O Gu: A Cross-cultural Case Study of Emotional Expression in Contemporary Korean and Australian Theatre

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Introduction

Shinobu Kitayama and Hazel Rose Marcus argue that ‘emotions are among the prime means for the transmission of socially shared meanings’ and ‘cultural differences in emotion are a result of cultural differences in the perception and interpretation of events’.1 If they are correct, then theatre is an ideal laboratory in which to study culturally determined emotional expression. Dramatic texts depict fictional events and indicate how a range of characters, or social groupings, perceive, interpret and respond to these stimuli. In their performances, actors embody the rules governing expression within a variety of social milieu; and through the techniques they employ to elicit responses from their audiences, they reveal mechanisms typical of group interactions in their cultures. But to what extent are cultural differences in emotional expression disappearing from contemporary national stages because of the global flows of artists, audiences, and techniques of theatrical representation? When Professor Shim, Jung-Soon and Professor Peta Tait invited me to join the Korean–Australian cross-cultural research group, I saw it as an opportunity to address this question through a case study.

I decided to focus my research on all those small, unexamined decisions made in a rehearsal room that can accumulate over time to shape the emotional content of performance. By analysing the details of this everyday practice, I hoped to assess whether globalisation was indeed homogenising the practice of acting; and if it was not, to identify some culturally distinct techniques involved in representing emotion on the stage. I devised a research methodology employing workshop practices, to elicit unexamined assumptions about the portrayal of emotion from a group of Australian and Korean actors. I factored my own cultural prejudices into the mix by deciding to work on a Korean dramatic text, without the benefit of any background information on its author or its production history.

Professor Shim provided me with an English translation of Lee, Yoon-Taek’s contemporary Korean play, O Gu: The Ritual of Death,3 and I prepared two schedules to workshop the text, one with twelve Australian actors at the Flinders Drama Centre in Adelaide,4 and the other with six professional Korean actors in Seoul.5 On the completion of both workshops, I analysed the data and found that the actors were using very different spatial and kinetic metaphors to describe their techniques for generating emotion in performance. The last stage of the project involved a return to Seoul to see three performances of the play.6 This provided a perfect opportunity to test the workshop data against a finished product. None of the workshop actors was in this production directed by Lee, Yoon-Taek, so the possibilities of additional interpretive confusions were minimised.

It is difficult to describe the shock I experienced at the first performance. Despite my familiarity with East Asian contemporary and traditional drama, and my experience as a dramaturg, producer and director of intercultural productions involving Korean, Japanese and Chinese artists, I could not believe the degree of cultural divergence uncovered by the project. Instead of producing evidence of global homogenisation, it revealed strong differences in interpretive strategies, approaches to audience reception and representation of emotion, all of which I realised could be loosely attributed to an emphasis on either ‘individualist’ or ‘collectivist’ cultural values.7

Stage 1: the play and preparing workshop materials

This article takes a narrative form because of the experiential nature of the research methodology. It begins in late February 2004, when I received John Cha’s translation of Lee, Yoon-Taek’s play, O Gu: The Ritual of Death, from Professor Shim, Jung-Soon. Although Lee, Yoon-Taek is one of the most successful playwrights and stage directors in Korea, his work was unknown to me at that time. Born in Pusan in 1952, he began his career as a poet before becoming a playwright and scriptwriter. Over 2.7 million people have seen O Gu since its premiered in 1989; a film version was released in 2003. When O Gu played with Japanese and English superstitious to international audiences at the Changdong Theatre in Seoul in the late 1990s, it was reviewed by the critic of the English language daily, The Korea Times, as ‘one of the most exhilarating, funny, charming and enjoyable works this writer has seen onstage anywhere’.8

When I received O Gu, I made no attempt to do a background search on the play before I began analysing its emotional content. I wanted to decode the text without the benefit of clues provided by reviews or contextual information. I used standard techniques employed by Western theatre practitioners to identify the discourse, plot and narrative structures. Extracts from these documents are provided as endnotes.8 The extracts not only
introduce readers to the play; they reveal Western cultural biases towards binary thinking and an individualist (as opposed to collectivist) understanding of social relations, that would emerge as critical factors in the latter stages of the project. I will return to these observations and my subject position as analyst in the final section of this article.

Stage 2: the workshops

My initial assumption that the same structure could be used for the Korean and Australian workshops proved unrealistic, because of the cultural specificities of O Gu. There was little point in Australian actors attempting to reinvent Korean rites for laying out the dead, or creating their own version of shaman ritual, or Gut. I decided to focus on familial relationships; key emotions associated with the death of a parent; sibling rivalries; and fear of spirits or ghosts. I used the emotion tree devised by Fischer et al as a grid for exploration. The model of emotional expression that emerged from the Australian workshop provided a starting point for the comparative workshop in Korea.

![Emotions Diagram]

Armed with a digital camera and sound recorder, I arrived in Seoul to work with the Korean actors. Although I was confident that the workshop would elicit culturally distinct data, I was anxious about possible language difficulties. Luckily, Professor Shim had persuaded the translator of the text, John Cha, to act as the workshop interpreter. It could not have been a better choice. With his help, the actors translated the emotion tree, and found immediate equivalents for love, joy, anger, sadness and fear. It was considerably more difficult to find equivalents for the subordinate categories of the Fischer emotion tree, particularly agony and contempt. A multiplicity of Korean terms appeared to relate to the concept of agony; while the debate over contempt was extremely complex and context specific, in relation to the characters' place within the Confucian hierarchy that structures Korean society. Once we had arrived at a basic vocabulary for the workshop, we used the Fischer tree to improvise possible emotional interactions between the O Gu characters. The only difficulty we encountered involved the male actors' improvisations of strong positive emotions such as joy and overt happiness; they explained that Korean men only expressed happiness when they are drunk and engaging in sexual banter!

Once the actors had embodied the terms listed in the Korean version of the Fischer tree, they returned to the text and used them to map the emotions integral to each scene. Three major areas were identified for further investigation on the rehearsal room floor: the expression of grief; interactions between mortals and immortals; and familial relationships. All three produced interesting material, but it was the data on the latter that revealed the most significant cross-cultural divergences.

Family relationships

As their starting point, the Korean actors drew on familiar domestic stereotypes. These stock characters revealed major divergences from their Australian equivalents. The grandson, who was the dominant emotion, rather than the sulkiness typical of the Australian theatre adolescent; the mother assumed more strength and a far higher status than her Anglo-Australian counterpart; and the daughter-in-law assumed the role of the overworked victim of the extended household. The younger of the two sons was represented as the 'black sheep' of the family, and was the most cross-cultural of the characterisations; while the eldest son appeared to the Western eye to be husband to his mother rather than his wife. This relationship between the mother and the eldest son provided the most interesting data. The Australian interpretation focused on the son's feelings of frustration and claustrophobia caused by his struggle with an over-demanding mother: a double act ubiquitous in Western situation comedies. The Korean actor playing the eldest son, Yang, Young-Jo, was surprised by the Australian interpretation. He spoke at some length about the major scene between mother and son at the beginning of the play:

It may appear as if the mother and son are arguing, but underneath there is a strong emotional attachment; they are not really fighting at all. The conflict exists between the mother, who is very strong, traditional, and set in her ways, and the son, who is a schoolteacher and lives in the modern world. But he accepts what his mother asks, and gives in to her. There is deep love between them, and the audience can identify with this very
strong emotional bond. Everything arises from this foundation.\textsuperscript{11}

The emotional foundation referred to by the actor comes from the Korean concept of chong or bond of affection, which is the product of t'aekyo (prenatal care), and the symbolic ‘dew’ as well as literal milk of the mother.\textsuperscript{12} In a survey conducted in 1993, the word chong was associated with ‘sacrifice, unconditionality, empathy, care, sincerity, shared experience, and common fate’.\textsuperscript{13} In the view of the actor, the strength of the bond between the Korean mother and son made any notion of claustrophobia or smothering irrelevant to the playing of the long opening scene.

While the actor playing the eldest son interpreted the scene through the concept of chong, the actor playing the mother interpreted it through the concept of Han. According to Shim Jung-Soon, ‘for most Koreans, Han represents the core of their national ethos, and carries five thousand-odd years of the nation’s historical and cultural memories’.\textsuperscript{14} Shim associates Han with ‘a complex mix of rather negative emotions such as frustrated desire, resentment, regret, and a sense of loss and sorrow’.\textsuperscript{15} The actor playing the mother used the term Han to refer to the loss and sorrow experienced by the character on the death of her husband, and her frustrated desire as a single mother. She explained that the mother is preoccupied by the need ‘to resolve her Han’; and she equated the mother’s Han with the emotions that coalesced to form her subjectivity.

Perhaps it was inevitable that a cross-cultural investigation of a Korean play dealing with death and mourning would encounter the concept of Han. I had anticipated that I would discover cultural biases in qualities and intensities in the emotional repertoires of the Australian and the Korean actors, but I had thought the timing of these expressions of emotion in performance would be determined by the text, and not subject to cultural interpretation. During the Korean workshop, however, I became aware that as a Western theatre practitioner, I had an unacknowledged predisposition to manage emotional displacement through timing. This technique utilises the laws of cause and effect to maximise audience empathy: the actor withholds an emotional reaction to a strong stimulus, only to release it at a moment that will produce the greatest possible impact on the audience. An emotional release that is processed through this displacement technique may not be expressed in its original form, but it will conform to a vernacular interpretation of physics, which presumes that every action has an equal reaction. The audience is encouraged to interpret this emotional release as the logical response to the earlier stimulus, even if it has mutated and taken the form of aberrant behaviour.

I suggested the use of this technique in the Korean workshop. We were working on the scene in which the eldest son loses at cards and alienates the mourners and his family by becoming drunk and abusive. I asked whether this behaviour could be interpreted as a displacement of grief. The Korean actors were confused; they explained that the characters’ collective grief takes the form of wailing, and that the timing of this wailing is orchestrated by the shaman. They saw the emotional content of the card game as immediate and explicit, and though it was contextualised by the wake, they felt the scene was not fuelled by repressed or unacknowledged sorrow. By suggesting this displacement, I was employing a decidedly Western concept. It relied on the assumption that grief was the private property of the individual and could be hidden in social situations, only to break through into the social world in unexpected ways. In contrast, the Korean actors’ immediacy of emotional expression reflected a communal approach to grieving that merged the personal and the social.

Stage 3: Contrasting models of emotional representation
Reflecting on Stage 2, I focused on the spatial and kinetic metaphors used by the workshop actors to arrive at the following culturally distinct models of emotional representation.

‘Inners and Outers’

In the Australian workshop, notions of interiority and exteriority were the major determinants used to describe emotional expression. English-speaking actors, trained in psychologically realist acting techniques, frequently refer to characters’ ‘inners and outers’. Although the technical usage of these terms varies according to different schools of acting, the general distinction assumes that there is a true inner nature to every character, and an outer mask that functions as the character’s social face. Actors use this dichotomy as a basis of characterisation in the playing of realist texts.

At the level of emotion theory, this approach can be described as a social constructivist (or constructionist) position, because it assumes that culture frames our understanding of and emotional responses to social interactions through learned behaviour. However, this social constructivist position is qualified and might be termed weak rather than strong, because it accepts that some physiological changes associated with emotions are attributable to the evolutionary development of human expression. In other words, emotional behaviour may reflect cultural norms, but some of the physical changes that accompany or trigger this behaviour occur through the autonomic nervous system – involuntary actions of smooth muscles, heart and glands.

This complex interaction between expressive physiology and lived cultural practice is commonly reduced to a fairly simplistic binary in the practice and reception of contemporary Western realist theatre. The involuntary physiological changes associated with the evolutionary development of human expression are equated with ‘true’ or ‘real’ subjective feelings, while voluntary physiological changes are considered products of social constraint. The divide between the natural and the cultural is often
depicted as a divide between the true and the false, the involuntary and the voluntary.

However, data from the workshop would suggest that these binary systems are constantly operating in tandem. Actors are encouraged to create characters consisting of an outer crust conforming to rigid patterns of social constraint, and an inner world filled with trapped, fluid and labile feeling. This inner core can be glimpsed at moments when the outer crust cracks to reveal the character’s subjective reality. If the actor technically juxtaposes visual or aural signs that his or her audience believes to be involuntary - tears, blushing, erratic breathing, swallowing, vocal tremors, etc. - with signs that are read as voluntary and culturally determined, the illusion is created that an inner truth of the character has been glimpsed beneath a controlled social exterior.

It could be argued that the intensity of the empathetic response in an audience is directly proportionate to the use of involuntary, as opposed to voluntary signifiers. This bias conforms to the privileging of emotional interiority in Western cultures. Expressions of emotion that use voluntary physiological signifiers are never accorded equivalent trust, and are labeled as ‘exterior’ in origin. At best, they represent a necessary evil of social constraint upon the individual, and at worst, they are believed to be the raw materials of social deception.

**Harnessing Ki**

The Korean actors see their ability to convey emotions as the gathering and releasing of *ki*, which they translate into English as ‘energy’ or ‘magnetism’. They explained that it is a common Korean belief that we are surrounded by waves of energy that can be harnessed for many purposes, including the expression of emotion during live performance. One of the actors described how she collects *ki* in her abdomen and releases it during the performance. She uses this technique to teach her acting students breath control, and helps them to chart *ki* through their circulation, pulse, muscle tension, and the sensations on their skin. The gathering and releasing of *ki* are equally important but technically distinct skills. The gathering involves the harvesting of energy from external sources and its storing and transforming in the body. The actor must carefully shape the release of this energy to the needs of the performance text.

This utilisation of *ki* in Korean performance has resonances with many theatre traditions, East and West alike. The Greeks theorised a magnetic force in the shape of ever-expanding rings linking the poet to the actor, the actor to the spectator. Magnetic force became ‘magic aether’ for the Romans, who believed emotions were carried by invisible matter that ‘was neither fire nor water, air nor earth, but the fifth essence more subtle than any substance’. By the eighteenth century, the actor David Garrick had renamed this aethereal conduit ‘electrical fire’; and a century later, Stanislavsky conceptualised a system of ‘rays of energy’ that he believed were carried through breath.

All of the Korean actors were familiar with Western acting theories and had attended classes in Korean versions of Stanislavskian training, but they linked their techniques for gathering and intensifying emotional energy to the ritual practices of Korean charismatic shamanism. They explained that spectacles can feel the charge of energy during a shaman ritual. It is the ‘duty’ of the shaman to control the *ki* and ‘to force out the secrets that are held in the body’. To illustrate this point, they talked about two characters in *O Gu*, the shaman Seok-chool and his *mudang* assistant, whom they felt were responsible for bringing ‘the sadness together’, ‘releasing the suffering of the mother’, and bringing ‘happiness’ to the family. Although the actors described their use of *ki* in the secular language of performance techniques, they described the shamanistic practice of controlling and releasing *ki* as a feature of an animist spirit world.

To summarise, the spatial metaphor created by the Korean actors was of a container or vessel constantly filled and emptied in a cathartic or purging action. They repeatedly used the term ‘emptying’ to describe this dynamic. The kinetic property of this metaphor is essentially cyclical, with emotions pouring in and pouring out. In describing this cathartic action, the actors implied that a particular feeling must be gathered from the external environment, intensified within the body, and expelled back into the social world, to allow other feelings to emerge. They explained how the emptying of sadness or anger into the social world can be transformed into a shared happiness.

In contrast, the spatial metaphor used by the Australian actors focused on a fixed boundary between the inner source of feeling, and the outer form of social expression. The kinetic property of this spatial metaphor is essentially linear: it is a self-generating system with a unidirectional flow of feelings from inside the body to outside the body. The inner source may respond to external stimuli, but it is the private property of the subject, and its products can be hidden, shared, or in the case of actors, used for aesthetic purposes.

At the conclusion of the Australian workshop, I theorised that the spatial and kinetic descriptions of emotional expression provided by the actors could be translated into a weak social constructivist model. At the conclusion of the Korean workshop, I found it impossible to find an equally clear theoretical description. I knew that I was somewhere adrift where Indigenous ritual practices intersect with contemporary performance. It is possible to argue a cultural constructivist position with regard to *chong* and *han*, but these national sentiments are intertwined with a holistic belief in the energy flows of the natural world, which implies a spiritual, as opposed to an evolutionary, universalism of human expression.
Stage 4: The production
Late in 2004, I returned to Seoul for the fourth stage of this research project, and attended three performances of a professional production of O Gu. I had read the play as a contemporary family drama incorporating spiritual and secular Korean folk traditions. I was confronted by a postmodern spectacle in which traditional Korean performance forms were liberally mixed with references to global popular culture: dance routines reminiscent of video clips, erotic modern ballet, and slapstick sex comedies. It was as if I had been working on Bertolt Brecht’s 1941 Artauro Ui, only to discover that it was Mel Brooks’ musical and film The Producers (1968/2001). Some of my confusion was attributable to changes in the performance text, as the play had been re-worked numerous times in its twenty-year history. When I interviewed writer/director Lee, Yoon-Taek after the performance, he explained that the dialogue had remained virtually constant throughout the play’s history, but the mise-en-scène had kept pace with changes in Korean society. I had seen a version in which an extra thirty minutes of music and dance had been added to appeal to a young audience, the majority of whom appeared to be under thirty-five.

Rather than blur the research findings, the changes in the mise-en-scène highlighted the cultural divergences in the workshop data and my own misreadings of the play. I realised that in my initial textual analysis of the play, I had assumed that the characters embodied individualised emotional scores. Watching the performance of O Gu, I was struck by the absence of individuation. The actors worked to create communal emotional states linking the stage and the auditorium; every action had an instant group reaction, holding the characters and their audience in the present moment without time for reflections on the past or projections into the future. The actors resembled a moving chorus embodying primary emotions (fear, happiness, grief, shame and joy), aided and abetted by a percussio-dominant musical score. This emotional content was communicated to the audience not through processes of identification or empathy, but by a process of emotional contagion through which the audience mirrored the group emotions on the stage.

In my reading, I had divided the text into domestic scenes involving the family members, and ceremonial and ritual scenes involving the community; I had inferred a qualitative difference in the playing of private and public emotion. There was no such distinction in the performance: even family conflicts were performed as amusing incidents shared with friends and neighbours. This was not the only binary I had read into the text. I had also assumed that the play contained two versions of shaman ritual: the first a mere product of commodification, and the second infused with a profound spiritual meaning. Yet according to Lee, Yoon-Taek’s dramaturgy, spectacle takes precedence over narrative and dialogue, making the rituals in O Gu important primarily for visual and musical contrast, rather than as illustrations of more or less corrupted forms of spiritual expression. Ironically, my initial textual analysis, with its emphasis on character introspection, interior domestic and exterior public spaces, and ‘superficial’ and ‘deep’ rituals, was as dominated by inner and outer spatial metaphors as the work of the Australian actors.

Conclusion
While reflecting on possible theoretical paradigms that could bind together the data from the various stages of this case study, I was inevitably drawn to models that articulated an individualist/collectivist divide in cultural behaviour. Yet I was nervous of falling into the Social Darwinist binary that views tradition/collectivism as a precursor to modernity/individualism. The model provided by Harry C. Triandis avoided these dangers by stressing that all cultures contain elements that are individualistic and collectivist. He redefined this ubiquitous cultural division by focusing on the difference between interpersonal and intergroup situations: ‘In cultures where most relationships are seen as interpersonal, we have individualism; in cultures where most situations are defined as intergroup, we have collectivism.

Viewed through this theoretical perspective, the Australian workshop was clearly predicated on an interpersonal response to grief that privileged individual privacy and affective autonomy. This assumption was visible in our interpretive strategies; and in the timing and spatial logic that governed the actors’ approaches to the emotional expression of the characters. In addition, it informed techniques of identification and empathy that underpin audience reception. This is a one-on-one relationship through which an individual audience member feels personally linked to an actor through identification with a character; a relationship that mirrors the empathy encouraged in everyday interpersonal social relations.

In contrast, the production of O Gu and the work of the actors in the Korean workshop seemed to be based on an intergroup response in which the on-stage and off-stage community managed the grief of the family members. To achieve this end, an intergroup bond was created between the actors and the audience, which facilitated a communal emotional experience reminiscent of the corporeal solidarity described by Durkheim. This is not to imply that the Korean audience members lacked personal emotional responses to the performance, rather that it was their shared experience that gave rise to personalised interpretations.

In conclusion, this case study isolated strong differences in the interpretive strategies, approaches to audience reception, and representation of emotion employed by Korean and Australian theatre artists. Global youth culture had found its way into the O Gu mise-en-scène through sequences reminiscent of music video clips; but according to the workshop actors, the emotion techniques supporting this mise-en-scène were based on Korean
charismatic ritual practices. In other words, global influences were present in the mise-en-scène, while culturally specific influences were operating simultaneously in the emotional interactions. Thus an analysis of O Gu based on sight revealed aspects of global homogenisation, but an analysis based on feeling revealed resilience and a resistance to these same processes.

Finally, I would like to thank the Korean Research Foundation and Professor Shim, Jung-Soon for giving me the opportunity to implement a new approach to practice-based intercultural performance research. Not only did the project elicit some fascinating data drawn from a rehearsal room context, it also gave me the opportunity to work with some wonderful Korean actors.

NOTES
3 I am very grateful to the twelve actors and director in the Drama Centre graduating class of 2005 who took part in this emotional research workshop during the first half of 2004.
4 Professor Shim Jung-Soon employed six actors for the workshop: Huh, Tae-Kyung, Lee, Young-Sook, Seo, Min-Kyon, Yang, Young-Jo, Woo, Song-Jae and Kang, Su-Jin. The only actor I had worked with before was Yang, Young-Jo; he had taken part in a workshop that I run for Korean ITI in 2000.
5 This was the version of O Gu that played from 19 October to 28 November 2004 at the large proscenium theatre in the dsartcenter <-www.dsartcenter.co.kr> located in Seoul’s fashionable Hyehwa entertainment district. The productions had two casts, both of which I saw.
8 My plot summary focused on the mother as the protagonist of the drama:
‘An elderly woman, who is living with her two sons, daughter-in-law and granddaughter, believes she is about to die. She persuades her eldest son to hold a ritual to prepare the way for her death. A shaman is employed to conduct the ritual. When the ceremony is completed, the elderly woman complains that the world of the dead has not been touched. A second rite is performed to bridge the worlds of the living and dead, and the mother dies. The shaman takes responsibility for the funeral arrangements, which include the laying out of the dead body, the ritualized wailing of the mourners, and the preparation of a meal for the visiting guests, both mortal and immortal. The last rites involve a blind singer and a group of beggars.
‘During the wake, the mortals are preoccupied with eating, drinking and gambling. Meanwhile, the immortals reunite the elderly woman with her dead husband. Conflict between the mortals and immortals erupts when members of the family steal money intended for the spirits. The dead woman intervenes and forces her youngest son to give the immortals the offerings. She explains to her children the importance of the home as a site for ancestral spirits, and criticises them for seeing it only as valuable real estate. When the balance between the two worlds has been re-established, the immortals and the dead take the elderly woman with them on the road to Kamasvachara. The eldest son wins the card game that has been played throughout the wake; this is his inheritance.’
10 Fischer et al, Cognition and Emotion, 4 1990, 81–127. Table, p 90, by kind permission of Psychology Press, www.psypress.co.uk/journals.asp, 2006. There is still considerable disagreement among theorists concerning emotion classification, but I have found the structure provided by Fischer et al is accessible to actors and translates well into theatrical signification.
Testimony and Ambivalence in Sandakan Threnody

Helena Grehan

The condition of witnessing what one did not (and perhaps cannot) see is the condition of whatever age we are now entering. Whether we call this period ‘the post-postmodern age’ or ‘the age of terrorism’, it is characterized both by an intimate reawakening to the fragility of life and a more general sense of connection to one another that exceeds simple geophysical, ideological, or cultural proximity. If Levinas is right, and the face-to-face encounter is the most crucial arena in which the ethical bond we share becomes manifest, then live theatre and performance might speak to philosophy with renewed vigour.¹

Sandakan Threnody is an ambitious intercultural performance that generates myriad questions about war, power, trauma, loss and the politics of exchange. Through the combination of testimony and historical documentation with experimental, traditional and contemporary dance and movement sequences, Ong, Keng Sen creates a performative collage that is at times profound and at others difficult to decipher/respond to. The focus of this article is not to provide a detailed analysis of the entire production; rather, I want to tease out here the kinds of emotional responses that particular aspects of the performance evoke, or have the potential to result in, for the spectator. My argument is predicated upon the claim that this multilayered performance work, which is attempting to do so many things, liberates an ambivalent response in the spectator. This response does not, however, imply stasis or an inability to engage with the work or its multiple meanings. Instead, ambivalence as I mobilise it here (following Zygmunt Bauman) is understood as a productive trope that triggers reflection, consideration and an emotional dis-ease for the spectator, and this dis-ease allows the performance to ‘prick’ his or her ethical imagination in ways that more didactic or straightforward work might not. It is in the fraught spaces opened up by such work that dynamic engagements between spectators and the performance might occur. In terms of my analysis here, then, I will argue that these fraught spaces are most evident in the sections of the performance that include testimony, most particularly the documentary segments in which Susan Moxham and Tetsuya Yamamoto speak of their experiences as the children of war. It is with these aspects of the work that I, as a spectator, feel the most intense connection and, as a consequence, it is these aspects that generate in me the most deeply felt moments of ambivalence.²

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