 - How did you behave during the transport phase?
 - Did you focus on anything in particular?
- o Confinement/ Condition of confinement
 - Can you describe the conditions of your captivity?
 - Did the conditions change during your captivity? If yes, why? Assumptions?
 - What were the challenges for you in this situation?
 - Which external factors influenced your wellbeing, and how would you describe them?
 - Which techniques did you use to temporarily block those factors?
 - How did you deal with the challenges? How did you cope?
 - Establishing a daily structure
 - Was there an externally imposed (daily) structure/routine?

- Were you able to implement a structure/routine/ritual for yourself?
- What were your mechanisms/activities to fill in time?
- How was your relationship with the captors/ guards?
 - O What was your contact like with the perpetrators/guards?
 - Did your relationship with the perpetrators/guards influence the conditions of detention - an assessment?
- Did you feel like your physical fitness/health was declining? If yes, was there anything you did that you thought would improve your situation?
 - Were you physically active / kept fit? If yes, how? If yes, why were you physically active?
- How did you foster your mental health?
 - Were you able to keep mentally active/fit? If yes, how? If yes, why?
 - o Activities you used to keep your mind active?
 - Were there specific situations/behaviors that boosted your mental state?
 - O Where you hopeful/confident??
 - Did you believe in your abilities to cope with captivity??
- Did you have mechanisms/strategies/activities to reduce anxiety/hopelessness?
 - O Did you maintain hopeful/positive/optimistic? How?
 - Was there a personal "mantra" that helped you stay hopeful?
 - Did you know how the organization/company will proceed to help you? If yes, how did that affect you?
- Did you have strategies/mechanisms to decrease stress?
 - Did you have an inner safe place to escape to?
- Did you have strategies to deal with uncertainty?
 - Did you try to find out who your kidnappers are? If so, how?
 - O Did you try to orient yourself? If so, how? [Time, date, day/night, environment]
 - At what point did you know that "your" government/organization was working on your release? / Did you even know? How did you get the information?

 How did you deal with promises/assurances/pledges from your captors that were not kept?

Release/rescue/escape

How did your release/escape/rescue go?

- Did you know what was happening the day you were released?
- What were the challenges for you in this situation?
- How did you deal with the challenges? How did you cope?

• Impact of pre-deployment training on coping with/in captivity

- o Did the pre-deployment preparation help you survive/cope in captivity?
- Were you able to access the knowledge imparted during your pre-deployment training?
 - If yes, what aspects were particularly present?
 - How did you apply/use the knowledge?
- Was there any content from the training that unsettled you in captivity?
- o How do you retrospectively evaluate the training you went through?
 - In your opinion, is it appropriate to offer both theory and simulations?
 - Were you able to get more out of the immersive part or the theory part of the training?
 - In your opinion, is it possible to prepare for such an experience?

• Vital training content

- What do you think is essential for pre-deployment captivity survival preparation?
- o What content would you have liked to see in advance?
- Would it be helpful to integrate different techniques for stress reduction, dealing with anxiety into the training, etc.?
- What advice would you give to people traveling to areas with an increased risk of kidnapping?

Comments

o Is there anything I forgot to ask that you would like to add?

Closing remarks

- o Thank you
- Asking: if everything is all right and if there is anything else I can do.
- o Repeated information for (self-)care

End of interview - stop recording

VI. Code directory

Analysis level 1: Pre-deployment preparation

		Pre-de _l	ployment preparation	
Ca	tegory	Definition	Anchor example	Coding rule
C1	Personal preparation	Engagement with survival in captivity prior to deployment. The engagement is not brought about by third parties, but initiated by the person him/herself	"Um, yes, I can't really say where I found it, but I distinctly remember reading some documents about what to do [.] if you're kidnapped that were specifically written for, I presume, NGO workers or somebody who might be likely to be kidnapped. I remember reading those at least one document, maybe two" (Wilson, pos. 9)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C2	Preparation through em- ployer	Pre-deployment captivity survival preparation through employer. Workshops, trainings, simulations on captivity provided by the employer.	"Yes, I did about 6 months before. At that time, it was still voluntary. You could register there, and I completed a security training that was conducted by the Bundeswehr in Baumholder and that included, in addition to many theoretical lessons, practical exercises such as kidnapping simulations that lasted 3 hours" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 20)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
				If preparation has taken place, the teaching contents are considered.
SC1	Information on contin- gency manage- ment/crisis in- cident man- agement	Provision of information related to crisis incident management in the event of a kidnapping	"No, not at all" (Mauchline, pos. 25)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply

Analysis level 2: Captivity

		Initial situation ar	nd situational conditions	
	Category	Definition	Anchor example	Coding rule
C1	Overview of the initial situation	Description of the respective phase of captivity. Attack, transport, and release phase When, where, and how the person was taken Elaboration on how the transport and release phase unfolded	"Yeah, sure. It was a real simple take. May 29, 2007, about 11am. I was inside the Ministry of Finance Data Center, so not the main Ministry of Finance building in Iraq. I was in a data center that's actually part of the university and it went very, very straightforward. The Iraqi police came in en masse and about 100 of them. I heard someone shout, "Get down". Everyone in my room stood up, so I stood up that put me next to the door. The door opened and there was an Iraqi police officer there. I sort of looked at him. He looked at me, he pointed a gun against my head, and he told me to come on. So, I did. I went with him. I stepped outside. It was just loads of Iraqi police everywhere. He led me to the entrance to the Ministry of Finance building, and there I saw my team leader for my security team, the British team leader. He was surrounded by five of the Iraqi police officers disarming him. That sort of thing. Essentially, what do I do? He said: "Just do whatever they say". I didn't know it was an abduction. I thought he was under arrest. That's what I thought was going on. (Peter Moore, Pos. 49)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C2	Overview of the situational conditions	Description of the condition during confinement	"I was by myself, no window. The only human interaction I had was for a few seconds in the morning and evening when the guards brought bread and boiled potatoes, and water. I had to request to go to the bathroom, as I mentioned, and I was usually allowed to." (Goodwin, pos. 90)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply

		Stresses and challenges	during all stages of captivity	
	Category	Definition	Anchor example	Coding rule
C1	Stress reaction	Subsumes all arising processes within a person as a response to the identified stressor. Stress reactions are ascribed to four different components: physiological changes (i.e., increased heartbeat, increased muscle tension, faster breathing), cognitive (influences on how one thinks and processes information), emotional (i.e., feelings triggered), and behavioral (everything a person does in a demanding situation)	"Yeah, I was just panting. I mean, really? Yes, absolutely []" (Wilson, pos. 25) "And, I guess the rush of adrenaline, the whole panic situation there, I think that, Yeah, can I say that it was a challenge, yeah, that was challenging" (Dennis, pos. 35)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C2	Physical stresses	All factors/conditions that negatively influence ones well being and impair the "normal" functioning of the organism Description of physical deterioration	"And yes, otherwise, challenges were health-related. [.]. I didn't have any major injuries or anything like that. And I wasn't abused or tortured. Nevertheless, from time to time, you have one or the other problem. For example, during that time, I lost three teeth, which simply broke off. I had inflammations on my body, which healed badly due to the hygienic conditions and got worse and worse" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 81).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
SC1	Injuries/ wounds	Describes all injuries that result from situational circumstances or intentional violence	"But like clearly getting shot in my leg immediately. It was extremely painful, and it was very quick in the beginning. Like, I don't know if it was the first shot or the 10th shot, but early on" (Dennis, pos. 35)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC2	Malnutrition	"Malnutrition refers to defi- ciencies, excesses or imbal- ances in a person's intake of	Also, there is food in the morning, and then sometimes there was food at night. Sometimes there wasn't, depending. I	At least one aspect of the definition

		energy and/or nutrients" (WHO, 2021).	think so. Yeah, and it was like bread. You would get your bread and either what was it like in the rice or that other stuff? (Bulgur) I can't remember the name of that. Yeah, that's the one. So that interchange per day, and it was like a handful of that per day" (Mauchline, pos. 100).	must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Hygiene	Hygiene as a stressor refers to the situational conditions that interrupt the habitual standard of one's personal hygiene on the one hand and to the environment characterized by the absence of cleanliness or by the presence of conditions conducive to diseases on the other hand.	"Yeah, yeah. So I mean, the thing was it was just offensively dirty. Like, you know, you could feel the grime on your skin. It was just disgusting" (Mauchline, pos. 100).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C3	Infliction of violence/torture	Infliction of violence refers to the intended use of force upon a person and including torture	"But then after that, they really beat me up, and they broke a couple of my ribs. Because I think they were using sticks or batons or whatever they used. They didn't really mess with my face too much, although I did have a bloody nose, and I think I had my mouth, and I can't really remember what happened there, either. They hit in the head or my head, hit the ground like I can't remember" (Mauchline, pos. 101) "Man, I've been getting tortured for a few weeks now" (Mauchline, pos. 110)	
SC1	Starvation	Starvation refers to the intentional withholding of food/water essential for survival	"Yeah, I felt like I was dying, so I felt when they were starving me, I think about it. In hindsight, I feel like my body, I felt like my body was dying. And that's what it felt like. And I think it is literally you're, you know. You're not nourishing yourself, so they sort of, your fats goes down, and I think you actually literally are dying if you want to talk about [it] technically, but yeah, I mean,	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

			obviously without food you deteriorate a lot" (Mauchline, pos. 126)	
SC2	Beating	Beatings refer to the intended use of force against a person	"So they're the ones that would give you a bit of a beating, treat you badly, you know, give you a slap in the face that sort of thing, you know?" (Moore, pos. 156)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage
				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Immobiliza- tion	Immobilization describes the intentional limitation of one's own range of motion/freedom of movement	"[] a stone block was dragged in, on which there was a metal eyelet, through which a chain ran, which then went with the two ends to our two feet. And there came a thick Abus lock on it. So, we had freedom of movement of less than one meter through this chain and were not allowed to stand up. That means you just sit on the floor. By the way, this is a fate that I suffered for the whole 33 months. I only saw a chair once during a video recording" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
C4	Losses	Losses describe the fundamental loss of self-determined action	"You know, everything, everything had been taken from me, my material possessions, my communication, my freedom" (Goodwin, pos. 91)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC1	Loss of free- dom	Loss of freedom describes the intentional restraint of a person against his or her will.	"The reality is, no matter what I said or did, those Iraqis were not going to let me go" (Moore, Pos. 128)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage

				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC2	Loss of control /self-determi- nation	Loss of control and self-de- termination describes the loss of one's control over one's life, actions that under normal circumstances are characterized by self-deter- mined decisions	"But, I felt like I had committed suicide but was still alive, and that kind of goes back to feeling exactly the way the Syrians wanted me to just cut off from any control in my life because I felt like I had died like I had been removed from the Earth. I mean, just totally cut off. So I felt like I was dead. But. I wasn't; I was still alive, I was still existing" (Goodwin, Pos. 66).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC3	Loss of identity	Loss of identity describes the process or the loss of one's own role lived until the time of the abduction. Through the abduction, people are forced to take on a role involuntarily.	"I think the closest to come to it is people usually call it a loss of identity. It is. It is so overwhelming. The world has turned upside down that you don't know who you are anymore. And that is such a surprising thing. You wouldn't. That would never have occurred to me, but I think that's very it's very common. I mean, one minute you're the director of an NGO and you've got 100 staff who will think that you are Albert Einstein and the president of the United States all rolled into one, you know (laughs), the Mother Teresa and all the angels all rolled into one and the next minute. You're pretending to be in an obedient Afghan woman and not raising your eyes and looking at men, and then you just think, fine, if I go on playing this role for very much longer. Am I ever going to find my way back to who I really am? Or am I somehow going to be set in this mold, and I won't be able to get out of it again? And it's really, really confusing, overwhelming loss of identity because it's all very well for them to write in the manual. Do what you're told (laughs). It's not so easy. Yeah, yeah. Putting up this front of something which you are not" (Wilson, Pos. 61)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply

C5	Uncertainty	A general state of uncertainty about one's own life since no information or no information that can be trusted is available.	"One of the biggest challenges throughout my entire captivity was just the uncertainty, just overwhelming uncertainty of anything. And that was starting that hadn't quite set in yet because. I don't know, I just I think at the time, I was still thinking this was just like a mistake and they're going to like, figure it out. And so a little bit later is when the uncertainty really became like its own living organism, but you know, it was starting to to. You know, grow its legs there" (Goodwin, Pos. 60).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC1	Fate uncertainty	Fate uncertainty refers to the uncertainty of whether a person will survive captivity or how long the captivity lasts	"It was out of our control if they were going to kill me, [if] they were going to kill me—nothing I could do about it" (Moore, Pos. 160)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
SC2	Misinfor- mation/ being lied to	Misinformation describes the fact that the person in captivity (permanently) receives incorrect information about the future/life/general aspects and thus leads to the intensification of uncertainty	"And one of the challenges that were starting to work its way into the picture here was just being lied to a bunch of times, just constantly being lied to" (Goodwin, pos. 80).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC3	Outside world: How do loved ones cope?	Describes the uncertainty with regard to one's family/friends and how they are coping with the kidnapping.	"Of course, what went through my mind at that moment was that my wife was sort of watching the whole thing. So she was sitting in the front row. And in the first few days also yes, how long does this last? How does it go on economically at home? Is the organization taking care of my family?" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 54)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

SC4	Crisis management efforts: Am I being forgotten?	Describes the fact of not having information about how the employer/outside world is proceeding to secure a release.	"Are any crisis groups being formed in Germany to discuss plans and so on? Does the organization continue to pay my salary? For how long" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 54)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C6	Blindfolds	Blindfolds describe the intentional deprivation of eyesight and thus of direct perception of the environment	"Yeah. So, I don't know why, but for the first year, pretty much two-thirds of it, I was blindfolded" (Moore, pos. 247).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C7	Psychological torture/ vio- lence	Intended actions and violent situational conditions negatively influence a person's psychological well-being. Psychological injuries not affecting one's body (physical)	"And every day I would hear the sounds of others being tortured and beaten next to me. And I'm not sure that I knew what fear was until I heard a grown man screaming for his life. So, I couldn't help but wonder, Well, when? When's my turn? Right? And the guards would go down the line and they would be torturing the other inmates" (Goodwin, pos. 92).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
SC1	Bright- ness/darkness	Exposure to permanent darkness or brightness	"But I think the one upstairs in its own way was worse because it was bright lights" (Mauchline, pos. 100). "The hygienic conditions were better, but you were locked in a room with neon lights on 24/7" (Lautwein, pos. 124).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC2	Your friend is dead/free	Statements about one's friend being killed or released	"So yeah, they told me that they'd killed him by the second interrogation. They	At least one aspect of the

			said that he was dead. And then at another point, I think before that, this is the second interrogation when things went really bad for me after that. But I want to say it was like a week to two weeks in. But before that, it happened. I think they said, hinted that he'd been set free as well. So, I think over a couple of days, they said both those things because I said, you know, how is my friend? And I said, Well, and I remember asking that in one of the interrogations, and they answered it. I think they answered it both ways. He said he was set free, and then I think they reneged on that and said he was dead, and I couldn't work out which one it was. But I think, you know, again, you think about that, and it's all a game of them fucking with your head because both those answers are quite awful. When you're in there like him, being set free is good. But then also you get that sense of pure isolation. Of him being killed is awful. But then, you know, I was also in such a bad situation, you know, being dead is better than this at the moment, and that's probably true as well. So, I don't know. So I thought it was either free or dead for a good couple of weeks, actually" (Mauchline, pos. 142)	definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Becoming a witness to violence/torture	Refers to either being forced to watch while other people are tortured and/or witnessing torture through the acoustics due to the human rights violations being carried out in the same building.	"[.]The sense of that place was really old and archaic. The screams of people getting tortured with all night. [.] It was a disgrace. It was a genuinely horrific place" (Mauchline, pos. 65). "One of the biggest challenges in 215 was that the sort of facility was not I never saw another inmate the whole time I was there. But the facility was not soundproof. And every day I would hear the sounds of others being tortured and beaten next to me. And I'm not sure that I knew what fear was until I heard a grown man screaming for his life. So, I	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

			couldn't help but wonder, Well, when? When's my turn? Right? And the guards would go down the line, and they would be torturing the other inmates" (Goodwin, pos. 92).	
SC4	Constant surveillance via camera	Describes the exposure to being permanently surveilled via camera	"Then I let myself collapse in front of the camera, and then it was seconds again until someone was there. And then it was clear to me, 'okay, I'm under surveillance 24/7 in this room'" (Lautwein, item 232)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage
			"[] you always had a camera on you. So, you know, I think that's part of the torture. Like, if I moved out of view of the camera, they would come in and beat me and indicate that I had to stay where the camera was focused, which is pretty awful. When you think about you can't move five meters, you can, but you can't, and you don't know whether or not you're going to get fucked up if you do. So it was pretty awful" (Mauchline, Pos. 100)	Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC5	(Constant) threats of vio- lence	Direct violence or indirect threat of violence due to the situational circumstances	"You could feel the violence in the air and these guys that were sitting around, and there was blood lust. That's the word. It's blood lust where they were used to fucking people up. I know that sounds really weird in hindsight, but it's totally true. I mean, they humiliate people, I think, and try and make them feel not human when they arrive. And I mean, it still worked" (Mauchline, pos. 92).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC6	Mock executions	The attempt to execute a person. Making a person believe that their execution is impending.	"They are in control of you, so they can kill you at any point in time, which is another part of their torture where they were like, you know, they pretend to kill me. And, you know, they say, we're going to kill you now and, you know, that was [an] awful couple of days where they were doing that" (Mauchline, pos. 106)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage

				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC7	Solitary confinement	Intended separation of a person from other persons. Partly in conditions of total sensory deprivation.	"Solitary confinement is just barbaric. Yeah. And I think I realize that a lot after Martin came in where you just like, oh, I've been sort of, you know, your brains being whittled away" (Mauchline, pos. 148)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage
			"I don't know that anything could have prepared me for solitary confinement. It's, you know, it's psychological torture. It's designed to to to break you" (Goodwin, pos. 112)	Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C8	Intrusive thoughts	Describes all recurring thoughts that negatively influence the emotional experience and potentially intensify it.	"It was stressful. The thoughts that you didn't want to have, but you anyway had. Thinking about home" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 82).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage
				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
С9	Being sepa- rated	Describes the fact that people who have been kidnapped together are separated.	"It was awful. After that, they separated us" (Mauchline, pos. 92)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage
				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C10	Language bar- rier	Describes the challenge of not being able to communi- cate due to the language bar- rier	"[] One of the biggest challenges was just the language because I couldn't communicate. Like I just couldn't communicate my situation." (Goodwin, pos. 38)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage

C11	Nightmares: waking up to a bigger night-	Describes the situation when a person wakes up due to a nightmare and realizes that	"Where I would have a nightmare or something, and I remember very distinctly waking up from a nightmare in	Meaning and/ or content ap- ply At least one aspect of the definition
	mare	he is subjected to a night- mare in real life.	that place, and I was like, oh wow, I've woken up from a nightmare into a bigger nightmare, and it was just a really bad feeling. It was just awful" (Mauchline, pos. 120).	must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C12	War zone	Describes a situation in which the holding facility is in an actively contested area posing a stressor due to combat operations	"What actually happened was that after two months, they moved me to a place where I knew that I was in a city. In Jalalabad, and then we were not close to the front line because previous to that, I had understood I could hear the helicopters, the drones going overhead. And they would tell me: "Oh, you're quite safe with us, we're going to look after you. Don't worry, the Taliban are over there and ISIS Daesh over there, but we'll look after you". I mean, then I could just imagine somebody kicking the door down and coming in with Kalashnikovs and shooting everybody and taking me away, you know?" (Wilson, pos. 100)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
C13	Interrogations	Describes the process by which a person is questioned	"So, yeah, that was fairly intimidating, that whole process. [.] When I was getting questioned, and when they were shifting in and out, I felt my heart rate go up, and I was worried, and the reason was that I'm Jewish. I think that was big on my mind, and I'm thinking they are going to ask me about when I last went to Israel, and I was like, do they know that I have been to Israel[.]?" (Mauchline, pos. 68)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

C14	Excruciating boredom	Feeling of monotony due to lack of stimulation or occupation. A state that gives room to rumination, intrusive thoughts, and worries.	"Boredom was actually the biggest thing. You know, easy 90 percent of the time, just nothing happened. You know, you imagine sitting in a room with nothing in it, you know, for 23 hours a day. Yeah. Yeah, it's hard, right?" (Moore, pos. 128)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply
C15	The transition from being a captive to moving freely	Describes the entire process of readjustment post- release. Challenges to adjusting to self-determined actions	"I think the biggest challenge I had was I was still in hostage mode. From my perspective, I've just been moved to a new location with a strange bunch of people, which was exactly what happened to me in Iraq. []. And I think probably from my perspective as well; it was quite difficult to split fact from fiction. You know, I'm so convinced myself about wife, Brazil, you know, all sorts of drivel about being Catholic and everything, you know, it all sort of intertwined. That was my life. You know, two and a half years (laughs), you know? And it was a bit hard to sort of differentiating. Sometimes I had to think about it. I was like, why did I? Did I really do that? You know that sort of thing? Yeah, yeah. Because I was still in the same mode I was in, I was in the hostage mode of not what is truth, what is the correct answer here to get me out of this situation? Yeah. So, you know, let's make up a believable story for you (laughs)" (Moore, pos. 290)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

		Coping	strategies ⁴⁴	
	Category	Definition	Anchor example	Coding rule
C1	Problem-fo- cused strate- gies	Reflect cognitive and behavioral efforts at managing or altering the problem causing the distress.		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage
				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC1	Manipulation	Influencing people using deceptive tactics to improve one's situation.	"So I was able to manipulate it quite a bit because, to start with, they split themselves into two factions. [.] When I moved to different factions, I got a completely different set of guards [] It came down to the fact that I realized that they didn't really talk to each other because I would say to one set of guards, 'Do you want me to do this or do you want to do what the others did?' And they were like, 'well, I didn't know the others did' that sort of thing [.]. And that's when I twig that these guards don't talk to each other. [] I was able to play it off; I was able to say, like, you know, the South didn't keep me in chains, why are you keeping me in chains, which was a total lie. They just didn't talk to each other. So I was able to sort of play that off a bit. [] From there, you know, from my perspective, that was game on. You know what? What else can I get out of these people, you know?" (Moore, pos. 117&145&158).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

⁴⁴ Based on Ayers et al. five-dimensional model of coping, see Section 3.1.3. Definitions from Table 3 were copied into the code directory.

SC2	Leaving hints along the trail	Leave objects or traces in the environment to draw attention to your (previous) presence	"We were leaving a little bit of garbage slowly along a trail" (Dennis, pos. 62).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Instrumental complaint	The expression of dissatisfaction to improve one's situation	"No, I was still being kept in chains for quite a while. For overnight, they've put them on at night. But I do remember in the final year when prisoners, when the Americans released some of the Iraqi militia from their prison, the number two commander got released, and he came to see me, and I complained to him about being in chains at night. Because I said, the Americans haven't done that to you. You know, why are you doing this to me? And so, he agreed to take the chains off completely, provided I didn't try and escape what I mean by that time, I was so weak." (Moore, pos. 117).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC4	Negotiation	"Active attempts to work out a compromise of the situation" (Skinner et al., 2003, p. 242).	"[] We will kill you if we're told to you know. () I mean. () It was out of our control if they were going to kill me [.]. Nothing I could do about it. And I sort of said to them, look, you know, that's fine if you're going to kill me, but can you do it quickly? You know, I don't want to be tortured and dragged out, and they said, yes, they would do that. They agreed to that, that they would kill me quickly." (Moore, pos. 158–160)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC5	Inquiry	Any direct attempt by the person to inquire about anything to satisfy his/her needs.	"So but what it showed was that I was able to ask for things and get it. So that's how I started small" (Moore, pos. 190).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage

				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC6	Building rapport and humanizing	To humanize is to cultivate, improve, and to civilize. [] Establish your identity, be recognized as more than just a hostage" (Busch, p. 126). Behavior that leads to building rapport	"I know what these Pashtun guys think about foreign women. You know, they think they're all prostitutes, etc. So as soon as he took the blindfold off me, I put it on my head as a headscarf. And I could see how surprised he was at that. He went: 'dooo' and looked at me[.]. Then he went out and he came back with a headscarf [.] From then on, I insisted on being treated as a respectable Afghan woman. This was a very clear message that I was giving to this young guy. By putting his handkerchief on my head, I was saying I am not comfortable in your, in the presence of an unknown male with my head uncovered. So that pushed his buttons. He knows how to treat a respectable woman. Of course, she should not be made to have an uncovered head, a bare face in front of non-family men. So, he was going to behave with that. And from then on, he treated me meticulously. As an Afghan gentleman should treat an Afghan woman (Wilson, pos. 45-49).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC7	Instrumental compliance/ cooperation	Behavioral adaptation due to prompts or implicit situational circumstances to avert negative consequences.	"He was fine so long as I didn't look around the corner of the room and see his face. Because he didn't want me to see his face. And I, you know, I knew the kidnap rules that you don't do what they don't want you to do. So, he didn't peep at me, and I never peeped at him." (Wilson, pos. 50).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC8	Health mainte- nance/promo- tion and struc- turization	Any behavior that promotes and maintains health aims at avoiding a deterioration	"[] thorns are going up through our shoes. And at one point, we found some cardboard, and it took about an hour, but then I realized, oh, we can make insoles for everybody" (Dennis, pos. 51).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to

			"And then I also decided to eat, because I said to myself, that doesn't make sense to refuse to eat. You have to keep your strength up and see how everything unfolds" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 62).	the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC9	Cognitive decision making -planning	Refers to all planning or thinking about ways to solve the problem. It includes thinking about choices, thinking about future consequences, and thinking about ways to solve the problem. It is not simply thinking about the problem but thinking about how to solve it. It involves the planning and not the execution of actions to solve the problem.	"Yeah, we always planned it. We had a plan. We had a plan right from the early days, in fact, but we never had the chance to instigate" (Moore, pos. 162).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC10	Direct problem solving	Refers to efforts to change the problem situation by changing the self or by changing the environment. It involves what one does, not what one thinks.	"[] I have some dollars on me. So, in South America, you know, I've come across corrupt police. Five hundred American dollars can get you out of most problems. So, I pulled money out of my pocket, and I gave it to the guy. And he looked at it, and he threw it out of the window. And I think that's when I thought, That's not right. This is an abduction, you know." (Moore, pos. 51).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC11	Cognitive pre- paredness	Cognitive preparedness is about being prepared for anticipated situations to mitigate the emotional reaction and remain capable of acting by having an action plan available when an anticipated situation occurs. To reduce the effect of surprise when new and unknown situations presented themselves. The tendency is to avert undesired outcomes	"So, I was perfectly prepared for my plea in court. We also played this propaganda video that was never broadcast. I said exactly the sentences that I had prepared. And it was exactly what they wanted to hear. In the end, I said that I didn't know what I was doing and that I was terribly sorry. And then I put the old German proverb: "Ignorance is no excuse" in there, and they were all super satisfied and thought that was really good." (Lautwein, pos. 200)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply

		in terms of an intense emo- tional reaction and reduce uncertainty by previously having played through antici- pated scenarios.		
C2	Direct emo- tion-focused strategies	Reflects efforts to manage the emotional response to a stressful event by focusing directly on the it in an active and constructive fashion.		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/
				or content ap- ply
SC1	Maintaining hygiene, structure, and routine	All efforts to establish and implement a (self-determined) structure, including repetitive behavior, routines, and efforts to maintain hygiene.	"I had a time when I was going to exercise. I was going to do some push-ups and sit-ups core exercises. Then I was going to pray during this time, and I was going to tell stories to imaginary people during this time. And then I was going to just meditate or just stare at the ceiling and hope that time was passing faster than I thought. And then I was going to, you know, I should be getting food, so I'm going to stretch out the amount of time that I take to eat it. And then I should be at a point where I can go to sleep [.]. And that routine became something that I relied on and so super important." (Goodwin, pos. 116)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC2	Cognitive reframing / reinterpretation	Refers to thinking about the situation in a more positive way. It includes thoughts that minimize the problem or the consequences of the problem. Acceptance that one can live with the situation the way it is optimistic thinking and an example of positive cognitive restructuring.	"I mean, so one of our mechanisms was going through what we called facts and so we would spend whatever have need daily towards the end, but we would go over what happened, so we go this is how we were captured. This is what's happened, so we think this is going to happen and we would come to the conclusion most of the time that we were going to get set free. And, you know, and that was logical, do you think about it? It was just a logical thing. No matter what outcome. It was logical that they didn't	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply

			want to kill us. And it makes sense. So, we will go through what we when we would say it, I think we would call it the facts. I would say, can we talk about facts if I was feeling uneasy. And we would talk facts and we would just go through what we thought were facts, and because it's hard to be rational in that situation. But if you are rational, you would realize that things were hinting that they were going to set us free. So, we would go through that. So, you know, we could literally call out when we talk about what we would call facts, but it's just us reiterating what's happened and what the logical next step would be. It was actually pretty good. Help, I mean, easier when we thought we were going to get set free and logically, you think about it, if you objectively looked at what happened, you would go, Yeah, you probably would start thinking about this point that you might get set free" (Mauchline, pos. 159).	
SC3	Stress management techniques	Intended use of behavioral techniques to relieve/cope with stress	"I once did autogenic training, and I used it repeatedly there [in captivity]. It helped me to fall asleep or sleep well" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 125)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap-
SC4	Self-encour- agement	Describes the indication of affirmations to inject perseverance and hope Positive encouragement	"Telling myself you're not doing anything wrong. You've done all the necessary steps to come here. You've worked with the right people" (Goodwin, pos. 34).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage
				Meaning and/ or content ap- ply

SC5	Acceptance	Acceptance depicts the extent to which individuals mention accepting the overall situation and specific stresses within the situation.	"I think I think, first of all, you've got to accept the situation you're in, so you need to focus on your situation in that room. Just concentrate on improving your own well-being" (Moore, pos. 128).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC6	Focusing on the positive	Records whether or not individuals focused on positive aspects of the situation.	"Without knowing what they plan to do with this in my head, that was still, logically speaking, a chance of it not being a long process. So, it might not be the end of the world." (Mauchline, pos. 53)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC7	Having your guards up - expectation management	Managing one's own expectations to avoid a mental breakdown in case a situation turns out different than anticipated.	"I mean, at that point I started to, I was still keeping my guard up a little bit, for sure. Like, actually more than a little bit, I was still keeping my guard up. But. I started to think like, okay, this might this might be legitimate, this might be, but I was. Like, mentally, I was really managing expectations" (Goodwin, pos. 206).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC8	Expressing feelings	This involves the overt expression of feelings either by an action to express feelings, a verbal expression of feelings, or simply an overt release of emotion. It is a solitary activity and does not include discussing feelings with another person. It also does not include inappropriately acting out feelings by threatening or hurting another person.	"And I turned around, and I splashed my face with water. And I remember looking up, there's a whole load of mirrors in there, and I'm just looking back at myself. It's just like; 'You've done it, you've beaten the odds', you know? And I just started crying at that point" (Moore, pos. 299)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/or content apply

C3	Information- seeking strate- gies	Active attempts to gather additional information on the stress-producing/general environment (Skinner et al., 2003, p. 242)		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC1	Inquiring information	Inquiring information from the kidnappers	"[] because I said, 'You know, how is my friend?' And I said, well, and I remember asking that in one of the interrogations, and they answered it" (Mauchline, pos. 142) "And we had noticed that our questions about how long it would take and whether negotiations were already underway and what the status would be. So we got completely insane answers, so that was about everything went from 'deal is in process', or it said '60 percent are finished' and things like that. Then it was 80 percent, and then it was only 40 percent again. So, we knew very quickly that we didn't need to build on that. There was nothing" (Mühlenbeck, pos. 70)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC2	Communication among each other	Communication among each other with the goal of eliciting information about the situation	"And of course, they had, you know, some of the worst stories you can imagine you've probably heard them, but they told me these stories firsthand. They showed me scars on their body from some of the most horrible things that I think most of us couldn't imagine. These are firsthand accounts; it wasn't as if you're reading this in a book or watching it on TV. These are real things that have happened." (Goodwin, pos. 172).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Orientation/ observation	Orientation illustrates the various efforts to orientate	"You couldn't see whether the sun was coming up or down, but there was a	At least one aspect of the

		oneself temporally and spatially and/or to find out more information about the immediate environment, mainly by observation.	shadow on the wall you could see, which would sort of indicate what the time was" (Mauchline, pos. 100).	definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C4	Avoidant strategies	These strategies attempt to manage emotion by trying to avoid or stop thinking about the problem entirely.		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC1	Thought-control/ Thought-stopping/ Thought-suppression	Controlling, suppressing, or stopping thought processes away from the stressful situation to avoid an intensification of distressing feelings	"So don't think about it. So, I was doing that, and I always do that. So as much as I could, I was going thinking, I need to concentrate on where I am and what I can do and not Am I going to get my head cut off when I get somewhere else when you don't know what is going to happen?" (Mauchline, pos. 57)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC2	Selective attention/ Attention re- deployment	Redirecting one's attention away from the stress-producing situation/stimuli.	"Yeah, I guess keeping focused on not worrying about others back home and worrying about ourselves here, [.]. There will be a dedicated delegation; they'll have all the resources in the world. I can't worry about them. I have to worry about here. That was a challenge" (Dennis, pos. 51)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Suicide	Self-determined and active attempts to ultimately escape from the environment by attempting to commit suicide	"After the very first interrogation, the first was when I witnessed a rape the night before or the day before. I was then interrogated on day 3 when I was	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to

			told that Simon was dead. And that if I didn't cooperate, I would be tortured. And then I had to look at what was happening in the hallway [torturing sessions], and it was clear to me that now was the moment. It was a super rational decision for me. And it was so bizarre because it was so serene. So, first Simon did it too, now I must too, we agreed on that. And it was also bizarre for me at that moment because I wasn't afraid at all. For me, it was more like an act of self-determination. I went through all the options, and suicide was one of those options that I had prepared myself for. [.] I was entirely at peace with myself. I thought every thought through to the end and concluded that this is the consequence. [.]" (Lautwein, pos. 180)	the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC4	Wishful think- ing	"a thought process in which one interprets a fact or reality according to what one wishes or desires it to be" (American Psychological Association, 2022).	"You know, I had no idea what's going to happen next, but I stupidly thought, well, this can't get any worse" (Mauchline, pos. 92).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC5	Mental escape	Efforts to avoid thinking about the problem and mentally disengage. It includes the use of fantasy or imagining that the situation was better. It refers to cognitive activity and not behaviors one does to avoid thinking about it.	"So, I think I'd read some of them three or four times in my head, and it got so real to me that sometimes when somebody interrupted me with a meal or something, and I was going to start reading again, I once looked around for the book. You are going off your head. This book is in your head. It's not here" (Wilson, pos. 63).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C5	Distraction strategies	Usage of other activities or stimuli to distract yourselves		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to

		from dealing with or thinking about the problem situation.		the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
SC1	Distractive actions	Includes efforts to avoid thinking about the problem situation by using distracting stimuli, entertainment, or some distracting activity.	"I was finally given a pack of cards, for example" (Wilson, pos. 52). "So, we played that every morning after breakfast, we'd play three games minimum of chess, which was, you know, it's like a good hour gone and it sounds like nothing, but that is a beautiful hour. You know, it's like a whole hour of not being in this place" (Mauchline, pos. 150).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C6	Support-seek- ing strategies	Seeking emotional comfort, instrumental assistance, or spiritual guidance from third parties. Comprised of problem-focused support and emotion-focused support dimensions		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC1	Spiritual support/faith	Describes relying on spiritual/religious beliefs to cope. Faith-based or spiritual coping can be understood as a framework to facilitate a purpose, hope, a sense of meaning, perseverance, acceptance, endurance, a sense of belonging/connectedness to others/God, reliance and trust in others/God to support coping (Ozcan et al., 2021, p. 3; Peres et al., 2007, pp. 346–347; Wortmann, 2013, pp. 1647–1648)	"But no matter what, I knew that my faith was absolute and that could not be taken from me, and I found a lot of strength in that" (Goodwin, pos. 91).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply

SC2	Emotion-fo- cused support	Involves other people in listening to feelings or providing understanding to help the person be less upset.	"So, we were able to converse and talk, and I can't tell you how amazing that is when you haven't talked to anyone and then having one of your best friends next to you is amazing. It gives you hope." (Mauchline, pos. 148)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC3	Problem-fo- cused support	Involves the use of other people as resources to assist in seeking solutions to the problem situation. Seeking advice or information or direct task assistance	"One of them even smuggled a note out of the prison that made it to my father because at Adra, you can have visitors, and he sent a note out. And so, you know, these guys did everything in their limited power to help me." (Goodwin, pos. 172)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C7	Opposition strategies	Actively attacking, verbally and physically, the source of stress		At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC1	Resistance behavior and aggression	Withstanding, defying, and obeying orders and guards Actively physically attacking guards	"[] I also beat up one of their guys or half beat one up and sort of strangling him" (Mauchline, pos. 101).	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
SC2	Fantasies of retaliation	"An action in response to some perceived harm or	"Yes, my planned rampage. There were weapons in the guard's room. In their	At least one aspect of the

wrongdoing by another party that is determined to inflict damage, injury, discomfort, or punishment to the party judged responsible" (Aquino et al., 2001, p. 53).

office. At night they always let us go to the toilet again, by then all the guards were already in their dormitory. It was really in the final phase, where we were already trusted. And it would have been possible to overpower this one guard and get to these weapons. So, we didn't even have to overpower him, he slithered after us and we would have to turn left and then we would have been at the weapons. And, that was kind of a thing, we planned that too. We dated that for August 20. We said, so, if we're still there then, we'll really let it bang. The plan was to get the weapons and shoot around us. And then try to use the telephone that was in the room to see if we could use it to make a phone call to Germany. I can't say whether we would have really been able to do that. I don't know. That wasn't the point at all." (Lautwein, pos. 192)

definition must apply to the text passage

Meaning and/ or content apply

Analysis level 3: Impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training

	Impact of pre-deployment captivity survival training			
	Category	Definition	Anchor example	Coding rule
C1	Positive impact	The subjective perception that pre-deployment captivity survival positively influenced coping and survival in captivity, including appraisal	"Yes, absolutely. So, definitely, on the one hand, it definitely led me to have basic knowledge about captivity and survival in captivity. There's quite a lot of information that you can draw from that you actually wouldn't otherwise have. So, for example, after 48 hours, I knew okay; now it can take forever. And I think that takes a lot of pressure off because then you can set yourself up differently than if you're sitting there all the time thinking, 'Oh, maybe tomorrow, maybe tomorrow, maybe tomorrow, maybe tomorrow, maybe tomorrow, and the workshop made you come up with ideas swifter that could help you practically. So, if the natural need of a person is to crawl into a corner and maybe sleep, because you don't have so much energy due to lack of food, you wouldn't just come up with it by yourself to say 'Ah, I have to work.' Quite a lot of what you do actually contradicts what you would imagine at the time. You know, as a human being, I either want to be strong and stubborn, or I want to be small and weak and create pity. The only thing that helps is not standing out. A lot of things contradict the logic that one would normally have. If no one had predicted it to me, it would have taken at least a lot longer for me to try it out. Yes (Lautwein, pos. 292). [] That was an excellent basis, so I felt well prepared except for the point with the violence. So, not in advance, but I realized that I could apply these things during my imprisonment. So, everything came in as it was taught in this training, except for the	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply When comparisons are made to the simulation, these are used

			information on violence" (Lautwein, pos. 306)	
C2	Negative impact	The subjective perception that pre-deployment captivity survival workshop/ training negatively influenced coping and survival in captivity, including appraisal.	"Yes. That I was told that we would be treated well because we are Westerners, and with torture or violence, our value decreases, it diminishes, so to speak. You tell someone they won't hurt you, but for example, in the first few days when you don't know the customs yet. I knock, the guard comes in and tells me to sit down. I don't understand, or I am not fast enough, and he kicks me hard in the stomach. And then suddenly, already on day two, this border to violence is transcended, which I was actually told there would be no violence against us. I think it's really irresponsible that training concepts leave out that topic. I can't even explain why it is left unconsidered. Because for me, it was super bad because I assumed that nothing would be done to me and then harm is inflicted upon me, and I conclude, yes, well, now everything has collapsed. I won't come home either. That's the consequence for the people who are stuck in there. One of the main pillars [confidence and hope] breaks away on day three because someone kicks me in the stomach, and a few days later, you are tortured." (Lautwein, pos. 302)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/or content apply

Analysis level 4: Recommendations on teaching content from a survivor's perspective

	R	ecommendations on teaching c	content from a survivor's perspective	
	Category	Definition	Anchor example	Coding rule
C1	Pre-incident phase	Topics related to the phase before the abduction	"I think the first thing that's got to be said is avoidance. Avoid at all cost, right? (laughs). Yeah. I think the first mistake I made was I put the security was my thinking was security is not my problem. I've got a security team. That's the security team's problem. That was a massive mistake. There were red flags along that route that we should have pulled out on, and we didn't. And I remember something happening en route. It had nothing to do with being taken hostage. It was a radio problem. And because the security team didn't react to it, I didn't react to it. But at the time, I remember thinking, should we not turn back or stop or something because of this radio problem? And, of course, had we turned back? None of us would have been taken hostage. But the problem is, of course, we wouldn't have known that right now. But I think that needs to [be] got across. Avoid at all costs and security is everyone's issue. If you see something wrong, it's because it's wrong. It's not wrong because of anything else. It's wrong because it's wrong. I am not. Yeah. So that's the first thing, I think" (Moore, Pos. 332)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
C2	Captivity survival	The subject area of captivity survival refers to all instructional content pertaining to or facilitating survival in captivity.	"I think those things that I just mentioned, the information that I had remembered about going along with your captors, et cetera, I think that was it was really important because otherwise you can think that, this is not right. I'm being a wimp. I'm just doing what they tell me to do. I should fight for myself or. You know, but I I had obviously taken on board that that's not what to do. So could easily that could easily be a few	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply

			other things would just. Which you could just be prepared for. How to how to, manage your mind, how to manage fear, how to manage uncertainty" (Wilson, pos. 138).	
C3	Training design and objectives of the training	Describes the conceptualization of training and its objectives	"I think. I think so, I think pretty, I think in preparation for pre-deployment doing some training is better than not. Okay? But certainly, obviously, sort of like a couple of days of actual hands-on training, just getting exposure to what might happen is probably the best. I mean, there are the sort of briefings that you can do what they call level A. And I think they're good, you know, I think they're good if you can't do anything else. And certainly, from an NGO perspective, that's probably a cheaper option. So, yeah, I think doing any sort of training is better than none from a civilian perspective" (Moore, pos. 316)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text pas- sage Meaning and/ or content ap- ply
C4	Post-incident and aftermath	Refers to all topics mentioned in regard to post-release/aftermath	"So, I do think it's really important for people to understand that kidnapping is not just a short period of intense fear and physical restraint, et cetera. It is a it is a long-term mental health issue. Yeah, that's something that people don't understand. You know, the whole thing about mental health. People have so much resistance to the whole idea, don't they? If people, if it was, if it was clear from the beginning that all these events have mental health consequences, which are which can be severe or unaccountably severe or incredibly long term. Then people would take it a bit more seriously, I think" (Wilson, pos. 130)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply
C5	Crisis management efforts	Describes all topics related to information on how the organization responds and proceeds in the event of a kidnapping	"Yeah, I think so, yeah. Because otherwise, there's a bunch of optimism there that could probably get dispelled a bit. One of the courses that I taught on was the U.N. safe training for all people going into Somalia. And there I was, doing a hostage awareness session. But the lead	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage

trainer, the lead of that whole training course, she was the one that was in the crisis center in New York for some years. So, she would interject at the end and say, Look, in my time there, everybody saw the suspicion, and she would field some of the questions. Well, what would happen? And she would get really real with people. Yeah, it takes quite a while. And when we say there are no major concessions made and when we talk about U.N. does not pay a ransom. And we had just heard that people get out of Somalia with the ransom. Some of you might see the disconnect there. We can talk about that. What happens is there is a long discussion, and we do this, this, and this. And so, I can imagine for somebody going in, okay, they've been taken, they've been transported there in captivity, they have some time to think about this and talk amongst themselves. Maybe then they can say, okay, well, it will take a while we have to like, let's stop thinking that we're going to have a Steve Dennis express four days over the thing (laughs). Yeah, yeah. We hear the negotiations are going well, but they've canceled, or they've stopped. Let's get ready. I think it's kind of related to seeing people going into hardship missions. And if they're going in for three months, and then they're pretty much burnt out by the end of three months. But if they're going in knowing that they'll be there for a year, they slow down; they pace themselves a bit more. And I think the analogy is you can't run a marathon like you're sprinting 100 meters. So, I think that would be important. I think it would be important to know about possible false information coming out of videos as well, as the proof of life discussion about questions that are there. And I hear people saying, Yeah, know, and I'll know that I can nod

Meaning and/ or content apply

			three times and do two nods to the right or whatever to say that I think I'm south of here and you're going to remember all that like, they just need to know that they're talking to the right people" (Dennis, pos. 127).	
C6	Additional knowledge	The knowledge that can be supportive while being held captive	"Definitely the idea of a grab bag being close to you. I think I might have even five minutes before the attack I think I might have put my bag behind the seat behind, but I love the idea of it right there, right with you, because it's a grab. It's not sort of reach around forward and grab bag. Yeah, so that's it. I already had the sort of habit of having my own kind of grab bag, but definitely, definitely. I think it's a valuable thing. Many people had these trauma bandages. We just got these trauma bandages up, and we just distributed them to staff and gave some basic training on how to use them. But most people left them back at the office. I don't want to get it dirty. I'm not going to bring it with me. It's just me, my water bottle, and my clipboard. Yeah, and that has it. So, I really like that because, yeah, you know, whatever happened and I was shot, and I was pulled out of the vehicle, and I didn't grab my grab bag. But if you have a team and everybody's got them, and everybody has a bit of a statement, that they would have been helpful" (Dennis, pos. 117)	At least one aspect of the definition must apply to the text passage Meaning and/ or content apply

VII. List of categories

Code system	Frequency
Code system	1243
Pre-deployment preparation	0
Preparation through employer	36
Information on Contingency Management/Crisis Incident Management	7
Personal preparation	14
Snatch/attack	0
Overview of the initial situation	18
Challenges/Stresses	0
Disbelief	5
Confusion	9
Disorientation	2
Denial	1
Shock	5
Panic/fear	10
Incapacity to act	2
Racing thoughts	3
Physical reactions	3
Staying calm	7
No challenge	1
Language	2
Injury	2
Coping strategies	0
Problem-focused strategies	0
Direct problem-solving (Giving in)	8

Code system	Frequency
Avoidant strategies	0
Attention redeployment/Selective attention	1
Direct emotion-focused strategies	0
Keep calm	7
Self-encouragement	3
(Resigned) Acceptance	3
Transport	2
Overview of the initial situation	24
Stresses/Challenges	0
Confusion/Disbelief	4
Panic/Fear	10
Shock	4
Physical reaction	2
Immobilization and blindfolded	9
Uncertainty / Worry	6
Lack of information / being lied to	4
No challenge	1
Coping strategies	0
Information-seeking strategies	0
Communication among each other	8
Inquiring information	1
Observation/Orientation	14
Support-seeking strategies	0
Problem-focused support	2
Avoidant strategies	0
Selective attention/Attention deployment	2
Thought stopping	1
Distraction strategies	0

Code system	Frequency
Distracting actions	3
Direct emotion-focused strategies	0
Stay calm	4
Self-encouragement	1
Focus on the positive	3
(Resigned) Acceptance	4
Problem-focused strategies	0
Direct problem-solving	4
Cognitive decision making - planning	3
Confinement	0
Overview of the situational conditions	63
Stresses/Challenges	0
Physical: Stresses/Challenges	0
Physical health	13
Weight loss	0
Diarrhea	0
Injuries/Wounds	3
Malnutrition	11
Hygiene	19
Infliction of violence / torture	9
Starvation	7
Beatings	15
Immobilization – chained	17
Psychological stresses	0
Mental health	15
Losses	0
Loss of freedom	3
Loss of control/self-determination	12

Code system	Frequency
Loss of identity	1
Uncertainty	26
Court hearings	0
Misinformation/being lied to	12
Fate uncertainty	9
Outside world: How do loved ones cope?	12
Crisis management efforts: Am I being forgotten?	17
Deprivation	0
Sensory deprivation – blindfold	3
Psychological torture/violence	4
Brightness/Darkness	12
Your friend is dead/free	8
Becoming a witness to violence / torture	13
Constant surveillance via camera	10
(Constant) threats of violence	12
Mock executions	3
Solitary confinement	9
Intrusive thoughts	12
Being separated	4
Language barrier	8
Nightmares: waking up to a bigger nightmare	2
War zone	7
Interrogations	7
Excruciating boredom	7
Response to contextual demands	0
Physical reaction	4
Fear/Terror	20
Confusion	3

Code system	Frequency
Disbelief	1
Despair	1
Hopelessness	4
Coping strategies	0
Information-seeking strategies	0
Communication	6
Inquiring information	5
Orientation	21
Avoidant strategies	0
Thought-control/Thought-stopping/Thought-suppression	9
Selective attention/Attention redeployment	6
Suicide	4
Wishful thinking	2
Mental escape	10
Distraction strategies	0
Distractive actions	36
Support-seeking strategies	0
Problem-focused support	1
Spiritual support/faith	5
Emotion-focused support	13
Direct emotion-focused strategies	0
Maintaining a structure and hygiene	28
Cognitive reframing/Re-interpretation	10
Stress management techniques	14
Self-encouragement	10
Acceptance	17
Focusing on the positive	14
Problem-focused strategies	0

Code system	Frequency
Cognitive preparedness	3
Manipulation	4
Leaving hints along the trail	2
Instrumental complaint	3
Negotiation	5
Inquiry	6
Building rapport and humanizing	54
Instrumental compliance /cooperation	12
Health maintenance/promotion and structurization	34
Planning	2
Opposition strategies	0
Resistance behavior and aggression	9
Fantasies of retaliation	2
Release/Escape/Rescue	1
Overview of the initial situation	32
Stresses/Challenges	0
Shock	1
Overextension: coming home	7
Panic	2
Confusion	4
Disbelief	4
Transition from being a captive to moving freely	3
Uncertainty	11
Coping strategies	1
Problem-focused strategies	0
Planning	2
Instrumental compliance	4
instrumental action	1

Code system	Frequency
Direct-emotion-focused strategies	0
Expressing emotions	2
Having your guards up - expectation management	3
Focus on the positive	6
Acceptance	5
Distraction strategies	1
Information-seeking strategies	0
Inquiring information	3
Orientation/Observation	4
Impact of pre-deployment training / preparation	5
Negative impact	3
Positive impact	7
Recommendations on training content	3
Pre-incident phase	2
Gut feeling	2
Informed consent: What are the risks?	1
(Stick to) Security plan, and security is everybody's business	2
Avoidance: Do not be an easy target	2
Captivity	0
Survival rate	1
Stages of captivity	4
Stressors of captivity	11
Coping strategies and coping options	40
Additional knowledge	0
Language	1
Country information	1
Drivers	1
Behavior under fire	1

Appendix

Code system	Frequency
Grab bag	2
Training design and objectives of training	0
Debriefing	1
Empowerment	3
Theory and simulations	7
Post-incident and aftermath: What am I surviving for?	0
Immediate period post-release	2
Adaptation, recovery, and coping strategies	6
Trauma awareness and captivity sequalae	4
Crisis management efforts	0
Contingency plans: how does the employer proceed?	3
Evacuation plans of remaining field staff	1

Olivia Valentina Mandeau: Captivity, coping, and survival: determining vital training content ...

Kidnappings, among other threats, are inherent to the realities of humanitarian aid workers. To increase the chance of survival and facilitate coping with the extreme conditions and demands of being held captive, targeted pre-deployment preparation is necessary. This thesis addresses the identification of teaching content for pre-deployment captivity survival training and the subjective value of such training. Its main objective is to provide teaching content recommendations for captivity survival training to ensure targeted preparation. Furthermore, this thesis aims to display how interview partners who completed pre-deployment captivity survival training subjectively evaluate its impact on survival and coping during confinement.

With the help of seven qualitative expert interviews, the stresses and challenges of captivity were identified, which are understood as goal clarification for training. Further, coping strategies were displayed to allow participants of training programs to draw on vicarious experiences and reveal possible courses of action. Through direct inquiry about teaching content deemed vital, survivors' perspectives were integrated. Finally, the subjective assessment of the completed training was queried.

The evaluation was carried out utilizing a structuring content analysis. The analysis criteria established - phases of captivity and differentiation between offender profiles — allowed identifying stressors that occur regardless of the situational circumstances. By hierarchically capturing coping strategies through the five-dimensional coping model of Ayers et al., more than 30 different coping strategies representing more than 400 instances of coping could be displayed. Capturing coping strategies allowed producing a domain-specific coping classification. Overall, recommendations for teaching content could be derived that relate to the topic complexes of prevention to recovery post-release. In assessing the subjective value of pre-deployment captivity survival training, positive and negative aspects influencing coping and survival appraisal were found.

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