

Human Captivity Experiences

Kris Mohandie

ABSTRACT. This conceptual article describes the phenomenon of human captivity experiences, defined as any situation in which an individual is subjected to the control and will of another person or entity and surrenders power, autonomy, and independence. The article proposes that captivity experiences may be *legitimate* or *socially sanctioned*, such as when individuals are medically or criminally institutionalized, and extend to another extreme involving *criminal, deviant, harmful, and illegitimate captivity* as in kidnaping situations. A review of how captivity is initiated, maintained, and concluded is provided. Case descriptions highlight the dynamics of these complex situations, as well as the impact on victims. As a concept, captivity may provide a unifying theme to describe the dynamics that underlie many victim experiences, thus enhancing the knowledge base of victimology, the social science which examines how people become victims and react to these experiences (van Dijk, 1999). [Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <getinfo@haworthpressinc.com> Website: <<http://www.HaworthPress.com>> © 2002 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]

KEYWORDS. Captivity, victimology, involuntary servitude, slavery, kidnaping, coercion, undue influence

Kris Mohandie is affiliated with the Behavioral Sciences Services, Los Angeles Police Department.

Address correspondence to: Kris Mohandie, PhD, 977 North Broadway, Suite 300, Los Angeles, CA 90012 (E-mail: mohandie@earthlink.net). Preparation of this article was supported by a grant from Forensis, Inc.

Journal of Threat Assessment, Vol. 2(1) 2002
<http://www.haworthpressinc.com/store/product.asp?sku=J177>
© 2002 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

A *human captivity experience* is any situation in which an individual is subjected to the control and will of another person or entity and surrenders power, autonomy, and independence. The victim has his or her will controlled by the other person and complies as a consequence of the actions of this other person or entity. Captivity may be *legitimate* or *socially sanctioned* within a particular context, such as when individuals are medically or criminally institutionalized. It may extend to another extreme that is *criminal, deviant, harmful, and illegitimate*, as in kidnapping situations. The purpose of this theoretical article is to describe the range of these experiences, their unique dynamics, and to identify the dimensions and characteristics of the various forms of captivity. Similar and overlapping concepts will be integrated into a broader understanding of these victim phenomena. Some degree of human captivity weaves its way into many human relationships—especially into those characterized by unusual or extreme forms of violence. Reviewing mechanisms of capture, control, and domination may be useful to understand previously distinct categories of victimization. Captivity as a concept may provide a unifying theme to describe the dynamics that underlie many victim experiences, thus enhancing the knowledge base of victimology, the social science which examines how people become victims and react to these experiences (van Dijk, 1999).

The legal concept of *undue influence*, as described by Blum and Eth (2000) in their review of elder abuse issues, overlaps with, and is at the heart of captivity. *Undue influence* refers to person being pressured to act in a manner desired by another. The outcome is behavior that deviates from that which is normally expected and may be contrary to the person's needs or interests. Blum and Eth indicated that to determine whether undue influence has occurred the court must decide that the person fell prey to coercion, intimidation, or other form of manipulation usually because of mental distress or disability. Two issues underlie undue influence: activity of the perpetrator to establish control and a vulnerability of the victim that is exploited to the perpetrator's advantage.

Blum and Eth (2000) noted that an analysis of the presence of undue influence should focus on four essential characteristics:

1. dependence upon the perpetrator;
2. the victim is prohibited from learning and using relevant information before making a major financial decision;
3. trust, fears, or prejudices must be manipulated by the perpetrator; and
4. the perpetrator must gain control of the victim's money or property.

Dependency, isolation and information control, manipulation of emotions, and acquiescence are the underlying aspects of undue influence.

A broader definition of undue influence is offered in Black's Law Dictionary (1990): "Persuasion; pressure, or influence short of actual force, but stronger than mere advice, that so overpowers the dominated party's free will or judgment that he or she cannot act intelligently and voluntarily, but acts, instead, subject to the will or purposes of the dominating party" (p. 1528). This definition also implies subjugation of the will by way of improper or wrongful constraint, machination, or urgency of persuasion whereby the will of the person is overpowered and he or she is induced to do something that he or she otherwise would not do.

Coercion is a related legal concept also defined in Black's Law Dictionary (1990): "Compulsion, constraint, compelling by force or arms or threat. . . It may be actual, direct, or positive; as where physical force is used to compel acts against one's will, or implied, legal or constructive, as where one party is constrained by subjugation to otherwise do what his free will would refuse" (p. 258). Black's Law Dictionary indicates that a person may be guilty of criminal coercion if, "with purpose to unlawfully restrict another's freedom of action to his detriment, he (sic) threatens to:

- a. commit any criminal offense;
- b. accuse anyone of a criminal offense;
- c. expose any secret tending to subject any person to hatred, contempt, or ridicule, or to impair his credit or business repute; and
- d. take or withhold action as an official, or cause an official to take or withhold action."

Undue influence and coercion are the underlying dynamics in captivity. Assessment to determine a particular form of captivity, in its typical presentation, requires a determination of the presence and manner of the undue influence and/or coercion. There is no captivity without the presence of undue influence or coercion. Each type of captivity experience has its own unique manner and patterns of undue influence or coercion. A behavioral analysis of the suspected captivity situation along the dimensions outlined below may help recognize and identify victims, as well as investigate, apprehend, and mete out appropriate justice to perpetrators. Expert witnesses may offer a conceptually sound analysis to assist the trier of fact in understanding complex situations that often go beyond knowledge of the layperson.

PREVALENCE OF HUMAN CAPTIVITY

The prevalence of human captivity in its various forms is unknown. There are few scientific studies examining these phenomena and obvious difficulties exist with data collection. Any data collection is likely to be an underestimate, since individuals still in captivity are unlikely to be counted. Prevalence may also vary across forms of captivity as the nature of these crimes is quite varied. For example, one recent estimate of Russian women who were manipulated into traveling to foreign countries and subjected to sexual trade trafficking in foreign-run brothels where they must work off their "debt," put the figure at 50,000 women each year. This particular report indicated that there may be a collective total of a half-million women who have been victimized over the past decade in over 50 countries, including Canada, Italy, certain Persian Gulf states, Greece, Belgium, and China (International Labour Organization, 2001; Memmont, 2001; "Russian Women," 2001). The U.S. Department of State estimated that approximately 700,000 people each year are crossing international borders as victims of trafficking, which includes forced labor in agriculture, domestic service, construction work, and sweatshops, as well as trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation (U.S. Department of State, 2001). Furthermore, it is estimated that 45,000 to 50,000 people, primarily women and children, are trafficked to the United States annually.

In 1999, there were an estimated 867,129 missing persons (adults and juveniles) reported to U.S. police agencies (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1999). Of that number, 31,896 cases could be categorized as "involuntary," defined as missing under circumstances that indicate the situation was not voluntary as in an abduction or kidnapping. Another 11,091 cases were defined as "endangered," where the missing person was in the company of another person under circumstances indicating his or her safety was in danger.

According to the National Incidence Study of Missing, Abducted, Runaway and Thrownaway Children, 200 to 300 stranger abductions occurred in 1988 (Kopiec, Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Foster, 1999). That same year, 3,200 to 4,600 short-term abductions occurred, two thirds of which were a function of sexual assaults. Three quarters or more of the abduction victims were female and 51% were adolescents, ages 12 through 17. Three hundred fifty-four thousand (354,000) children had experienced some level of family abduction, including many very short-term violations of custody rights and 163,000 children were ab-

ducted in more serious episodes that involved concealment, interstate flight, or an intent to keep a child permanently.

These rough indicators indicate that different forms of captivity are occurring with some frequency throughout the world. Understanding the dynamics of these phenomena is imperative as perpetrator-victim interactions in the different captivity contexts often involve threats and other behaviors that fall within the purview of threat management experts. There are five "C's" that represent dimensions to the process of captivity:

1. Choice of victim;
2. Capture technique;
3. Control mechanisms;
4. Consequences of being a victim;
5. Conclusion of the experience.

Reviewing these aspects is an important part of the functional analysis of the situation, and will allow determination of the nature of the experience and whether some form of victim-perpetrator relationship is evidenced.

CHOICE OF VICTIM

Choice of victim in captivity situations refers to why a victim is selected by a perpetrator. The reasons usually vary, but often include availability and opportunity and characteristics and vulnerabilities of the potential victim, such as gender, age, other biological qualities, skills, occupation, financial resources, power, citizenship, and the victim's psychology. The victim must usually possess qualities perceived as desirable to the perpetrator and there should be a "good fit" with the motive or purpose for victimizing. Choice of victim is an important part of investigating many crimes and provides investigators with insight as to the motivation and other descriptors of the perpetrator, including descriptors that may help to identify an unknown perpetrator (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, & Ressler, 1993).

CAPTURE TECHNIQUE

A person may become captive in several ways. An important issue to be established is whether or not the relationship between victim and

captor was initiated and maintained in a legitimate or legal manner. Examining alternative bases for the relationship is part of ruling out a captivity situation. Initiation is the term used to characterize the beginnings of legitimate relationships; here the issue is whether the relationship or sanctioned captivity is initiated through some *consensual process, social convention or custom, legitimate contract, or legal/due process* (civil or criminal justice proceeding).

For example, two people interested in sadomasochistic relationships might meet through special "fetish" oriented personal ads on the Internet or in underground publications. This involves a consensual process. Social convention or custom might be characterized by arranged marriages still practiced in certain cultures, whereby mates are selected and assigned by family members and the involved parties conform out of adherence to these practices. Legitimate contracting is exemplified by the student who agrees to work a certain number of years for a company who pays for his or her special schooling. Legal/due process initiation is reflected in civil commitment proceedings leading to involuntary hospitalization of a mentally ill person during acute exacerbation of an illness or criminal trial proceedings that result in prison confinement of convicted offenders.

Legitimate relationships, however, may evolve into situations of captivity if certain conditions within the relationship change. If this occurs, one must consider that the perpetrator utilized a manipulation or seduction approach to victim acquisition, unless a corrupt legal process was used to deny someone his or her freedom.

Perpetrators typically use one of three primary strategies to capture a particular victim:

1. *con or manipulation*;
2. *blitz*;
3. *surprise* (Hazelwood, 1987).

In the *con or manipulation* approach, the perpetrator approaches the victim openly with subterfuge, pretense, false promises, or a ploy. The perpetrator will initially be pleasant, friendly, and perhaps charming. The goal is to gain the victim's confidence until the perpetrator is in a position to overcome any resistance offered by the victim. Quite often, and for different reasons, the perpetrator will exhibit a sudden change of attitude toward the victim once control is established. Hazelwood calls this *seduction*—which is a more descriptive word for manipulation—within the context of a systematic approach that sexual sadists use to acquire compliant victims (Hazelwood & Michaud, 2001; Warren &

Hazelwood, in press). Seduction is achieved by showering the prospective victim with gifts, attention, other rewards, and surprises, to induce the victim to fall in love with the perpetrator. Once the perpetrator has successfully seduced the victim, Hazelwood observes, "you can move a lot of garbage across the bridge of love: alcoholism, infidelity, addiction, abuse" (Hazelwood & Michaud, 2001, p. 113). *Seduction* also applies to situations where love is not the basis for the manipulation, but rather loyalty, dependency, and other forms of bonding are the connective tissue that bring perpetrator and victim together.

In the *blitz approach*, the perpetrator uses direct and immediate physical assault (physical injury) in subduing the victim. The perpetrator allows no opportunity to cope physically or verbally and frequently gags, blindfolds, or binds the victim.

In the *surprise approach*, the perpetrator may lie in wait or attack while the victim is sleeping. Typically, threats and weapons are used to subdue the victim. Usually this approach suggests that the victim has been targeted or pre-selected or that the offender is not sufficiently confident to approach the victim either physically or through subterfuge tactics.

Choice of method is reflective of the goals, skills, and sophistication of the perpetrator to elude detection. It is critical to understand that there is a range of strategies employed by perpetrators to initially capture and isolate their victims (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). A perpetrator may also combine these techniques to capture victims.

MECHANISMS OF CONTROL

There are several common mechanisms of control utilized by perpetrators in captivity situations (see Table 1 for a summary). One important principle, however, is that while some captivity is maintained through physical control mechanisms, such as restraint or overt force, most is facilitated by psychological coercion-induced helplessness. Cognitive-behavioral theories offer the most parsimonious explanation about the manner in which these mechanisms operate. Cognitive theory posits that a person's thoughts determine emotions and behavior, and behavioral theories, particularly operant conditioning, underscore the premise that behavior is controlled by its consequences (Beck & Weishaar, 1989, Whaley & Malott, 1971; Houston, 1981). The blending of these two theories highlights that consequences alone do not determine behavior, but act in concert with the person's appraisal about

TABLE 1. Summary of Victim Control Mechanisms

-
1. Isolation (geographic, cultural, language, family/support system)
 2. Identity control (change, documentation theft)
 3. Monitoring, mere presence, lack of privacy
 4. Manipulation
 5. Verbal abuse/humiliation
 6. Drugs, alcohol, mind-altering chemicals
 7. Induction of altered states through stress, trauma, over-stimulation, sleep deprivation, fatigue
 8. Restraints
 9. Threats (direct, implied against victim and/or his or her friends, family, or others)
 10. Force (different degrees)
 11. Torture

expected outcomes. Shaping, positive and negative reinforcement, punishment, avoidance conditioning, escape learning, extinction, learned helplessness, and schedules of reinforcement and punishment are the learning principles that underlie the control mechanisms. Intermittent schedules of punishment, reinforcement, and avoidance conditioning are noted to be highly effective for producing behavior change in scientific studies and the real world (Whaley & Malott, 1971; Houston, 1981).

Isolation of the victim prevents detection of the crime or rescue and increases the victim's experience of helplessness and vulnerability, making it easier for the perpetrator to obtain the desired goal (Bailloni, 1992). There are a number of ways to accomplish isolation, including physical and interpersonal strategies. Physical isolation involves geographically isolating or containing the person from known or possible sources of support. Interpersonal isolation removes the victim from possible sources of support. Both of these processes increase the victim's feelings of dependency and magnify victim perceptions of the perpetrator's power, particularly if the perpetrator has other attributes or resources that the victim does not have, such as actual authority or access to authority. Isolation may include removal of the victim from familiar physical or geographic surroundings, sources of family or social support, modes of transportation and communication (mail, telephone, etc.), and native culture and language. For example, isolation was used effectively by American slave owners. Comer (1969) reported that slaves were powerless partially because they were far from home and

generally unwanted except for economic exploitation. They could not turn to their own culture for psychological support or to effectively organize to attack their oppressors (p. 345).

Identity control includes "identity change" or "documentation theft" to control the victim. The perpetrator may assign a new name, or even a number, to the victim or insist that the victim change appearance. While identity control may help the perpetrator elude detection in kidnapping cases, it also provides a way of reinforcing the perpetrator's omnipotent control over the victim. Forcing the victim to change identity can also be a way of dehumanizing the victim, thus strengthening the regression of the victim and placing the perpetrator in a clear parental, power position. *Documentation theft* occurs when the perpetrator removes the victim's passport or other legal documentation as a mechanism of control, particularly if the victim is a visitor in a foreign country. Consequently, victims may fear arrest or incarceration or perceive that they have no rights.

Monitoring, mere presence, and lack of privacy refer to how perpetrators keep control of the victim through maintaining a physical, powerful, or threatening presence. Furthermore, monitoring induces compliance because the victim is overwhelmed by a perception that physical, psychological, or other adverse consequences could occur if an attempt is made to resist. Monitoring and destroying the victim's sense of privacy are ways of teaching the victim that the perpetrator is in control and they eliminate or suppress the perception that the victim can escape or reach out for help or rescue. Accomplices and electronic devices may be used by perpetrators to facilitate control. The mere presence of a perpetrator, particularly one viewed as powerful and harsh, constitutes a sufficiently potent control to preclude attempts to escape.

Manipulation of fear, prejudices, and other emotions is often utilized by perpetrators in captivity situations. Such machinations include making false promises of freedom and convincing the victim that others do not care, their captivity is a sad but natural twist of fate that must be endured, or it is God's will (quoting scripture to support their position). Some perpetrators try to convince their victims they are God. Indeed, slaves were often taught by their American slave masters to "obey thy master as thy God" (Comer, 1969). In addition, manipulation can also include getting the victim to commit a crime and exploiting this vulnerability to insure compliance to demands. Slave contracts, and other written techniques, are yet another form of manipulation.

Verbal abuse, degradation, and humiliation are used by perpetrators to rob the victim of dignity or confidence, and they are used to convince

the victim to accept his or her fate. This form of control is designed to get the victim to accept a position of inferiority, as well as to view the perpetrator as omnipotent.

Drugs and alcohol are sometimes used to facilitate control of a victim. Over the last several years there have been a number of cases where perpetrators have used so-called "knockout drops" like gamma-hydroxybutyrate (GHB), also known as the "date-rape" drug to incapacitate a victim. Hatcher (1996) reported that Paul Bernardo and his wife Karla Homolka used drugs and alcohol to subdue at least two of their victims, including Karla's younger sister, who died while being controlled with Halcion, after being sexually assaulted. In other cases, perpetrators may foster the victim's addiction or control victims' access to their drug of choice.

Control may be accomplished by the *induction of altered states* through stress, trauma, overstimulation, extreme working conditions, and stimulus, food (fasting), and sleep deprivation. These activities weaken the victim physiologically and psychologically, reinforce dependency on the captor, and serve to increase perceptions of the perpetrator's omnipotence. Such methods are often used by cults to brainwash recruits, and during coercive interrogations to extract information and insure compliance (Singer & Lalich, 1995).

Restraints and devices may be used to incapacitate the victim and include: handcuffs, ropes, headboxes, cages, electric fences, dog collars, or any other item that is placed on the individual to control physical movement or prevent escape. These mechanisms effectively teach the victim that to escape is impossible; they also instill feelings of helplessness.

Another method that is used to support victimization is the use of *threats*, which are statements or behaviors that indicate harm will come to the victim, family member, or friend, if the victim does not comply. It is important to recognize that actual physical force is not required to establish control or to gain compliance from the victim. Threats can be direct or implied, and do not necessarily need to be supported by the presence of a weapon, nor do they need to be backed up by force. All that is required is that the victim believe the perpetrator can carry out the threat.

Force is actual physical harm that a perpetrator may use to control the victim and exists along a continuum from minimal to moderate, to excessive or brutal (Hazelwood, 1987). Typically, a perpetrator uses the least amount of force necessary to gain compliance of the victim, unless physical harm and torture is the intended goal. The more extreme form of force is *torture*, a mechanism of control that involves the infliction of

pain for the purpose of inducing pleasure in the perpetrator or to extract information. Torture is also a way of creating fear, powerlessness, vulnerability, compliance, and obedience in the victim. One method of torture is *illicit medical experimentation*, which reinforces the victim's feelings of powerlessness, and increases the perpetrator's sense of omnipotent control.

The method of control that a perpetrator chooses in human captivity experiences depends upon the perpetrator's goals and the characteristics and behaviors of the victim. Other factors influence the choice of control methods, such as the victim's perception of the perpetrator's power, which can be enhanced by position, role, or status of the perpetrator. Many perpetrators effectively utilize isolation, monitoring, verbal abuse, and/or threats to secure compliance of the victim, without the use of physical force (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987; Hazelwood, personal communication, January 11, 2001).

Hatcher (Hatcher, 1996; McGuire & Norton, 1988) noted that control methods exist along a continuum ranging from *persuasion* to *coercion*, to *brainwashing*. The use of *persuasion* involves pressure being applied to the victim to perform certain acts, whereas *coercion* involves the use of extraordinary physical or psychological pressure. In *People v. Hooker* (1985/1988), Hatcher testified that "in *brainwashing* what theoretically happens is that a person is pressured to do something or not to do something, but in fact their whole adult processes, their values, their way of looking at the world is changed completely" (McGuire & Norton, 1988, p. 290; Hatcher, 1996). The concept of brainwashing is referred to by others as "thought reform" (Singer & Lalich, 1995). The term applies to long-term sexual slavery victims, slaves, compliant victims, cult members, and others where there is some attempt by the perpetrator to substitute total value change in the victim as a preferred control tool.

It is worth emphasizing that behavior of the victim is controlled by the anticipated or actual consequences initiated by the perpetrator, as perceived by the victim. The victimization experience is characterized by rapid avoidance conditioning, in which the victim learns to avoid doing certain behaviors in anticipation that failure to do so will result in negative consequences. Therefore, the perpetrator does not usually need to exert constant control over the victim, since the intermittent approach works effectively to maintain behavior (Kirchhoff, 1999).

CONSEQUENCES OF BEING A VICTIM

The experience of being a victim of captivity has several, but sometimes counterintuitive, cognitive, emotional, and behavioral consequences

(Balloni, 1992; Kirchhoff, 1999; Walker, 1992). The layperson often expects the victim to attempt an heroic escape or other responses not consistent with historically observed victim responses. There is often a tendency for people to believe that the victim must have contributed to being victimized. This process, known as "blaming the victim," is a common belief system that stems from the human tendency to distance oneself from feeling vulnerable. Blaming the victim is compounded by an attributional bias to exaggerate internal causes for victim responses and to downplay situational determinants. To the extent that one is able to find fault in the victim's behavior, an outside observer is able to create an illusion of personal safety in what could otherwise be perceived as a threatening world. Thus, blaming the victim serves as a tool for managing anxiety.

The study of victims in captivity is not a new scholarly endeavor, since the dynamics of master-slave relationships have historically been a subject of study. For example, Comer (1969) noted in his analysis of American slavery that while "there were certainly slave uprisings and rumors of uprisings, the reaction was generally not violence but nonviolence, despite the abusive and oppressive pattern" (p. 344). Comer noted that "certainly the overwhelming power of the dominant group is a factor" and that "often slaves and freedmen greatly outnumbered their masters and sometimes did attack and kill them, but not very often" (p. 344). "It is understandable under the condition of powerlessness, dependency and rejection inherent in the nature of American slavery that wisdom and adequacy became associated with the master . . . The large number of slaves who could not or would not leave the plantation after slavery indicates the degree of psychological dependency that was developed" (p. 346).

Other sources have noted the psychological dynamics of master-slave relationships. Grier and Cobbs (1992) indicated that "to be a bondsman was to experience a psychological development very different from the master's, one *compatible* with a life of involuntary servitude. The ideal slaves had to be absolutely dependent and have a consciousness of personal inferiority. Their color was made the badge of that degradation. And as a final precaution, they were instilled with a sense of the unlimited power of the master. Teachings so painstakingly applied do not disappear easily. The slave master tried to justify the lot of the slave in many ways. One explanation made the slave a simple child who needed the protective guardianship of a benevolent parent" (p. 26).

The above passages provide the following generic concepts that apply to other human captivity experiences:

1. passivity and non-resistance typically characterize the victim response in these situations;
2. socialization and management of the victim by the perpetrator creates passivity by instilling in the victim a sense of the perpetrator's unlimited power, as well as fostering the victim's own feelings of powerlessness and dependency;
3. the victim's isolation from kinship ties, family organization, religion, government, and legal system are factors that increase feelings of powerlessness and dependency;
4. geographical isolation and the perception of not having any rights in the available social system also foster feelings of powerlessness and dependency;
5. the perpetrator may justify the victimization through rationalization (e.g., they were "assisting" the victim).

Symonds (1983) observed that victims of violent crime often follow a common progression of reactions:

1. shock and disbelief;
2. frozen fright, clinging, and compulsive talking;
3. traumatic depression and self-recrimination;
4. resolution and integration during which profound changes in values and attitudes are experienced.

Symonds further noted that the first two phases are acute, and that some victims may never become able or willing to integrate their experience.

DURING THE VICTIMIZATION

Victims of traumatic events that have a sudden onset often experience a brief initial response of denial (e.g., "I thought it was a joke or some sort of movie"; Hatcher, 1996; Symonds, 1983). Unfortunately, this initial denial may interfere with a brief moment of opportunity for potential escape. In other cases, the victim's denial may consist of a gradual realization of having been duped into captivity under false pretense (e.g., "I did not want to believe I was here in this foreign country not getting paid and living as a virtual slave—I wanted to believe they would have a change of heart"). This form of denial may evaporate during an acute and pronounced episode of violence during the event, or it may ebb and flow in response to the behavior and actions of the perpetrator.

Cognitive constriction, the narrowing of perceived options to solve the situation, is common among victims of captivity. Stress, and its re-

sultant physiological processes, generates tunnel vision that primes the person to cope and adapt, yet coping is impaired and centered around reacting to avoid negative consequences from the perpetrator (Kirchhoff, 1999). Walker (1992) observes this impact in battering relationships where many victims respond with a survival and coping, rather than escape, reaction. This phenomenon may be due partly to the immediacy of perceived threats to the victim's well-being, as well as the intermittent nature of the abuse. The victim attempts to cope or make due with a bad situation, but is unable to see the longer-term consequences of remaining in an abusive relationship (Walker, personal communication, January 14, 2001).

Victims of human captivity experiences often respond with feelings of helplessness, powerlessness, hopelessness, and vulnerability. Fear of the perpetrator may be both pronounced and acute, although fear may become the dull ache of "frozen fright." Frozen fright is where the victim is numb and detached from acute fear, and often not consciously aware of it (Symonds, 1983; Strentz, & Auerbach, 1988; McMains & Mullins, 1996; Kirchhoff, 1999). Frozen fright is a byproduct of panic, helplessness, and the overwhelming terror of many victimization experiences. Affect is split off from motor and cognitive functions (Symonds, 1983). When feelings become too intense as the situation progresses, the acute phase of suffering may be gradually replaced with blunting or numbing of emotion as a survival mechanism to prevent being mentally and physically overwhelmed by stress (Kirchhoff, 1999).

In addition, victims may become distrustful of others, including those who are in a position to help, particularly if the perpetrator was someone they initially trusted prior to being captured. This distrust may be perpetuated and intensified by misinformation or threats made by the captor.

Dependency and compliance are also normative behavioral responses that victims may demonstrate. The victim may acquiesce in order to avoid harsh consequences or out of a sense of learned helplessness, particularly if there is a perception that nothing can be done to change events (Houston, 1981; Kirchhoff, 1999). This acquiescence may continue even when victims are later afforded the opportunity to escape because they may have been conditioned to comply with their captor. In extreme cases, victims may come to believe that their destiny is to remain in the situation; in other extreme cases, the victim may contemplate and attempt suicide.

Hostage events have their own commonly observed victim stages, which may include the development of Stockholm Syndrome. Hatcher

(1987) identified five transition stages that hostages experience during terrorism incidents:

1. initial impact, such as freezing or protecting self or others;
2. acceptance/respect for captors (frozen fright vs. heroic action plans such as escape or attempting to subdue captors);
3. increased interactions between victims and captors to develop a survival strategy and increased interaction among victims to develop a self or group survival strategy;
4. disintegration or termination of captors' control which may lead to victim fear of change in a stable situation;
5. re-establishment of security during which time victims may express dramatic tension relief or make repetitive statements about one or two aspects of the situation.

The Stockholm syndrome, which derives its name from a multi-day siege in Stockholm Sweden, is a common victim response during and after hostage situations. Three components generally occur in this syndrome:

1. positive feelings by hostage towards the hostage taker;
2. negative feelings by hostage toward the authorities;
3. positive feelings by the hostage taker toward the hostage.

These stages, and this syndrome, represent traumatic bonding, the development of a strong, regressive attachment which emerges out of the need to survive (Kirchhoff, 1999). McMains and Mullins (1996) underscore that hostages become compliant and docile when faced with the realization that their fate is intertwined with the hostage taker and the extent of their dependence upon him. Hostages learn quickly that their survival depends upon the perpetrator's survival and whims. Over the years, experts in hostage negotiation have observed that hostages utilize a range of survival strategies to cope with their captivity, from outright manipulation to the more subtle, regressive, and unconscious processes observed in Stockholm Syndrome (Hatcher, Mohandie, Turner, & Gelles, 1998).

AFTER THE VICTIMIZATION

In response to human captivity experiences, victims have many reactions, some of which may be delayed. Post-traumatic stress disorder, as defined by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*,

Fourth Edition, Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric Association, 2000) is one reaction (Allondi, 1994). This disorder is characterized by symptoms that can have an acute or delayed onset. Symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder tend to be specific to the individual and can include flashbacks, recurrent recollections or dreams of the event, intense helplessness and fear, increased anxiety and panic attacks, hyper-vigilance, exaggerated startle response, depression, irritability, outbursts of anger, recurrent nightmares, detachment, restricted range of affect, sleeping or eating disorders, and increased substance use.

When the victim is ultimately freed from a captivity situation, feelings of relief may initially lead to denial and the victim may fail to recognize the depth to which the situation has impacted. Blunting of affect, a survival mechanism often encountered during victimization, may continue for some time after the victim has been freed. Efforts to return to a sense of normalcy may succeed initially, before traumatic symptoms intrude and destroy the victim's sense of normalcy. For example, Hatcher (1996) noted that some unmarried victims quickly get married and begin a family after rescue. These behaviors serve the function of allowing the victim to prove that she is normal by doing those things done by nonvictims. This behavior may also be caused by the sense of having a foreshortened future, fueled by feelings of vulnerability. For example, one male hostage who was nearly killed by a homicidal-suicidal perpetrator in Hawaii, got married within a week of his successful rescue. His comment was, "You can't take life for granted."

In addition to the victim's blunted affect, anger may initially be absent in the victim's presentation. A period of time may be needed for the victim to become aware of the extent he or she has been affected and to feel safe to express feelings of anger. Cultural and sex role demands related to the appropriate expression of anger may compound this issue further.

Other post-event symptoms experienced by victims may include anxiety and fear, sleep disturbance, nightmares, moodiness, and impaired relationships (Rahe, Karson, Howard, Rubin, & Poland, 1990). Victims may avoid situations involving potential contact with the perpetrator or accomplices and sympathizers of the perpetrator, exposure to possible revictimization, or situations that otherwise remind them of their victimization. The victim may become self-destructive and even attempt or commit suicide, as they struggle with the effects of their experience (Walker, 1992). Victims grapple long-term with feelings of having had their sense of self violated, autonomy impaired, and survival threatened (Bard & Sangrey, 1979).

CONCLUSION OF THE EXPERIENCE

The end of a captivity experience usually comes about through the actions of the victim, other individuals (i.e., good Samaritan, law enforcement, family), the perpetrator or his/her accomplices, or by the combined actions of two or more individuals. One form of victim-initiated conclusion involves *escape*, which often occurs when a victim capitalizes on a window of opportunity that has presented itself. For example, a battered wife might flee after a particularly brutal assault, or a man being held hostage attempts to overpower or disable a captor who is preparing to kill him or others. Sometimes the decision to escape is based on new information about who can be trusted. In other instances, the victim may learn that the perpetrator has lied about his intentions to release the victim or a perpetrator suddenly appears vulnerable. Hatcher (1996) referred to this latter process as a "breakdown of controls" on the part of the perpetrator. Self-initiated resolutions usually involve such environmental changes that motivate the victim to overcome feelings of learned helplessness.

Resolution of the human captivity experience may be initiated by other people, including family members of the victim, law enforcement officials, social service agencies, private experts, or others who have intervened to help the victim. Such individuals may observe and recognize that something is awry in the victim's circumstances and make a formal report that leads to intervention. In other cases, rescuers discover the captive and facilitate the victim's escape or *rescue*. Most of these interventions will lead to *arrest* of the perpetrator. Special procedures such as *negotiation*, *tactical assault*, or meeting demands for *ransom* will be employed as the situation dictates. The use of these techniques will usually be a function of the perpetrator's resistance to releasing the captive.

The perpetrator may also bring about the conclusion of a human captivity experience and simply *release* the victim, as when a robbery involving hostages or sexual assault involving captivity is terminated; or, in longer-term events, such as an extended kidnapping for ransom, the ransom has been paid and the victim is no longer useful to the captor. At the extreme end, *death* of the victim ends the captivity, such as when a captor kills the victim or the victim dies while in captivity due to improper living conditions, torture, natural causes, or *suicide*. Some victims *remain* indefinitely in their tragic situation.

In some captivity situations, an accomplice of the perpetrator releases the victim. These individuals have often been victimized and ma-

nipulated by the perpetrator as well, as in sadomasochistic relationships of compliant victims (Hatcher, 1996; Hazelwood & Michaud, 2001; Warren & Hazelwood, in press). The accomplice may go to the police when the perpetrator is seen as vulnerable or when the accomplice believes the perpetrator may wish to eliminate all witnesses, including the accomplice (Hatcher, 1996).

If apprehended and prosecuted, the perpetrator faces the legal system. The victim may encounter the trauma of facing the perpetrator in court, and the perpetrator faces incarceration (Rozenzweig, 1999, July 21). Criminal sentences vary for taking someone captive depending on the specific offense, but may range from a lengthy prison sentence to the death penalty ("Man Given 11 Years," 2001, April 17; "Six Are Executed for Human Trafficking," 2001, June 2; "Smuggler Sentenced," 2001, July 17).

TYPES OF SOCIALLY SANCTIONED CAPTIVITY

Legitimate or socially sanctioned forms of captivity occur in several contexts:

1. relationships;
2. employment;
3. religious group membership;
4. military;
5. criminal justice;
6. medical;
7. civil (see Table 2 for a summary).

These sanctioned forms of captivity constitute a continuum from relatively benign "captivity-like experiences," to traumatic captivity situations involving the surrender of individual control and autonomy. The norms and laws of each society always involve some surrendering of personal freedoms. These rules restrict behavior and preclude an individual from engaging in an array of anti-social behaviors.

Captivity-Like Relationships

Arranged marriages and certain dysfunctional and consensual sadomasochistic relationships are examples of relationships that must not be considered true captivity because the initiation and maintenance of these relationships are socially acceptable, or do not involve undue

TABLE 2. Continuum of Captivity-Like/Sanctioned Captivity Experiences

Socially sanctioned/legitimate (captivity-like):

1. Relationships (arranged marriages, dysfunctional relationships, sadomasochistic relationships)
 2. Employment (contractual agreements and obligations)
 3. Religious group membership
 4. Military (voluntary military service, conscription)
 5. Criminal justice (arrest, probation/parole, incarceration)
 6. Medical institutionalization (involuntary hospitalization)
 7. Civil (conservatorship, nursing home commitments)
-

influence or coercion. Many dysfunctional relationships in modern society involve emotional manipulation, conflict, threats, and the adoption of rigid roles. However, when these relationships become abusive and controlling, they cross over into the deviant arena. These relationships probably comprise the high-risk pool out of which many true captivity situations develop.

Captivity-Like Employment Relationships

These situations are usually based on some form of employment contract. The employee voluntarily agrees to certain conditions, such as shift work and hours, intellectual property issues, non-competition agreements, and college tuition or schooling payback obligations (e.g., "We paid for your schooling, pay us back or work 'x' number of years") in exchange for employment. Other examples include the working conditions and voluntary subordination. Although the person acquiesces to these issues, some degree of control is relinquished. However, this is more "captivity-like" rather than a true captivity experience because this relationship is negotiated, contractual, and subject to laws and regulations that guarantee certain rights and privileges. The employee or individual still possesses many rights and choices.

Religious Group Membership

Many religious and community groups are similar to cults. They may shun mainstream philosophies, have mystical belief systems, and organize their religion around an unconventional charismatic leader. An important factor in establishing the degree of captivity imposed on mem-

bers is whether the group fosters dependency by the person to the detriment of his or her growth, self-interest, and well-being (Singer & Lalich, 1995). In addition, those religious groups that genuinely help or empower members do not engage in deceptive recruitment practices; nor do leaders use members to promote growth of the group, as well as the power and wealth of the group's leader. Although the demarcation between cults and sanctioned religion is sometimes difficult, two factors that can assist in making this distinction are the extent to which manipulation is used to maintain control of group members and whether the religious group is abusing or manipulating the support of its members.

Military Captivity

Within the military context, there are at least two examples of captivity: voluntary military service and conscription. When a person voluntarily signs up for military service, he or she relinquishes many rights. The enlisted person commits to a determinate period of service, faces severe consequences for failure to fulfill their obligations (e.g., AWOL and court martial), and can prematurely terminate service through narrowly defined procedures (e.g., medical, less than honorable, and dishonorable discharge). Conscription, or compulsory enrollment, also known as the draft, is more consistent with captivity. The individual is required to serve the military or face severe social consequences up to and including incarceration.

Criminal Justice Captivity

Criminal justice captivity includes detainment, arrest, incarceration, bail release, probation, and parole. These examples reflect a range—from the temporary captivity-like circumstance in which an officer detains a citizen for questioning, to the obvious captivity of an arrest situation, and, ultimately incarceration—where the individual must surrender his or her personal liberties. Similarly, in bail release situations, probation, and parole, there are conditions for behavior, creating captivity without walls. These situations represent sanctioned captivity. Due process rights are the safeguards that insure the legitimacy of this form of captivity.

Medical Based Captivity

Medical institutionalization includes involuntary hospitalization such as emergency 72-hour commitments for psychiatric evaluation,

longer compulsory psychiatric hospitalizations, and criminal justice insanity commitments. In some insanity commitments individuals may be kept indefinitely if they are not rendered "sane" according to some defined standard. Checks and balances in the system for such institutionalization are what legitimize these forms of captivity.

Civil Based Captivity

Civil based captivity includes conservatorships and nursing home commitments. Conservatorship occurs when a person is deemed incompetent through a legal proceeding designed to insure that a person's life affairs are being handled appropriately. Once conservatorship is granted, the conservator then possesses the power to make any and all significant decisions in the conservatee's life. This process is to ensure that the best interests of an individual are addressed, and underscores that the conservatee is subject to the control of the conservator.

Summary

There are condoned forms of human captivity (e.g., military, criminal justice, medical, and civil), and some forms of deviant behavior that appear captivity-like but are not truly captivity. Some rely upon controls present in other forms of captivity, such as isolation, restraints, barriers, threats, and even force. The distinction between condoned and illegitimate human captivity is based on due process considerations (consent, contracts, and legal proceedings), as well as the legitimacy of the initiation and maintenance process for the removal of individual freedoms. Legally sanctioned captivity is subject to oversight and scrutiny to avoid abuse of power. Human rights expectations regulate these forms of captivity.

DEVIANT OR ILLEGITIMATE HUMAN CAPTIVITY

Sanctioned captivity becomes deviant when due process guarantees are violated, for example when a person is subject to a false arrest, evidence planting, or excessive force perpetrated by a police officer. Deviant captivity occurs across several broad contexts:

1. criminal—short- and long-term situations involving loss of the victim's autonomy and control at the hands of a perpetrator;

2. battering relationships;
3. prisoners of war;
4. abusive "business" relationships;
5. certain religious/ideological group situations (e.g., cults).

These situations are presented in a proposed continuum that reflects degree of coercion and progression to brainwashing as a means of control (see Table 3).

Short Duration Criminal Victimization

Short-term criminal acts such as robberies, take-over robberies, rape, and various sex crimes are captivity situations. Victims are held against their will while the perpetrator accomplishes his or her various objectives. The perpetrators of the North Hollywood bank robbery shootout held several bank customers and employees at gunpoint, fired rounds from their weapons, and physically brutalized several victims as they robbed the bank. This is representative of a blitz attack, combined with several control techniques including threats and force. In another example, a serial rapist preyed on lone women in laundromats. He surprised them at knifepoint, forced them into the restroom, and threatened to kill them if they did not comply with the rape or if they screamed for help during these short duration assaults (less than five minutes). As he committed his assault, he placed the knife down, and fled upon completion (Mohandie & Yarbrough, 1999). These control mechanisms effectively rendered the victim compliant and powerless, even when he ceased threatening.

Kidnapping

Kidnapping, with a known (hostage taking) or unknown location, including parental and stranger abductions, is a prime example of a me-

TABLE 3. Continuum of Criminal/Deviant Captivity Experiences

Criminal/Deviant/Illegitimate (actual captivity):

1. Temporary criminal victimization (takeover robberies, rape)
 2. Longer term criminal victimization (kidnapping unknown and known locations, parental and stranger abductions, hostage taking)
 3. Battering/exploitative relationship situations (battering relationships, compliant victims, elder and dependent exploitation)
 4. Prisoners of war
 5. Abusive "business" relationships (slavery, prostitution slavery, involuntary servitude, bonded labor, indentured servitude)
 6. Religious/ideological group situations (cults)
-

dium to long duration, high intensity captivity experience. Parental abductions of children during custody disputes or under other circumstances often involve a con or ruse for the capture, and any number of ongoing control mechanisms, especially emotional manipulation, isolation, and identity changes. Stranger abductions occur for a variety of reasons, including ransom, sexual assault, and homicide. The capture technique may combine a con or ruse with a blitz attack to overpower the victim; a multitude of common control mechanisms may also be used, depending upon the perpetrator's goals. *People v. Hooker*, described later in this section, is an excellent example of a stranger abduction evolving into a long-term sexual slavery case with its plethora of control techniques. Ransom kidnap cases are high frequency events throughout the world, and the perpetrator is usually motivated by monetary or political agendas (Treaster, 2001, June 30). It has been estimated that nearly \$500,000,000 is paid out each year to professional bands of kidnapers, mostly in South America (Treaster, 2001). Specially trained security and law enforcement consultants are often brought in to deal with these cases. This captivity experience is often achieved by a surprise or blitz attack, then victims are whisked away (isolated) and controlled at remote locations with restraints, threats, and actual force. These events may last days, weeks, months, and even years. A shorter duration hostage incident is described in detail below.

Hostage Incident Case Example

On June 12, 1995, an armed, 29-year-old male fled on foot after an unsuccessful carjacking attempt. He accosted a 45-year-old woman in her driveway and tried to steal her car. As police converged on the location, he took the woman hostage and retreated into her residence. The woman's 19-year-old daughter and 85-year-old mother were also inside. All three women became his hostages.

At first, he brandished his handgun and told them, "Just do what I say, be cool and nobody will get hurt." The mother and daughter became upset, asked him to put away his gun, and told him, "We'll do what you say." The man then put away his gun. The grandmother asked him if he was hungry and they sat down to a multi-course meal. Hostage negotiators arriving at the scene were surprised to learn that negotiations were on hold pending dinner and negotiations resumed following the meal. The hostage-taker released the mother for a pack of cigarettes. Release of the daughter, however, was a bit more complicated because he allowed her to talk with the negotiator. She refused to leave and

asked for more time to talk with the man with whom she was now on a first-name basis. She finally agreed to be released when she was told how upset her mother was while waiting for her.

The man was debating whether he wanted to give up and go back to jail, allow the police to kill him in a shootout, or commit suicide. The daughter acknowledged that her hesitancy in leaving was because she had tried to talk the man out of committing suicide. The captor asked the grandmother for the location of household medications and cleaning products. He then mixed a "cocktail" of these various items and began to drink, but the grandmother tried to discourage his suicide attempt. He vomited and agreed to surrender. The man and the grandmother walked out of the home arm in arm. As they made their final approach, the grandmother put her own religious necklace around her captor's neck and kissed him on his forehead. He was taken safely into custody. Throughout the period of time before and after his conviction, as well as his return to prison, the victims wanted to let their captor know how grateful they were he did not harm them and to wish him well. He apologized to his victims. Several years after the incident, he continued to wear the religious symbol the grandmother had given him.

Hostage Incident Case Analysis

This case represents a classic hostage scenario. The event occurred spontaneously during an aborted robbery and the perpetrator chose his victims based on opportunity. He "blitzed" them with threats and the presence of a weapon, threatened them, and used a weapon to increase the credibility of his threat. The hostages came to view their captor as powerful and in control of their destiny; they obeyed his commands, even after he stopped threatening them and his weapon was no longer visible. The victims wanted to appease their captor and cope with the threat that he represented. All three victims came to believe that their captor controlled their lives. The victims and the perpetrator demonstrated the Stockholm Syndrome. Even after the daughter was encouraged to leave, she pleaded with him for his life. This survival tactic is sometimes pronounced, particularly when the suspect perceives that survival is attached to the safety of the hostages. The behavior of these victims was contrary to what one might expect in that one victim remained when release was permitted, as a group they refused to cooperate with authorities, they took actions to dissuade the subject from suicide, and continued to experience attachment to the captor after the event was concluded.

Battering and Exploitative Relationships

Domestic violence, abuse, and excessive control involve many of the features of a captivity situation. Also included in these types of situations is abuse of elders or exploitative relationships. Walker and Meloy (1998) reported a number of psychological techniques that are used by batterers to coerce others in these types of relationships:

1. isolation;
2. degradation;
3. denial of reality;
4. induced debility producing physical distress or exhaustion;
5. alcohol or drug administration;
6. monopolizing of perceptions;
7. threats.

These techniques of control are consistent with those identified in other forms of captivity and are sufficient to produce undue influence and coercion. Walker and Meloy noted further that battering relationships may involve the woman feeling "like she has become a captive. Being battered has often put the woman into a no-win situation. If she tries to terminate the relationship, which is the common-sense solution to the problem, the battered woman often finds herself in more danger than if she stays in the relationship and accepts whatever controls and violence the batterer chooses to deliver" (pp. 140-141). Walker and Meloy underscored the point that women are most likely to be murdered during their preparation to leave or soon after they successfully separate from the abuser, so there may be validity to her perceptions of vulnerability. Compounding the problem is the fact that the victim, in an unequal power relationship and frequently with nowhere to go, may be told by religious leaders or family members to return. Unable to react, she expends her energy anticipating the reactions of the abuser (Kirchhoff, 1999).

With elders and some dependents, similar dynamics might be used to turn what should be a caregiver situation into a situation where the perpetrator is using the dependent for financial, sexual, or some other exploitative purpose. Victims are acquired by pretense or fraud, and the mechanisms used to control the victim include isolation, emotional manipulation, abusive administration of medication, threats, or physical force.

Abusive "Business" Relationships

Abusive business relationships include prostitution or sexual slavery by organized crime syndicates, as well as "sole proprietor" pimping operations. A number of these cases have been identified over the last several years (Memmont, May 25, 2001; Meyer, October 28, 2000; "Officials Bust Asian Prostitution Ring," 1999). These events may involve women, or even children, being duped into believing they are leaving their country for opportunity, then find themselves in a situation where they are subjected to threats or physical and sexual abuse and barriers are raised to prevent escape. Victims are often told they must "work off" their debt for expenses incurred by the perpetrator. Other situations involve a lone pimp who preys on the independent contractor prostitute using a variety of controls to manage his "commodity."

Involuntary servitude, bonded labor, debt bondage, and slavery may originate and be maintained in a similar fashion. The following is an involuntary servitude case example.

Involuntary Servitude Case Example

The victim was an illiterate, poor native of Bangladesh who worked for a husband and wife for approximately one year in her native land. She was paid the equivalent of \$3.50 monthly for her work by the wife and did not experience any problems with the couple during that time. The woman was promised the equivalent of \$50 monthly to travel with and work for the couple in Saudi Arabia, and then in the United States, however her travel to Saudi Arabia necessitated a stop in India where her problems began. The woman did not want to leave her homeland, but she was talked into it by her family because of their hardships after the woman's father had died. She had many concerns about going to a strange country, but eventually consented after the couple acquired a fraudulent passport and told her they had spent too much money on her already. The captors influenced her family to let her go, yet she feared they might harm her family, since she had seen the wife beat other servants. The victim reluctantly went to Bombay, India where she lived with a Hindu woman for approximately three months. This woman provided the victim with a passport in a fictitious name that she was to use when she entered Saudi Arabia. The perpetrators maintained telephonic contact with her and during these calls, she was verbally abused. Although she made repeated requests to go back home, the couple refused.

When the victim arrived in Saudi Arabia, the abuse escalated. She was not paid for her work, and was physically abused by the wife, who slapped the woman several times and pulled her out into the stairs. Soon after arriving, the woman's passport was taken and remained in the possession of her captors. The couple became angry and aggressive when she requested to go home, claiming that she owed them money that had been spent on her for passports and airfare. The couple told the woman that if she did not comply she would be sold to a Saudi family, which would be worse than her current situation.

The victim later arrived in the United States under a fictitious name, and India was named as her residence. From 1995 until her final escape in 2000, the victim was kept in a condition of involuntary servitude where she was forced to perform childcare and domestic work against her will and with no payment. She worked long hours in the couple's home during the day and at night she was required to work in their restaurant. The victim often worked 12 to 15 hours a day, with no vacations or leave time to attend religious services. She was threatened with bodily harm if she did not obey and work, and she was assaulted by both perpetrators. The husband attempted to sexually assault her on multiple occasions, and may actually have raped her. The perpetrators also threatened her family in Bangladesh and also threatened her arrest by the police if she did not comply, since she was in the United States illegally. To insure their control over the woman, the perpetrators told the victim that Black people and Mexicans were "bad people" who could kidnap or kill her at any time, in order to frighten her to remain in their apartment.

Sometime in late 1999 or early 2000, the victim managed to escape the perpetrators temporarily while she was walking on the streets crying; she met a woman from her country who, after hearing about her living conditions, took her in and provided shelter. The perpetrators found out where victim was staying and the husband threatened to kill the victim and her family, as well as to rape her sister. The woman refused to return after several contacts by the couple. On one occasion, the husband called and told the victim that he would kill the husband of the woman who took her in, if she did not return. Ultimately, a meeting was held in which seven people were present, including the perpetrators, the wife's sister and brother, and the president of the local Bangladesh association. Sometime subsequent to this meeting, the victim agreed to return to the perpetrators for one month because she feared harm to her family and the people who took her in. The perpetrators promised to re-

turn her to this family after a month. During her stay with this family, they showed the victim how to dial 911 if she were being harmed.

The beatings resumed shortly thereafter, often when she refused to do work, asked to return home, or requested money that had been promised to her. In all, the victim received fifty dollars from her captors since leaving her native country. After her brother called to ask for financial assistance, the woman was beaten again for taking up the issue with her captors. The woman was able to dial 911, but was choked and beaten by the husband. She sought help from a neighbor who had witnessed the male perpetrator choking her on a prior occasion. This neighbor let her call 911 from his residence and the police came and arrested the husband. The neighbor took her to be cared for by an Indian family and then contacted people who brought the issue forward to the U.S. Attorney's Office. Ultimately, the wife plea bargained to a charge of harboring an illegal alien, while the husband was convicted in a jury trial of conspiracy charges, two counts of involuntary servitude, and two counts of harboring. The wife was sentenced to one year for harboring and deported. The husband was sentenced to a minimum of eleven years and ordered to pay the victim \$125,819 in restitution; he is to be deported upon release ("Man Given 11 Years," 2001). The victim was unable to return to her native country because of concerns about reprisal from relatives of the defendants.

Involuntary Servitude Case Analysis

The victim was manipulated and coerced into traveling to various countries. During this time, she was held captive against her will. The methods of control described earlier were clearly and overwhelmingly coercive in the psychological and physical sense. They were more than sufficient to cause feelings of helplessness, dependency, fear, and powerlessness in the victim, therefore explaining her passivity, and willingness to remain and return to the situation once she had escaped. Coercion and compliance were accomplished through ongoing manipulation, isolation, document theft, verbal abuse, threats, and physical force, and threats that the perpetrators would harm her family and her would-be rescuers. Physical restraints were not necessary, as the fear, helplessness, and dependency created by these other methods of coercion were more than sufficient to psychologically control the victim. The woman often asked to leave and was prevented from doing so. Her dependence on the perpetrators and lack of success in securing help contributed to her belief that she had nowhere to go and no one to whom she could turn. Her trauma and feelings of powerlessness were so pro-

found that she cried often, attempted suicide twice, and contemplated suicide on many other occasions. When she managed to "escape" on one occasion, she returned to captivity after several months when the perpetrators located her and resumed their pressure techniques (e.g., the involvement of the president of the local Bangladesh Association constituted a significant authority figure). The woman eventually returned to her captors due to her fear that they would harm her rescuers and her family; she also sustained the thin hope that the couple would have a change of heart, stop beating her, and return her to her native country. Her compliant and passive behavior is consistent with victims in other captivity situations. Her ultimate escape was in response to the breakdown of her captors' ability to isolate her, her perceptions that the husband's threats and violence were escalating, her immediate attempt to escape his violence, and the good fortune of having encountered people who were actually willing to help her, despite the perpetrators' status in the community.

Compliant Victims and Accomplices

Hazelwood (Hazelwood & Michaud, 2001) and Hatcher (1996) both worked cases involving "compliant victims" who participated with their husbands and boyfriends in illegal sexual slavery and even the murder of their victims. These researchers found that wives and girlfriends in these cases were subjected to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse at the hands of a sexual sadist. The compliant victims' history provided some degree of mitigation for their participation in the atrocious crimes of these men, under a premise of undue influence, psychological coercion, and brainwashing. Hazelwood (Hazelwood & Michaud, 2001) identified five steps that a sexual sadist often uses to influence a compliant victim/partner:

1. identify a likely partner/victim;
2. seduce the prospective compliant victim;
3. modify and reshape the compliant partner's sexual norms using basic behavior modification techniques;
4. socially isolate the woman from contacts outside the relationship;
5. punish her fully once she is completely dependent.

The next case demonstrates the dynamics of stranger abduction, sexual slavery, and the compliant victim/accomplice. The facts of the case and Hatcher's expert witness testimony were published by McGuire and Norton (1988) in the book *The Perfect Victim* and presented by Dr. Hatcher during a 1996 training conference.

Sexual Slavery Case Example

On May 19, 1977, the victim was kidnapped by Cameron Hooker and his wife Janice in Red Bluff, California. Mr. Hooker was a sexual sadist who had worked out an agreement with his wife: she can have a child if he can have a sex slave. Ms. Hooker, who can be characterized as naïve and insecure, was subjected to sadism throughout the course of her relationship with Mr. Hooker, which began when she was 15 years old. The victim was hitchhiking and agreed to accept a ride from the benign looking couple who were carrying their infant baby. Once inside the car, Cameron Hooker produced a knife and placed a pre-made head box upon the victim. He had planned the capture meticulously and had prepared himself by reading extensively about the mechanisms of sexual slavery in bondage publications and books, such as *The Story of O*. The victim was to remain a captive for seven years!

Once taken to the Hookers' house, she was subjected to further sensory deprivation, hanging, whipping, torture, and rape, and Mr. Hooker would use various sadomasochistic accessories on his victim. The victim was also kept in a box beneath the couple's bed everyday from 1981-1984. Mr. Hooker eventually convinced the victim that there was a "Company" and that everyone had slaves. He convinced her that being a slave was her destiny and he gave his victim a new name which was simply the letter "K." He manipulated his wife and the victim through the use of biblical scripture. To augment his control of the victim, he secured her signature upon a "slave contract."

Eventually the victim was allowed to get a job and work out in community, and even made one visit to her family. She never said anything about her predicament and her response to questions about her absence had been well-rehearsed.

Mr. Hooker's control unraveled when he indicated that he wanted more slaves. His wife confided her concerns in a minister, who convinced her of the wrongfulness of her husband's interpretations of scripture. Ms. Hooker told the victim that the slave contract was a lie. The two women fled together on August 7, 1984, but it was not until November 7, 1984 before Ms. Hooker and the victim went to police. Ms. Hooker was scared of Mr. Hooker's anger, criminal charges for being an accomplice, and losing custody of her children. In exchange for testimony, she was granted immunity.

The victim's behavior made this a challenging case for the prosecution. She visited her family in 1981 for 24 hours, yet did not mention her living or captivity situation. She babysat for the Hooker family, worked

outside of the home, went jogging, visited bars, and met men when she went out with Ms. Hooker. She wrote letters professing her love to Mr. Hooker. At the trial, Mr. Hooker's defense was that although he kidnapped the victim, all behaviors subsequent to the kidnap were consensual.

Sexual Slavery Case Analysis/Outcome

Expert witnesses were used to help the court understand the phenomenon of human captivity. Expert testimony by Dr. Chris Hatcher (McGuire & Norton, 1988; Hatcher, 1996) provided the court with an understanding of the origins and nature of coercion techniques and how perpetrators learn about coercion and brainwashing techniques. He testified that these techniques were developed by the Soviets and the Chinese to establish coercion, extract confessions, or force behavior. He indicated that there were three sources to learn about these techniques:

1. psychology;
2. military forces of countries with low regard for human rights;
3. underground publications and sadomasochistic and bondage publications.

The mechanisms of capture and control outlined by Hatcher included the following:

1. Sudden, unexpected abduction followed by isolation as soon as possible. Refuse to answer questions and place victim in a cell-like environment. Remove their clothing and subject them to humiliation and degradation.
2. Physically and/or sexually abuse the victim to expose the captive's vulnerability, and to shock her or him.
3. Remove normal daylight patterns. Disorient victim's biological and psychological sequences.
4. Control urination, defecation, and menstruation. Be present when these activities are performed to destroy privacy and create regression.
5. Control and reduce food and water to increase the victim's dependency.
6. Punish for no apparent rhyme or reason. Intermittently beat the victim. Teach person to accept that punishment will occur with no reason.
7. Require victim to constantly ask permission for anything or any behavior.
8. Establish a pattern of sexual and physical abuse. Teach the victim that this is the nature of his or her new life.

9. Continue to isolate the person. Increase the victim's dependency on captor as source of food, water, and information.
10. Present a goal or model of future behavior, how to please the captor.
11. Threaten family/relatives of the victim with a similar fate.
12. Threaten to sell the captive to an even worse master.
13. Continue to beat and torture the captive at irregular intervals.
14. Introduce irrelevant leniency. Allow small privileges for no apparent reason. Make captive more confused or compliant.
15. Obtain further confessions and signed documents. Have captive give more and more control in writing.
16. Incorporate new behavioral goals. Permit captive some freedom, without the captor's presence, then suddenly appear, increasing captor's omnipresence. It is time consuming to constantly monitor so this serves the captor's goals as well.

As a result of Dr. Hatcher's testimony, the court was able to grasp the nature of this victim's extreme captivity, and to account for the apparent "freedom" she possessed at times. Mr. Hooker was convicted in 1985 of ten felony counts, including kidnapping and rape, various sexual crimes, and false imprisonment. He was sentenced to a maximum term of 104 years.

Prisoners of War/Political Captivity

Captivity occurs within the context of war and political conflict between countries during times of peace. Prisoners of war, concentration camps, and state sanctioned terrorist hostage-taking and kidnapping are examples of these kinds of situations. Capture may occur as a function of blitz, surprise, or manipulation, and procedures for taking control of victims usually entails the use of restraints, barriers, isolation, stimulus deprivation, overstimulation, threats, force, torture, brainwashing, illicit medical experimentation, and mind-altering drugs. Some countries, rather than risk negative publicity about these control procedures, may kill their prisoners at the conclusion of the war.

Concentration camp experiences, such as the interment of the Japanese by the United States, or the Jews by Nazi Germany during World War II, are captivity situations which were justified by state-sanctioned manipulation. Many of the Japanese lost all of their possessions during their period of interment, while the Jews learned that the concentration camps were often a gateway to ruthless extermination by Nazi Ger-

many, justified by the twisted thinking of its charismatic leader Adolf Hitler.

State sanctioned hostage taking, as in the Iran hostage crisis, is a prime example of an illicit captivity experience. Surprise and blitz attacks are the usual method of capture, while the control mechanisms run the full gamut of options.

Cult Captivity

Modern-day cults are a major form of captivity and are exemplified by entities such as the People's Temple, Branch Davidians, and Symbionese Liberation Army. Singer and Lalich (1995) define the cultic relationship as one in which "a person intentionally induces others to become totally dependent on him or her for almost all major life decisions, and inculcates in these followers a belief that s/he has some special talent, gift, or knowledge. Cults share commonalities across three factors: (1) the origin of the group and the role of the leader; (2) the power structure, or relationship between the leader (or leaders) and the followers; and (3) the use of a coordinated program of persuasion (which is called thought reform, or, more commonly, brainwashing)" (p. 7). Many cults also share the following characteristics: cult leaders are self-appointed, persuasive persons who claim to have a special mission in life or to have special knowledge; they tend to be determined and domineering and are often described as charismatic; and, they center veneration upon themselves. The structure of the cult is authoritarian, appears to be innovative and exclusive, and tends to have a double set of ethics. The cult's program of persuasion is totalistic, or all-encompassing, in controlling members' behavior and also ideologically totalistic, exhibiting zealotry and extremism in its worldview. The cult tends to require its members to undergo a major disruption or change in their lifestyle (Singer & Lalich, 1995).

Singer and Lalich (1995) identified a number of factors that make cults destructive and potentially dangerous; they:

1. threaten legitimate institutions;
2. harm children and tear families apart;
3. are violent;
4. engage in conspiracy and fraud;
5. take away freedoms from members;
6. take away possessions; and
7. escape scrutiny.

Furthermore, Singer and Lalich delineated the process that cults use to control people and facilitate thought reform (brainwashing):

1. keep the person unaware that there is an agenda to control or change the person;
2. control time and physical environment (contacts, information);
3. create a sense of powerlessness, fear, and dependency;
4. suppress old behavior and attitudes;
5. instill new behavior and attitudes;
6. put forth a closed system of logic.

These control mechanisms are identical to the manipulation/capture mechanism, and control techniques that are found in human captivity experiences.

Some cult members exit the cult by walking away, while others are rejected by the cult and expelled. In other cases, intervening family members and specialists trained in deprogramming rescue the member. In extreme examples, members may commit suicide or be murdered by other members, or remain with the cult indefinitely, having totally surrendered.

ASSESSMENT AND INVESTIGATION

Assessment and investigation of situations or cases that are suspected of being captivity experiences may benefit from an application of the concepts discussed earlier. Thorough review of victim statements and behavior, collateral investigative information, and suspect behavior and statements are essential. The possibility must also be explored, however remote, that the situation has a legitimate basis. There have been occasions where a "victim" has falsified a captivity experience, evidencing what is known as a false victimization syndrome (Mohandie, Hatcher, & Raymond, 1998). Potential indicators of a false report include: motives to falsify a captivity experience; unbelievable victim behavior; history of lying; improbable suspect behavior or profiles described by the victim; forensic-medical data inconsistent with the reported victimization; situational stressors that coincide with the false report; and psychological data that support the need to be a victim. Thoroughness, open-mindedness, and the absence of bias will help prevent miscarriages of justice, as well as promote accurate assessment of true victimization. There are some forensic procedures that can be adapted to facilitate and

support assessments of the different types of captivity situations. For example, Walker and Meloy (1998) describe a protocol for assessing the presence of battered woman's syndrome that includes:

1. informed consent from the victim;
2. mental status examination;
3. clinical interview of the victim;
4. relevant history gathering;
5. psychological test data;
6. physical injury and illness history;
7. lethality assessment;
8. alcohol and drug assessment;
9. appropriate diagnosis, including post-traumatic stress disorder or other clinical diagnoses.

Blum (personal communication, October 14, 2001) has developed a copyright and trademark protected protocol called IDEA, a multilevel assessment process based upon the four dimensions of undue influence: isolation, dependency, emotional manipulation, and acquiescence. This protocol is currently in the final stages of development and expected to be released for use by law enforcement in 2002. Procedures described by Gelles (1995) for conducting psychological autopsy might also be applied, particularly if the victim is deceased. The goal of this investigative technique is reconstruction of the decedent's background, personal relationships, habits, character, and coping patterns to better understand the victim and events and behaviors that preceded his or her death. This technique relies on reviewing data from a variety of sources, including: police reports; comprehensive interviews of family members and witnesses; physical autopsy and toxicological test results; medical and psychiatric records; and, personal effects of the victim such as diaries, photographs, and correspondence. Table 4 provides sample questions and topical areas that might be useful in reviewing the possible captivity situation.

CLOSING THOUGHTS

The concept of human captivity is an important unifying theme in the field of victimology. Viewing captivity experiences along a continuum and conducting a behavioral analysis of capture and control mecha-

nisms will help investigators, advocacy groups, mental health professionals, and other criminal justice professionals to understand and deal with these complex cases. Further empirical research into the topic is an important next step. One suggested research project might identify cases along the continuum and provide a descriptive analysis of the frequency with which individual capture and control mechanisms are used. To further validate these concepts, a comparison group of legitimate and socially sanctioned captivity experiences might be used. Captivity is a common phenomenon among cases of unusual and extreme violence and refinement of this concept contributes to the analysis of harmful deviance.

TABLE 4. Sample Questions to Assess Potential Captivity Victim

-
1. What happened?
 2. How did you get into the situation?
 3. How were you kept there?
 4. How did it come to an end?
 5. Did you ever try to leave?
 6. If you ever left and returned, please explain.
 7. What stopped you from leaving?
 8. How were you treated?
 9. Were you ever threatened?
 10. Were you ever physically or sexually assaulted?
 11. Were you allowed to be unsupervised?
 12. If unsupervised, what kept you from leaving?
 13. How was your situation discovered?
 14. When did you first realize you were not free to go?
 15. How did you believe the situation would resolve itself?
 16. Has this experience changed you, and if so, how?
 17. What situations were you unable to participate in that you would have wanted to if you were free to come and go?
 18. What did you believe you needed to do while you were in the situation?
 19. Describe any positive or negative feelings you had towards the individual(s) in this situation and how you understand them.
 20. What do you believe should happen to the individual(s)?
-

REFERENCES

- Allondi, F.A. (1994). Post traumatic stress disorder in hostages and victims of torture. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 17, 279-288.
- American Psychiatric Association. (2000). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (4th ed.; text revision)*. Washington: Author.
- Balloni, A. (1992). Victims, crime, and social context. In E. C. Viana (Ed.), *Critical issues in victimology: International perspectives* (pp. 17-23). New York: Springer.
- Bard, M. & Sangrey, D. (1979). *The crime victim's book*. New York: Basic Books.
- Beck, A. T. & Weishaar, M. (1989). *Cognitive therapy*. In A. Freeman, K. M. Simon, L. E. Bentler, & H. Arkowitz (Eds.), *Comprehensive handbook of cognitive therapy* (pp. 21-36). New York: Plenum Press.
- Black, H. C. (1990). *Black's law dictionary (6th ed.)*. St. Paul, MN: West.
- Blum, B. & Eth, S. (2000). Forensic issues in geriatric psychiatry. In B. J. Sadock & V. A. Sadock (Eds.), *Comprehensive textbook of psychiatry (7th Edition)* (pp. 3150-3158). New York: Lippincot, Williams, & Wilkins.
- Comer, J. P. (1969). The dynamics of black and white violence. In H. D. Graham & T. R. Gurr (Eds.), *Violence in America: Historical and comparative perspectives (vol. II)* (pp. 341-354). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Douglas, J. E., Burgess, A. W., Burgess, A. G., & Ressler, R. K. (1993). *Crime classification manual*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2000). *NCIC missing/undertaken person file report for 1999*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Gelles, M. G. (1995). Psychological autopsy: An investigative aid. In M. I. Kurke & E. M. Scrivner (Eds.), *Police psychology in the 21st century* (pp. 337-355). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Grier, W. H. & Cobbs, P. (1992). *Black rage*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Hatcher, C. (1987). A conceptual framework in victimology: The adult and child hostage experience. In P. Wilkinson & A. M. Stewart (Eds.), *Contemporary research on terrorism* (pp. 357-375). Aberdeen, UK: Aberdeen University Press.
- Hatcher, C. (1996, July 26). *Kidnapping and kidnapping/homicide: Perpetrators, accomplices, and victims*. Presentation to Understanding and Investigating Extreme Sexual Deviance, Training Conference, Arcadia, CA.
- Hatcher, C., Mohandie, K., Turner, J., & Gelles, M. G. (1998). The role of the psychologist in crisis/hostage negotiations. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 16, 455-472.
- Hazelwood, R. R. & Burgess, A. W. (1987). The behavioral-oriented interview of rape victims: The key to profiling. In R. R. Hazelwood & A. W. Burgess (Eds.), *Practical aspects of rape investigation: A multidisciplinary approach* (pp. 151-168). New York: Elsevier.
- Hazelwood, R. R. (1987). Analyzing the rape and profiling the offender. In R. R. Hazelwood & A. W. Burgess (Eds.), *Practical aspects of rape investigation: A multidisciplinary approach* (pp. 169-199). New York: Elsevier.
- Hazelwood, R. & Michaud, S. G. (2001). *Dark dreams: Sexual violence, homicide and the criminal mind*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Houston, J. P. (1981). *Fundamentals of learning and memory (2nd ed.)*. San Francisco: Academic Press.

- International Labour Organization. (2001, July). *Stopping forced labour*. Available online at www.ilo.org/declaration
- Kirchhoff, G. F. (1999). Why do they stay? Why don't they run away? In J. J. M. van Dijk, R. G. H. van Kaam et al. (Eds.), *Caring for crime victims: Selected proceedings of the 9th international symposium on victimology* (pp. 221-237). New York: Criminal Justice Press.
- Kopiec, K., Finkelhor, D., Ormrod, R., & Foster, K. (1999). *Fact sheet prepared by the crimes against children research center*. University of New Hampshire Research Center.
- Man Given 11 Years for Holding Illegal Immigrant in Slavery. (2001, April 17). *Los Angeles Times*, B-4.
- McGuire, C. & Norton, C. (1988). *The perfect victim*. New York: Dell.
- McMains, M. J. & Mullins, W. C. (1996). *Crisis negotiations: Managing critical incidents and hostage situations in law enforcement and corrections*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.
- Memmont, M. (2001, May 25). Slavery, related abuses growing worldwide, report says. *USA Today*, 13A.
- Memmont, M. (2001). Experts: Trafficking of people soars. *USA Today*, A2.
- Meyer, J. (2000, October 28). 14 Indicted in Crackdown on Asian Crime Ring. *Los Angeles Times*, B1, B10.
- Mohandie, K., Hatcher, C., & Raymond, D. (1998). False victimization syndromes in stalking in J. R. Meloy (Ed.), *The psychology of stalking: Clinical and forensic perspectives* (pp. 227-256). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Mohandie, K. & Yarbrough, J. (1999, November). Crime specific consultation: A law enforcement and psychology partnership. *California Psychologist*, 26, 28, 29.
- Officials Bust Asian Prostitution Ring. (1999, August 21). *Los Angeles Times*, A17.
- People v. Hooker*, San Mateo Superior Court Case No. C-14661 (1985).
- People v. Hooker*, 198 Cal.App.3d. 1365 (1988).
- Rahe, R. H., Karson, S., Howard, N. S., Rubin, R. T., & Poland, R. E. (1990). Psychological and physiological assessments on American hostages freed from captivity in Iran. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 52, 1-16.
- Rosenzweig, D. (1999, July 21). Thai Illegal Immigrant Testifies in Slavery Trial. *Los Angeles Times*, B3.
- Russian Women Warned About Sexual Slavery. (2001, May 17). *Calgary Herald*, A16.
- Singer, M. T. & Lalich, J. (1995). *Cults in our midst: The hidden menace in our everyday lives*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Six Are Executed for Human Trafficking. (2001, June 2). *Los Angeles Times*, p. A4.
- Smuggler Sentenced in Abuse of Immigrants. (2001, July 17). *Los Angeles Times*, B5.
- Sparks, R. F. (1982). *Research on victims of crime: Accomplishments, issues, and new directions*. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health.
- Strentz, T. & Auerbach, S. M. (1988). Adjustment to the stress of simulated captivity: Effects of emotion-focused versus problem-solving preparation on hostages differing in locus of control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55, 652-660.
- Symonds, M. (1983). Victimization and rehabilitative treatment. In B. Eichelman, D. A. Soskis, & W. H. Reid (Eds.), *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 69-81). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.

- Treaster, J. B. (2001, June 30). Kidnapping with money as the only object. *New York Times*, A1, A6.
- U. S. Department of State. (2001). *Victims of trafficking and violence protection act of 2000: Trafficking in persons report*. Available online at <http://www.state.gov/g/lnl/rls/tiprpt/2001/>.
- van Dijk, J. J. M. (1999). Introducing victimology. In J. J. M. van Dijk, R. G. H. van Kaam, & J. Wemmers (Eds.), *Caring for crime victims: Selected proceedings of the 9th international symposium on victimology* (pp. 1-12). Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.
- Walker, L. E. (1992). Traumatized populations: Role and responsibilities of professionals. In E. C. Viano (Ed.), *Critical issues in victimology: International perspectives* (pp. 37-45). New York: Springer.
- Walker, L. E. & Meloy, J. R. (1998). Stalking and domestic violence. In J. R. Meloy (Ed.), *The psychology of stalking: Clinical and forensic perspectives* (pp. 139-161). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Warren, J. I. & Hazelwood, R. R. (in press). Relational patterns associated with sexual sadism: A study of 20 wives and girlfriends. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*.
- Whaley, D. L. & Malott, R. M. (1971). *Elementary principles of behavior*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

RECEIVED: September 10, 2001

REVISED: October 23, 2001

ACCEPTED: October 24, 2001