

ACTIVE RESISTANCE AS A MAJOR  
METHOD OF COPING IN A COMMUNIST  
POLITICAL PRISON

BY

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1984

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Domingo and Carmen Iglesias who, through their example of perseverance and dedication, guided me along the way.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to my doctoral committee chairman, Dr. Ted Landsman, for his enthusiasm and encouragement in carrying out this research topic. Appreciation is also extended to the members of my committee, Drs. Franz Epting, Dave Suchman, Roderick McDavis and Anthony Oliver-Smith, for their help and advice in organizing and structuring my thinking regarding this dissertation. I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. James Howell of Palm Beach Junior College for his technical assistance with the statistics. I extend my deepest love to my wife, Teresita, and my son, Adam, who supported me during the frustrating moments of this research. Last, but most importantly, my gratitude goes to the men who participated in this project and shared with me memories that were extremely difficult and painful to be remembered.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ACTIVE RESISTANCE AS A MAJOR METHOD  
OF COPING IN A COMMUNIST POLITICAL PRISON

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December, 1984

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Major Department: Counselor Education

A study designed to investigate the phenomenon of active resistance, as a major method of coping in a human-imposed extreme situation, was conducted with 96 men who served prison sentences in a political prison in Communist Cuba. Responses of active resistance by the inmates to the stresses of the prison were measured by the Active Resistance Scale, an instrument created by the researcher. The relationship between eight independent or predictor variables and active resistance, the dependent measure, was analyzed. The relationship between the independent variables of age, education, intrapsychic coping strategies, action-oriented coping strategies, prisoner repression, sentence, family presence and family support and the dependent measure, active resistance, was investigated by means of several regression models. These regression models assessed the combined contribution of the identified predictor variables to ratings of active resistance. Post hoc analyses were conducted by means of a multivariate analysis of variance of unequal N's. This procedure included an analysis of significant F-ratios in order to

identify specific group differences. The best predictor equation of active resistance was identified to include the following variables: family support, prisoner repression, sentence and action-oriented strategies. This equation did not take into consideration the other independent variables-- age, education, intrapsychic strategies and family presence-- as these were not considered to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance beyond the contribution of the identified equation. Post hoc analyses were conducted to further investigate the relationship of the independent variables, prisoner repression and family support to the prisoners' expression of active resistance. These investigations demonstrated a significant difference in expressions of active resistance between inmates that received high levels of prisoner repression and those that received low and intermediate levels. Prisoner repression was measured by the Prisoner Repression Scale, an instrument created by the researcher. Post hoc analyses also demonstrated that inmates that received high levels of family support differed significantly in their expressions of active resistance from those that received low levels.

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Coping under situations of extreme stress is a topic that has interested researchers of varied disciplines. Anthropologists have investigated the coping and adaptational dimensions of humans before, during and after the onslaught of a cataclysm (Oliver-Smith, 1982; Wolfenstein, 1957). Sociologists have conducted extensive research on how men adapt to the experiences of incarceration in prison settings (Cohen & Taylor, 1972). Psychiatric investigators have conducted a series of studies which have contributed illuminating knowledge about the coping and adaptation efforts of individuals beset with the extreme stress of being severely burned (Hamburg, Hamburg & DeGoza, 1953), death of a child through leukemia (Chodoff, Friedman, & Hamburg, 1964), undergoing major surgery (Abram, 1965; Janis, 1958), paralytic poliomyelitis (Visotsky, Hamburg, Goss, & Lebovitz, 1961), loss of body parts (Cobb & Lindemann, 1943; Lindemann, 1944), advanced cancer (Weissman & Worden, 1975) and myocardial infarctions (Hackett & Cassem, 1975). Psychological investigations into coping in the Nazi concentration camp have given us a glimpse of coping strategies employed in an environment filled with perhaps the most extreme stresses known to man (Dimsdale, 1978 & 1980; Chodoff, 1970). Personal accounts of psychological investigators who experienced and survived the concentration camps buttress the information available and graphically describe the ordeals of

life in such a nightmarish environment (Bettelheim, 1960; Frankl, 1959; Cohen, 1953).

From such voluminous writings and available research on extreme situations this research will organize the reported accounts of coping behaviors and strategies into three general coping dimensions. The first of these is the dimension of intrapsychic coping strategies. These strategies reflect cognitive processes that work by creating an impression of safety or gratification, which may be realistic, but which often is the product of defensive distortion (Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1974). Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) created a taxonomy of coping strategies which was derived from interviews with Jewish survivors of the Nazi camps. He includes in this dimension of intrapsychic coping the following strategies: differential focus on the good, survival for some purpose, psychological removal, the will to live, mobilization of hope, null coping and anticoping. This general dimension of intrapsychic coping is the dimension which the research indicates that survivors of extreme stresses--especially in human-imposed extreme situations--overwhelmingly rely upon.

The second general coping dimension is termed action-oriented coping strategies. Encompassed in this general cluster are those active preparations against harm, as in building physical defenses or arranging for escape routes, attack and avoidance. Overall, action-oriented methods entail a direct action on the self or the environment (Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1974). Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) itemizes the strategies

of group affiliation, regressive behavior and attitudinal and environmental mastery in this general dimension. Documentations of reliance on these strategies during situations of extreme stress are also available, yet, to a lesser degree than the intrapsychic strategies.

The third and most comprehensive coping dimension is made up of a combination of the two previous categories and entails the individual's sequential reliance and even at times simultaneous reliance on intrapsychic and action-oriented coping responses. The literature appears to arbitrarily divide one's efforts to cope into either intrapsychic or action-oriented responses. The fact is that these two general dimensions are not mutually exclusive or that employing one does not preclude usage of strategies from the other dimension (Mechanic, 1974; Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1974).

Oliver-Smith (1982) reports on survivors' efforts to cope with the aftermath of a natural disaster in Peru by employing a variety of combinations of intrapsychic and action oriented strategies. Wolfenstein (1957) has also documented reliance on combinations of coping strategies before, during and after the onslaught of natural disasters. Hamburg and Adams (1967) in a review of the literature on coping with ordinary situations of major personal significance and of the literature on naturally occurring extreme stresses conclude that individuals do not rely exclusively on one dimension of coping but that instead different strategies or combinations thereof are used at different stages of the adaptational process. Consequently,

in situations of extreme stress individuals employ a variety of combinations of strategies from the two basic dimensions of coping responses. This realistic but complex marriage of intrapsychic and action-oriented strategies give birth to the broader dimension of combined strategies of coping.

#### Statement of the Problem

Perhaps the most baffling of coping strategies is one that is seldom employed by individuals under distressing circumstances: active resistance. As an extreme form of action-oriented coping, this strategy entails a direct action on the environment in such a way that it confronts the distressing source. Its manifestations are manifold and range from non-violent efforts to its more combative and violent forms. Jacobo Timmerman's (expatriated Argentinian editor of a major newspaper in Buenos Aires) efforts to publicly denounce the Argentinian government's efforts to silence dissenters by abducting them, never to be seen or heard from again, in a practice that gained those abducted the ominous distinction of being christened "desaparecidos" is an example of a non-violent but extremely powerful form of active-resistance. His efforts had, as a consequence, the international attention to the plight of these unfortunate individuals. The world-wide publicity and media attention that Lech Walesa and the members of Solidarity focused on the injustices of Poland's totalitarian regime succeeded in creating an uproar in the international community. Results have been monumental in terms of

a Communist regime softening its repressive practices and changing its views regarding the human rights of its citizens.

A more combative and violent form of active-resistance is found in the vigorous efforts of Afghan rebels who are presently resisting the subjugating thrusts of a Soviet occupational army in their country. As has been pointed out by international and conflict analysts, these intransigents will never succeed in defeating a modern and powerful Soviet occupational force but they are succeeding in thwarting the Soviet Union's attempts to turn Afghanistan into a submissive and docile satellite. As a matter of fact, public opinion has it that the Soviet Union is searching for a face-saving way out of a costly and inefficient operation which has been referred to as the Soviet Union's Viet Nam.

Documentation of active-resistance in ordinary situations of major personal significance is also available, as in the forced relocation of a communal geriatric population (Aldrich & Mendkoff, 1963); however, its most extensive documentation is found in the literature on controlled environments where humans must live under conditions contrary to their personal values and where they are prey to an array of forms of arbitrary power. We know from such situations that the overwhelming majority of people lose hope, become despondent, and finally capitulate to the aggressor's dictates (Solzhenitsyn, 1973 & 1975). But in reference to this small proportion of victims who employ resistance as a coping strategy, as a means to deal with the abuses and atrocities perpetrated on them,

documented accounts of their efforts are available. Kogon (1958) has described the organized efforts of Nazi concentration camp inmates to actively resist their oppressors. This coping strategy has also been documented in other so called controlled environments as in prisons (Cohen & Taylor, 1972; Sykes, 1958), mental hospitals (Goffman, 1961) and the military (Cohen, 1966).

In more recent times, the totalitarian regime of Communist Cuba with its severe penal system has once more focused us to make an entry into the pathetic chronicles of recorded history. It has also made us understand why thousands of political prisoners have lost the will to live and simply died of a host of illnesses and why many more choose the denigrating course of collaborating with the Communist penal authorities. It is not inconceivable that a human would give life up and choose to die or live a humiliating life when one examines the tortures and indignities perpetrated on political prisoners in Cuba's prisons, detention centers, concentration camps and forced labor camps. Documentation of mistreatment is ample (Organization of American States, 1962; 1963; 1967; 1970; 1976 & 1979) and provides an enlightening, though revolting, account of the bestial treatment that these men and women must endure. Yet, in spite of the inhuman treatment hundreds of prisoners choose to adhere to intransigent and non-capitulating philosophy which is, in its extreme expression, referred to as "Plantado" in the prison vernacular and which literally translates to "firmly rooted" (Perera, 1981; Sanchez,

1981). Unfortunately, these prisoners who employ active-resistance as a method of coping with a brutal and sadistic captive environment receive, for their attempts at retaining vestiges of dignity and self-worth, an accelerated program of mistreatment aimed at making them acquiesce.

Behavioral scientists are once more attempting to explain how individuals survive the extreme conditions that man is so adept at imposing on his fellow man. Adaptational and coping strategies used by victims and survivors of all holocaust situations have provided a glimpse of the vehicles and techniques used by the unfortunate in their daily quest to survive and minimize their suffering. The situation becomes complex, however, when adaptational mechanisms seemingly escalate the onslaught of abuses and atrocities rather than mitigate them. Such is the case with the Cuban political prisoners that assume a philosophy of active-resistance as a method of coping. Within here lies a truly bewildering constellation of psychological questions that heretofore have not been asked, much less provided clarity.

#### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to investigate humans' methods of coping in a situation of extreme stress. Specifically the research focused on coping and adaptational methods of prisoners interned in a Communist prison. This scenario is considered a human-imposed extreme situation.

A basic assumption made in the coping and adaptational literature is that coping strategies are predominantly aimed

at stabilizing and reducing the stress induced by the environment or the situational circumstances (Lazarus, 1966). Such has been the premise behind the body of literature which reports on adaptational mechanisms used by those individuals who have survived different ordeals of an extreme human-imposed type (Bluhm, 1948; Cohen, 1953; Friedman, 1949).

The situation takes on a higher level of complexity, however, when the coping strategies under consideration are of the active and resistive type. Paradoxically, these coping strategies appear to intensify the immediate stress rather than mitigate it. An escalation of brutality appears to be the immediate result to those who rely on active-resistance as a method of coping in human-imposed extreme situations. This study endeavored to investigate the employment of active resistance by a political prisoner population that served prison sentences in Communist Cuba.

This research undertook an investigation of the relationship of active resistance--as measured by the Active Resistance Scale--to the following four clusters of variables:

I. Individual Characteristics.

1. Age of inmate during years of incarceration.
2. Educational level of inmate attained prior to his incarceration.

II. Coping Characteristics.

3. Intrapsychic coping strategies used by prisoner during his years of internment.

4. Action-oriented coping strategies used by prisoner during his years of internment.

### III. Captor Characteristics.

5. Tortures and indignities, as measured by the Prisoner Repression Scale, that inmate was exposed to.
6. Length of sentence.

### IV. Family Characteristics.

7. Family presence. Percent of immediate family members still left in country, or, said differently, percent of immediate family members who had not emigrated.
8. Family support. Percent of immediate family members still left in country that provided support and encouragement to the prisoner's use of active resistance.

### Research Questions

Due to the ground breaking and pioneering nature of this research, a large number of research questions were seriously considered and examined. However, the following questions were finally selected on the basis of their major importance and heuristic value to the research at hand.

- 1) Do the individual characteristics of age and education predict active resistance?
- 2) Do the coping characteristics of intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies predict active resistance?
- 3) Do the captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence predict active resistance?

- 4) Do the family characteristics of family presence and family support predict active resistance?
- 5) What is the optimal linear prediction equation of active resistance?

#### Rationale for the Study

Why research humans' methods of coping in extremity, especially in extreme conditions imposed by man himself? Of what importance are the findings to the majority of us, in our free and civilized society, who will, more than likely, never undergo such brutal and devastating experiences as internment in a concentration camp, a P.O.W. camp, or a Communist prison?

As some writers have declared (Benner, Roskies & Lazarus, 1980) we have much to learn from this extreme stress and how its survivors coped with, adapted to and finally managed to survive in spite of it. These writers point out that "the extremity of the circumstances the survivors faced makes the coping strategies they used more noteworthy. Struggles drawn in bold relief are easier to describe than those of everyday living, which are more subtle and less obtrusive" (p. 221).

Some situations and incidents in everyday lives have traces, or if not, bear a close resemblance to the pains, losses, frustrations, privations, persecution and other lurid conditions of life in a destructive and controlled environment as the camps or Communist prisons. Chodoff (1968) makes the comparison between the Nazi concentration camp and the American poverty ghetto and despite the obvious differences between the two settings, he manages to clarify several points which

highlight the plausible idea that, to some degree at least, our urban slums are the concentration camps of the poor. In his own words "whereas the concentration camp was often a death sentence, the poverty ghetto may be a life sentence. The difference is the difference between hell and purgatory" (p. 34).

The experience of widowhood, especially for elderly women, often results in emotional, financial, social and other uprooting consequences which leave the widow in a series of nearly irreparable circumstances that have overtones of extremity. Caine (1974) in what is perhaps the most stark, bitter and uncompromising description of what widowhood can be like graphically reveals the hardships--sexual, emotional, social and financial--of widowhood. She states that her very identity was shaky after her husband's death and that at times she felt practically nonexistent.

For the "battered child" (Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemuller, & Silver, 1962) the dismal conditions of physical abuse, malnutrition, dehumanization and at times the threat of being killed are much too often a part of daily life. These forms of trauma, which victimized children are exposed to, make an unfortunate and tragic bond between the treatment they receive in the hands of their parents and the treatment the SS doled out to the Jewish prisoners in the camps.

The point stands that although in terms of persistence and pervasiveness of hostile forces, the systematization of

the enslavement, and the limited ability for the individual to act upon the environment, the human-imposed extreme conditions of the concentration camp, P.O.W. camps and Communist prisons are unequalled. However, they are not inimitable in as much as we have the capacity to simulate some of their horrifying conditions in milieus that are considered sacred as in community, home and family life.

What about an in depth investigation of active-resistance as a method of coping in extremity? The paucity of research in this area makes the expression of active-resistance an enigma, a practice shrouded in mystery and ignorance. Some researchers (Lifton, 1954) have deemed this strategy of coping as the product of individuals who would defy authority in almost any circumstance; i.e., the adaptive value of the strategy is questioned and also the psychological integrity of those involved. Consequently, our knowledge of human behavior under extreme human-imposed conditions is devoid of thorough information regarding coping and adaptational methods of the active-resistive type. Moreover, information about individuals who employ such strategies is very limited.

The significance of the findings of this research is not only of importance to coping and adaptation theory. Specific and far reaching functions can be envisaged for results of this investigation in the applied areas of counseling and psychotherapy.

When Allied forces liberated the remaining survivors in the Nazi camps, a door leading to liberty and freedom was not

the only passage way paved for these survivors. After resettlement and attempts to begin life anew, a significant proportion of these survivors began expressing a constellation of psychological and psychiatric symptoms which today the professional nomenclature refers to as the Concentration Camp Syndrome (Eitinger, 1964; Chodoff, 1966). Information which led to an understanding and an ability to diagnose and treat the long-term effects of the camps--the Concentration Camp Syndrome--was generated in part from the literature and research of coping and adaptation in the camps. A thorough series of investigations of how individuals coped with the brutalizing environment and conditions of the Nazi camps led to the understanding that the strategies of coping which the survivors utilized successfully to endure their internment in the camps become less than adaptive in a free society. Investigations of the process of psychotherapy and rehabilitation of the survivors have entailed a close examination of the coping strategies which the individual relied upon to live through the harsh experiences of camp life and their exacting price or cost in regards to the chronic, long-term effects of having employed such coping strategies. Many of these skills become maladaptive or at best irrelevant in the context of peacetime living and consequently the individual finds himself not being able to adapt to his new world successfully. Chodoff (1980) describes one such elucidating example of this phenomenon:

At Auschwitz one of the things that had kept her going was a force to resolve that she would live

at all costs, that she would not notice or pay attention to what was happening around her. The price she seems to have paid for her determination to live was that living became survival and little else. (p. 215)

A scarcity of investigations of the long-term effects of imprisonment in Communist prisons predominates the psychiatric and psychological literatures. What about adaptational efforts of these individuals in the context of liberty? Will a Cuban Political Prisoner Syndrome surface in the years to come? Will there be intergenerational effects in the second and third generations of these ex-prisoners as has been in the case with the Jewish survivors? What about the psychotherapy of those who are presently manifesting psychopathology. What interventions are applicable in these cases? What about issues of restitution and reparation payments for those severely persecuted and victimized if and when the Communist regime topples and the new nation adopts a democratic government?

Perhaps the starting point for answering these questions --as it was regarding psychological issues pertaining the Jewish survivors--is a thorough investigation into the stresses that individuals interned in Communist prison camps face and the coping strategies that are put into action to assuage these extreme conditions. This study hopes to contribute pioneering data on these dimensions and provide a bridge for future studies in this realm. Furthermore, as has been stated several times throughout this work, the available literature on active-resistance as a coping strategy in

human-imposed extreme situations is negligible. Information on this strategy is necessary before further psychological research is advanced with this population and other populations which exhibit this strategy as a major method of coping.

#### Definition of Terms

Coping: Coping is defined as those strategies used to mitigate the immediate impact of stress which are also aimed at maintaining some sense of self-worth and unity with the past and future, some overall meaning on which the person can count (Visotsky et al., 1961).

Effective coping: Adaptation does not mean either a total triumph over the environment or total surrender to it, but rather a striving toward acceptable compromise (White, 1974).

Extreme situations: These situations have been classified as having unusually high levels of extremity, pervasiveness and persistence of hostile forces. Also, opportunities for acting upon environments represented by extreme levels of stress are minimal, and when available, these opportunities are limited in scope (Benner, Roskies, & Lazarus, 1980).

Human-imposed extreme situations: This category is reserved for environments that fit the description of extreme situations but which are designed and implemented by humans. Examples are the concentration camps, Communist prisons and P.O.W. camps.

Naturally occurring extreme situations: This category is reserved for situations that fit the description of extreme situations but which occur naturally. Examples are severe poliomyelitis, loss of body parts, advanced cancer, myocardial infarctions, terminal illness and death of a child through leukemia.

Ordinary situations of major personal significance: Situations that bear this classification are not of the extreme type but they are nevertheless unusual and of a major importance in the subject's life: going to school for the first time, adaptation to college, doctoral examinations and preparation and coping with childbirth. In essence, these situations require a fairly drastic change or problem that defies familiar ways of behaving, requires the production of new behavior and very likely gives rise to uncomfortable affects (White, 1974).

Action-oriented coping: This mode of coping includes active preparation against harm, as in building physical defenses, or arranging for escape routes, attack and avoidance, to name some of the most obvious. In general, action-oriented modes entail direct action on the self or the environment (Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1974).

Intrapsychic coping: This mode of coping includes processes that work by creating an impression of safety or gratification, which may be realistic, but which often is the product of defensive distortion (Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1974).

Political prisoner: Term used to denote these prisoners convicted of "political crimes" rather than "common crimes." The range of these political infractions extends from non-violent acts such as printing and disseminating subversive literature to the violent acts of assassination attempts, arson, sabotage and terroristic activities.

Presidio Modelo: This political prison camp was situated in an island/prison setting away from Cuba's mainland. This island is located a short ferry ride south of Havana. Literal translation of its name is Model Prison and, coincidentally, this prison was designated during the years of interest of this research as a show case or model for the other prisons in Cuba's penal system.

Active-resistance: This category of strategies is defined as an extreme expression of action-oriented coping. In the case of the research at hand it is defined as intransigent and non-capitulating behavior. Some examples of active-resistance among the population of interest to this study are sabotage of work implements, provoking a guard and the hunger strike.

Plantado: This coping strategy is defined as active-resistance in its ultimate form. This term, in the vernacular of the prison camp and the years of interest to this research, refers to a complete and obstinate refusal to participate in the forced labor. The term literally translates to "firmly rooted" and denotes an intransigence and unwillingness to budge from one's philosophical position vis a vis the forced

labor. In subsequent years of the history of Cuba's political prison system the term retained its connotations of firm rootedness but the issues which triggered its application varied among its users.

CHAPTER II  
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Coping is a universal phenomenon. A variety of disciplines have studied its vicissitudes in a host of situations which range from the mundane incidents and transitions of life to the extreme stresses of pain, loss, illness, prisons, concentration camps and cataclysms or natural disasters.

Early attempts at shedding interpretative light on the ways individuals cope with these stressful situations relied overwhelmingly on the intrapsychic dimensions of coping. Basically, the impression conveyed was that what we do is avoid the painful elements at all costs and reject them as part of ourselves--even if this requires extensive self-deception (Hamburg & Adams, 1967). These authors challenge such a myopic interpretation of the coping process and assert that processes such as repression, denial, reaction formation, isolation and rationalization and other strategies which aim to avoid or reduce information are representative of only one important class of responses to threatening elements of experience.

The evolution of definitions of the concept of coping in the psychiatric and psychological literatures seems to follow a pattern which ranges from a relative narrowness in focus to the more inclusive nature that it now possesses. Lazarus (1966) had earlier proposed a restricted definition, applying

the concept only to situations involving threat. In a more current publication (Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1974) he agrees that the earlier definition was rather narrow in scope. He broadens the theoretical lens in the later publication and elucidates the transactional qualities of coping between the individual and the environment. He concludes that active coping and intrapsychic coping processes that take place in an emotional context certainly depend on the nature of the threat, frustration, challenge or potential for gratification. The environmental demands which create the need for coping in the first place, and, moreover, how these situational demands initiate, shape, and constrain the forms of coping are pivotal components of the current Lazarus, Averill and Opton (1974) definition of the concept of coping.

Present definitions of coping are numerous. Mechanic (1962) has defined coping as behavior which has consequences relevant to the situation of demands. Pearlin and Schooler (1978) define coping as things that people do to avoid being harmed by life strains. Lazarus and Launier's (1978) definition is perhaps a bit more explicit. They define coping as the individual's efforts to manage by either mastering, tolerating, reducing, or minimizing environmental and internal demands, and conflicts among them, which tax or exceed a person's resources. Another important definition of coping is that it involves a person's efforts to deal with some new, and often problematic, situation or encounter or to deal in some new way with an old problem (Pearlman, 1975). All these

definitions are expansive in their foci and allow for a multitude of strategies to be housed under the rubric of coping.

Visotsky, Hamburg, Goss and Lebovitz (1961) have defined truly functional coping as that which not only lessens the immediate impact of stress but also allows the person to maintain some sense of self-worth and unity with the past and future, some overall meaning on which the person can count. This definition is valuable in that it takes into account those strategies used to mitigate stress and suffering--whether active, intrapsychic, or combinations--but it also acknowledges the importance of choosing a strategy that accords a sense of dignity to the individual facing stress. It is important to add to this definition a message made by White (1974) in reference to the functional level that a coping strategy is to provide if it is to be considered an effective coping behavior: that adaptation does not mean either a total triumph over the environment or total surrender to it, but rather a striving toward acceptable compromise. Both of these positions, which actually compliment and enhance each other are taken jointly as the definition of coping adopted for this study.

#### Determinants and Strategies of Coping

The late Erich Lindermann set the tone for research with survivors or casualties of severe stresses with his study of survivors of the Cocoanut Grove fire. In this study Lindermann (1944) observed a distinction in coping behavior

between individuals of identical circumstances, loss and hardships due to the fire but who displayed different grief reactions: either normal grief or morbid and distorted grief reactions.

What are the determining factors which influence an individual's way of coping with a stressful circumstance? Why do individuals react differently in ostensibly similar circumstances? Selye (1976) posits that the stressor effects depend not so much upon what we do or what happens to us but on "the way we take it."

In theoretical treatments of determinants of coping other writers have also emphasized the same mediating cognitive process which Selye (1976) referred to as "the way we take it." These researchers (Lazarus, 1966 & 1968; Averill, Opton & Lazarus, 1969; Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1970) have described this mediating cognitive process as "appraisal" and define it as the perceptual process which distinguishes the potentially harmful from the potentially beneficial or irrelevant. They amplify this theoretical postulate by saying that coping processes are not exclusively designed to reduce distress but are geared to act as responses to the perception of some threatening condition and to potential avenues of solution or mastery. Pertinent to this discussion are the results obtained by Friedrich (1979) who researched determinants of coping behavior in women with handicapped children. An objective criterion, magnitude of handicap, was tested to determine its predictive power as far as the mothers' selection of coping

behaviors and the reported stress engendered by the children's handicaps. Magnitude of the child's handicap was not determined to predict coping behavior in the mother nor was it reported to be positively related to the reported stress. It appears that the cognitive processes called appraisal (Lazarus, 1966 & 1968; Averill, Opton & Lazarus, 1969; Lazarus, Averill & Opton, 1970) mediated between the objective stressor, magnitude of handicap and the different coping behaviors employed and the way the stress consequently impinged on the mothers.

The complexity of the strategies of coping has been discussed by many writers. Lois Murphy's (1962) book, The Widening World of Childhood, provides a good illustration of this complexity. Murphy investigated children's coping strategies in a series of stressful situations. It was concluded from this study that children's reactions to stressful situations involve a variety of strategies. Such complexity is evident in the following excerpt from her book:

The child may attempt to reduce the threat, postpone, by pass it, create distance between himself and the threat, divide his attention and the like. He may attempt to control it by setting limits, or by changing or transforming the situation. He might even try to eliminate or destroy the threat. Or he may balance the threat with the security measures, changing the relations of himself to the threat or to the environment which contains it, but which also includes sources of reassurance. Instead of dealing with the actual threat himself, he may deal primarily with the tension aroused by the threat: discharging tension by action, or by affect release displacement into fantasy, dramatizing activities or creative work. Or he may attempt to contain the tension via insight, conscious formulation of the

nature of the threat, defense maneuvers such as being brave, reassuring himself that he would be able to deal with it. (p. 277)

Essentially, Murphy's characterizations of the coping strategies used by the children can be classified along two dimensions: intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies. Lazarus, Averill and Opton (1974) distinguish between these two main modes of expression and define intrapsychic strategies as those processes that work by creating an impression of safety or gratification, which may be realistic, but which often is the product of defensive distortion. Action-oriented modes include active preparation against harm, as in building physical defenses or arranging for escape routes, attack, and avoidance, to name some of the most obvious. In general, action-oriented modes entail direct action on the self or the environment. In summary, coping is conceptualized as a multidimensional process which includes direct action and intrapsychic oriented responses which are the product of an appraisal process whereby a stimulus is defined as threatening or non-threatening by the individual (Lazarus & Launier, 1978).

It is important that the reader does not assume that because coping is being divided into two main modes of expression--direct action and intrapsychic processes--that mutual exclusivity of these strategies is being suggested. Lazarus, Averill and Opton (1974) state that a basic reason for this distinction between direct action and intrapsychic modes is

that the conditions determining the choice of coping vary not only among the major modes--intrapsychic and direct action modes--but also within the modes themselves. They cite the examples of terminal illness or other devastating and invariable conditions where the individual is relatively helpless to cope directly with the harm and consequently must favor either some form of direct action on the self or intrapsychic processes. Direct action on the self is exemplified as when rehabilitation aids in counteracting a disability (Adams & Lindermann, 1974). Averill (1968) indicated another form of direct action on the self by observing how various cultural rituals such as mourning rites channel cognitive distress such as grief into direct action modes. The value of this strategy is that it provides a vehicle for direct action even though it does not replace the love object.

There are situations in which there is little a person can do to alter the damaging course of events and the regulation of emotional distress or intrapsychic coping may be the best possible bargain that can be negotiated with the environment. As Lieberman (1977) has pointed out, in certain situations simply maintaining homeostasis, or not breaking down may constitute the upper limits of successful coping. White (1974) has also commented on the value of intrapsychic strategies and has warned that a foolish assumption lies concealed in the psychological coping literature which states that dangers must be faced because they are not really there and that any delay, avoidance, retreat, or cognitive distortion of

reality is in the end a reprehensible act of cowardice. More on this serious misconception in the psychological coping literature is brought forth by Mechanic (1974). He states that successful adaptation is seriously misrepresented to appear to require an accurate perception of reality. He states in defense of intrapsychic modes that "there is perhaps no thought so stifling as to see ourselves in proper perspective. Energy for action and self-respect are maintained through perceptions that enhance our self-importance and self-esteem" (p. 37-38). Moreover, the role of intrapsychic strategies from Mechanic's (1974) view can be said to approximate measures which allow continuing performance and mastery in contrast to seeing these intrapsychic modes as exclusive of other coping efforts.

#### Coping in Ordinary Situations of Major Personal Significance

Where does the concept of coping stand regarding ordinary situations of major personal significance? Situations studied in this body of literature are not of the extreme type, but they are nevertheless unusual and of a major importance in the subject's life: going to school for the first time, adaptation to college, doctoral examinations, and preparation and coping with childbirth. In essence, investigators have focused on coping in situations which require a fairly drastic change or problem that defies familiar ways of behaving, requires the production of new behavior, and very likely gives rise to uncomfortable emotions (White, 1974).

### Adaptive Value of Intrapsychic Coping

Burstein and Meichenbaum (1974) investigated the adaptive value of the intrapsychic strategy described as the "work of worrying" with a group of 20 normal children. The ages of these children ranged from 4 - 9 years of age and the distressing nature of their worry was that they had to undergo tonsillectomy or adenoidectomy surgery. A major construct underlying the work of these investigators is the "work of worrying." They cite both Marmor (1958) and Breznitz (1971) as originators of the construct and use their conceptualization of the "work of worrying" as a form of the inner or cognitive preparation which increases the level of tolerance for subsequent threats. In the Burstein and Meichenbaum (1974) study of 20 normal children a significant positive relationship between a pre-surgical denial-avoidant disposition and a post-surgical anxiety was found. Also of interest was the significant negative relationship between a denial-avoidant disposition and play with stress-related toys prior to hospitalization. The authors defined a stress-related toy to be one that was hospital-related as nurse and physician dolls, toy syringes, toy ambulances, and other physician-related toys.

The child's disposition to engage in the "work of worrying" was inferred from his play behavior from hospital versus non-hospital related toys. Indeed, what seemed to emerge from the data was a group of children who were high in denial-avoidant disposition--who actively played with hospital

related toys--prior to surgery manifested minimal distress and anxiety following surgery. This study underscored the potential value of cognitive preparation in handling stress.

A series of investigations which identified the adaptive value of intrapsychic strategies are the studies by Silber and colleagues (1961 a; 1961 b) of high school seniors getting ready to enter college in the fall. The interviewers became aware of a host of coping strategies that the students employed to gather information about college life, mitigate anxiety, enhance an already existing image of competence and provide reassurances about the success of their future efforts to acclimate to the college environment. Of specific importance were the reports that after acquiring sufficient information about the college of their choice these subjects commenced to utilize a variety of intrapsychic strategies in a manner which enhanced their sense of being ready and prepared for college life. These students filtered the information received about the colleges by selectively perceiving those aspects of their college which made it seem an attractive, inviting, innocuous and friendly setting. Previous situations which they had successfully dealt with, as the transition from junior to senior high school, were used by the students as reminders of their capabilities. Moreover, levels of aspiration, in reference to academic and social performance, were lowered for their freshman year.

### Adaptive Value of Action-Oriented Methods

Another study which investigated the coping strategies of college students was conducted by Tanck and Robbins (1979). After administering a stressors-to-college-life questionnaire to 50 female and 83 male undergraduates, these investigators ascertained that the most frequent responses provided represented action-oriented coping behaviors. The responses provided conveyed strategies intended to deal directly with the stressing event as opposed to employing intrapsychic strategies which would have served to deny, rationalize, or intellectualize the existence of the stressor.

Doering and Entwisle's (1975) study of the relationship of adequate preparation with coping with childbirth provides further support for the adaptive value of action-oriented methods. It was hypothesized in this study that adequate preparation would make the birth experience a more pleasant, personally meaningful one. Moreover, the laboring woman that had adequately prepared would require fewer drugs and interventions if she were to understand what was happening to her. Her recovery would be easier, and she would have the strength and resources to turn full attention to the task of mothering her new infant. Results showed that indeed these women who sought in advance information about labor and delivery required less medication than those who did not. Perhaps more importantly, the prepared women felt much more positive about their infants during the first meeting than unprepared mothers.

### Adaptive Value of Combining Intrapsychic and Action-Oriented Methods

The adequate adaptation of students to the rigors and stresses of doctoral examinations was observed by Mechanic (1962) to require employing a balanced combination of intrapsychic and action oriented coping methods. In his investigation of students coping with Ph.D. qualifying examinations, this investigator followed 20 doctoral students for a period of four months. He began his investigations three months before the doctoral exams took place and culminated his investigations with a follow-up one month later when examination results were made available to the students. Mechanic reported that the students who were deemed to study most effectively were those who actively coped by seeking information about the exams, organized their available study time efficiently and maintained a high level of concentration during the designated study times. When anxiety rose, these effective studiers were able to control it and reduce it to manageable levels. They did so by a series of intrapsychic strategies such as humor, magical thinking, virtually avoiding anxiety producing stimuli, and externalizing the responsibility for the outcome of the doctoral exams. It is important to understand the interrelationship that this investigator accords necessary for adaptive and effective coping. Elsewhere (Mechanic, 1974) he stressed that intrapsychic strategies must be viewed as measure which allow continuing performance and mastery as opposed to seeing these as ends in

themselves. The intrapsychic strategies utilized served as anxiety mitigators which allowed for further active coping by the students.

### Determinants of Extreme Situations

There are obvious quantitative and qualitative differences between the stresses encountered in extreme situations and the stresses most of us experience in our daily lives. However, there are segments of our society, as Chodoff (1968) has aptly pointed out, which live a daily existence with a host of stresses not unlike those found in concentration camps of the Third Reich.

Benner, Roskies, and Lazarus (1980) also affirm a common bond between the extreme stresses of a concentration camp experience and other ordinary forms of trauma. However, they discuss the existence of several dimensions which act jointly to differentiate an extreme situation as concentration camps, natural disasters, and naturally occurring extreme stresses such as a paralytic polio, disfigurement, and long lasting incapacity, from ordinary situations of a major personal significance. In situations of extreme stress the dimensions associated with the extremity, pervasiveness, and persistence of the hostile forces act in a joint fashion to surpass the level of distress created by ordinary situations of major personal significance. Moreover, extreme situations also offer few opportunities for acting upon the environment and when available these opportunities are drastically limited in scope.

Bettelheim (1960) reviews the facts of life in a concentration camp as a way of defining an extreme situation:

. . .prisoners were clothed, housed and fed in total inadequacy; they were exposed to heat, rain, and freezing temperatures for as long as seventeen hours a day, seven days a week. Despite extreme malnutrition, they had to perform hardest labor. Every single moment of their lives was strictly regulated and supervised. They had no privacy whatsoever, were never allowed to see a visitor, lawyer, or minister. They were not entitled to medical care; sometimes they got it, sometimes not, but if they did it was rarely administered by medically trained persons. No prisoner was told why he was imprisoned, and never for how long. All of which may explain why we speak of them as persons finding themselves in an extreme situation. (p. 108-109)

To supplement these facts of life in the concentration camp, as a means of defining an extreme situation, Bettelheim (1960) also adds three methods which the Nazis relied upon to destroy personal autonomy in the prisoners, these were a) that of forcing prisoners to adopt childlike behavior through the means of brutalities and atrocities; b) forcing the prisoners to give up individuality by forcibly merging them into an amorphous mass; and c) finally destroying the prisoner's capacity for self-determination, all ability to predict the future and thus prepare himself for it.

Nardini (1952) gives casualty statistics of Americans imprisoned by Japanese forces in the Philippine Islands in 1942. These data highlight the barbaric conditions which play an intricate role in human-imposed extreme situations. A massive death rate, approximately 18,000 of the 30,000 or 60% of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, is attributed to the terrible ordeals and conditions of living in the prisoner camps. He describes these conditions of living as squalid, with a

general shortage of food, much physical misery and disease, fear and despair, inadequate clothing and cleansing facilities, temperature extremes and physical abuse.

Strassman, Thaler and Schain (1956) address the determinants of a human-imposed extreme situation through the experiences of a population of American servicemen who were prisoners of war in Chinese and North Korean prisoner camps during the Korean conflict. They determined that three basic constellations of stresses made the ordeal that the American men went through an ordeal of an extreme type. It was decided that the following constellations of stresses were crucial in producing psychological changes: a) chronically being threatened with death, physical maltreatment, and nonrepatriation; b) starvation, disease and inadequate shelter; and c) rewards of increases in food, physical comforts, privileges in camp and promises of early repatriation in exchange for the acceptance of the Communist ideology and cooperation with the Chinese in collaborative activities.

Cohen and Taylor (1972) graphically described the experience of long term imprisonment and classify it as probably the most extreme situation. They compare such shattering events as motor car accidents, being caught in flood or hurricane, prolonged illness and evacuation to a strange area to the experiences of the long term prisoner. These shattering events, undoubtedly also extreme experiences, disturb the orderliness of life and may bring into question its very meaning. For this reason, the authors add, people refer to

life losing its meaning after the death of a loved one or explain in a graphic way "the bottom falling out of their world." Nonetheless, they add that there is still something of the victims' world left. The pieces can be picked up again and gradually the individuals' significance returns. These authors highlight the fact that shattering events tend to occur in one part of one's life, in one domain. Consequently, they surmise that other elements or components of one's life can be called into service to provide reassurance and reestablish credibility. From their research with long-term prisoners in E-Wing at Durham prison in England, the authors concluded that a long-term prison experience is in all inclusive and thorough way an extreme situation. They state

The long term prisoner cannot play one domain off against another in this way. When he arrives in E-Wing he has come to terms with the fact that he is starting on a new life, one in which the routines which previously obtained in every area will be transformed. He faces up to two decades inside, two decades away from home, wife, children, job, social life and friends. He cannot reassure himself that each of these domains is merely being held in cold storage until his return-- a life cannot be reassembled twenty years after its destruction. He has been given "life"--a prison life--and somehow he must learn to live it. (p. 43)

The experience of a natural disaster or cataclysm also provides a glimpse into the determinants of extreme situations. Oliver-Smith (1982) describes such a devastating experience as one that must be recognized as constituting more than just physical destruction. He stresses that also included must be the psychological destruction for the individual and that ultimately the very existence of a society may

be challenged by the devastation and cultural crisis imposed by the disaster.

On the other hand, Baren (1976) adds clinical impressions from a psychotherapeutic point of view to the understanding of the gravity and extremity of a disaster situation. He acknowledges that dealing in psychotherapy with the crisis of death on a massive scale is different from dealing with individual deaths on a case-by-case basis. He adds that individuals involved in disasters are subjected to stresses and trauma rarely encountered in any other life experience--this he found applied to both patients and treatment staff alike. He described the therapists' stress when dealing with multiple deaths and observed how the collective anguish of the survivors took on an emotional and physical toll on the therapeutic staff which responded to the psychological needs of citizens involved in the "ice cream parlor disaster." Baren (1976) provides the following account to describe this tragic event:

On September 24, 1972, an unusual disaster occurred in Sacramento, California. An F-86 jet fighter of Korean War vintage was participating in a local airshow. The pilot, unable to get the jet airborne at take off, ejected his wing tanks of fuel. The plane hurtled across a busy boulevard and crashed into an ice cream parlor filled with children and adults. In the aftermath of this tragedy, 10 adults and 12 children were killed, and approximately 14 were injured.

The life-threatening impact of severe poliomyelitis has been investigated by Visotsky, Hamburg, Goss and Lebovitz (1961) in their study of 81 patients stricken with polio. This illness was considered by these investigators to

constitute an extreme situation and its devastating capacity to affect every aspect of the patient's life. In its acute phase, poliomyelitis was said to affect its victims by the following threatening aspects: shock of diagnosis, anxiety over illness and survival, helpless state, total dependency, fear of being alone, fear of equipment failure, fear of rejection by significant others, and guilt feelings, interpreting the illness as punishment. The chronic phase of hospitalization brings the following threatening aspects: severe depression, loneliness, restlessness, boredom and concern over future prospects, especially physical and economic. Last but not least the following threatening aspects were listed by the authors to be of significance to the patient after leaving the hospital: financial problems, threat to future education, threat to future occupational opportunities, threat to marital relations, threat of permanent disfigurement, and threat to family and community relations. These authors emphasize that severe disability, coming on quite suddenly, is an extreme test of coping resources.

#### Coping in Human-Imposed Extreme Conditions

Death in human-imposed extreme conditions requires no explanation. Survival does. Documented information on the Third Reich, its exterminating philosophy or Final Solution, and its executionary vehicles labeled extermination, labor, and concentration camps has forced us to understand and comprehend the nine to ten million casualties or outcomes of

these institutions of error and death (Hilberg, 1961; Dawidowicz, 1975). But how did the survivors manage to cope and survive the torturous condition?

The atrocities perpetrated by the Soviet system on its political prisoners have been amply documented by Solzhenitsyn (1973 & 1975) in his voluminous writings about the destructive Soviet labor camps. In his customary methodical fashion Solzhenitsyn hammers unrefutable data and facts which, again, force us to understand the outcome of the millions less fortunate: those that lose the will to live and die and those that manage to survive at the expense of their dignity--the ones that the system simply engulfs in its debasing tides and turns into human scoria or refuse. But as stated before, these horrifying outcomes need no explanation--they are self-evident in light of the abominable conditions to which these humans are exposed. Survival does need an explanation.

American Prisoners of War captured by the Japanese Imperial Army with the fall of Bataan and Corregidor in April and May of 1942, during the Second World War, endured a period of imprisonment of 3 1/2 years until September of 1945. A total captured military population of 30,000 was exposed to extremely harsh and inhuman conditions during this 3 1/2 year period and consequently, approximately 12,000 or only 40% of these men survived the period of imprisonment (Nardini, 1952). In light of the brutalities and the inadequate sanitary, living and dietary conditions imposed by the Japanese, it is understandable why 18,000 men or 60% of all the captured Army,

Navy and Marine Corps men died (Nardini, 1952; 1947). What was it that enabled them to survive?

Defensive behaviors and individual coping strategies no doubt played a role in whether a prisoner lived or died in such human-imposed extreme conditions. However, it is important to emphasize Chodoff's (1975) point that such intrapsychic and action oriented coping strategies played a far less paramount role than luck, chance, or accident. Among these extraeneous and fate-like circumstances in the Nazi concentration camp were where the prisoner happened to be when a selection for the gas chamber was taking place, the quota of victims for that day and the mood of the selector at the time.

Bluhm (1948) refers to this elusive and unpredictable force which ruled over life and death of prisoners as the anarchic power of accident. She gives the following graphic examples to depict its meaning:

If a person happened to lie next to the door through which a group of drunken SS-men entered, he may have been tromped or kicked to death, while his neighbor suffered no harm. If a prisoner met a guard who asked him to walk closer to the wire and he did it, he may have been shot; if he refused to do it, he may have been shot as well. If a man was strung up on a tree, a troop leader who happened to pass him may have taken a cigarette and burned a hole in the face of the wretch. Such incidents occurred on countless occasions. (p. 5-6)

#### Adaptive Value of Intrapsychic Strategies

In a study of Nazi concentration camp survivors and the coping strategies that they relied upon to endure the barbaric conditions of the camps, Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) created a

classification system of coping mechanisms to encompass the coping behaviors that his subjects disclosed during a series of semistructured interviews which lasted from 2-8 hours each. This research was based on testimony from 19 individuals who were willing to participate, were healthy enough to be working, and/or involved in raising a family. The classification system is composed of ten basic styles of coping in human-imposed extreme conditions. Seven of these styles are of an intrapsychic nature. These seven styles will be reported, examples of each provided and used as a framework for reviewing the extant literature on the adaptive value of intrapsychic strategies.

The first intrapsychic strategy reported by Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) is termed "differential focus on the good." He describes it as essentially a "figure-ground" problem; an individual at all times has the choice of what to focus on-- foreground or background, good or bad. Benner, Roskies and Lazarus (1980) refer to this strategy as "selective attention" and state that turning to the small pleasures and encounters, such as getting food without a beating or an extra ration through guile was an adaptive manner of dealing with the gross injustices that prevailed. Cohen (1953) was personally aware of the value of this strategy when he wrote:

In the concentration camp man was beaten back to his most animal basis. His only concern was with that which would help to keep him alive. This was a regression to the primitive phase of the drive to self-preservation. Primitive was the blissful feeling of the prisoner when he had his stomach filled with a liberal portion of food and a "Nachschlag" (leftovers) into the bargain. Hunger

was satisfied. (p.134)

Frankl (1959) reported on an infrequent humane gesture from a labor foreman who secretly gave him a piece of bread which he had saved from his own breakfast ration. He described his reaction to this obvious gesture of human "something," as he calls it, as being moved to tears and profoundly touched. By selectively attending to the compassionate gesture of this foreman, Frankl was able to briefly enjoy a human encounter of the warmest kind and momentarily ignore the atrocities of camp life. He also described the smallest of mercies--as being able to delouse before going to bed--as the pleasures of camp life, a sort of freedom from suffering attained by differentially focusing on the good.

Perhaps the most literary of all accounts of this strategy of coping--differential focus on the good--is documented by Solzhenitsyn (1963) in the character of one of his heroes: Shukhov. It is obvious that this character has learned to enjoy every inch of life that transcends pain and suffering. An extraordinary attitude is also apparent in regards to the watered-down soup and bread which sustain him. The following is an example of differentially focusing on the good and its adaptive value in its best form:

Shukhov took off his hat and laid it on his knee. He tasted one bowl, he tasted the other. Not bad, there was some fish in it. . . . He dug in. First he only drank the broth, drank and drank. As it went down, filling his whole body with warmth, all of his guts began to flutter inside him at their meeting with that stew. Gooo-ood!

And now Shukhov complained about nothing; neither about the length of his stretch, nor about the length of the day, nor about their swiping another

Sunday. This was all he thought about now: we'll survive. We'll stick it out, God willing, till it's over. (p. 136)

The second intrapsychic strategy in Dimsdale's (1978 & 1980) classification system is termed "survival for some purpose." This researcher views this strategy as specifically powerful in that the person who had to survive to help a relative, to bear witness and show the world what happened, or to seek revenge was relying on a profound rationale to help him live. Nardini (1952) pointed out that American soldiers taken prisoner by the Japanese were more likely to survive their miserable life situation if they had a positive view of life directed toward a goal worthy of survival.

Frankl (1959; 1967; 1969) has introduced into psychology, under the name of logotherapy, a point of view in line with this coping strategy. Actually, the point of view being referred to here was directly a product of Frankl's experiences as a prisoner in Nazi concentration camps. In Frankl's own ordeal his "will to meaning" or surviving for some purpose became adaptive in that it helped him understand that life was awaiting something from him--to continue his professional work and caring for his loved ones. He states that in his psychotherapeutic work in the camp the most powerful method took the form of giving his fellow prisoners inner strength by pointing out to them a future goal to which they could look forward. Even in the inescapable and unavoidable conditions of the concentration camp Frankl asserts there are many opportunities of giving life a meaning. He describes an occasion

in which he was asked to speak to his fellow prisoners in an attempt to get them through a trying incident and during which he articulated the philosophical structure of this powerful coping strategy:

I spoke of the many opportunities of giving life a meaning. I told my comrades (who lay motionless, although occasionally a sigh could be heard) that human life, under any circumstances, never ceases to have a meaning, and that this infinite meaning of life includes suffering and dying, privation and death. I asked the poor creatures who listened to me attentively in the darkness of the hut to face up to the seriousness of our position. They must not lose hope but should keep their courage in the certainty that the hopelessness of our struggle did not detract from its dignity and its meaning. I said that someone looks down on each of us in difficult hours--a friend, a wife, somebody alive or dead, or a God--and he would not expect us to disappoint him. He would hope to find us suffering proudly--not miserably--knowing how to die.  
(Frankl, 1959, p.83)

The third intrapsychic strategy described by Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) is termed "psychological removal." He states that it essentially revolves around insulating oneself from the outside stress, developing ways of not feeling so that the individual can basically assume a posture of "I'm not here" and "this is not happening to me." Several subcategories, within this general strategy of "psychological removal," are listed. He reports that from his interviews the subcategories of intellectualization, withdrawing into considerations of immortality, withdrawing into religious considerations, use of time distortion--focusing exclusively on past, present or future, use of humor, and the extreme psychological removal of the "Musselman" stage were considered forms of coping with the unbearableness of the camp life. The following is an excerpt

from one of Dimsdale's (1980) interviews which shows the use of this major strategy:

Josef: We were not very clever, we did not want to believe that anything was going on. There were rumors going around but we preferred to believe the version that said that the Jews are collected in camps where they are treated all right. (p. 168)

Cohen (1953) reports having personally employed psychological removal while watching a beating that another prisoner received. He reports feeling totally untouched by compassion for this dying man and remembers feeling as if he were looking at the scene through a peephole. Perhaps the most important of the psychological removal strategies among concentration camp inmates were denial and isolation of affect (Chodoff, 1970). His patient who says, "It didn't bother me. I had no feelings whatsoever" when being shaved while naked in front of SS troopers, was isolating her affect from awareness. This intrapsychic skill of isolating affect has been also coined by Chodoff (1966) as deadening of the emotional life and referred to by different authors as acute depersonalization (Cohen, 1953), emotional detachment (Bettelheim, 1960), and affective anesthesia (Friedman, 1949). The adaptive value of this strategy, as pointed out by Chodoff (1970), was to protect the ego against the dangers associated with feelings of rage and hostility towards an external object--the SS--which treats the self as if it were an inanimate thing and not a human being. An issue of extreme importance is raised by Benner, Roskies and Lazarus (1980) regarding selective or limited apathy and its extreme and dire state of "Musselman." As was stated

earlier, Frankl (1959) and Chodoff (1966; 1975) considered limited apathy as psychologically protective. However, the extreme and complete psychological withdrawal of the "Musselman" state had dire consequences which rules out, according to Benner, Roskies and Lazarus (1980), the adaptive property of this strategy. As described by Dimsdale (1980) the "Musselman" state was characterized by profound apathy, complete indifference to the surroundings, and a lack of any response to the environment, both physical and interpersonal. Those that reached this stage and were not rescued by fellow prisoners were doomed to death.

A particular variant of psychological removal--intellectualization--was successfully practiced by Bettelheim (1960). He described the process of studying his own behavior and the behavior of his fellow prisoners as a way of convincing himself that his own life was still of some value, that he had not yet lost all the aptitudes that had once given him self-respect. He admits that immersing himself in this careful study of human behavior in extreme situations helped him endure life in the camps. This keen ability to observe himself and others was also employed fruitfully by Frankl (1959) and Cohen (1953) to provide remarkably objective accounts of human behavior and life in camps.

The adaptive value of withdrawing into considerations of immortality was considered by Lifton (1967 & 1973) as one of the most important kinds of imagery for survivors of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. He describes it as the theological

idea of a life after death. He says that even more basic, however, is the concept of transcending death through spiritual attainment. Dimsdale (1980) provides a segment from an interview to exemplify the use of this strategy:

Tanya: We Jews have always been great sufferers, and I know that we would grow up and survive this too. (p. 168)

The fourth intrapsychic strategy reported by Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) is the "will to live." He considers it as the most basic of all the coping strategies but yet one of the more important ones. The same observation was made by Nardini (1952) and he added that a strong motivation to live aided Americans to survive the Japanese prisoner camps. This will to live, according to Frankl (1959), manifests itself in a total devaluation of anything that does not serve this exclusive interest. Thus, the hunger drive, which is connected with the will to live, became in the concentration camp a ruthless and unscrupulous drive (Cohen, 1953). Chodoff (1975) reported a significant phenomenon which is also manifestation of the will to live. He explains that since existence of mental illness of any degree or severity in the concentration camps was incompatible with survival, new psychosomatic or psychoneurotic disorders rarely developed and existing ones often markedly improved.

The fifth intrapsychic strategy that Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) lists is a "mobilization of hope" and states that hope --either active or passive--acted as a kind of kindling to action. Frankl (1959) likens this mobilization of hope to the

condition of "delusion of reprieve" known to psychiatry as when the condemned man, immediately before his execution, gets the illusion that he might be reprieved at the last minute. Frankl states that the newly arrived camp prisoners also clung to shreds of hope and believed to the last moment that it would not be so bad.

The sixth intrapsychic strategy presented in Dimsdale's (1978 & 1980) classification system is called "'null coping.'" This strategy entails coping only in a very special sense of the word. The author describes it as basically doing nothing, internally or externally, to mediate the stress but instead rely on fate or others. Matussek (1975) offers an excerpt from an interview with a camp survivor which exemplifies this style:

I used to say to myself "what will be will be."  
 One doesn't live forever anyway. But I also had a desire to experience the future and I never thought about the past. What good would it have done me when faced with the crematorium? I wanted to live and I was very careful in everything I did. I thought: "Keep working then nothing can happen." I am a pious man, but my religious beliefs are on the modern side. If God wants me to live, then I live. My wife was unlucky, so was my daughter. I was fortunate. But I always did whatever I could "pour corriger la fortune." (p. 33)

When the ambiguity of the situation produced incomplete uncertainty, the prisoners preferred not to choose rather than risk death by a wrong choice. As Frankl (1959) states, "The camp inmate was frightened of making decisions and taking any sort of initiative whatsoever. This was the result of a strong feeling that fate was one's master, and that one must not try to influence it in any way, but instead let it take

its own course" (p. 56). It is necessary to understand that prisoners had little information about events destined by camp authorities to affect them. Consequently, in light of the constraints prisoners lived with, many found it more tolerable to avoid contributing to their demise by errors of choice-- they simply did nothing. What could be considered fatalism in a context of freedom and certainty is an effective coping strategy under conditions of total uncertainty and ambiguity (Benner, Roskies and Lazarus, 1980). "To experience severe stress passively was not as bad as to experience the stress and to blame oneself for not being able to avoid it" (Dimsdale, 1980, p. 171-172). In this sense, null coping was an adaptive strategy.

The last intrapsychic strategy reported by Dimsdale (1978, 1980) is considered to be a kind of anticoping. He defines it as surrendering completely to the stress and acknowledging that "it is right and the Self is wrong." He deemed it functional inasmuch as it removes the dissonance of the situation. As he puts it, "To the extent that the inmate was able to identify himself as vermin belonging in the camps, he would feel his internment to be just" (p. 172). Chodoff (1970) reports on the extreme form of this strategy--identification with the aggressor--and states that some prisoners imitated the behavior and took on the values of the SS. Moreover, he refers to the dreams of female patients, whom he has examined, in which the SS troopers were always tall, handsome

and God-like figures. Here the famous Dr. Mengele is described by one of Chodoff's (1975) patients:

. . .in this case Dr. Mengele was involved in it. He was quite an imposing figure and his presence. . . I don't think every body was scared, because-- rather I wasn't. I was hypnotised by his looks, by his actions. (p. 936)

In this case a faint measure of identification with the aggressor is noticeable. Cohen (1953) highlights the issue that identification with the aggressor was a matter of degree in all cases. But more provocative is his statement that very few were able to escape a certain measure of identification with the SS.

Bettelheim (1979) documented the phenomenon of identification with the aggressor on a mass level. The manner in which traitors in the camp were eliminated was observed to be evidence of the prisoners' identification with the SS. He reports:

That this was really taking over Gestapo attitudes can be seen from the treatment of traitors. Self-protection asked for their elimination, but the way they were tortured for days and slowly killed was taken over from the Gestapo. (p.79)

Bluhm (1948) referred to the phenomenon of identification with the SS as the final stage of passive adaptation. The author views this strategy as rather paradoxical in that survival was bought through total surrender, and protection against the fear of the aggressor by becoming a part of him.

Cohen's (1953) description of the Kapo graphically depicts the epitome of such metamorphosis:

The Kapo is that type of man who has completely adjusted himself to the camp, which he regards

as his definitive life, and which he desires nothing more to continue. Both outwardly and inwardly he has identified himself with the SS, as he reveals in his clothing, his behavior, his bawling, his beatings, his treatment of the weak, his shameless "organizing", his cruelties on the pattern of the SS, the Kapo was capable of anything. He was prepared to act as a spy for the SS, even in the knowledge that if he was discovered by the others, his life would be at stake. (p. 448)

### Adaptive Value of Action-Oriented Strategies

Support for the adaptive value of action-oriented strategies was provided by a study of the coping behavior of 111 naval officers and aviators who were prisoners of war in Vietnam (Deaton, Berg, Richlin and Litrownik, 1977). These investigators developed a questionnaire, based on information gathered from other POWs and subjects, to ascertain which activities engaged in during captivity resulted most effectively in coping with solitary confinement. Results showed that attempts to cope with the captive situation and the concomitant emotional discomfort were significantly more inclined to be fashioned as efforts towards controlling, changing, or mastering the environment as opposed to resorting to fantasy and other intrapsychic activities. Activities associated with the captor-captive relationship, that is, attempts to stay one step ahead of the captor by anticipating his next move and developing contingencies to meet new situations, were judged as most useful in coping with the captive ordeal.

Cohen (1953) reports the usefulness of actively focusing all his efforts towards contacting the prisoners' hospital, to be allowed to join the medical staff, immediately upon his

arrival at Auschwitz. He knew his only chance of survival lied in the medical field and actively pursued his objective.

At times the action-oriented thrusts of prisoners to cope with a savage and denigrating environment, as the concentration camp, took on a less than honorable form yet they need to be considered adaptive in light of the abominable conditions that were imposed by the camps. The following is an account by one of Bloch's (1947) subjects in his study of personality of inmates of concentration camps. Parenthetically, the account is by a cultured and aristocratic woman, noted in her former life for her generosity, benevolence, and humanitarian interests.

I decided I wanted to live. Nothing else counted but that I wanted to live. I would have stolen from husband, child, parent, or friend in order to accomplish this. Therefore everyday I disciplined myself with a sort of low, savage cunning, to band every fiber of my being, to do these things which would make that possible. Everyday had a different or a continued objective. One day it was to steal a sweater, or to bargain for a blanket, or even an undergarment, which I had been avidly looking forward to possessing for some time, or an extra bowl of soup, but something, so that I could survive. I would remain close to those who were too far gone and too weak to eat their meager ration of ersatz coffee or soup, and instead of pressing them to eat so that they might exist, I would eagerly take it from them and wolf it down if they gave the slightest evidence that the effort for them was too great. (p. 339)

But not everyone turned completely egotistical. Cohen (1953) talks of prisoners, themselves already on the verge of starvation, who would sell their own bread ration in order to buy potatoes for a dying fellow prisoner and thus give him a last happiness. This is a form of the action-oriented

strategy that Dimsdale (1978 & 1980) refers to as mastery. He describes mastery as the individual's effort to express autonomy through the dominion of a portion of the universe, external or internal, as a means of defeating the stress. It appears that the instances of altruism that Cohen (1953) reports are examples of mastery: resisting the dehumanizing and crushing efforts of the SS machinery by exploiting the opportunity to engage in humanizing actions. Another example of an attitudinal form of mastery is provided by Dimsdale (1980) from one of his interviews with a survivor of the camps:

Tanya: On Yom Kippur my mother always wanted me to fast and my father always told me that I was always bad and would break the fast too soon so why not spare the little stomach the hunger pains and eat. Every time I would start with good intentions, my father would bribe me with delicacies. When I was in Auschwitz, for the first time I fasted. Mother was dead so I could not please her; I did not believe in God at that point; I just wanted to show the Germans that I could be Jewish if I wanted to, even in Auschwitz. (p. 170)

Group affiliation or some form of companionship with others was indispensable, since a completely isolated individual could not have survived the camps (Chodoff, 1975). Luchterhand (1970) has suggested that "the pair was the basic unit of survival in the concentration camp. It carried an exceptional burden of providing protection, information, help in organizing, opportunities for necessary change and sharing, and for the relief of guilt" (p. 104). The group was also one place where one was not a number but a fellow human. It reinforced the persons sense of individuality and worth (Dimsdale,

1980). Eitinger (1964) and Eitinger & Storm (1973) also concluded the importance of this strategy and from their studies of survivors of camps now living in Norway and Israel determined that survival was strongly related to group affiliation. The adaptive value of group affiliation is also put forth by Solzhenitsyn (1963). When Shukov is called "S-854" by a guard, the reader feels a chill; when as a gang member he is called "Ivan Denisovich", the reader feels a humanness about the exchange and a preservation of selfhood. These are important variables considering that the Soviet objective in the camps was to render the prisoner a nonentity.

Closely associated with group affiliation, as an active or action-oriented coping strategy, is the adaptive value of conversation. When conversation was possible, it was nearly as important in making life bearable as any other strategy (Bettelheim, 1960). This investigator reports that conversations on the topic of food--recollections of good food they had enjoyed before imprisonment and daydreams about what they would eat after liberation--were engaged in with regularity by most of the prisoners. Deaton, Berg, Richling and Litrownik (1977) have also stressed the adaptive value of communication. Communications were generally transmitted via the tap-code as verbal communication was prohibited by the captors of the subjects in this study. Bettelheim (1960) also points out the adaptive value of recalling neutral and emotionally unimportant data. Prisoners showed a tendency to forget names and places, or as he terms it, selective amnesia. Forgetting

things of this kind created anxiety, because the prisoners began to fear they were losing their memories, even their intellectual capacities. In their conscious efforts to retain their memories, to prove to themselves they were not losing their intelligence, the prisoners began recalling what they had learned in school, e.g., names of German emperors, their dates of ascension, and other neutral data they had learned by rote memorization. Bettelheim (1960) also discussed the prisoners' practice of masturbation or homosexuality as a means to verify their sexual potency. Virtually every prisoner was afraid of becoming impotent, and was tempted by the anxiety to engage in either or both of these action-oriented strategies to ward off the stress and anxiety precipitated by thoughts of impotence. Prisoners indulged as a minority in homosexuality and as an overwhelming majority in masturbation, but less for enjoyment than to be sure they had not yet grown impotent.

#### Adaptive Value of Combining Intrapsychic and Action Oriented Methods

According to Nardini (1952) a combination of coping factors influenced a POW's survival favorably: a strong motivation to live, good general intelligence, emotional insensitivity or well-controlled and balanced sensitivity, a preserved sense of humor, controlled fantasy life, successful active or passive resistance to the captors (e.g., surreptitious acquiring of news, bribing of guards, smuggling news, letters, food and medicines) and several years of prior military experience. The greater the abundance or the more these

strategies were available and employed by the POW, the greater his survival chances.

Investigations on the coping behaviors of the 82 surviving crew of the USS Pueblo, an intelligence vessel captured and held for 11 months in North Korea, was conducted by Spaulding and Ford (1972) and by Ford (1975). Information gathered from interview, questionnaire and subjects' self-reports was used to designate crew members as successful and unsuccessful copers. The classification of successful coping consisted of the prisoner's ability to defend against excessive anxiety and depression, to contribute to group support and morale, and to provide realistic resistance to the captors' demands. Unsuccessful coping consisted of the presence of psychiatric symptoms, behavior detrimental to group morale and or cooperation with captors as reported by peers. The successful copers were found to employ a greater number of strategies or a greater combination of intrapsychic and action-oriented coping methods than the unsuccessful copers.

The adaptive value of a combination of intrapsychic and action-oriented strategies was observed by Bettelheim (1960) in many of the prisoners of the camps in regards to the forced labor. He reports that many of the prisoners in order to gain self-respect, tried to work well, In addition to this active-oriented strategy--work--the prisoners would rationalize their behavior somehow, as by saying that what prisoners produced served all German citizens and not just the SS. Also by working well, as pointed out by this author, a prisoner may

have actually saved his life through avoiding the more "killing" labor commands, as in the platoon of Jewish bricklayers. Some prisoners even asserted that working hard and well would show the SS that prisoners were not the scum of the earth, as the SS insisted. Bettelheim is quick to point out that prisoners who made this last type of statement came dangerously close to identifying with the SS, since they looked to them for prestige, nevertheless, this combination of intrapsychic and action-oriented strategies is deemed adaptive by the author in that it allowed for coping with the hardships of the forced labor.

Cohen (1953) summarizes the combination of coping factors which enhanced the prisoner's chances of survival in the concentration camp and the adaptive value of using a combination of intrapsychic and action oriented methods:

A whole complex of factors determined the adaptation of a prisoner: having a certain extent could force itself to meet the demands made on it by the concentration camp; a not too easy life in the past so that the drive for self-preservation had been highly developed; one's profession or trade; outstanding qualities; and factors such as age, health, luck, and shewdness. (p. 155)

#### Coping with Naturally Occurring Extreme Stresses

How do individuals beset with naturally occurring extreme stresses cope? Hamburg and Adams (1967) suggest that severe physical disability--one form of a naturally occurring extreme stress--coming on quite suddenly, is an extreme test of coping resources. These authors discuss the seemingly obvious: that the vast majority of severely damaged patients end

up psychologically overwhelmed and left with lasting disturbances. However, clinical experience conflicts with the all encompassing nature of this statement. Actually the outcome of these extreme cases is sometimes surprisingly favorable. What coping strategies do these successful copers employ?

Research in this area has focused on a host of tragic situations which cover from heart rendering incidents as being severely burned (Hamburg, Hamburg & DeGoza, 1953), death of a child through leukemia (Chodoff, Freidman & Hamburg, 1964; Friedman, Mason & Hamburg, 1963), undergoing major surgery (Abram, 1965; Janis, 1958), paralytic poliomyelitis (Visotsky, Hamburg, Goss & Levoitz, 1961), loss of body parts (Cobb & Lindemann, 1943; Lindemann, 1944), advanced cancer (Weissman & Worden, 1975). In summary, the events that are investigated in this body of literature are shattering and thoroughly disturbing. The types of experiences that can bring into question the very meaning of life (Cohen & Taylor, 1972).

#### Adaptive Value of Intrapsychic Strategies

The adaptive value of denial was documented by Kubler-Ross (1969) in her investigations of dying or terminally-ill patients. She observed that all patients use denial, at least partial denial, not only during the first stages of the illness, but also later on from time to time. She regards denial as a healthy way of dealing with the uncomfortable and painful situation with which terminally-ill patients have to live for periods of time before they die. This investigator states that "we cannot look at the sun all the time, we cannot face

death all the time. These patients can consider the possibility of their own death for a while but then have to put this consideration away in order to pursue life" (p.35).

Hamburg and Adams (1967) in a review of previous studies of patients with severe injuries also proclaim the adaptive value of extensive denial during the initial stages or acute phase of the injury. These initial efforts are aimed at minimizing the impact of the event. The acute phase, these investigators point out, invokes extensive denial of the nature of the illness, its seriousness, and its probable consequences. "Such avoidance defenses appear to serve a useful function in preventing the patient's being overwhelmed, and permitting him to make a mere gradual transition to the exceedingly difficult tasks that lie ahead" (p.278).

Similar observations were made by Visotsky, Hamburg, Goss and Lebovitz (1961) in an investigation into coping with the extreme-stresses of paralytic poliomyelitis. During the acute phase the patients studied employed a variety of ways which avoided or minimized realization to the seriousness of their condition. Many of the patients involved in the study were skeptical of the initial diagnosis of polio and in order to justify their belief in a benign diagnosis seized upon even minor deviations from the popular image of polio, e.g., slow onset of paralysis and the onset of their illness as either earlier or later than the polio "season."

Further evidence for the adaptive value of intrapsychic strategies is provided by Hackett, Cassem and Wishnie (1968)

in their study of psychological hazards in the care of myocardial infarction patients. They report that during the patient's stay in the coronary care unit the use of denial as a major coping mode is correlated with increased chances of survival.

Studies of parents of fatally ill children show the adaptive value of selectively attending to information about the course of the illness--an intrapsychic strategy--during the initial stage (Chodoff, Friedman & Hamburg, 1964; Freidman, Mason & Hamburg, 1963). It appears that in the initial phase, only information which aided the parents in handling the immediate situation seemed meaningful--e.g., getting the child to the research hospital. Assimilation of the implications of the diagnosis was gradually observed over a span of weeks, or more often months.

#### Adaptive Value of Action-Oriented Methods

Support for the adaptive value of action-oriented methods of coping in a life-threatening situation is offered by a study of patients with advanced cancer. Weisman and Worden (1975) investigated the difference in coping methods between those patients who survived longer than expected based on the severity of the disease and those patients whose outcomes were unexpectedly poor. Results showed that patients who could maintain active and mutually responsive relationships were likely to remain alive longer. Those patients who did not engage actively in those relationships showed a decrease in morale and had shorter longevity. Coping in this study was

associated with the speed with which cancer exerted its toll on the patients.

The adjustment process of 27 cardiac patients, after their first heart attack, was investigated by Cowie (1976). It was determined, from interviews with the patients and their spouses, that the major coping strategy employed involved seeking medical information about heart disease from the physicians and other patients. These subjects then used the acquired medical information to reconstruct their past history in an effort to provide themselves with insight as to their coronary. This investigator adds that this action-oriented strategy resulted successful in that it took the surprise element out of this first coronary and made it easier to accept by the patient.

The action-oriented strategies of returning to work, resuming a social and sexual life, and generally returning to a previous way of life were deemed crucial by Wynn (1967) during the rehabilitation phase of myocardial infarctions. This investigator observed that those patients who did not employ these action-oriented coping strategies were likely to develop what is termed "cardiac neurosis." In another study of heart disease patients, Hackett and Cassem (1975) reported on the paramount importance of action-oriented methods in initial stages or when symptoms of cardiac infarctions become manifest. They pointed out that denial can cause delay in seeking medical assistance and may have fatal consequences.

Visotsky, Hamburg, Goss and Lebovitz (1961) in their study of patients with severe paralytic polio report on the adaptive value of action-oriented methods during the patients' long-term phase at a respiratory center. They assert that time and again the relief and encouragement that patients obtained through activity impressed them. This was highlighted early in treatment through the very great meaning attached to even the smallest actions as they became possible again with minimal recovery from paralysis. These researchers observed how important it became for patients to be able to do something and not simply wait passively for whatever came. They interpreted that initiative in physical or interpersonal action gave the patient a sense of mastery which spurred him along to greater effort.

#### Adaptive Value of Combining Intrapsychic and Action-Oriented Methods

In a study of 4 male and 2 female leukemia patients whose illness was in clinical remission, Sanders and Kardinal (1977) observed a combination of strategies used by these patients in an adaptive fashion. Several action-oriented methods--information seeking and establishing satisfactory interpersonal relationships with other patients--along with the intrapsychic strategies of denial and anticipatory grieving were observed by the researchers as being used adaptively by these patients. Denial was deemed adaptive in that it countered the family's insistence on maintaining the patient in a sick role and allowed a return to a more normal lifestyle during times when the patient was feeling well.

The combination of denial and action-oriented coping methods was also reported by Hamburg and Adams (1967) in cases of extreme naturally occurring stresses which have a sudden onset and which precluded warning or preparation. The utilization of this combination is also reported by Hamburg, Hamburg and DeGoza (1953) in a study of severely burned patients. Use of denial was observed to serve the function of insulating the patient from being overwhelmed. Denial is then reported to give way to a period of action-oriented responses during which implications and consequences of the illness are cognitively tolerated.

The importance of combining intrapsychic and action-oriented strategies of coping during a myocardial infarction episode and subsequent recovery has been stressed by several researchers (Wynn, 1967; Hackett & Cassem, 1975; Hackett, Cassem & Wishnie, 1968). They point to the adaptive value of action strategies when early signs of a coronary are manifested. Denial becomes an important strategy during the patient's stay at the coronary care unit. Action-oriented methods of coping are necessary during the rehabilitative phase in order to allow the patient to resume a normal life and to avoid "cardiac neurosis."

#### Active Resistance as Instrumental and Realistic Coping

Prolonged extremity becomes for most men a slow, despairing abdication of courage and self-respect; a readiness to condone and remain silent, to look away while others die. Under Stalin this process was widespread, including (this is noted without claiming anything better to be expected from ourselves, should a reign of terror descent) just about everyone in some degree--everyone except

the "zeks." And this is Solzhenitsyn's highest claim for the men in the camps: they alone did not bow down. (DesPres, 1971)

Perhaps this is the strongest indictment of the human will and spirit ever recorded--that in extremity we as a species overwhelmingly choose not to resist and eventually wind up foresaking our dignity and self-esteem in exchange for mere subsistence. In totalitarian systems, those based on a reign of torture and error, the clearest examples of this abdication of human self-respect are available. However, the brightest moments of our history as a self-determined and dignified species have also been recorded in these trying scenarios. DesPres (1971) discusses in an enlightening mode the basic choices that man has in extreme situations:

To escape involvement becomes impossible: being in it, one either implements evil, allows it, or suffers it. And in a totalitarian order especially, to condone evil, to evade and rationalize, to watch and fail to speak, is precisely the mark of its victory over the human spirit. In this case only the survivor, by being thrown into the camps and by running a higher risk of death, comes through (if he comes through) with innocence intact. In extremity, that is, if a man is determined to become a human being he must be ready to take upon himself the survivor's risk and suffering. (p. 53)

Being a "survivor" is tantamount to remaining human and capable of influencing one's environment--by actively resisting. However, the consequences usually come in the form of more abuses and atrocities but yet, the individual actively resisting the extreme stresses feels a resurgence of dignity in that he remains himself and not someone "actively pretending not to observe" (Bettelheim, 1960). As this writer has aptly stated, to give up noticing, observing, reacting and

taking action, one gives up living one's own life. In essence, to actively resist or the "survivor's" refusal to part with his innocence is the vehicle to cope and remain human and the reason why the "survivor" became a "survivor" in the first place (DesPres, 1971).

There is some evidence that active resistance as a method of coping can influence survival itself. In a study of the effects of moving aged persons from one institution to another (Aldrich & Mendkoff, 1963) it was determined that the increase in mortality rate usually associated with institutional relocations in the aged was not uniform in all who experienced the move. As a matter of fact it varied with the coping strategies used by the elderly residents. The psychotic and depressed elderly fared poorly. In contrast, those residents who vigorously and angrily resisted the move had lower than expectable mortality rates.

Kogon (1958) has documented the resistance of Jewish camp inmates and how their attempts to resist and control the Nazi forces succeeded in controlling work assignments and reassignment of inmates to other camps, outside work details, and protecting valuable members of the underground from the Germans:

There were a number of effective means by which the prisoners could assert their interests. They were all based on two essential prerequisites: power inside the camp, and a well organized intelligence service. Functional cohesion was insured by the intelligence service. Such a system was built up in every camp from the very outset. Reliable key members of the ruling group--or the group seeking power--were systematically wormed into all important posts, sometimes only after

bitter and complex maneuvering. There they were able to observe everything that happened in the ranks of the SS and the prisoners, to obtain information on every personnel shift and policy trend, to overhear every conversation. . . Every detail had its official "runners" ostensibly appointed in order to maintain liaison with the numerous scattered SS offices. Actually three-fourths of their time was taken up by work on behalf of the prisoners. (p. 254-255)

The instrumentality of this strategy in another setting --a mental hospital--is reported by Goffman (1961). This author sees this strategy to have limited instrumentality, however. He adds that although inmate organizations in institutions have sometimes been strong enough to run strikes and short-lived insurrections and that underground organizations have developed in prisoner-of-war and concentration camps, these have been the exception rather than the rule. Goffman (1961) allows for active resistance in the inmate's career in the theoretical stage that he terms "intransigent line": the inmate intentionally challenges the institution by flagrantly refusing to cooperate with staff. He adds, moreover, that this is typically a temporary and initial phase of reaction with a subsequent shifting to a situational withdrawal or some other coping type of non-resistive behavior. His point is basically that individuals in institutionalized settings tend to conform rather than resist.

More along this line is reported by Cohen and Taylor (1972). These authors review the sociological literature and state that the conclusion reached is that the typical reaction of the prisoner to his predicament is dulled acceptance. It appears that the starting point for most such sociological

studies is a concern about the relative absence of organized resistance within prisons. Their own study, however, documents a high level of resistance amongst the inmates serving long-term sentences in Durham prison in England. Five types or forms of active-resistance were observed by these investigators in their work with the long-term prisoners of E-wing at Durham prison in England. The types of resistance were not found to be mutually exclusive nor were they linked to any particular period of the prisoner's sentence. The types are:

- a) self-protecting: This type ranges from the habitual attempts to make life more bearable in prison to active or passive individual refusal to cooperate with the staff (intransigence) and a deliberate challenging of staff rules;
- b) campaigning: Formalizing responses as complaining to the press and national and international organizations;
- c) escaping;
- d) striking: The hunger strike as an individual weapon; and
- e) confronting: Mutiny, insurrection, and group rebellion.

These authors added that the high degree of resistance that they observed in this prison--manifested in the five different forms already mentioned--was partially advanced by the fact that the inmates had little to bargain for in exchange for accommodating to the system. Other reasons given for this high degree of active resistance: few privileges; periodic transfers of prisoners with concomitant disruption of special interest groups; and the relatively minor impact of the degradation ceremonies upon the men's sense of identity (e.g., exchanging one's name for a number, losing

one's personal possessions) which at other institutions has the effect of demoralizing the prisoners or residents and consequently subduing them.

Another documented report of active resistance is provided by Cohen (1966) in his account of how an order by a U.S. Army battalion commander to organize and provide academic and vocational courses was carried out. The rationale for the courses was to maintain the morale of American forces in the Philippines after the announcement of the Japanese surrender in World War II. The magnitude of the collaboration and the collective efforts to violate regulations which became necessary to carry out the project can be observed from the author's own account:

The school quickly materialized, and so did the necessary equipment. I spent one day a week traveling about the island of Luzon "requisitioning" equipment. ("Requisitioning, as practiced in the armed forces can mean 1) properly requesting, 2) confiscating, 3) just plain stealing--sometimes referred to as liberating.") This day was dedicated to the violation of regulations, not only by me but by scores of supply sergeants and officers in Army Navy and Air Force installations. requests were not granted perfunctorily: I had to explain my bizarre requests for cameras and other photographic equipment; for books, automobile engines, stationery and so on. But when I did this, I met with understanding and cooperation. Of course this procurement activity was largely furtive, involving a great deal of illegal falsification of records and it was not without some risk to those involved. But the school was successful. Some months later the War Dept. caught up with events and issued regulations authorizing the issuance of supplies that I had only been able to obtain illegally. (p. 78-79)

Bettelheim (1960) reports on a rare instance of supreme active-resistance in the camps. He provides this example to

illustrate the validity of actively-resisting as a means of regaining one's personality--despite the grotesque setting and dire consequence of the action--and how in an instant the dehumanizing damage of the camps can be undone once the individual chooses to cease being a unit in a system.

Once, a group of naked prisoners about to enter the gas chamber stood lined up in front of it. In some way the commanding SS officer learned that one of the women prisoners had been a dancer. So he ordered her to dance for him. She did and as she danced, she approached him, seized his gun, and shot him down. She too was immediately shot to death. (p. 265)

Dying patients have traditionally not been associated with any direct control in regards to themselves and their dying process. Kubler-Ross (1969), in an insightful and penetrating treatise on the process of death and dying documents numerous cases of terminally ill and dying patients who strive to maintain a sense of dignity by vigorously resisting and opposing unnecessary life-prolonging medical interventions. She provides an account of one such dignified patient who had an acute psychotic episode which thwarted a planned medical intervention to which the patient and Dr. Kubler-Ross were opposed. The patient regained her coherence and lucidity as soon as the intervention was cancelled. This author makes the remark that although this patient's efforts were exceptional, they represent the desire for control and dignity that her dying patients have desired and actively fought for.

Active resistance has been documented at a community level in the aftermath of an earthquake-avalanche disaster (Oliver-Smith, 1982). This coping style was successfully

employed by the survivors of the earthquake-avalanche of Yungay, Peru in the year 1970 when government authorities attempted to relocate the survivors to a nearby city. This researcher interpreted the successful resistance to the government-organized resettlement project as a "crucial element in the adaptation of the victims in the effort to cope with their loss and grief, to reconstruct their community, to reestablish social order similar to the one they lost, and to strengthen personal identities threatened by the events of the disaster and its aftermath" (p.86).

#### Active Resistance in Cuba's Prisons: Background

With the fall of Batista's government on January 1, 1959 and the take over of Fidel Castro's revolutionary government, life in Cuba took on immediate and drastic changes which affected every citizen from the most affluent to the poor. To start with, key political and military figures of the prior regime were tried and executed under what was publicized as Latin America's Nuremberg Trials but which, as is speculated by public opinion, turned out to be a parody of justice. Moreover, hundreds of military personnel were immediately incarcerated and handed indeterminate prison sentences.

It did not take long for a generalized disenchantment to prevail among the country's citizenry to the gradual but decisive policies and procedures of changing the course of political and governmental tides. Many abhorred the actions which were instituted to forcefully steer the country into a Communist ideology, government and way of life. Literally,

hundreds of thousands of Cuba's upper and middle classes responses by a mass exodus to the United States and other countries which allowed immigration into their territories.

A smaller minority of individuals, some who had participated with Castro in the fight against Batista, organized and participated in what came to be known as "actividades contrarrevolucionarias" or counter-revolutionary activities. These activities ranged in form from non-violent expressions as printing and disseminating subversive literature to the more violent actions of assassinations and bombings. Some of these counter-revolutionaries operated directly from within the country and other directed their combative efforts against the Castro regime from makeshift military bases abroad.

As has been documented before (Solzhenitsyn, 1973 & 1975) Communist take over in a country is usually preceded and followed by massive arrests, detentions, and incarcerations. In Cuba this meant a burgeoning of prisons and detention facilities and the literal transformation of the island into an immense prison. A series of specialized centers of torture, buildings with chambers dedicated to the softening or undermining of the prisoners before being interrogated, concentration camps and hard-labor farms, were added to the traditional centers of confinement (Martinez, 1964).

Because it is difficult to obtain and check such information, the estimated total of political prisoners in Cuba has only been approximated. Martinez (1964) reports between 70,000 and 80,000 persons of both sexes and all ages, as young

as 14 years of age, incarcerated in Cuba's jails. The figure of 4,000-5,000 put forward in the Amnesty International Report (1976) applies to only those prisoners whom the Cuban government recognizes and adjudicates on political charges. However, in a televised interview broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation on February 1, 1977, Carlos Rafael Rodriquez, one of Cuba's Vice Presidents, affirmed that the "counter-revolutionaries," held in prison could not be considered political prisoners (Amnesty International, 1977). Therefore, figures provided by Cuban authorities do not consider the thousands of individuals who actually resist and combat the regime. The category of political prisoners circa 1977 was estimated by Amnesty International (1977) to be around the 2,000-3,000 total and confirmed by Castro in a televised interview with the American journalist Barbara Walters in June 1977. However, President Jimmy Carter, as reported by the New York Times of May 31, 1977, estimated the numbers of political prisoners in Cuba to be around the 15,000 to 20,000 mark.

#### Isle of Pines: Presidio Modelo

The concept of forced labor, which, incidentally was the issue that generated the collective and active resistance in Cuba's prisons, was instituted in Isle of Pines in late June of 1963 on an experimental basis in what became known as "Plan Morejon." This experimental plan, named after its originator and director, had a duration of about eight months and served as a laboratory model for the subsequent implementation of

forced labor in the entire penal population of this island/prison (Menendez, in press).

This experimental forced labor plan, however, also paved the way for a collective response by the prisoners which patented the collective nature and expression of active-resistance. Basically the intended message was that the prisoners would not willingly and submissively work--they would have to be forced. An expression of the rebellious quality of attitude that these prisoners adopted was the refusal to accept the offered benefits of laboring in the fields such as cigarettes, coffee, cold drinking water and other concessions. A basic goal of refusing these compensations was to accentuate the forced character of the labor (Menendez, in press).

After the initial forced labor experiment which lasted about eight months and had a limited subject population, the penal authorities decided to implement the forced labor on the entire prison population. At this point, the prisoner leaders decided to discuss strategies and adopt a method to counteract the prison authorities' decision to implement the massive forced labor.

Out of a series of discussions the prisoner leaders developed four philosophical positions vis a vis the issue of forced labor. Menendez (in press) delineates these positions: The first position, which only had a minority of advocates, posited that to offer any form of resistance would be redundant as every activity in a Communist prison is ostensibly of a forced nature. The labor would be of an obvious forced

nature anyway without the prisoners having to accentuate this dimension. The second philosophical position and one that enjoyed the advocacy of a substantial number of prisoners, entailed organizing an initial protest, of a symbolic nature, to oppose the forced labor. This position did not favor a prolonged active resistance as this would take a substantial physical toll on the prisoners.

The third and official position, as it was the position advocated by the prisoner leaders, affirmed the need to establish the compulsory character of the labor. Furthermore, this was to be done in a collective, continuous, and prolonged fashion by compelling the penal authorities to force the prisoners to work. Also, a series of sabotage and disruptive activities were part of this philosophical position. These methods were intended to exhaust any doubts regarding the prisoners' opposition to the labor. This position specifically delineated the use of physical violence by the authorities as the method necessitated in order to make the prisoners work. The overall objectives of this philosophical position were to put an end to friendly or cordial communications between the penal authorities and the prisoner population and force the authorities to weight the benefits of the labor against its liabilities. The liabilities were planned to take the following form: a) a great manpower necessitated to implement the labor; b) losses due to disruptive activities and sabotage; and c) more importantly, to focus international attention on an allegedly humanitarian government when it

became discovered to be savagely beating thousands of prisoners to make them labor under forced conditions.

The fourth philosophical position, which had great theoretical backing but a meager number of adherents was the "Plantado" position. This position entailed a complete reluctance to work and was understood to possibly trigger repressive repercussions from the authorities. It was further postulated that if the prisoners could endure successfully the initial brutality and attacks by the penal authorities the expected result would be an abolishment of the forced labor plan since the government was not prepared to summarily execute thousands of prisoners and risk international exposure.

The generalized attempt to compel the entire prison population to work productively in agricultural tasks was one component of the "Camilo Cienfuegos Rehabilitation Plan," named after a high ranking officer of Castro's revolutionary forces who, as is speculated by historians and public opinion, was ordered killed once he was not willing to allow Cuba to form an alliance with the Soviet block. The six components or conditions of the plan were: a) to participate productively in the labor in the fields; b) attend and participate Marxist-Leninist indoctrination classes; c) act as an informer for prison authorities; d) supply information related to the prisoner's alleged crime; i.e., names and whereabouts of other who also participated; e) make a public admission of the alleged crime; f) make a public renouncement of personal and

political convictions and publicly embrace the Marxist-Leninist philosophies.

In exchange for what most prisoners considered a series of denigrating and humiliating conditions, the individual would be accepted into the "Rehabilitation Plan" and provided the benefits of a reduced sentence, better food, frequent visits by his family, and an overall improvement in his incarcerated life. Moreover, his family would also benefit in that organized and systematic harrassment would diminish and their lives would also take a turn for the better.

Failure of prisoner repression measures: Shutdown of Presidio Modelo

The dissolution of Presidio Modelo is dated around early March of 1967 along with the complete transfer of all prisoners to other prison, labor, and concentration camps in the mainland and the closing down of this traditional center of confinement. This drastic and unprecedented measure by the Castro government is viewed (Menendez, in press) as an undisputed and clearly successful victory by the prisoner population vis a vis the Rehabilitation Plan and concomitant forced labor. From an inmate population totalling six thousand, only two hundred prisoners accepted the conditions of the Plan during its three years of existence, despite its stipulated advantages to the prisoner.

Subsequent years in the history of Cuba's political prisons are tainted with further accounts of horror and abuse. Stricter and perhaps more sophisticated measures of confinement, torture, and brutality aimed at softening the intransi-

gents and making them servile instruments of the State were put into operation (Organization of American States, 1979). It has been speculated (Iglesias, 1982) that the political prison system in Cuba is now under the instructional guidance and professional supervision of Soviet experts. Accounts, by ex-prisoners now living in the U.S., of procedures aimed at breaking the prisoner's will appear at first glance to be methodical and carry a semblance of scientific structuring, design, and implementation. This change of Cuba's penal system, from a primitive and unorganized structure to one which appears to be heading towards a scientific design carries with it the frightening reminder of the Nazi medical and laboratory experiments and the dismal promise that respect for human rights will continue to be abused in this Communist nation.

The expression of active resistance continues to be heard from Cuba's prisons. It is mostly manifested in its extreme form--"Plantado"--and this posture continues to exemplify an intransigence and unwillingness to capitulate. In recent times the term continues to connote a firm rootedness but the single issue which triggered its origin and application during the years 1964-1967--the forced labor--is no longer the issue which individuals who adopt this stance are actively resisting and opposing. The term and practice are now utilized by hundreds of isolated individuals and small groups who have different human rights matters that they are loudly complaining about through the expression of "Plantado."

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Overview of Study

This research endeavored to investigate humans' methods of coping in a situation of extreme stress. Investigations of coping in extreme situations of the human-imposed type have included documentation of the concentration camp experiences, P.O.W. camp experiences, and political prisons. The research conducted in the past in this area has relied on survivors of such harsh situations who have lived to tell their stories, e.g., Jewish survivors of Nazi concentration camps (Bluhm, 1948; Eitinger, 1964; Niederland, 1968); World War II P.O.W.'s (Raines and Kolb, 1943; Wolf and Ripley, 1947; Nardini, 1952); Korean War P.O.W.'s (Lifton, 1954; Strassman, Thaler and Schein, 1956); Viet Nam P.O.W.'s (Deaton, Berg, Richlin and Litrownik, 1977); and political prisoners of Communist countries now living in the free world (Solzhenitsyn, 1973, 1975). Most of the subjects or volunteers that have participated in this research have disclosed using a combination of intrapsychic and action-oriented coping strategies during their captivity or imprisonment.

The research indicates an overwhelming reliance by these survivors on intrapsychic methods of coping. Basically, the mechanism of denial, isolation of affect, intellectualization, identification with the aggressor, psychological removal, mobilization of hope and focusing on the good or selectively

attending are the major intrapsychic defenses and most employed coping strategies documented in this literature (Chodoff, 1970; Dimsdale, 1978, 1980). Some documentation of action-oriented methods of coping are also available. The strategies of group affiliation, regressive behavior, and attitudinal and environmental mastery are the major methods under this active style of coping (Dimsdale, 1978, 1980). However, active resistance, an extreme form of action oriented coping, is negligibly documented. Singular accounts of individuals defying their captors are sparsely scattered in the literature (Bettelheim, 1960) and some documentation is available of isolated incidents of collective resistance by groups of prisoners interned in these harsh environments (Kogon, 1958). Some researchers have deemed these incidents as the product of individuals who would defy authority in almost any circumstances (Lifton, 1954); i.e., the adaptive value of the strategy is questioned and also the psychological integrity of those involved.

Consequently, our knowledge of human behavior under extreme human-imposed conditions is devoid of thorough information regarding adaptational methods of the active-resistive type. Moreover, information about individuals who employ such strategies is very limited.

#### Population

We have available a pool of survivors in this country who as a group exhibited active resistance in a collective, continuous and prolonged manner during their years of imprison-

ment and survived to reveal the conditions and consequences of their ordeal. This writer is referring to the Cuban political ex-prisoners, many who actually served sentences of 20 years in Communist jails and concentration camps in Cuba. A vast body of literature has reported that a substantial number of these individuals assumed an intransigent and non-capitulating posture during their long years of imprisonment. This posture is referred to as "Plantado" in the prison vernacular and literally means "firmly rooted."

The population of interest in this research was the Cuban political prisoner population interned in Presidio Modelo, Isle of Pines, Cuba, between the years 1964-1967. The Model Prison, located a short ferry ride directly south of Havana in many respects resembled the Alcatraz prison because of its location in an isolated island-prison away from the mainland.

The population interned at this particular prison during the years 1964-1967 represented an important population for research because of the following reasons: a) this penal population exhibited active resistance in an organized, collective, and continuous fashion; b) the origins of the "Plantado" posture are found in this population; and c) there is a clear beginning and a clear end to the collective active resistance which is of interest in this study: the regime's "Rehabilitation Plan" along with its component of forced labor (the basic reason why the penal population actively resisted) was activated in 1964 and discontinued in 1967 along with the

complete transfer of all prisoners to other prison camps in the mainland and the closing down of Presidio Modelo.

### Sample

Availability of a representative sample was a difficult matter as many of the prisoners that were interned at Presidio Modelo between the years 1964-1967 continue to be incarcerated in other prison camps throughout Cuba to this date; others who are now released continue to live inside Cuba. It became necessary, for obvious reasons, to restrict the population of this study to those individuals who were interned in Presidio Modelo during the 1964-1967 years and who were released and resided in the U.S. More specifically, the population was limited to those individuals who fit the above-mentioned criteria and who resided in the South Florida area.

The sample was chosen from a compilation of three hundred names of inmates who fit the population criteria. This compilation of names was gathered and made available by the five individuals who collaborated with this writer. These five collaborators are described in the following section of this chapter.

From a compiled list of names, addresses and phone numbers of three hundred ex-inmates living in the South Florida area who fit the criteria for inclusion in this research project, one hundred and forty names were randomly selected by means of a random numbers table. These one hundred and forty individuals were mailed a preliminary letter which informed the reader of the nature of the research under-

way and requested his collaboration by granting the researcher a confidential individual interview. A copy in English of the letter of introduction is included in Appendix A. A copy in Spanish of the letter of introduction is included in Appendix B.

From a total of one hundred and forty letters mailed, twenty six were returned to sender because the individuals no longer lived at the address mailed and, furthermore, no forwarding addresses were available. The remaining one hundred and fourteen prospective subjects were telephoned and requested to participate in the study. Out of these one hundred fourteen prospective subjects, eighteen were unable to participate. Seven were categorically unwilling to participate and the other eleven could not commit themselves to the required time for the interview. Finally, a total of ninety-six individuals was selected to participate in this study.

#### Collaborators

This study relied on the first hand knowledge and expertness of five individuals who agreed to aid this writer. These five individuals, ex-political prisoners themselves and highly knowledgeable of the vicissitudes of Presidio Modelo during the years 1964-1967, enjoy a high reputation among the entire Cuban ex-political prisoner population.

These five collaborators aided this writer in three crucial matters. First they compiled the names of the available inmates who fit the population criteria, i.e., having been interned at Presidio Modelo during the 1964-1967 years

and presently residing in South Florida. From this list, as was stated earlier, a random numbers table was used to select the 96 subjects which participated in this research. Secondly, they judged each of the items on the Prisoner Repression Scale according to the degree of severity or torture and indignity that the item represented. A scale of 1-100 was employed to quantify each of these items according to the levels of torture and indignity which it signified to the prisoner. A copy of this scale and its rating guide is found in Appendices D and E respectively.

Thirdly, the five collaborators also judged each of the items on the Active Resistance Scale according to its representativeness of resistive behavior. A scale of 1-100 was employed to quantify each of these items according to the degree of intransigence and resistance which the item represents. A copy of this scale and its rating guide is found in Appendices H and I respectively.

The following are brief descriptions of these five collaborators. The first collaborator was the editor of an anthology of the history of Cuba's political prison system, and an ex-political prisoner himself who was interned in Isle of Pines during the years of interest to this research. He held positions of leadership in the prisoner population and is highly regarded by the entire ex-political prisoner population. He is presently residing in Miami, Florida, and is pursuing an undergraduate degree in mathematics from one of the local universities.

The second collaborator was a medical doctor who is presently practicing internal medicine in Miami, Florida. He is an ex-political prisoner who was interned in Isle of Pines during the years of concern to this research and experienced a total of 16 years in Cuba's prisons. He is highly regarded and respected by the entire ex-political prisoner population.

The third collaborator was a lawyer who in this country practices the profession of journalism. He is an ex-political prisoner who experienced 18 years in Cuba's jails and who was interned in Isle of Pines during the years of interest to this research. He held leadership roles during his years as a prisoner and is highly regarded by the ex-political prisoner population. He presently resides in Miami, Florida.

The fourth collaborator was an ex-political prisoner who also spent 18 years in Cuba's prisons. He completed several years of undergraduate university training before his incarceration. He was considered a leader among the prisoner population and continues to enjoy the respect and admiration of all ex-prisoners. He was interned in Isle of Pines during the years of concern to this research. He lives in Miami, Florida.

The fifth collaborator was a veteran of 16 years in Cuba's Communist jails. He held positions of leadership during these years and was interned in Isle of Pines during the period of concern to this study. He continues to be regarded and respected by all ex-political prisoners. He is self-employed and resides in Jacksonville, Florida.

### Data Collection Procedures

The principal procedure used in this research was the structured interview schedule. The pilot interviews done indicated that a written questionnaire would not be sufficient to obtain the required data. It was found that intensive probing into some of the responses was needed and that this could be more successfully done in the interview.

In an interview, since the interviewer and the individual being interviewed are both present as the questions are being asked and answered, there is greater opportunity in eliciting information. The interviewer also has the opportunity in eliciting information. The interviewer also has the opportunity to observe both the subject and the total situation to which he is responding (Phillips, 1966). The interview is also the more appropriate technique, according to several writers (Phillips, 1966; Selltitz et al., 1961; Adams, 1958), for revealing information about complex, emotionally laden subjects or for probing the sentiments that may underlie an expressed opinion.

The interview schedule used in this research was structured, but the questions remained "open-ended." Such questions were designed to elicit free responses from the subject rather than to obtain limited responses to several alternatives. These questions were aimed at raising issues but did not suggest the structure for the subject's reply. There were questions of a directive and probing nature,

however, if/when it became necessary to elicit the desired information.

Through means of the structured interview schedule, data were collected in the following areas:

1. Prisoner's age: Data were collected with regards to the prisoners' ages during the years of interest to this research.
2. Education: Data were collected with regards to the number of years of formal education attained by the prisoners up to the years of interest of this research.
3. Intrapsychic Coping Strategies: Dimsdale's (1978; 1980) classification system of coping strategies was used as a framework to classify and compute the number of intrapsychic coping strategies that prisoners used during the years of interest to this research.
4. Action-Oriented Coping Strategies: Dimsdale's classification system was also used as a framework to classify and compute the number of action-oriented coping strategies that prisoners used during the years of interest to this research. Dimsdale's system is reviewed at length in Chapter II.
5. Prisoner Repression: The Prisoner Repression Scale was used to collect and compute data regarding tortures and indignities that prisoners were put through. This scale is described in this chapter.
6. Sentence: Sentence (in years) that prisoners were serving during the years of interest to this research.

7. Family Presence: The percent of immediate family members of prisoners left in the country was computed.
8. Family Support: The percent of immediate family members of prisoners left in the country who demonstrated support, backing, and encouragement was computed. Support was defined as the psychological, spiritual, moral and physical encouragement of the prisoner's use of active resistance as a method of coping. The encouragement, backing and support was expected to be demonstrated by visits and letters.
9. Active Resistance: The Active Resistance Scale was used to collect and compute data regarding resistive strategies that prisoners employed during the years of interest to this research. This scale is described in this chapter.

### Instrumentation

#### The Prisoner Repression Scale

The Prisoner Repression Scale, a 28 item scale constructed from the literature on Cuban political prisoners and from a series of pilot interviews conducted by this writer, was designed to provide a measure of the overall abuse--tortures and indignities--that a prisoner was exposed to. A copy of the scale is found in Appendix D. The scale was administered as part of the structured interview, the data collection method which was utilized in this research. The researcher asked "open-ended" questions to elicit information regarding the degree of abuse that the subject received during his incarceration and used the rating guide of this instrument

to derive a total score for the subject. Probing questions were employed if/when it became necessary to obtain the necessary data.

The rating guide for the scale was formulated by the five collaborators who aided this writer. A copy of the rating guide of this scale is found in Appendix E. They rated each of the items on this instrument on a scale of 1-100 according to the severity of the item. The computed mean score from the five collaborators' rating represented a basal rating or "minimum frequency" for each item. If during the administration of the instrument it was ascertained that the frequency of a particular item fell in the "moderate" range, scoring was determined by multiplying the item's basal rating times two. When the frequency of a particular item was ascertained to fall in the "often" range, scoring was determined by multiplying the item's basal rating times three. When an item had zero frequency, or said differently if the item's particular form of torture or indignity was never perpetrated on the subject, the item was scored zero. A total score was arrived at by adding the scores of all 28 items on the scale.

The following segments from three of the interviews illustrate possible differences in responses to one particular item in the Prisoner Repression Scale, and the differences in scoring the item due to variability in its frequency. The item used for the three examples is item 2 or "Planazo". The five collaborators' computed mean score or basal rating for the item was 81.

This segment illustrates a "minimum" frequency for the item "Planazo" or a score of 81 for this item:

I was hit a few times but then I became very careful to let the guard always think I was working when he looked my way. I wasn't hit as often after that.

This next segment illustrates a "moderate" frequency for the item "Planazo" or a score of 162 for this item:

Well, I was hit my share of times during those years but I know that many others were being beaten (Planazos) what seemed like constantly. I just wasn't as hard headed in some respects as some were.

The following segment illustrates an "often" frequency for the item "Planazo" or a score of 243 for this item:

By virtue of the position I held in my labor crew and other organizations in the prison I was called upon to act as a leader in the resistance to the labor. This of course created a lot of conflict with the guards. I remember one particular guard who would come near me at exactly 10:00 A.M. every morning just to give me a "planazo." We used to joke about it being a sexual thing that he had for me.

Testing for consistency in the scoring of the Prisoner Repression Scale was a major concern of the research. To examine the researcher's consistency in scoring this instrument over several trials a volunteer was trained in the use of the instrument's scoring guide. The volunteer was a thirty-two year old male with a baccalaureate degree and fluency in both English and Spanish languages. Subsequent to learning the use of the scoring guide, the volunteer was asked to listen to the first five percent (five interviews) of taped interviews in the research sample (N=96). Moreover, he was

asked to independently rate the responses of the subjects during the taped interviews on the Prisoner Repression Scale. These five interviews were conducted and taped by the researcher who also rated the subjects' responses on the Prisoner Repression Scale.

The two sets of data on the same five interviews were used to compute a Pearson product moment correlation coefficient (Ary, Jacobs and Razaveih, 1979). Pearson  $r$  is a correlation index computed to indicate both the direction and the strength of a relationship between variables.

Table 1 contains computed ratings of the five Prisoner Repression Scales scored both by the researcher and the volunteer scorer. It also contains the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient relating these two sets of data and the  $t$  value for this relationship.

Table 1

Scale Scores, Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient and  $t$  value Relating Scoring of the Prisoner Repression Scale by the Researcher and a Volunteer Scorer

	Scale Scores					$r$	$t$ value
	1	2	3	4	5		
Researcher	19.84	30.96	27.77	27.73	17.25	.88	6.34*
Volunteer Scorer	16.78	30.67	25.56	31.61	19.57		

N=5

\* $p < .01$

The computed Pearson product moment correlation coefficient for the relationship between scoring of the Prisoner Repression Scale by the researcher and a volunteer

scorer was  $r=.88$ . This relationship was significant at the  $p<.01$  level.

### The Active Resistance Scale

The Active Resistance Scale, a 22 item scale constructed from the literature on Cuban political prisoners and from a series of pilot interviews conducted by this writer, was designed to provide a measure of the overall level of active resistance that a prisoner exhibited. A copy of the scale is found in Appendix H. The scale was administered as part of the structural interview, the data collection method which was utilized in this research. The researcher asked "open-ended" questions to elicit information regarding the degree of resistance that the subject exhibited during his incarceration and used the rating guide of this instrument to derive a total score for the subject. Probing questions were employed if/when necessary to obtain the necessary data.

The rating guide for the scale was formulated by the five collaborators who aided this writer. A copy of the rating guide of this scale is found in Appendix I. They rated each of the items on this instrument on a scale of 1-100 according to the resistive quality of the item. The computed mean score from the five experts' ratings represented a basal rating or "minimal frequency" for each item. If during the administration of the instrument it was ascertained that the frequency of a particular item fell in the "moderate" range, scoring was determined by multiplying the item's basal rating times two.

When the frequency of a particular items was ascertained to fall in the "often" range, scoring was determined by multiplying the item's basal rating times three. If an item had zero frequency, or said differently, if the item's particular form of active resistance was "never" exhibited by the subject, the item was scored zero. A total score was arrived at by adding the scores of all 22 items on the scale.

The following segments from three of the interviews illustrate possible differences in responses to one particular item, in the Active Resistance Scale, and the differences in scoring the item due to variability in its frequency. The item used for the three examples is item 10 or "Lentitud en el Trabajo." The five collaborators' computed mean score basal rating for the item was 78.

This segment illustrates a "minimum" frequency for the item for a score of 78:

I just couldn't bring myself to deliberately work so slow. I tried it at times but found myself so preoccupied with the idea of what I would do if the guard hit me that I decided it would be better to work at a normal pace. I cannot tolerate getting hit, I become furious, so it was easier not to provoke them.

The following segment illustrates a "moderate" frequency for the item or a score of 156:

Working at a deliberately slow pace was always my intention when I arrived at the fields. But you know, there is a good feeling involved in doing a good job. I'm a farmer and I know of no other way to work the land. I tried to work slower than usual but I would eventually get involved in what I was doing and ended up doing it at my pace.

This segment illustrates an "often" frequency for the item of a score of 234:

It was a constant battle for me...You know that when you slow down the normal swing of a machete or a hoe the work becomes harder. There's a smooth and normal stroke...but I always fought against it and slowed down. I even counted between strokes to delay it as much as possible.

Testing for consistency in the scoring of the Active Resistance Scale was a major concern of this research. To examine the researcher's consistency in scoring this instrument over several trials a volunteer was trained in the use of the instrument's scoring guide. The volunteer was a thirty-three year old self employed male with a high school education and fluency in both English and Spanish languages. Subsequent to learning the use of the scoring guide, the volunteer was asked to listen to the first five percent (five interviews) of taped interviews in the research sample (N=96). Moreover, he was asked to independently rate the responses of the subjects during the taped interviews on the Active Resistance Scale. These five interviews were conducted and taped by the researcher who also rated the subjects' responses on the Active Resistance Scale.

The two sets of data of the same five interviews were used to compute a Pearson product moment correlation coefficient (Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh, 1979). Pearson  $r$  is correlation index computed to indicate both the direction and the strength of a relationship between variables.

Table 2 contains computed ratings of the five Active Resistance Scales scored by both the researcher and the volunteer scorer. It also contains the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient relating these two sets of data and the t value for this relationship.

Table 2

Scale Scores, Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient, and t value Relating Scoring of the Active Resistance Scale by the Researcher and a Volunteer Scorer

	Scale Scores					r	t value
	1	2	3	4	5		
Researcher	23.04	29.76	31.54	16.32	22.00	.93	6.91*
Volunteer Scorer	21.69	28.20	27.66	19.57	21.64		

N=5

\*p<.01

The computed Pearson product moment correlation coefficient for the relationship between scoring of the Active Resistance Scale by the researcher and a volunteer scorer was  $r=.93$ . This relationship was significant at the  $p<.01$  level.

#### The Structured Interview Schedule Sheet

The Structured Interview Schedule Sheet, constructed from the literature on coping in human-imposed extreme conditions, the Cuban political prisoners literature, and a series of pilot interviews conducted by this writer was designed for use in collecting specific information of interest in this research. Information was drawn from the following areas: a) number and types of different intrapsychic coping strategies that prisoner used during his years of incarceration.

Dimsdale's (1978, 1980) hierarchy of coping strategies was used as a framework for identifying and cataloging these intrapsychic strategies. Specifically, seven intrapsychic strategies make up the Dimsdale hierarchy; these are listed and defined in the review of the literature of this study; b) number and types of different action-oriented coping strategies that prisoner used during his years of incarceration. Dimsdale's (1978, 1980) hierarchy of coping strategies was also used as a framework for identifying and cataloging these action-oriented strategies. Specifically, three action-oriented strategies make up the Dimsdale hierarchy; these are listed and defined in the review of the literature of this study; c) length of prisoner's sentence d) percent of significant others (family members) present in country during years of incarceration; e) percent of significant others which provided support and encouragement to prisoner regarding his expression of active resistance; f) age of inmate during years of incarceration; and g) educational level of inmate during years of incarceration.

#### Research Design and Data Analyses

The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationship between degree of active resistance--as measured by Active Resistance Scale--and the following clusters of continuous independent variables: coping characteristics, captor characteristics, family characteristics and individual characteristics. These relationships were investigated through a descriptive research design. The subjects received

structured individual interviews with the Active Resistance Scale and the Prisoner Repression Scale being used during these interviews to acquire data in their respective domains. Information on the variables coping, family, individual characteristics, age and education were also obtained through the structured interview schedule.

Analyses of these relationships were done by several regression models which assessed the combined contribution of the identified predictor variables to ratings of active resistance. These multiple regression analyses were computed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Multiple Regression analysis: Subprogram Regression (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Brent 1975). Multiple regression is a general statistical technique through which the analysis of the relationship between a dependent or criterion variable and a set of independent or predictor variables is possible. Multiple regression is viewed either as a descriptive tool by which the linear dependence of one variable on others is summarized and decomposed, or as an inferential tool by which the relationships in the population are evaluated from examination of sample data.

In this research multiple regression analysis was used as a descriptive tool inasmuch that it was desired to a) find the best linear prediction equation and evaluate its prediction accuracy and to b) control for other confounding factors in order to evaluate the contribution of a specific variable or set of variables.

Post hoc analyses were conducted by means of a multi-variate analysis of variance for unequal N's. This procedure included an analysis of significant F-ratios by means of the Tukey Honestly Significant Differences (Keppel, 1973) in order to identify specific group differences. Analysis of variance was completed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS): Subprogram ANOVA (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Brent, 1975). The procedure analysis of variance (ANOVA) uses a ratio of observed differences/error term to test hypotheses. This ration, called the F-ratio, employs the variance of group means as a measure of observed differences among groups. Analysis of variance is used to test the difference between two or more means (Ary, Jacobs, and Razavieh, 1979).

#### Research Questions

As has been stated throughout this work, active resistance, as a major method of coping in human-imposed extreme situations is negligibly documented in the psychological and psychiatric literature. Little information is available regarding the expression of this coping strategy and even less information is available regarding those individuals who employ it. Consequently, this research represented a pioneering endeavor into this virtually unexplored coping phenomenon.

The use of formal hypotheses tends to focus the investigator's efforts on a narrow and central focus of attention. As stated by Armstrong (1974), "this is valid in verification

research where possible outcomes have already been identified and extraneous variables controlled" (p. 213). He further states that formal hypotheses become a serious limiting factor to the investigator interested in anything that may result from his research.

In light of these observations by Armstrong (1974) and the pioneering, exploratory, and "ground-breaking" nature of the research, this researcher decided not to formulate formal hypotheses and instead focused on the following research questions:

- 1) Do the individual characteristics of age and education predict active resistance?
2. Do the coping characteristics of intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies predict active resistance?
3. Do the captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence predict active resistance?
4. Do the family characteristics of family presence and family support predict active resistance?
5. What is the optimal linear prediction equation of active resistance?

#### Limitations of the Study

- 1) The sample for this study was chosen from prisoners now living in this country. Since this obviously does not take into account those individuals still incarcerated, it cannot be considered representative of this population as a whole.
- 2) Perhaps those individuals that most vigorously expressed

active resistance are those that were killed by the prison authorities--obviously no data was collected from them.

- 3) This study was descriptive and therefore did not utilize an experimental design.
- 4) This study was retrospective in nature and relied on memories available to the subjects.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### Introduction

This study was designed to investigate the phenomenon of active resistance as a major method of coping in a human-imposed extreme situation. The study focused on the relationship between eight predictor variables and active resistance, the dependent measure. (Table 3 shows the eight independent variables of interest to this study. It also shows the four major categories that these variables were clustered into). To accomplish this, 96 ex-inmates of a Communist political prison were individually interviewed and their responses to the Active Resistance Scale and the Prisoner Repression Scale collected. Moreover, data related to the prisoners' age, education level, sentence, family presence in country during years of concern to this study, and degree of family support to the inmate during his incarceration were also collected. To analyze these relationships, several regression models were developed to assess the combined contribution of the identified predictor variables to ratings of active resistance.

Post hoc analyses were conducted by means of a multivariate analysis of variance of unequal N's. This procedure included an analysis of significant F-ratios by means of the Tukey (HSD) Honestly Significant Differences (Keppel, 1973) in order to identify specific group differences.

Table 3

Independent Variables and the  
Major Categories or Characteristics

Major Categories	Independent Variables
I. Individual Characteristics	1) Age 2) Education
II. Coping Characteristics	3) Intrapsychic Strategies 4) Action-Oriented Strategies
III. Captor Characteristics	5) Prisoner Repression 6) Sentence
IV. Family Characteristics	7) Family Presence 8) Family Support

Descriptive Data of the Sample

The descriptive data are presented first to give a comprehensive profile of the 96 men who participated in this research. The sample was comprised of male political prisoners who were interned in a Communist prison in the country of Cuba during the years 1964-1967.

Table 4 is a summary of some demographic characteristics of the research sample. The mean age of the sample was 28.2 years with the range from 19 years old to 42 years old. Of the 96 subjects 41% were in the 24 to 30 year old age range with 5% of the subjects in the over 40 year old range.

The sample had a range of educational levels from 2 years or elementary level education to 20 years of schooling or a post-graduate level of education. The mean educational level

was 9.3 years with 54% of the sample in the 7-12 years level and 16% in the post-high school category.

The mean sentence was 22.06 years with a low of 8 years and a high of 30 years. Thirty-one percent of the sample had sentences ranging from 20-29 years and 39% had thirty year sentences. Fifteen percent of the sample had sentences of 10 years or less.

The degree of family presence in the country for men of the sample range from a complete presence of the prisoner's family in the country to a low of 22% of his immediate family remaining in the country. The mean score for family presence was 88.3%. Sixty-nine percent of the men in the sample had everyone in their immediate family still in the country during the years of interest of this research. Twenty-five percent of the men had 79% or less of their immediate family remaining in the country.

The degree of family support accorded the prisoner by the immediate family ranged from complete support of his family or 100% family support down to a low of zero percent or a complete absence of support. Thirty-five percent of the sample enjoyed the complete support of their immediate family or 100% support. Forty-five percent of the sample had less than 79% of their families' support and backing.

Table 4Demographic Characteristics  
of Research Subjects

Group	Frequency	%
Age		
19-23	24	25
24-30	39	41
31-39	28	29
> 40	5	5
Education (Yrs.)		
< 6	29	30
7-12	52	54
13-16	14	15
> 16	1	1
Sentence (Yrs.)		
< 10	14	15
11-19	15	16
20-29	30	31
30	37	39
Family Presence		
100%	66	69
80-99%	6	6
< 79%	24	25
Family Support		
100%	34	35
80-99%	19	20
< 79%	43	45

Results Related to the Research Questions

Question One: Do the individual characteristics of age and education predict active resistance?

To investigate this research question two regression equations were computed separately and the results compared. As shown in Table 5, the regression equation termed Full Model contained the following eight variables: age, education

intrapsychic strategies, action-oriented strategies, prisoner repression, sentence, family presence, and family support.

The regression equation termed Reduced Model contained all of the above mentioned variables except age and education.

The F value obtained for the Full Model regression was  $F=8.49$  and it was significant at the  $p<.0001$  level. R-Square for the full Model was computed at R-Square = .44. The F value obtained for the Reduced Model regression was  $F=10.86$  and it was significant at the  $p<.0001$  level. R-Square for the Reduced Model was R-Square = .42.

The results indicated that individual characteristics do not predict active resistance after controlling for coping, captor, and family characteristics. After controlling for these three clusters of characteristics, individual characteristics provide only 2% of the explanation for the proportion of variance in the dependent measure. Furthermore, a test for statistical significance of the predictive ability of individual characteristics after controlling for coping, captor, and family characteristics was computed. The F value obtained for this test of significance was  $F=1.228$  and it was not significant at the  $p<.05$  level.

Age and education did not contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for coping, captor and family characteristics were available. These two independent variables were not found to be significant predictors of active resistance and were consequently deleted from the regression model.

Table 5

Degrees of Freedom, Partial F Values, Probability of F and R-Square of the 8-term Full Model Regression Equation and the 6-term Reduced Model Regression Equation

Source		df	F value	P>F	R-Square
	a				
Regression Full Model	b	8	8.49	.0001	.44
Regression Reduced Model		6	10.86	.0001	.42

a  
Independent variables in the Full Model: individual characteristics, coping characteristics, and family characteristics.

b  
Independent variables in the Reduced Model: coping characteristics, captor characteristics, and family characteristics.

n=96

Question Two: Do the coping characteristics of intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies predict active resistance?

To investigate this research question, two regression equations were computed separately and the results compared. As shown in table 6, the regression equation termed Full Model contained the following six independent variables: intrapsychic strategies, action-oriented strategies, prisoner repression, sentence, family presence and family support. The regression equation termed Reduced Model contained all of the above mentioned variables except intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies.

The F value obtained for the Full Model regression was  $F=10.86$  and it was significant at the  $p<.0001$  level. R-Square for the Full Model was computed at  $R\text{-Square}=.42$ . The F value

obtained for the Reduced Model regression was  $F=14.59$  and it was significant at the  $p<.0001$  level. R-Square for the Reduced Model was computed at  $R\text{-Square}=.39$ .

The results indicated that coping characteristics do not predict active resistance after controlling for captor and family characteristics. After controlling for these two clusters of characteristics, the coping characteristics provide only 3% of the explanation for the proportion of variance in the dependent measure. Furthermore, a test for statistical significance of the predictive ability of coping characteristics after controlling for captor and family characteristics was computed. The F value obtained for this test of significance was  $F=2.46$  and it was not significant at the  $p<.05$  level.

Table 6

Degrees of Freedom, Partial F Values, Probability of F, and R-Square of the 6-Term Full Model Regression Equation and the 4-Term Reduced Model Regression Equation

Source	df	F value	P>F	R-Square
a				
Regression Full Model	b 6	10.86	.0001	.42
Regression Reduced Model	4	14.59	.0001	.39

a

Independent variables in the Full Model: coping characteristics, captor characteristics, and family characteristics.

b

Independent variables in the Reduced Model: captor characteristics and family characteristics.

n=96

However as shown in Table 7 when entered last in the Full Model regression equation action-oriented strategies had a computed t value of  $T=2.052$  and significance at the  $p<.05$  level. Intrapsychic strategies, on the other hand, when entered last in the Full Model regression equation had a computed t value of  $t=-.516$  and was not significant at the  $p<.05$  level.

Coping characteristics did not contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for captor and family characteristics were available. When examined independently, however, action-oriented strategies were observed to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance. On the other hand, intrapsychic strategies did not contribute significantly and was consequently deleted from the regression model.

Table 7

t values and Significant t's of Independent Variables Intrapsychic Strategies and Action-Oriented Strategies after Each Term was entered Last in the 6-Term Full Model Regression Equation a

Variable	t Values	Sig. t
Intrapsychic Strategies	-.516	0.6071 (ns)
Action-Oriented Strategies	2,052	0.0431 *

a

Independent variables in the Full Model: coping characteristics captor characteristics, and family characteristics.

\* $p<.05$

n=96

Question Three: Do the captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence predict active resistance?

To investigate this research question, two regression equations were computed separately and the results compared. As shown in Table 8, the regression equation termed Full Model contained the following four independent variables: prisoner repression, sentence, family presence and family support. The regression equation termed Reduced Model contained family presence and family support.

The F value obtained for the Full Model regression was  $F=14.59$  and it was significant at the  $p<.0001$  level. R-Square for the Full Model was computed at  $R\text{-Square}=.39$ . The F value of the Reduced Model regression was  $F=13.00$  and it was significant at the  $p<.0001$  level. R-Square for the Reduced Model was computed at  $R\text{-Square}=.22$ .

The results indicated that captor characteristics do predict active resistance after controlling for family characteristics. After controlling for family presence and family support the captor characteristics provide 17% of the explanation of the proportion of variance in the dependent measure. Furthermore, a test for statistical significance of the predictive ability of captor characteristics after controlling for family characteristics was computed. The F value obtained for this test was  $F=12.867$  and it was significant at the  $p<.05$  level.

The captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence contributed significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for family characteristics was available. These two independent variables were found to be significant .

predictors of active resistance and were consequently retained in the regression model.

Table 8

Degrees of Freedom, Partial F values, Probability of F and R-Square of the 4-Term Full Model Regression Equation and the 2-Term Reduced Model Regression Equation

Source		df	F Value	P>F	R-Square
	a				
Regression Full Model	b	4	14.59	.0001	.39
Regression Reduced Model		2	13.00	.0001	.22

a

Independent variables in the Full Model: captor characteristics and family characteristics.

b

Independent variables in the Reduced Model: family characteristics.

n=96

Question Four: Do the family characteristics of family presence and family support predict active resistance?

To investigate this research question, two regression equations were computed separately and the results compared. As shown on Table 9, the regression equation termed Full Model contained the following independent variables: prisoner repression; sentence, family presence and family support. The regression equation termed Reduced Model contained prisoner repression and sentence.

The F value obtained for the Full Model regression was F=14.59 and it was significant at the  $p < .0001$  level. R-Square for the Full Model was computed at R-Square=.39. The F value of the Reduced Model regression was F=15.10 and it was signi-

ficant at  $p < .0001$  level. R-Square for the Reduced Model was computed at  $R\text{-Square} = .25$ .

The results indicated that family characteristics do predict active resistance after controlling for captor characteristics. After controlling for prisoner repression and sentence the family characteristics provide 15% of the explanation of the proportion of variance in the dependent measure. Furthermore, a test for statistical significance of the predictive ability of family characteristics, after controlling for captor characteristics, was computed. The F value obtained for this test was  $F = 10.876$  and it was significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

Table 9

Degrees of Freedom, Partial F Values, Probability of F and R-Square of the 4-Term Full Model Regression Equation and the 2-Term Reduced Model Regression Equation

Source		df	F Value	P>F	R-Square
	a				
Regression Full Model	b	4	14.59	.0001	.39
Regression Reduced Model		2	15.10	.0001	.25

a  
Independent variables in the Full Model: captor characteristics and family characteristics.

b  
Independent variables in the Reduced Model: captor characteristics.

n=96

However, as shown in Table 10, when entered last in the Full Model regression equation, family presence had a computed t value of  $t = 0.951$  and it was not significant at the  $p < .05$

level. Family support, on the other hand, when entered last in the Full Model regression equation had a computed t value of  $t=3.043$  and it was significant at the  $p<.01$  level.

Family characteristics contributed significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for captor characteristics were available. When examined independently, however, family support was observed to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance. Family presence was not observed to contribute significantly and was consequently deleted from the regression model.

Table 10

Source	t values	Sig. t
Family Presence	0.951	0.3443 (ns)
Family Support	3.043	0.0031 *

a

Independent variables in the Full Model: captor characteristics and family characteristics.

\* $p<.01$   
n=96

Question Five: What is the optimal linear prediction equation of active resistance?

To investigate this research question, a Forward (stepwise) Inclusion analysis was done using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) subprogram Regression (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Brent, 1975). In forward (stepwise) inclusion analysis independent variables are entered one by one on the basis of some pre-established statistical criteria. A .05 criterion level of significance

was established for this stepwise regression procedure. This procedure was used in order to isolate a subset of available predictor variables that would yield an optimal prediction equation with as few terms as possible. Furthermore, in forward (stepwise) inclusion analysis the order of inclusion of independent variables is determined by the respective contribution of each variable to explained variance.

The stepwise regression procedure identified family support, prisoner repression, sentence, and action-oriented strategies as the best predictor for active resistance accounting for 41% of its variance ( $F=16.03$ ,  $P>F=.0001$ ,  $R\text{-Square}=.41$ ). Partial F values, probability levels and R-Square increases for this model depicting the contribution of each significant variable to the total model are presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Partial F values, Probability of F, and R-Squares for the Stepwise Regression Procedure which Yield the Optimal Linear Prediction Equation for Active Resistance

Variable	Partial F	P>F	R-Square
Family Support	26.03	.0001	.22
Prisoner Repression	23.99	.0001	.34
Sentence	19.18	.0001	.38
Action-Oriented Strategies	16.03	.0001	.41

n=96

The stepwise procedure eliminated age, education, intrapsychic strategies, and family presence as not contributing to active resistance scores, while prisoner repression, sentence, and action-oriented strategies contributed an additional 12%,

4% and 3% respectively as each variable was added to the model.

The best predictor equation of active resistance was identified to include the following variables: family support, prisoner repression, sentence, and action-oriented strategies. This equation does not take into consideration age, education, intrapsychic strategies and family presence as these were not considered to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance beyond the contribution of the identified equation.

#### Post Hoc Analyses

In order to further investigate the relationship of the independent variables prisoner repression and family support to the prisoners' expression of active resistance the following hypotheses, stated in null form were tested:

Hypothesis one: There is no significant difference between the expressions of active resistance of those inmates that scored low, intermediate, and high in the Prisoner Repression Scale.

Hypothesis two: There is no significant difference between the expressions of active resistance of those inmates that received low and high levels of family support.

Hypothesis three: There is no significant relationship in the interaction of the level of the factor prisoner repression and the levels of the factor family support.

### Data Analyses

Post hoc analyses were conducted by means of a multi-variate analysis of variance of unequal N's. This procedure included an analysis of significant F-ratios by means of the Tukey HSD (Keppel, 1973) in order to identify specific group differences.

An analysis of variance was done using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS): Subprogram ANOVA (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Brent, 1975). In analysis of variance (ANOVA), as in the t-test, a ratio of observed differences/error term is used to test hypotheses. This ratio, called the F-ratio, employs the variance of group means as a measure of observed differences among groups. Analysis of variance is used to test the difference between two or more means (Ary, Jacobs, and Razaveih, 1979).

Two independent variables were arranged in a 3x2 factorial design to test the post hoc hypotheses of this study. The first variable, prisoner repression, consisted of three levels: a) low; b) intermediate; and c) high. The second variable, family support consisted of two levels: a) low and b) high.

#### Results Related to the Post Hoc Hypotheses

Hypothesis one: There is no significant difference between the expressions of active resistance of those inmates that scored low, intermediate, and high in the Prisoner Repression Scale.

Hypothesis one postulated that there was no significant relationship between the expression of active resistance and the degree or level of tortures and indignities that inmates received. To assess these relationships inmates' scores on the Prisoner Repression Scale were divided into three levels: low, intermediate, and high.

The results of the 3x2 factorial design analysis of variance to test the significance of the relationship of expressions of active resistance to the levels of prisoner repression show that there was a significance of the relationship of expressions of active resistance to the three levels of prisoner repression. Table 12 shows degrees of freedom, F-values and probability of F for the 3x2 factorial design of prisoner repression and family support and the interaction of prisoner repression and family support.

Table 12

Degrees of Freedom, F values, and Probability of F of Prisoner Repression, Family Support, and the interaction of the levels of Prisoner Repression and Family Support

Source	df	F value	P>F
Prisoner Repression	2	12.72	.0001 **
Family Support	1	8.09	.006 *
Interaction	2	.77	.465 (ns)
Error	90		
Total	95		

\*\*p<.001

\* p<.01

Prisoner repression has a computed F value of F=12.72 and a p of less than .001 level. This result indicated that significant differences existed between the three levels of

prisoner repression. Therefore, null hypothesis one is rejected.

To determine which groups differed from one another that data were submitted to the multiple comparison procedures of Tukey's Honestly Significant Differences (HSD) with  $p < .01$ . Table 13 summarizes the analysis of all possible combinations of the expressive active resistance on the three levels of prisoner repression.

Table 13

Differences among Computed Means<sup>a</sup> of the Expression of Active Resistance for Inmates' that Received Low Levels (1), Intermediate Levels (2), and High Levels (3) of Tortures and Indignities as Indicated from the Prisoner Repression Scale

Means of Levels	Differences		
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Level 3 = 2523.4	456.6 *	314.7 *	-----
Level 2 = 2208.6	150.9	-----	
Level 1 = 2057.8	-----		

\*  $p < .01$

a) Mean sizes represent the 1-100 scoring hierarchy of items in the Active Resistance Scale.

The results of the follow up procedures indicated that the mean for expression of active resistance for the group that received low levels of prisoner repression (level 1=2057.8) is not significantly different at  $p < .01$  from the mean for expression of active resistance for the group that received intermediate levels of prisoner repression (level 2=2208.6).

Results also indicated that the mean for expression of active resistance for the group that received low levels of

prisoner repression (level 1=2057.8) is significantly different at  $p < .01$  from the mean for expression of active resistance for the group that received high levels of prisoner repression (Level 3=2523.4). Finally, the results also indicated that the mean for expression of active resistance for the group that received intermediate levels of prisoner repression (level 2=2208.6) is significantly different at  $p < .01$  from the mean for expression of active resistance for the group that received high levels of prisoner repression (level 3=2523.4).

The overall conclusion reached from the multiple comparison procedures of Tukey's Honestly Significant Differences (HSD) was that inmates that received high levels of prisoner repression differed significantly in their expression of active resistance from inmates who received low and intermediate levels of prisoner repression. Inmates that received high levels of prisoner repression presented the highest levels of active resistance as measured by the Active Resistance Scale.

Hypothesis two: There is no significant difference between the expressions of active resistance of those inmates that received low and high levels of family support.

Hypothesis two postulated that there was no significant relationship between the expression of active resistance and the degree of support that inmates received from their families. To assess these relationships the degree of support

inmates' received from their families was divided into two levels: high and low.

The results of the 3x2 factorial design analysis of variance to test the significance of the relationship of expressions of active resistance to the two levels of family support show that there was a significant difference between the levels of prisoner repression. Table 12 shows degrees of Freedom, F values and probability of F for the 3x2 factorial design of prisoner repression and family support and the interaction of prisoner repression and family support.

Family support has a computed F value of  $F=8.09$  and a p of less than .01 level. This result indicated that a significant difference existed between the two means of family support. Therefore, null hypothesis two is rejected.

The computed mean for the low level was 2130.9 and the computed mean for the high level was 2395.7. The overall conclusion reached was that inmates that received high levels of family support differed significantly in their expression of active resistance from inmates who received low levels.

Hypothesis three: There is no significant relationship in the interaction of the levels of the factor prisoner repression and the levels of the factor family support.

The results of 3x2 factorial design analysis of variance to test the significance of the interaction of the levels of prisoner repression and family support show that this interaction was not significant. Table 12 shows the degrees of freedom, F values and probability of F for the 3x2 factorial

design of prisoner repression, family support and their interaction.

The interaction of factors prisoner repression and family support has a computed F value of  $F=.77$  and a non significant  $p$  at the  $p<.01$  level. Therefore null hypothesis three is not rejected.

#### Summary

By use of multiple regression analyses and stepwise regression procedures, the following independent variables were selected to make up the best linear regression equation predictive of active resistance: family support, prisoner repression, sentence, and action-oriented coping strategies.

By use of analysis of variance procedure and multiple comparison procedures of Tukey's HSD significant differences in the expression of active resistance were found in the levels of prisoner repression. Therefore, the first post hoc null hypothesis was rejected. Multiple comparison procedures showed that inmates that received high levels of prisoner repression differed significantly in their expression of active resistance from inmates who received low and intermediate levels. Inmates that received high levels of prisoner repression presented the highest levels of active resistance as measured by the Active Resistance Scale.

Post hoc null hypothesis two was also rejected due to a computed statistically significant difference in the levels of family support. Inmates who received high levels of family

support differed significantly from those that received low levels in their expression of active resistance.

Post hoc null hypothesis three was not rejected. The interaction of prisoner repression and family support was not found to be statistically significant.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The review of the literature on coping and adaptation to human-imposed extreme situations in Chapter II determined that no empirical data existed for coping strategies of the active and resistive type. This study was designed to investigate the phenomenon of active resistance as a major method of coping in a human-imposed extreme situation: a Communist political prison. Ninety-six ex-inmates of a Communist political prison were individually interviewed and data on the eight independent variables and the dependent measure collected.

The relationship between the eight independent or predictor variables and active resistance, the dependent measure, was analyzed. The relationship between the independent variables of: age, education, intrapsychic coping strategies, action-oriented coping strategies, prisoner repression, sentence, family presence, and family support and the dependent measure, active resistance, was investigated by means of several regression models. These regression models assessed the combined contribution of the identified predictor variables to ratings of active resistance.

Post hoc analyses were conducted by means of a multivariate analysis of variance. This procedure included an analysis of significant F-ratios by means of Tukey HSD (Keppel, 1973) in order to identify specific group dif-

ferences. The findings of this investigation were presented in Chapter IV.

#### Interpretation and Discussion of Findings

The multiple regression models developed to analyze the relationships of the eight independent variables to the dependent measure indicated that the individual characteristics of age and education do not significantly predict active resistance. More specifically, age and education explain a very small proportion of the variance of the dependent variable when the other six predictor variables are included in the model. These findings are contrary to the results obtained by Stevenson (1982) who reported in her study of the relationship between locus of control and coping style that subjects under the age of 30 had the greatest use of action-oriented coping strategies. Indeed a pattern as such--the younger the inmate the greater his use of Active Resistance--had been entertained by this researcher although never formally stated into a research hypothesis. Perhaps the difference between the findings of this study and Stevenson's (1982) in this area rests on the different subject populations that were respectively relied upon for data collection. Stevenson's (1982) study used exclusively a population of individuals who had sought psychotherapeutic services from a community mental health center. This study used a political prisoner population--the commonalities between these two populations have yet to be empirically tested.

The coping characteristics of intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies also did not significantly predict active resistance when captor and family characteristics were included in the regression model. Their contribution to the explanation of the proportion of variance of active resistance was negligible. However, when entered last in a regression model which included captor and family characteristics, action-oriented strategies became a statistically significant predictor of the dependent measure. Interestingly, although not statistically significant in terms of predicting active resistance, everyone of the subjects in this study reported employing a variety of intrapsychic strategies in conjunction with active resistance and other action-oriented strategies.

These findings support Lazarus' (1977) theory that coping is a complex process which includes some combination of intrapsychically oriented strategies plus direct action on the stressing environment. Indeed coping involved a variety of intrapsychic and action-oriented strategies for this research population which relied heavily on active resistance as a method of coping with the extreme stresses they were exposed to. Furthermore, these findings are also supportive of the observations of other researchers (Hamburg and Adams, 1967; Mechanic, 1962; Penman, 1980; Sanders and Kardinal, 1977) who reported that persons who coped most effectively with a variety of stressors used a coping style which combined action-oriented strategies with intrapsychic methods but relied most on action-oriented approaches.

The results of this research illustrated that the family characteristics of family presence and family support significantly predict active resistance when captor characteristics were included in the regression model. Family presence and family support provided 15% of the explanation of the proportion of the variance of the dependent measure. However, when entered last in the regression model that included captor characteristics and family characteristics, family presence was not a significant predictor of active resistance. Family support on the other hand showed a strong statistical significance as a predictor of the dependent measure providing 22% of the explanation of the proportion of variance by itself. This was the single highest predictor of active resistance.

The basic difference between these two variables is a sheer body count versus degree of human involvement and commitment. Family presence tapped into the percent of immediate family members who were still in the country or, said differently, who had not emmigrated. It goes without argument that in times of extreme stress it is valuable to have one's entire immediate family around. Indeed this was the case for 69% of the sample--they had everyone in their immediate family still in the country. Another 6% of the sample had between 80% and 99% of their immediate family members still in the country. The rest of the sample (25%) had less than 79% of their immediate family available. Family presence did not take into consideration what percent of these available family members offered support and backing to the

inmate during his years of incarceration. This was the domain of the variable family support. It is interesting to observe that out of 66 inmates who had their entire families available (100% presence) only 34 enjoyed full or complete (100%) family support. These results indicate that presence was an important dimension but more importantly was how many family members were willing to morally, spiritually, and physically support the inmate. Finally one needs to point out that close to one half (45%) of the sample had to endure the brutalities and harshness of the prison with 79% or less of the support of their families--a fact that makes one astonished at the level of endurance, conviction, and perseverance of these men.

It has already been stated that family support was the variable with the highest degree of predictive ability of active resistance. Actually family support provided 22% of the explanation of the proportion of variance in the dependent measure. The captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence were the next two variables high in predictive ability of active resistance. The results of the stepwise inclusion analysis identified family presence, prisoner repression, sentence and action-oriented strategies as the best predictor model of active resistance accounting 41% of its variance. Prisoner repression, sentence, and action-oriented strategies contributed an additional 12%, 4%, and 3%, respectively, as each term was added to the model.

Post hoc investigations of the relationship of prisoner repression to the inmates' expressions of active resistance

demonstrated a significant difference between inmates that received high levels of repression from those that received low and intermediate levels. This is perhaps the most controversial finding of this study in as much as it describes a scenario in which inmates' expressions of active resistance escalated as the amount of abuses, tortures and indignities perpetrated upon them was increased. This finding is in accordance, however, with the literature, both historical and journalistic, on this population. Ample documentation exists of accounts of collective resistance by this population in spite of the feverish attempts by the prison authorities to make them acquiesce (Menendez, in press; Perera, 1981; Sanchez, 1981). This finding is difficult to comprehend, however, since the basic thrust of coping is to mitigate the stress on the organism. Active resistance, on the other hand, escalated the degree of stress by infuriating and frustrating the prison authorities. This in most cases led the prison authorities to increase the level of abuse. Why was this strategy then relied upon so heavily by this population in a collective and continuous fashion? This research did not empirically investigate this valuable research question but based on anecdotes and conversations about this theme with the inmates during the interviews for this research the overwhelming message this researcher got was that they would go about in the same fashion if faced with the same circumstances again. These men cited proudly that due to their relentless resistance the prison authorities were forced to abandon the

Rehabilitation Plan, a pilot program which was being tested to ultimately be introduced to every prison in the island.

Basically the Plan, as was stated in Chapter II, was an effort to induce the inmate to accept forced labor and other denigrating conditions in exchange for better food, treatment, and family visiting privileges. It is important to highlight that out of a prison population totalling six thousand, only two hundred accepted the conditions of the Plan during its three years of existence, despite its stipulated advantages to the prisoner.

Bettelheim (1960) described three methods which he observed the Nazis use to destroy personal autonomy in the Jewish prisoners. These were: 1) that of forcing prisoners to adopt childlike behavior through the means of brutalities and atrocities; 2) forcing the prisoners to give up individuality by forcibly merging them into an amorphous mass; and 3) finally destroying the prisoner's capacity for self-determination, all ability to predict the future and thus prepare himself for it.

Using Bettelheim's (1960) observations of Nazi methods in the Jewish concentration camps let's formulate some interpretations regarding the viability of active resistance as a method of coping with the extreme stresses that this research population was exposed to. One resistive strategy used by this population was to remain stoic while receiving a beating. This strategy was incorporated into the Active Resistance Scale as one of its items. The data collected on

this item indicates an overwhelming use of this strategy by this research population. Perhaps one reason for the reliance on active resistance by this population was that it successfully thwarted the prison authorities' attempts to render the inmates into a childlike state as Bettelheim indicated. This allowed for a measure of continued personal autonomy and sense of mastery. The essence of the concept of active resistance revolves around the prisoners' resistance to be submerged or turned into an amorphous mass, or Bettelheim's second observation of Nazi tactics. Items on the Prisoner Repression Scale like item number one: "To change places with a prisoner who is being provoked by a guard" address the issue of remaining oblivious to the brutalities perpetrated on others--a Nazi tactic to render the prisoners into an amorphous and docile mass incapable of reacting during the beating of a prisoner. Perhaps active resistance was relied upon by this research population because it successfully thwarted the efforts to render them into an undifferentiated mass--a group of automatons. Last but not least was the possible success of active resistance in defending against Bettelheim's third point or the destruction of the prisoners' self determination--the ability to predict the future and thus prepare himself for it. A thrust of active resistance was the organized and collective attempts to sabotage the efforts of the prison authorities of making slave laborers out of the prisoners. Several items on the Active Resistance Scale tap into the involvement of the prisoner in sabotage of crops,

tools, and other agricultural equipment. Perhaps as the prisoner destroyed and sabotaged the authorities' efforts to render him a slave laborer he remained in control of his self determination. Despite being a prisoner, he was still a combatant against Communism, the major principle that made these men become political activists in the first place.

Post hoc investigations of the relationships between active resistance and levels of family support indicated that inmates that received high levels of family support differed significantly in their expression of active resistance from inmates that received low levels. The data demonstrates that in order to be able to rely upon active resistance as a way of coping in an extreme human-imposed setting--as a Communist political prison--a high level of demonstrated support and encouragement is needed from one's immediate family. There were isolated cases of individuals that were practically abandoned by their families who scored high on the Active Resistance Scale. In general, though, a high degree of support from family is needed in order to employ active resistance. Finally, post hoc analyses of the interaction of levels of prisoner repression and levels of family support indicated that this interaction was not significant. A hypothesized interaction between the levels of these two independent variables was not significant at the  $p < .01$  level.

#### Summary of the Results

Five research questions and three post hoc hypotheses were investigated; the results of the analysis on each follow:

Question One: Do the individual characteristics of age and education predict active resistance?

The results indicated that individual characteristics do not predict active resistance after controlling for coping, captor, and family characteristics.

Age and education did not contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for coping, captor and family characteristics were available. These two independent variables were not found to be significant predictors of active resistance and were consequently deleted from the regression model.

Question Two: Do the coping characteristics of intrapsychic strategies and action-oriented strategies predict active resistance?

Coping characteristics did not contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for coping and family characteristics were available. When examined independently, however, action-oriented strategies were observed to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance. On the other hand, intrapsychic strategies did not contribute significantly and was consequently deleted from the regression model.

Question Three: Do the captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence predict active resistance?

The results indicated that captor characteristics do predict active resistance after controlling for family characteristics.

The captor characteristics of prisoner repression and sentence contributed significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for family characteristics was available. These two independent variables were found to be significant predictors of active resistance and were consequently retained in the regression model.

Question Four: Do the family characteristics of family presence and family support predict active resistance?

The results indicated that family characteristics do predict active resistance after controlling for captor characteristics. However, a non-significant relationship at the  $p < .05$  level was computed for family presence after it was entered last in a regression equation containing captor characteristics and family support. Family support was significant at the  $p < .05$  level when entered last in this regression model.

Family characteristics contributed significantly to the prediction of active resistance when data for captor characteristics were available. When examined independently, however, family support was observed to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance. Family presence was not observed to contribute significantly and was consequently deleted from the regression model.

Question Five: What is the optimal linear prediction equation of active resistance?

The best predictor equation of active resistance was identified to include the following variables: family support, prisoner repression, sentence and action-oriented

strategies. This equation does not take into consideration age, education, intrapsychic strategies and family presence as these were not considered to contribute significantly to the prediction of active resistance beyond the contribution of the identified equation.

Post Hoc Null Hypothesis One: Rejected.

Significant differences existed between the three levels of prisoner repression. Multiple comparison procedures indicated that inmates that received high levels of prisoner repression differed significantly in their expression of active resistance from inmates who received low and intermediate levels.

Post Hoc Null Hypothesis Two: Rejected.

A significant difference existed between the two levels of family support. Inmates who received high levels of family support differed significantly in their expression of active resistance from inmates who received low levels.

Post Hoc Null Hypothesis Three: Not rejected.

There was no significant relationship in the interaction of the levels of prisoner repression and the levels of family support.

#### Practical Limitations

- 1) The sample for this study was chosen from prisoners now living in this country. Since this obviously does not take into account those individuals still incarcerated, it cannot be considered representative of this population as a whole.

- 2) Perhaps those individuals that most vigorously expressed active resistance are those that were killed by the prison authorities--obviously no data was collected from them.
- 3) This study was descriptive and therefore did not utilize an experimental design.
- 4) This study was retrospective in nature and relied on memories available to the subjects.

#### Recommendations for Future Research

This study was a pioneering effort to investigate a coping style that has been heretofore clouded in mystery and ignorance. An absence of empirical data concerning the coping style of active resistance has dominated the psychiatric and psychological literature. Some anecdotal accounts of isolated incidents of individuals using this coping strategy have been documented but empirical investigations have been sorely missing.

This investigation into the efforts of ninety-six men to cope with the brutalizing milieu and conditions of a Communist prison has been an effort to bridge the gap that exists with respect to empirical investigations of active resistance as a major method of coping with extreme stress. Much has been reported in terms of description of what constituted active resistance in a Communist prison and its predictor variables. Much is still left to be investigated, however, and many questions remain unanswered.

The following is a list of recommended areas for future research:

1. In depth investigation of the personalities of these men using clinical and personality inventories.
2. Investigation of the adaptiveness of these men in free society at large. Included should be such dimensions as adaptiveness to family life and the work realm.
3. Investigation of the long-term health (psychological and physical) effects of being an inmate in a Communist prison.
4. Investigation of the intergenerational effects of imprisonment in a Communist prison. This is an area of research that has proven valuable with the survivors of Jewish concentration camps. Perhaps the same will result with investigations into second and third generations of these prisoners.
5. Investigation of the present counseling needs of this population and counseling approaches most suited for this population.
6. Investigations of vocational changes made by these men due to interrupted educations, professional skills rendered obsolete by years spent in prison, and physical impairments occasioned by imprisonment which have necessitated occupational changes.

APPENDIX A  
LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

This brief correspondence is intended to inform you of a psychological research project which aims to investigate life in a communist political prison. Your name was provided to me as someone who went through such an experience and your participation in this endeavor is requested.

Through the auspices of the Department of Psychology at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida and as partial requirement of the Doctor's degree in Psychology I have designed a research program to thoroughly investigate the experience of being an inmate in a communist prison.

The extent of involvement being requested from you at this time is in the form of an individual interview which can take place in your home or mine. The entire interview will be audio taped and notes will also be taken. However, I want to assure you that all responses and comments will not be associated or reported with any names. The strictest measures will be taken to ensure confidentiality.

I will follow this letter with a telephone call to your home within the next two weeks to receive a response to my request.

Sincerely,

Alex Iglesias

APPENDIX B  
LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Esta breve carta es para informarle sobre un estudio psicologico que esta bajo preparacion y que investigara lo que es la vida en una carcel comunista. Sus experiencias como preso en una prision comunista resultaran muy necesarias para esta estudio.

Esta investigacion va hacer auspiciada por el departamento de Psicologia de la Universidad de la Florida en Gainesville, Florida. El proyecto es un requisito para recibir el titulo de Doctor en Psycologia por esta universidad.

La ayuda que yo necesito de usted consistira de una entrevista que sera realizada en un lugar conveniente. Esta entrevista sera absolutamente confidencial y por lo tanto su nombre no aparecera en ningun lugar en el estudio. Dicha entrevista sera grabada y apuntes seran tomados durante el curso de la misma.

En el transcurso de dos semanas usted recibira una llamada telefonica para confirmar su decision respecto a este proyecto.

Anticipandole las gracias por su amable atencion;

Alex Iglesias

## APPENDIX C

### ITEMS AND DEFINITIONS FOR THE PRISONER REPRESSION SCALE

1. Blows: "Cables de electricidad." Electrical wires about 1/2 meter long and about 1/2 inch thick. It was customary for the aggressor's breathing to become labored due to the exertion from beating the prisoner with these electrical cords.
2. Blows: "Planazo." Hit with the flat side of a short machete or the flat side of a bayonete. It's been estimated that an aggressor can inflict 10 "Plantazos" in 15 seconds. After 30-35 blows within the space of a minute the pace slows down due to the exhaustion of swinging the heavy and wide blade of the machete. Documentation of 100 and 116 blows at a beating exists.
3. Blows: Kicks with heavy boots.
4. Blows: Punches with the fist.
5. Blows: Blows with steel rods.
6. Blows: Blows with chains.
7. Blows: Blows with sticks.
8. Punishment cell. Brutal beatings were the order, as the prisoner was taken to these cells, with machetes and electrical cords. Food, water and sanitary facilities were deplorable. Prisoners were kept in these cells anywhere between a few days and a few months.

9. "Pinchazo." Penetration with a bayonete blade. The bayonets used were W.W.II Springfield rifle bayonets which measure 18 to 24 inches in length and 2 inches in width. Ordinarily these "pinchazos" were penetrated 2 or 3 centimeters deep and were aimed at hips, thighs, buttocks, and arms. There are accounts of grave and at times deadly injuries accomplished with deeper penetrations with these bayonets.
10. "Mojonera." Pit of human and animal excrement which measured 9 to 10 meters in width and about 1 and 1/4 meters in depth. Each session in the "mojonera" was of two stages, three hours each. Blows with machetes and bayonets, plus kicks with heavy boots were prevalent throughout the ordeal to force the prisoner to go into the pit and dive and retrieve refuse which was allegedly clogging the drainage of the pit.
11. "Tembladera." Pit of animal refuse and excrement from several pig farms in the area. Another terror inducing quality of this pit was its quick-sand-like nature in certain areas. The same brutal treatment utilized during sessions in the "mojonera" prevailed in this ordeal. On some occasions, prisoners were taken to both pits during the same day.
12. "Prebendas." Concessions of items which were

scarce in the prison and which were offered to prisoners while laboring in the fields. It was interpreted as a humiliation by the prisoner to to be offered these "prebendas" and even more degrading to be compelled to accept them.

Beatings were the outcome if they were rejected by the prisoner.

13. "Requisas." Searches in the prisoner's quarters. These searches were violent, destructive and of several hours duration. They were intended not only to search for prohibited items but also to humiliate the prisoner by destroying his few possessions.
14. Transfer of prisoner to other area with the goal of breaking up or dissolving groups which fulfilled personal or intellectual purposes for the prisoner.
15. Meager contact allowed with family in the form of visits or correspondence sent and received.
16. Prohibiting family visits as punishment.
17. Prohibiting correspondence as punishment.
18. Indignities perpetrated on the prisoner's family during their visits to the prison. Also, a general and systematic abuse and harrassment was inflicted on a daily basis.
19. Daily meals of a deplorable quantity and quality.

It was not uncommon to find worms in the meals served.

20. Exceptionally deplorable meals served to the prisoner as a form of punishment.
21. "Jaba." Shopping bag filled with food items which family were allowed to bring the prisoner during the few visits permitted. These "jabas" were routinely pillaged by guards or prohibited altogether as a measure of punishment.
22. Insults and racial slurs were commonplace in an effort to continually disparage the prisoner.
23. Forced feedings, both orally and intravenously, were employed to offset and cancel a hunger strike by the prisoner. Humiliating and brutal procedures were employed to accomplish this task.
24. Forced labor without tools. The prisoner was made to dig the earth and pull out weeds with his bare hands as a method of punishment and as a means of humiliation.
25. A total lack of medical and dental care for the prisoners except when seriously injured in the fields in an accident or from a severe beating.
26. Threats with handguns when prisoner would refuse to obey an order or simply as a means to terrorize and subdue him.
27. Bullet wounds received during the penal authorities' attempts to quell a disturbance in the

fields or in the prison camp.

28. Only icy water provided for bathing during winter.

APPENDIX D

PRISONER REPRESSION SCALE

Never    Minimum    Moderate    Often

1. Blows: electrical cords \_\_\_\_\_
2. Blows: "Planazo" \_\_\_\_\_
3. Blows: kicks \_\_\_\_\_
4. Blows: fist \_\_\_\_\_
5. Blows: rods \_\_\_\_\_
6. Blows: chains \_\_\_\_\_
7. Blows: stick \_\_\_\_\_
8. Punishment Cell \_\_\_\_\_
9. Penetration with bayonet \_\_\_\_\_
10. "Mojonera" \_\_\_\_\_
11. "Tembladera" \_\_\_\_\_
12. "Prebendas" \_\_\_\_\_
13. "Requisas" \_\_\_\_\_
14. Transfers \_\_\_\_\_
15. Meager contact with family \_\_\_\_\_
16. Prohibiting family visits \_\_\_\_\_
17. Prohibiting correspondence  
as punishment \_\_\_\_\_
18. Abuses to family \_\_\_\_\_
19. Daily meals \_\_\_\_\_
20. Exceptional meals as  
punishment \_\_\_\_\_
21. "Jaba" \_\_\_\_\_
22. Insults \_\_\_\_\_
23. Forced Feedings \_\_\_\_\_
24. Forced labor without tools \_\_\_\_\_
25. Lack of medical care \_\_\_\_\_
26. Threats with handguns \_\_\_\_\_
27. Bullet wounds \_\_\_\_\_
28. Icy bath water \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX E

RATING GUIDE FOR  
PRISONER REPRESSION SCALE

	Never	Minimum	Moderate	Often
1. Blows: electrical cords	0	74	148	222
2. Blows: "Planazo"	0	81	162	243
3. Blows: kicks	0	70	140	210
4. Blows: fist	0	70	140	210
5. Blows: rods	0	72	144	216
6. Blows: chains	0	72	144	216
7. Blows: stick	0	79	158	237
8. Punishment Cell	0	84	168	252
9. Penetration with bayonet	0	86	172	258
10. "Mojonera"	0	82	164	246
11. "Tembladera"	0	74	148	222
12. "Prebendas"	0	49	98	147
13. "Requisas"	0	72	144	216
14. Transfers	0	56	112	168
15. Meager contact with family	0	77	154	231
16. Prohibiting family visits	0	84	168	252
17. Prohibiting correspondence as punishment	0	73	146	219
18. Abuses to family	0	98	196	294
19. Daily meals	0	62	124	186
20. Exceptional meals as punishment	0	44	88	132
21. "Jaba"	0	57	114	171
22. Insults	0	68	136	204
23. Forced Feedings	0	55	110	165
24. Forced labor without tools	0	56	112	168
25. Lack of medical care	0	76	152	228
26. Threats with handguns	0	54	108	162
27. Bullet wounds	0	79	158	237
28. Icy bath water	0	42	84	126

## APPENDIX F

### ITEMS AND DEFINITIONS FOR THE ACTIVE RESISTANCE SCALE

1. Change places with another prisoner who is being provoked and harrassed by a guard. This took place in the labor crews in the fields. The object was to generalize the guards' aggressions and "cool off" the prisoner being harrassed.
2. "Retrancar el paso." To slow down the pace of the labor crew during instances when a guard was trying to individualize his aggressions on a prisoner. The object was to generalize the guard's aggressions and "cool off" the prisoner being harrassed.
3. To not "take cover" during a shootout by prison guards in their attempt to control boundaries in the labor fields.
4. Going out to the labor fields without the much needed hat to shade the prisoner from the blazing sun in an effort to symbolize respect and eulogize an assassinated prisoner.
5. Sabotage: To hide the work tools permanently.
6. Sabotage: To destroy tools.
7. Sabotage: To misuse, waste, and squander the fertilizers.
8. Sabotage: To destroy already growing plants and roots.
9. Sabotage: To deliberately and systematically avoid proper ways of planting crops.
10. "Lentitud en el trabajo" -- Deliberate, perennial and collective slow down of the normal and natural work rhythm.
11. "Plantado." A total and complete refusal to work in the

fields. This term literally translates to "firmly rooted" and it signifies a firm and unwavering refusal to be made to work.

12. To refuse a "prebenda" or concession personally extended by a guard.
13. To maintain a position of absolute refusal to look, acknowledge, speak to, and respond to a guard.
14. Hunger strike.
15. To refuse or reject certain meals as a protest.
16. To scoff, mock or sneer a guard.
17. To insult a guard(s).
18. To come to the aid of a beaten or wounded prisoner against the orders of the guards.
19. To purposely and deliberately tear one's uniform and shoes to avoid going in the fields and to waste and squander the government property.
20. To feign illnesses and to deliberately injure oneself to avoid the forced labor.
21. To defiantly drop the work tools during a moment of crisis in the field as when a fellow prisoner is being beaten.
22. Absence of pleadings for forgiveness when being beaten.

APPENDIX G

ACTIVE RESISTANCE SCALE

Never    Minimum    Moderate    Often

1. Change places \_\_\_\_\_
2. "Retrancar el paso" \_\_\_\_\_
3. To not "take cover" \_\_\_\_\_
4. To not wear hat \_\_\_\_\_
5. Sabotage: hide tools \_\_\_\_\_
6. Sabotage: destroy tools \_\_\_\_\_
7. Sabotage: waste fertilizer \_\_\_\_\_
8. Sabotage: destroy plants \_\_\_\_\_
9. Sabotage: avoid proper ways  
of planting \_\_\_\_\_
10. "Lentitud en el trabajo" \_\_\_\_\_
11. "Plantado" \_\_\_\_\_
12. Refuse a "prebenda" \_\_\_\_\_
13. To not acknowledge a guard \_\_\_\_\_
14. Hungar strike \_\_\_\_\_
15. Reject meals \_\_\_\_\_
16. Mock a guard(s) \_\_\_\_\_
17. Insult a guard(s) \_\_\_\_\_
18. To help a wounded prisoner \_\_\_\_\_
19. Destroy the shoes or uniform \_\_\_\_\_
20. To feign illnesses or injure  
oneself \_\_\_\_\_
21. To drop work tools \_\_\_\_\_
22. Stoic when receiving a beating \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX H

RATING GUIDE FOR  
ACTIVE RESISTANCE SCALE

	Never	Minimum	Moderate	Often
1. Change places _____	0	64	128	192
2. "Retrancar el paso" _____	0	80	160	240
3. To not "take cover" _____	0	88	176	264
4. To not wear hat _____	0	64	128	192
5. Sabotage: hide tools _____	0	70	140	210
6. Sabotage: destroy tools _____	0	67	134	201
7. Sabotage: waste fertilizer _____	0	74	154	222
8. Sabotage: destroy plants _____	0	74	154	222
9. Sabotage: avoid proper ways of planting _____	0	76	152	228
10. "Lentitud en el trabajo" _____	0	78	156	234
11. "Plantado" _____	0	84	168	252
12. Refuse a "prebenda" _____	0	62	124	186
13. To not acknowledge a guard _____	0	52	104	156
14. Hungar strike _____	0	82	164	246
15. Reject meals _____	0	66	132	198
16. Mock a guard(s) _____	0	52	104	156
17. Insult a guard(s) _____	0	54	104	162
18. To help a wounded prisoner _____	0	96	192	288
19. Destroy the shoes or uniform _____	0	72	144	216
20. To feign illnesses or injure oneself _____	0	27	54	81
21. To drop work tools _____	0	56	112	168
22. Stoic when receiving a beating _____	0	42	84	126

APPENDIX I  
STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE SHEET

My study is concerned with ways of adapting to or methods of coping with extreme situations. It is obvious that internment in a communist political prison can be understood as an extreme situation. I am going to ask you some questions about you and your experiences as a political prisoner interned in Isle of Pines during the 1964-1967 years. Whatever you tell me will be held in strictest confidence and your name will not be connected in any way with your responses. Is this clear to you?

1. Would you tell me now about some of the most torturous and abusive treatments and indignities you received as an inmate of Presidio Modelo during the years of 1964-1967?

(For each experience, the writer will ask the following, when appropriate, probing to get as complete responses as possible.)

- A. What happened?
  - B. How often was this done to you?
  - C. About how many times?
  - D. For how long?
2. Would you tell me now about some other torturous and abusive treatments and indignities you received that were less intense as the ones we talked about before?

(For each experience, the writer will ask the following, when appropriate, probing to get as complete responses as possible.)

- A. What happened?
- B. How often was this done to you?
- C. About how many times?
- D. For how long?

3. Would you tell me now about some things you did to fight and resist the prison authorities? First tell me about the ones that you consider most combative or resistive.

(For each experience, the writer will ask the following, when appropriate, probing to get as complete responses as possible.)

- A. What did you do?
- B. How often did you do this?
- C. About how many times?
- D. For how long?

4. Would you tell me now about some other things you did to fight and resist the penal authorities that were less combative or resistive than the ones we talked about before?

(For each experience, the writer will ask the following, when appropriate, probing to get as complete responses as possible.)

- A. What did you do?
- B. How often did you do this?
- C. About how many times?
- D. For how long?

5. How long a sentence were you serving?
6. Would you tell me now about how you personally managed to survive such a brutal environment?
  - A. What did you do?
  - B. How did this help you cope?
  - C. What thoughts come to mind when you pondered about your situation?
  - D. What else did you do which helped you endure those trying years?
  - E. Is there anything else which you considered helpful?
7. How many members were there in your family during these years?
  - A. Were they all in Cuba during these years?
  - B. How many members were out of the country?
  - C. Who were they?
  - D. Specifically, which members were left in the country?
8. How did your family feel about your behavior in the prison?
  - A. How many supported you?
  - B. How did they express their support?
  - C. How many wanted you to change your conduct?
  - D. How did they express their lack of support?
9. Prisoner's age during years of incarceration. How old were you during your years at Presidio Modelo?

10. Educational level. What was the highest grade you had completed before incarceration?

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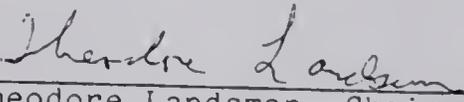
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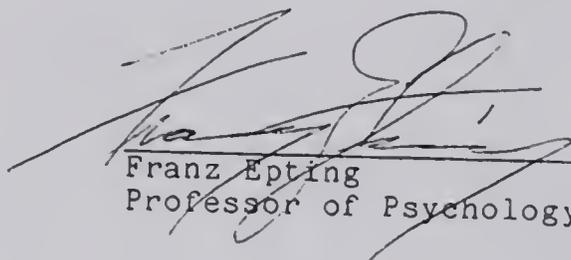
## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Alex Iglesias was born on April 10, 1950, in Havana, Cuba. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Florida with a major in psychology in March, 1974. He and his wife, Teresita, have one child, Adam.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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Theodore Landsman, Chairman  
Professor of Counselor Education

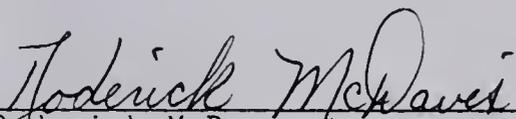
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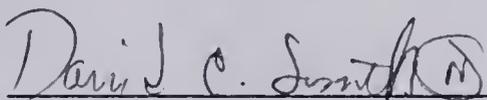
  
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