Rehearsing Emotions

The Process of Creating a Role for the Stage

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The Process of Creating a Role for the Stage

Stina Bergman Blix

In memory of my beloved
sister Clara

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Introduction

> For people who are not engaged in theatre, they can of course believe that it is easier for actors to lie, or that it is easier to pretend. And that is not what acting is for me. Like when you do these kinds of parlour games, there is one game called: 'Mafia & Citizens'. You get some piece of paper and then you have different roles. And I get so nervous about playing the Mafia and I know I have to lie. My pulse just pounds, and pounds and pounds. I am terrible at it! (Interview with female stage actor)

In their private lives actors are often expected to be good at lying and sent up to fool the prospective bride for a bachelorette party or believed to hold the mask in card games, while they themselves ensure that lying is the opposite of what they do in their work. Actors must experience their characters' emotions at some visceral level, not simply pretend that they feel them. However, no matter how intensely an actor feels the emotions of her/his character, those feelings are of no use if they are not given visible expression on the stage. Bodily expressions, gestures, glances etc. are what make the character understandable for the audience, and body and movement are the main focus when actors work "on the floor".

Reaching an emotional understanding of a character is a prerequisite for finding the adequate bodily expressions to make that character live for the audience. It also confers a sense of lived experience, an understanding of another person's life that cannot be attained through intellectual analysis alone. Actors often assert that this aspect of the profession—to indulge in many more aspects of life than they can in their personal life, to experience many lives without jeopardizing their own—is what thrills them about their profession.

Experiencing as well as expressing emotions are thus vital parts of the actors' work. For this reason, the interface between professional and private emotional experiences and expressions comes to the fore. If stage actors do not fake their emotional expressions, then where do they find them? To what extent do they use their private experiences? How do stage actors work with creating emotions in order to inhabit a role, and what emotional consequences does this emotion work give rise to?

Dramaturgical theory analyzes social interaction through the filter of performance; we all play roles when we present ourselves to the world, and our actions are interpreted as manifestations of roles. The concept of role has

been analyzed in detail first and foremost by the American sociologist Erving Goffman (1959, 1961, 1974). Goffman uses the theatre and actors' work with presenting roles as a simile for every day role playing. However, a common weakness in the dramaturgical analyses is that they soon lose sight of their actual origin: the role playing of stage actors.

Although role playing in every day situations has been depleted of its association with faking a performance, this evidently does not include professional stage actors. Several leading emotion researchers have referred to how stage actors express emotions (Ekman & Freisen, 1969; Goffman, 1961, 1974; Hochschild, 1983; Snyder, 1974), and notoriously, they are always described as manipulative role-players who know how to use their bodies to simulate emotional expressions, in contrast to everyday role-players—that is people in general—who most often are supposed to experience the emotions they express. Ekman and Friesen describe actors as "professional, convincing nonverbal liars" (Ekman & Freisen, 1969, p. 103). Goffman analyzes the theatre and the stage acting profession in more nuanced ways, but he still maintains that "A professional actor differs from a child to the degree of perseverance and perfection the professional must manifest in the role he simulates" (Goffman, 1961, p. 100).

The lack of references to empirical studies or indeed to any other sources of data or analysis on the stage acting profession implies that many researchers refer to general knowledge that they consider to be so evident that references are superfluous. A notable exception is Arlie Hochschild, who studied under Goffman and worked to further develop his theories regarding emotions; she uses references to stage acting. However, her references are only from acting pedagogy, not from acting practice. In order to use acting on the stage as an effective metaphor for acting in life, especially professional life, it would seem more appropriate to compare practice to practice, that is to compare the practice of emotion work in the stage acting profession with other professional role playing. One advantage of studying stage acting as a means to understanding other professional role playing is that stage actors rehearse; thus, it is possible to study their work in the making. In every day life, interactions are seldom rewound and repeated for the researcher to study. In the theatre, role playing is repeated over and over again in an effort to discover its operating form.

In order for the presentation of a role to succeed, whether on stage or in real life, it is critical to present credible and appropriate emotions. We need to consider the *display rules* that are associated with different situations, status, and gender (to name a few of the variables associated with the display of emotion). For example, we are supposed to be happy at parties and sad at funerals; we can express anger at subordinates, but not at our boss; we can cry over a sad movie if we are women, but not if we are men. These display rules do not only affect our emotional expressions; they also affect our emotional experiences, the way we feel (Hochschild, 1979, 1983).

As Arlie Hochschild developed her dramaturgical theory regarding emotions, she pointed out that people do not just work within the display rule constraints associated with a particular situation, but also attempt to adhere to the *feeling rules* of a situation (1983, p. 56ff). That is, people try to actually experience appropriate emotions, not only to express them. In order to distinguish between display (expression) and feeling (experience) she uses the simile of two types of acting: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting refers to the old English style of acting where the actors manipulate their bodies. In contrast, deep acting refers to the school of acting where actors attempt to experience the emotions they are expressing. Hochschild's point is that everyday interactions require that we manipulate our emotional expressions and that we use both surface and deep acting in order to conform with what is expected of us in different situations. In private life we do emotion work in our social encounters; in professional life we perform emotional labour to satisfy employers and customers.

I would argue that an analysis of the actual practice of role playing for the stage is a more complex affair than has been presumed to date and that the analysis of role playing in everyday interactions becomes more valid and useful the more it draws on an analysis of actual stage acting, rather than clichéd ideas about stage acting (Bergman Blix, 2007). The dramaturgical approach to the study of social life will benefit from a thorough investigation of the way stage actors work with emotional experiences and expressions when rehearsing a role and the emotional consequences that ensue from that work.

There have been some attempts to study acting practice in order to understand everyday life (Bandelj, 2003; Hastrup, 2004). Nina Bandelj observed acting classes at the Actors Studio in New York in order to investigate how stage actors reproduce stereotypical behaviour. Kirsten Hastrup participated in a week-long acting workshop and conducted interviews with actors of the Royal Shakespeare Company in an anthropological study about human action. They both present a more nuanced view of stage acting than do the researchers cited above and they also find the comparison between acting on stage and acting in every day life fruitful:

> The mode of action in human society is fundamentally reflexive; the difference between acting on stage and acting elsewhere is primarily a difference in degree of awareness of acting as such, and a difference in the practical skills or techniques to act convincingly within many social spaces (Hastrup, 2004, p. 20).

However, both of these studies are to a great extent built on interviews rather than observations. Bandelj analyzed interviews with Hollywood film actors from film magazines and Hastrup's main source is actors' writings about their work in autobiographies and other texts. The practice that they took

part in or observed undoubtedly affected their analysis. My intention is to go one step further. Through the use of observations and contemporaneous interviews during stage actors' work with rehearsing a play it is possible to come closer to actual practice. Talking about practice does not necessarily correspond with actual practice.

In a pilot study comprising interviews with six stage actors (Blix, 2004) the actors repeatedly emphasized the emotional aspects of their work, thus bringing it to the fore. In Goffman's theatre analogy 'the backstage' is where rehearsing of performances occur. Backstage, "the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character" (1959, p. 112). But in considering stage actors, that statement has to be modified. Stage actors do indeed have to 'drop their front' when rehearsing a performance, but they are not free from judgments when working 'backstage'. On the contrary, the stage actors who were interviewed for this study consistently said that daring to have an open mind, that is of encountering personal emotions when studying a new role together with the director and co-actors—was often a great challenge. Indeed, they described it as more problematic and frightening than the actual performances (Blix, 2004). In analyzing the role-playing of stage actors it is thus important to separate the rehearsing process from the performances. These and other findings justified further investigation of the emotion work involved in rehearsing per se. Several questions needed to be explored: How does the ensemble create a functional working climate for working with emotions? What tactics do the director and actors employ to reach their goals?

The relationship between the experience and expression of emotion came to be at the core of my investigation. How does the relationship between experience and expression develop during rehearsals? What happens with the experience when the expression is repeated again and again during rehearsals and performances? How do the actors' private emotional experiences relate to their professional expressions? Is the interface between professional and private emotions stable, or does it vary with the different phases of the rehearsal process and with growing experience? Is it possible to talk about a professionalization of emotions, and what then does that imply for the experience and expression of emotions in actors' private lives, in the short and in the long run?

The purpose of this thesis is to study the process of rehearsing a role for the professional stage with a focus on the stage actors' emotion work. More specifically, the thesis investigates 1) the emotion work per see involved in the rehearsal process; 2) the relationship between the experience and expression of emotion when rehearsing a role for the stage; and 3) how professional emotions relate to private emotions.

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Outline of the Thesis

The outline of the thesis is as follows: *Chapter 1, Stage Actors, Roles and Emotions,* outlines the theoretical framework of the study. It starts out with a critical appraisal of dramaturgical theory represented by Erving Goffman above all, and moves on to discuss the concept of double agency. Thereafter, the concepts of emotion and emotion regulation will be elaborated upon in dialogue with previous studies in the field of emotional labour, leading up to a description of emotion that is used as a base for the following empirical analysis. *Chapter 2, Methodological Considerations and Data*, places the study in a phenomenological tradition and continues to investigate the study of emotions in fieldwork within the anthropological and psychoanalytical traditions. Thereafter the ethnographic approach with observations, interviews and emotional participation will be discussed. Finally, the data and the way it is used in the thesis are presented. *Chapter 3, Emotion Work in the Rehearsal Process*, is divided into two sections. The first half is principally descriptive, giving an overview of the rehearsal process from the first reading of the play to the start of the performance period. The second half of the chapter analyses the emotion work per see involved in the rehearsal process, with a focus on the emotions that arise from working professionally with a role and on how actors deal with these emotions. We follow the rehearsal process through four phases: the start up phase of building a working climate; the creative phase, characterized by relaxation and large emotions; the crisis phase, where the transition from the fooling around of the rehearsal period to the seriousness of the performance period takes place; and, the final phase, where the ensemble closes their ranks and prepares to meet the audience. *Chapter 4, The Interplay of Experience and Expression of Emotions*, scrutinizes the actual character work, focusing on how emotional experience relates to emotional expression when stage actors bring emotions to life in their work. A thorough investigation of the use of surface and deep acting, with their different aspects and implications, identifies and explores three issues: first, decoupling of the original private emotional experience that was used to gestate the professional emotional experience and expression; second, the relationship between surface and depth acting as endpoints in the interplay of two processes relating to the emotional experience and the emotional expression, respectively; and third, modes of habituation of the processes related to surface and deep acting. *Chapter 5, The Professional - Private Interface*, investigates three dimensions of the professional – private interface of the actor's work: the connections between private and professional emotions in the actors' work; the professionalization of emotions emanating from the rehearsal process; and finally, the private implications of working with emotions. *Chapter 6, Discussion*, leaves the world of acting and theatre in order to return to a discussion of dramaturgical theory as it applies to the everyday world. It discusses the implications of the study to

the analysis of emotion work in general and to the investigation of emotion work performed in a professional setting in particular.

In order to further the understanding of the stage acting profession, I have added *Appendix 1* presenting the general principles of acting as developed by the Russian actor and director Constantin Stanislavski. I have also supplemented a word list with theatre terms, *Appendix 2*.

1. Stage Actors, Roles and Emotions

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework of the study. The primary theoretical construct on which I build is dramaturgical theory as developed by Erving Goffman and refined by others, particularly Arlie Hochschild and Morris Rosenberg. Dramaturgical theory is a sociological frame of reference that uses theatre and acting to analyze everyday social interactions.

Although Goffman uses acting as a reference, he disassociates the simile by separating *playing*, which he defines as role playing in everyday life, from *playing at*, which he defines as playing a role for the stage. The key differences that he identifies have to do with the make believe situation on the stage compared to the reality of our everyday life. I examine these claimed differences and call some of them into question, arguing that playing roles on the stage has more similarities with everyday role playing in general—and professional role playing in particular—than might appear at first sight.

After establishing that theoretical frame of reference, I discuss the emotion work involved in role playing. Emotion work requires an ability to regulate emotions. A premise for this regulation—double agency—will be scrutinized, leading to an investigation of how emotion regulation has been depicted in studies of emotional labour. These studies are to a large extent based on the concepts of surface- and deep acting developed by Arlie Hochschild. However it will become evident that these concepts need further refinement. The concept of emotion will be explored, leading to clarification of some issues, as well as to new questions; these questions are investigated in the empirical chapters.

Dramaturgical Theory

To regard the world as a stage does not simply mean to view ordinary people as actors. Rather, it encompasses a view of all elements of the daily world as theatre, incorporating the whole world of theatrical concepts and constructs that surround and support the role players—including such elements as script, props, and audience (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 2). The focus in my study is not so much on the world as a stage as it is on the world of acting, although the boundaries between these constituents of the world as a stage are not clear cut.

The concept of role has been analyzed in detail first and foremost by Erving Goffman (1959, 1961, 1974). The contribution of emotions to role has been further developed by Arlie Hochschild (1979, 1983) and Morris Rosenberg (1990).

The common focus when studying dramaturgical theories is to investigate what they say about every day life. Here, however, we are looking through the lens from the opposite direction and asking: What do dramaturgical theories imply about acting in the theatre? What is acting, and what differentiates acting on stage from acting in every day life? I will argue that the analysis of role playing in everyday interactions becomes more valid and useful the more it coincides with analysis of actual stage acting. Consequently, for the purpose of this thesis we will focus on what dramaturgical theories presume about stage acting.

To shed more light on these issues, we must examine what dramaturgical theories say about professional acting versus acting in daily life. This undertaking is complicated, however, by the fact that the theories do not actually say very much about the differences between the two. Goffman does identify some differences, but altogether it amounts to a rather thin account. Another, less direct way, is to examine what these theories say about role playing in a wider perspective. What lies behind the metaphor that all men and women are merely role players? To examine what Goffman and other leading role theorists generally say about role playing, indirectly informs us what these researchers find uniquely significant about role playing for the stage. Such an examination soon reveals that although role playing comprises many factors, a determinative element is the motor behind acting, the emotions. This raises the question: What do dramaturgical theories say about the emotion work that drives role playing?

Note that although some of the concepts and ideas that are presented in the following pages are not related to stage acting, I will consistently interpret them in the context of stage acting.

Playing and Playing at

Goffman defines *role* as "the *typical* response of individuals in a particular position" (Goffman, 1961, p. 93). He distinguishes the typical response from the actual response, which varies depending on how the individual perceives the situation at hand. The actual response of a person playing a certain role is called *role performance* (ibid p. 85). Every person also has a *set of roles* s/he has to attend to—a person can be doctor, wife, mother etc.—and each role also has a *role-set*. A doctor, for example, has a primary role-set of colleagues, patients, and nurses that each require different attitudes. Goffman's focus is on the discrepancy between role obligations and role performance. In order to analyze this discrepancy he focuses on a concept he calls *secondary adjustment* (1971, p. 173) or *role distance* (1961, p. 83ff.). Role dis-

tance means that the person denies or belittles the significance of the situated self that is involved in a particular situation, not the role itself. To illustrate this distinction, he uses the example of a child riding a merry-go-round. He points out that a situation that is thrilling and fantastic for a two-year-old demands distancing from a seven-year-old to avoid the risk of being ridiculed. In a work life context, subordinates can express role distance by using sighs and gestures and thereby avoid losing status vis-à-vis their peers while still obeying the orders of superiors. Role distance is often used in order to avoid conflicts with a person's other social restrictions or with the activity at hand.

Using Goffman's definition of role as being the *typical* response and returning to the theatre, we can define the concept on the stage as "the role embedded in the script of a play". The role of Hamlet, for example, has certain features that all actors playing Hamlet have to adhere to and the role has to be acted within certain frames of reference that are defined in the manuscript. However, during the rehearsal process, the actor cast as Hamlet needs to turn the *typical* role of Hamlet into a role performance, basing the interpretation of the role on his individual experiences and his unique understanding of Hamlet's situation. To facilitate the separation of the two aspects of a role, the typical response and the actual response, we will henceforth call a stage actor's actual response (the role performance) *the character*.

To continue, Goffman's definition of *playing at* is "…when children, stage actors, and other cutups mimic a role for the avowed purpose of make-believe; here, surely, doing is not being" (ibid, p. 88). Hence, *playing at*, according to Goffman's interpretation, is close to the everyday definition of role playing referred to in the Introduction: to fake a presentation or to lie. Playing, on the other hand, is what we all do, actors and non-actors alike, as social beings. Consequently, the important difference between *playing* and *playing at* is that both actor and audience know that a *playing at* presentation is make-believe. The actors openly and intentionally pretend to perform a role outside of their ordinary repertoire; *the situation* is make-believe[1]. The difference between a professional actor and a child is, according to Goffman, that actors perform their roles with more stamina and perfection. Consequently, the actors' relations to their roles can be compared to a child's relation with the cowboy or doctor that s/he plays at.

There are several problems with that conclusion (explored below); first, however, we need to pursue the notion of *playing at*. According to Goffman, the playing (at) that stage actors perform is in relation to the characters they play, not in relation to their profession; the actor for example plays (at*)* being

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[1] In theory it would be possible that, for example, a doctor trains to be an actor and then as an actor plays (at) the character of a doctor. The played (at) doctor would be make-believe due to the situation on stage being make-believe, although the actor/doctor would be able to play doctor in other circumstances.

a doctor, but plays the part of actor under the same terms as other every day role playing. I would argue that *the situation* on stage is make-believe in relation to the character, but not in relation to the actor. For example: If an actor is drunk on stage and performs poorly in a way that the audience cannot possibly interpret as part of the *character's* performance, the *actor's* role performance is at stake; it is s/he who gets blamed for the bad performance, not the character s/he plays (at). What Goffman fails to acknowledge is that these two presentations are always tightly intertwined. The character presentation cannot be performed without the actor; thus the character presentation and the actor presentation are always a double presentation, one played and one played (at).

To move back to Goffman's example of a child playing (at) a doctor, the child's performance when playing (at) a doctor is doubled with playing a child. However, the child's performance when playing (at) a doctor does not involve any risk or complications for its playing a child[2]. On the other hand, the actor playing (at) a character is continuously assessed in her/his role of actor both by the audience and by her/himself. There is more to the difference between the two forms of *playing at* than "more stamina and perfection". The double presentation of actor and character will be scrutinized further in the section on 'Double Agency'. Now we will continue to pursue the concept of *playing* and *playing at* and how that is linked to the relationship between actor and character.

The Relationship between Actor and Character

When studying the differences between playing and playing at the relationship between the actor and the character becomes important. In his later writings Goffman adopted a phenomenological view on his work. Goffman's definition of frame is an extension of the phenomenological first and second order construct: "I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them" (1974, pp. 10-11). People constantly deal with complex structures of frames of references. We incorporate these frames of references into our immediate surroundings and they are therefore hard to separate from the activity at hand. To clarify his points Goffman returns to the theatre and elaborates upon his earlier dramaturgical concepts. Goffman argues that role-playing in everyday life involves an individual with a personal identity with a biography and a multitude of capacities, while role playing on the stage only involves one of the actor's

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[2] However, Mead argues that a child playing Indian is involved in a trying on roles and responses that is a part of "building a self" (Mead, 1967 [1934], pp. 150-151). The relationship between subject and object in children's play has been further developed by Winnicott (Winnicott, 1968). So, if playing (at) for a child is not being, it can be described as becoming.

capacities, that of acting (1974, pp. 128-129). With that said, the focus turns more to drama than to acting. Like a farce where the comedy lies in the characters' mismatched understandings of the situations they are part of, the frames in Goffman's analysis involve the script more than the acting (see further Bergman Blix, 2007). Goffman shows how keying and fabrication is done on stage with the use of different framings and concludes that there are many similarities with everyday life. People perceive their frames, the pre-requisites of the current situation, sometimes accurately and sometimes in-correctly. When people stalk, delude or deceive each other they actually work with the situational frames to their advantage. Goffman did apply a phenomenological approach in using and expanding the structures through which the social world is constructed. However, he did not apply the subjec-tive approach, an essential part of phenomenology.

If we instead assume that we do *not* constantly try to deceive our way through the world, although our actions are always to some degree depend-ent on the frames in which they are set (Hastrup, 2004, p. 79), then the use of explanations and excuses is not solely a way to protect and preserve our role image. Rather, it may actually be a genuine expression of a wish to be un-derstood or an attempt to become a role transcending subject. Goffman hints at that possibility when he describes how a patient at a mental hospital fills his pockets with rolled up paper, not, in Goffman's view, as an expression of his illness, but as a way to to stand out from the other patients and to escape from being totally described by the role he has been given (1971 [1961], p. 270).

With a subjective approach one can argue that, in order to produce a con-vincing performance, whether on stage or in real life, the personal identity must fit into the role (Layder, 2004a, p. 13). If we study great stage actors or persons considered to be role models within a particular profession, we dis-cover that these persons often interpret their roles very freely, allowing con-siderable room for their unique contributions. Indeed, in order for the role to be convincing, there must be an inward resonance with the actor's set of private experiences. If this resonance exists, then many of the role's standard features may be modified while the role enactment remains credible or even transformative, establishing a new, normative interpretation.

To draw a parallel to the stage actor working with a character, that rela-tionship also requires an inward resonance in order for the character to be convincing. The role in the dramatic script may be described as having latent emotions. There is room in the text for the character to feel and think, but it is the actor who has to fill up this room; it is the actor (and director) who decide what emotions and thoughts the character has in the situations s/he faces on stage, and it is the actor that feels and thinks these emotions and thoughts. In order for the actor to activate these emotions and thoughts s/he needs to use her/his own body and experiences. The character and the actor are not separate entities. Rather, the character presents an accentuation of

some aspects of the actor's experiences and emotions, put in another frame of reference. The changed frame of reference and the accentuation of some aspects of her/his experiences and emotions distinguishes the actor from the character in several ways that will be investigated later on. The key point here is this: Goffman's statement that role playing on the stage only involves one of the actor's capacities (Goffman, 1974, p. 129) is a simplification. Rather, in order for the character to come to life on the stage there has to be an inward resonance with the actor's set of private experiences making the relationship between the character that has been created for the stage and the actor a more complex affair. This relation cannot be dismissed as *playing at* the way it is defined by Goffman.

We will now move on to focus on the main topic of interest in this thesis—how emotion work is managed in role playing and the emotional consequences that ensue from role playing.

Emotion Work in Role Playing

Goffman believes that actors often allow themselves to indulge in too much emotion on stage, without exercising the caution that everyday role players would use in order to avoid making fools of themselves. He argues that stage actors do not have to constrain their performances, since they can blame their histrionics on the character (1961, p. 132). The difference between playing (at) a role on stage and everyday role playing is that the characters on stage are not real and do not have to defend their actions. This leads, according to Goffman, to an exaggerated use of emotions; stage actors can perform uninhibitedly without the risk of the consequences that may occur in daily life, such as feeling embarrassed about showing too much enthusiasm. Furthermore, in real life, strong emotions would be displayed in private, in front of a small audience. In a theatrical setting, the audience may be large and they look directly at the actors indulging in emotions, whereas in real life spectators tend to look away from strong emotions (1974, p. 570).

What is more, in everyday life we work hard to make our role performances as stable and consistent as possible. We need to constantly guard our performance so as not to fall out of character. When we do act out of character, we use apologies and jokes to explain the deviation from expected behaviour. The focus of Goffman's role perspective is on our presentations of ourselves in interactions with other people; he emphasizes the importance of living up to the standards of our roles so as not to lose face and make fools of ourselves. The emotions involved when we do not live up to the standards of our roles are embarrassment and shame. Thomas Scheff, who studied with Goffman and developed the dramaturgical theory on shame, argues that embarrassment arises out of the slightest threat to the bond between people and that embarrassment or the anticipation of embarrassment is therefore present in practically all interactions (Scheff, 2006, p. 18). Goffman assumes that the

fact that role playing is fictive means that playing (at) a character liberates it from the possibility of embarrassment that is otherwise present in all social interactions.

Goffman's argument has some obvious validity; for example, the actors do not have to take the actual consequences of their emotional expressions on stage. Nevertheless there are two objections to be made. First, even though the characters do not have to face any real life consequences, the actors playing (at) the characters are real and the double roles of being both character and actor complicate their performance. In order to persuade audiences to enter into the suspension of disbelief required for a successful theatrical experience, the training of actors is largely concentrated on learning to be natural or relaxed on stage 'as if' there were no audience (Hastrup, 2004)[3]. Stanislavski's whole system is built on the effort to try to be natural on stage (Stanislavski, 1961 [1936] see also Appendix 1). Consequently, the ability to indulge in emotions while being viewed by an audience intent on the production does not come with such ease as Goffman assumes. The actors must learn how not to become embarrassed when social rules say that they should.

The second objection to Goffman's argument is also based on the difficulty of avoiding generalized social norms even when playing (at). By the time a play is produced before a live audience, the characters have been worked on in great detail and are settled. But in the rehearsal process, when the actor struggles with staging the character and giving it life, various insecurities emerge for the whole ensemble to see. In rehearsal, the actor has to present a character that is in the making—an unfinished work—in front of the director and co-actors. Feelings of embarrassment are unavoidable (Blix, 2004). Thus, the emotion of shame also calls for further investigation.

Shame is related to our sense of self and our ability to see ourselves in the eyes of others. The experience of not living up to our ideal standards of ourselves sets off a shame response that is intended to recover our social acceptance (Barbalet, 2005). According to Barbalet, embarrassment is related to shame but instead of being an assessment of the self it rather involves an assessment of one's behaviour and other attributes of the self (Barbalet, 2001, p. 117). Scheff introduces a more encompassing definition of shame. He builds his definition on Cooley's concept of a looking glass self, which implies that "we always imagine and in imagining share the judgment of the other mind" (1922 [1902], pp. 184-185). Scheff argues that shame is a fam-

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[3] William James argues that we are constantly occupied with what we think that other people think about us (this was later developed by Cooley in his looking glass self). When we think that someone is noticing us, then even the easiest thing—for instance, walking across a room—makes us self-conscious and tense, modifying the muscular use that we ordinarily would use. Stage fright, he argues, is this self-consciousness taken to an extreme degree; our focus is so occupied with what others think that the least move becomes valued and manipulated (James, 1884, p. 195). This goes in line with the 'concentration of attention' used in the Stanislavski system as a means to keep the focus on the stage instead of on the audience (Stanislavski, 1961 [1936], p. 68 ff).

ily concept that includes embarrassment, humiliation and shyness, all of which contain a threat to the social bond and a fear of being socially disconnected (2000, pp. 96-97). This definition also puts focus on a "sense of shame", implying that even when we do not experience shame, we constantly anticipate it (ibid p. 97).

The problem that engages Scheff is that this constant monitoring of the self and anticipation of shame implies that shame is a frequently expressed emotion, even though it is rarely seen (1988, p. 399). Scheff explains the rarity of shame reactions by referring to Silvan Tomkins's argument that adults often conceal actual crying by using parts of crying expressions in a manipulated way, for example by tensing the muscles in the hand and thighs or by concealing tears with laughter or other signs of agitation (Tomkins, 2008, pp. 317-320). In the same way that we disguise crying we disguise our shame because the presence of shame makes us even more ashamed (Scheff, 1988, p. 400). In doing so, we pretend that we do not experience shame. Sometimes we do so overtly; for example, we may call shame by other names, such as insecurity or stupidity. Alternatively, we may hide the expression of shame or we may bypass shame, using avoidance tactics like repeating ourselves or talking fast (H. B. Lewis, 1971), all tactics that can be employed without acknowledgment of our experiencing shame (Barbalet, 2001, p. 115).

According to Scheff, both overt and bypassed shame can have a conformity-producing function, although the bypassed shame is more strongly associated with conformity. People with high self esteem are supposedly better able to manage their feelings without giving in to conformity, while people with low self esteem are more likely to perceive their feelings as unbearable and thus give in to social pressure (1988, pp. 404-405). Scheff analyzes how psychological processes affect social interactions; he has been criticized for missing the importance of how social relationships in themselves affect shame (Barbalet, 2001, p. 120). Focusing on how social structure (particularly status) is related to shame, Kemper differentiates between the shame that emanates from a person's being granted more status than he deserves by others and the shame that results from his own exaggerations[4] (1978, pp. 59-67). When a person claims more status than s/he deserves, then the exposure (or possible exposure) of her/his incompetence gives rise to introjected shame. If the excess status is instead given by others, then there is a tension between one's perception of self and others' perceptions; the consequent extrojected shame is accompanied by feelings of anger and hostility. Chapter 3 explores how these different types of shame are experienced in rehearsing.

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[4] Kemper's analysis uses the examples of both status and power. However, while status is associated with shame, power is associated with guilt. According to Kemper, guilt is related to sensing that one has used excess power towards another. However, since guilt is closer associated with what one does, compared to who one is, guilt can be redeemed.

Returning then to Goffman: Goffman's research focus was on face-to-face meetings and emphasized the importance of studying the facial expressions people use "in the game of expressing…alignment to what is happening" (1982 [1967], p. 1). The descriptions of outer expressions are vivid in many of Goffman's texts; his focus is on display. However, in order to investigate the emotion work used in role playing there is a need to consider more aspects of emotions than their display. A more nuanced analysis of emotion work is made by Arlie Hochschild, who distinguishes between the display and the experience of emotions.

Arlie Hochschild's seminal theory of 'the managed heart' has had a significant impact on the study of emotions in organizations in general and in service and nursing in particular, creating a branch of its own. Hochschild argues that the emotion work that people do in their private life—for example, trying to feel sad at a funeral or happy at a wedding—goes through a transmutation to be used in the public sphere. Organizations use our ability to manage our emotions, to perform emotional labour, in order to sell the managed emotions as commodities (Hochschild, 1983, p. 19). Emotional labour is, according to Hochschild, labour that "requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (ibid, p. 7). Emotional labour has three characteristics: face-to-face or voice contact; requiring the worker to produce an emotional state in others; and, allowing the employer to control the emotional activity of its employees. An important point, according to Hochschild, is that jobs with a high component of emotional labour are often found in fields with a disproportionate number of women employees and that emotional labour is often unpaid labour. Since women, by way of socialization norms, are closely associated with emotion work performed in the private sphere, their emotional labour is presumed to come naturally and is thus less valued and less paid (ibid, p. 17ff).

In her description of different ways to manage emotions Hochschild makes a comprehensive analysis of stage acting (1979, 1983). She bases her description of actors on a book by Stanislavski (1961 [1936]) described in this thesis' Appendix 1. She uses stage acting to elucidate the similarities between acting as a profession and other professionals' everyday role-playing, considering such workers as stewardesses and bill collectors. Hochschild makes a distinction between emotion work, relating to the handling of emotions in the private sphere, and emotional labour, relating to the management of emotions in paid work (1983, p. 7). In order to explain how people work with their emotions, Hochschild distinguishes between two different acting techniques—the English technique and the Stanislavski technique. The English technique refers to surface acting, in which the actor controls her/his gestures and facial expressions with great precision to convince the audience that s/he is a certain character. The Stanislavski technique refers to deep-acting, where the actor uses her/his own emotions in portraying a role

and thus enacts the role in a deeper, more personal way (1979, p. 558). These definitions were qualified in a later work where Hochschild defines surface acting as "working from outside in", or focusing on expressive behaviour in order to change emotional experience (1990, p. 121). Deep acting is working from inside out and includes three different strategies: focusing on the body (for example, breathing in order to calm down); prompting ourselves or narrowing our focus to manage inappropriate emotions; and the deep acting of Stanislavski, where we use imagination or memory to induce or reduce emotions (ibid)[5].

Another researcher whose ideas resemble those of Hochschild's is Morris Rosenberg. Rosenberg was a theorist of self and self-esteem. He had just begun his research on emotions when he died; therefore, he did not refine his theories with empirical work (Turner & Stets, 2005, pp. 46-49). Rosenberg differentiates between emotional display, i.e. intended emotional manifestations (compare surface acting) and emotional expression, i.e. unintended manifestations (compare deep acting) (1990, p. 4). However, as we will see, he also sees the possibility of an overlapping between the two that is interesting in a stage acting perspective.

Rosenberg takes an interest in our ability to reflect on ourselves. He distinguishes between two types of reflexivity: reflexive cognition, which refers to our ability to remember, evaluate, and analyze aspects of the self, and reflexive agency, which refers to our capacity to control the self (ibid p. 3). This control or regulation can be directed at external features, the ones that are visible to others, or internal features, such as emotions and thoughts. Rosenberg is particularly interested in how we reflexively regulate our emotions. He argues that we can alter the character of our emotions by the use of reflexive processes. Emotional display refers to both the manifestation and the concealment of emotions. Rosenberg identifies three major devices that we use to manage our emotional displays: the voice, the face and physical objects. The display may be congruent with our experienced emotion, but may also be, for example, enlarged, to prove a point (ibid, p. 10). The example he gives is that of a person displaying feelings of love that, although sincerely meant, need to be exaggerated in the moment in order for the loved one to believe in them. Emotional experience is reflexively altered by selective exposure, for example by avoiding situations that might arouse unpleasant emotions, or by trying to manipulate particular feelings. For example, a mourner at a funeral might focus on the ornaments of the coffin as a way of regulating his/her feelings of loss.

Apart from these cognitive ways to affect our emotional experience we can also act on the body, both by physical methods (Hochschild, 1983; Ro-

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[5] It should be noted that these later definitions were printed in an anthology from 1990 that is hard to find nowadays and is seldom referred to in the emotional labour literature analyzed later on in this chapter.

senberg, 1990, p. 11) or through biomedical devices, such as mood-altering drugs. It is important to note that Rosenberg points out that both the experience and the expression of emotions can be nonreflexive as well. Apart from these two strategies to alter emotions Rosenberg adds a third strategy, that of emotional identification. Emotional identification of our internal states of arousal is often difficult due to the fact that different emotions can have similar physiological characteristics, for example anger and fear; in addition, emotions are often mixed and hard to identify as separate entities. Therefore we often have to identify our emotional states by using our capacity for reflection. We use casual assumptions that we have developed during our socialization history, generating an emotional logic through which we compare earlier events or stimuli and their outcomes with the present one. Additionally, we rely on social consensus, meaning that we tend to go along with the emotional expressions that the people around us express. If everyone is laughing then what we feel inside is probably joy. Finally, we use cultural scenarios to match what we feel to our society's emotional paradigms; to conclude that we are in love we (more or less subconsciously) check the list for features that are supposed to be present when in love.

As described before, Rosenberg did not have a chance to put these strategies in a work/professional perspective; his examples all relate to private life. According to Hochschild, the different acting strategies reflect the way people work with their emotional appearance both in their private and in their professional life. The difference between private and professional emotion work does not lie in the acting strategy per se but rather in the rules that guide the situations. An aspect that affects the emotion work done in professional life as distinct from private situations is that in most service-related occupations, the emotion work is only produced one-way; the service worker cannot expect any reciprocity of the feeling s/he expresses (1983, p. 110). In Hochschild's study of flight attendants at Delta Airlines she refers to the airline's request for the attendants to perform deep acting. They are not simply to put on a smile, but to actually feel friendly (ibid p. 19). As described above Hochschild refers to this as a transmutation of the way we use our private feelings. The flight attendants are in this way manipulating emotions in order to do a good job. They put themselves in imaginary situations where they act "as if" something were true. For example, in order to prevent themselves from becoming angry with a hostile passenger, attendants may pretend that the passenger has recently experienced a severe loss—"…by pretending deeply, she alters herself" (ibid p. 33). According to Hochschild, most flight attendants take pride in their emotion work skills, because it makes the work humane. However, when the amount of work increases and workers are required to do all their work more quickly—including their emotion work—deep acting becomes unmanageable. The worker then does not have enough time or energy for deep acting and the former genuine feeling is

changed to a surface display, leading the person to feel insincere and alienated.

The use of emotions in a professional context will be analyzed further below in the section about emotional labour. For now, some comments are needed about the acting perspective. Hochschild uses acting pedagogy in order to analyze emotion work in everyday life, but she does not differentiate between them. There are some differences that need to be considered that has to do with the differences between pedagogy and practice. In the more or less ideal world of pedagogy the intention is to describe acting as it should or could be, not as it actually is; however, there is always a discrepancy between the two. For example, in the ideal world, the deep acting stage actor is constantly in touch with her/his emotions and can express them in congruence with the experience. I would argue that in practice, the actor needs to express emotions when they are required by the situation on stage, whether they are experienced at the time. As a result, even actors that employ deep acting may be more or less anchored in their emotional experience. The relationship between experience and expression of emotions becomes more complex in practice than in pedagogy. Another important point concerns the instigation of emotions. In the context of a performance, where the blocking[6] and situations are rehearsed and well established, the emotions can be instigated both by body memory and by thoughts that clear the way for an emotional experience. In rehearsals, the emotions are not yet clearly defined and various emotions may be used in the search for an understanding of a specific sequence. These emotional expressions necessarily become less fixed in range and can vary both in experience and expression.

Another related issue that was touched upon by Rosenberg is his example of a person displaying love that, although sincerely felt, must be exaggerated in order for the loved one to believe in it. Actors often need to exaggerate emotional expressions in order for the audience to perceive them—the sweet words that are whispered in the lover's ears on stage need to be heard on the balcony as well. In Rosenberg's example the somewhat vaguely defined expression of being in love was used but in the acting profession this also relates to concrete emotional expressions of anger, sadness, joy etc.

To sum up, compared to earlier research in this field, the analysis of role playing on stage clearly has to be modified to be able to encompass emotions in a more multifaceted way. Dismissing acting as playing at, as Goffman does, amounts to a simplification of a more complex matter. Goffman has created a dramaturgical vocabulary that purportedly describes and explains social interaction and enables a deconstruction of everyday life. However,

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[6] "Blocking" refers to planned movements on stage, from walking across the stage to the blinking of an eye. Furthermore, blocking does not only imply the movements in themselves, but predominantly their relation to the other characters. The blocking of one character affects the actions and emotions of another character. The rehearsals are the building of a large and complex puzzle or tapestry of emotions and actions and their correspondence with each other.

Goffman focuses on how people play with situations to save face or to not deviate from socially accepted tracks, thereby focusing the lens on emotions of embarrassment and shame, and leaving aside such emotions as fear, love and pride (Scheff, 2006, p. IX). Goffman has also been accused of not differentiating between acting based on management of outer expressions and acting based on management of emotions (Hochschild, 1979). Thus, in order to analyze role-playing, both in everyday life and in professional stage acting—where the character is built on a continuous polylogue between the role, the director, the co-workers and the actor's own body and experiences—we need a subjective approach that examines the emotional aspects that are concealed when only the situational aspects are in view. The concepts of deep- and surface acting accentuate the experiential side of emotion work, aspects that are further elucidated by way of Rosenberg's reflexive agency where the relationship between the experience and expression of emotions are brought up. However, this relationship needs to be analyzed further in order to clarify the nature of emotion work.

First, however, we must take a step back and investigate a foundation for emotion management: our ability to act and to monitor our actions simultaneously. In the following we will elaborate on the actor's reflexive agency as defined by Rosenberg but focus on how that agency is used in the moment, as a double agency.

Double Agency

> An actor lives, weeps, and laughs on the stage, and all the while he is watching his own tears and smiles. It is this double function, this balance between life and acting that makes his art (in Stanislavski, 1961 [1936], p. 252).

These words come from the famous 19th century Italian actor Salvini. There are several ways to define this double function but for the purposes of this thesis the concept of double agency will be used. Double agency was introduced by Hastrup to describe "the dualism in the player's work; the player is both a character and a professional, both text and context" (Hastrup, 2004, p. 267). This definition is vague, but can function as a starting point for further inquiries. In pursuing the search for an understanding of the actor's work with emotions when playing (at) a character we need to investigate the relationship between the actor and the character in the making. How does the actor regulate emotions when working with a character? The actor often needs to express dramatic and strong emotions while having them under control in order to be able to follow the intended route of the play. S/he needs to rage without literarily falling off the stage or hurting someone and s/he needs to cry without getting caught in the sometimes private experiences that can function as instigator for the emotion of sadness. This con-

tinuous monitoring of our actions while performing them is not restricted to the acting profession; it is something we all do in our everyday life, although probably often less consciously.

In theories about the ontogenetic development of the self, the social nature of the self is manifested in a sense of the other; the sense of *I* is depending on a sense of *you* (Cooley, 1922 [1902], p. 182). As previously discussed in the section on shame, Charles Horton Cooley developed the famous concept of a looking glass self: we incorporate our interpretations of other people's reactions to our actions when we define situations and our role in them (ibid, p. 184). The self monitoring involved in this process has been further analyzed by George Herbert Mead who describes the ability for social control with help of a division between a doer, *I*, and a censor, *me* (1967 [1934]). This ability to monitor and regulate our actions is used both momentarily and in retrospect; we adapt to a situation while being in it and we can remember earlier situations and reflect on our actions in order to change them in the future. In this study, our focus is on the mechanism that enables actors to use the split in two—the actor and the onlooker—in the moment. However, as we will see, researchers that focus on the ability to both act and monitor the action simultaneously are interested in how that ability relates to the self, and more or less take the underlying foundation, the split in two, for granted. Studies on self-management (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000; Lennox, 1987; Snyder, 1974; Snyder & Gangestad, 1986), argue that people who monitor their actions are more sensitive to what other people think of them, and that they can control their emotional expressions and display emotions without experiencing them (Snyder, 1974, p. 536), implying that self-monitoring comes with certain personality traits. Hastrup, on the other hand, argues that double agency shows the complexity of subjectivity and that it is a way to be in between identities (Hastrup, 2004, p. 267ff).

The actor's ability to regulate emotions is the basis for a self-monitoring scale designed by Snyder (1974). His definition of self-monitoring is "self-observation and self-control guided by situational cues to social appropriateness" (ibid p. 526). Snyder was inspired by Goffman's dramaturgical metaphors in describing social interaction. In Snyder's self-monitoring scale, one of five components is "acting", which is meant to represent a person's ability to control her/his behaviour. Snyder described this as being able to make spontaneous speeches on unknown topics, being good at charades, having an ability to tell straight-faced lies, and so on. The concept and its scale, though slightly modified, are still widely used, and there are a vast number of articles on the subject (for overviews see Gangestad & Snyder, 2000 and; Leone, 2006)[7]. The problem with Snyder's definition is that he assumes that

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[7] There has been criticism on the acting aspects of the scale. An often quoted article by Briggs et al (1980) argues that Snyder has taken Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor too far: "Stage actors make gestures, speak dialogue, and respond to cues…" (Briggs et al., 1980, p. 679),

sensitivity and social appropriateness go hand in hand. In the quest to be socially appropriate, the regulation of emotions is to a large extent about down-playing emotions, often by suppressing them (Gross, 2002, p. 286)[8]. An actor needs to be socially sensitive in order to give a character life but that rather entails ignoring rules of social appropriateness. In order to stage a character without falling into clichés about human behaviour the interpretations must be original, not simple recreations of prototypical behaviour. When stage actors work with a character for a play they often develop great sensitivity to the kind of people and the situations that are represented in the play. Part of the acting profession is definitely to be sensitive to other people's behaviour, but they do not mimic them in their social situation. When actors start rehearsing, they are not supposed to be socially appropriate, but rather sensitive to the other characters' reactions and then respond to them filtered through the characters they are playing. Some characters may be very careful with their appropriateness, while others may be totally ignorant as to how their appearance is perceived (Goffman, 1974, p. 570). So stage actors need to be socially sensitive yes, but not necessarily appropriate[9]. Although the interpretation of acting in Snyder's scale is misguided, the need for sensitivity to "situational cues" is indeed a vital aspect of the ability to simultaneously act and monitor the self.

The significance of sensitivity is also acknowledged in Hastrup's description of double agency. Here, however, the focus is more on a bodily sense of physical alertness combined with "an inner stillness", that takes the actor's focus off her/his private self-consciousness and into the character's here and now while simultaneously adhering to the technical aspects of acting (2004, pp. 267-268). Hastrup follows Schechner's argument that performing is a "paradigm of liminality", the actor being in between identities (Schechner, 1985, p. 123). She argues that double agency reveals the complexity of subjectivity and that the resultant heightened sense of awareness leads to a fu-

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while ordinary people's impression management is another deal (see also Lennox, 1987). The scale was originally tested on 24 stage actors and they scored higher than the average person (i.e. Stanford student). Apparently, this difference is the only reason for arguing that the scale is well-designed for capturing stage acting capacity, distinguished from social acting capacity. Just by taking a quick glance at the scale an obvious bias appears. Two of the five questions related to acting are "I would probably be a good actor" and "I have considered being an entertainer", and since stage actors hardly can deny the relevance of those questions to their profession, they alone can raise their score (the total scale had, at that time, 25 questions).

[8] The process of engaging in suppression of emotions has been showed to be cognitively costly; to focus on not showing what you experience makes it difficult to focus on the situation at hand and to remember details about what has happened (Gross, 2002, p. 286). One reason for the actor to engage in double agency is to be able to both be in a situation and attend to technical aspects such as moving props etc. which could not be done if the focus was on suppressing emotions in order to be socially appropriate.

[9] One could argue that the stage actor inhabiting a socially un-appropriate character still acts appropriately in relation to the rehearsal situation—s/he is expected to act inappropriately. However, in order to be able to inhabit such a character the actors still has to be inappropriate in the fictive situation.

sion between the actor and the character, creating a sense of we. However, her examples of actors switching between I, the character, and we, in their accounts of playing (at) a character could just as well be a matter of complexity of language rather than complexity of subjectivity[10].

In contrast to Goffman's argument that playing (at) has nothing to do with "being", Hastrup takes the actor's double agency all the way towards a dissolved identity. But her arguments about 'the character and I' and the strain of acting out strong emotions on stage do not have to imply leaving a sense of private self behind. Although full engagement in situations that demand strong emotions certainly affect the way that a person perceives her/his fellow beings and the situations that occur, there is a great leap from there to a dissolution of the self. We will investigate the definition of emotion later on. For the moment, let it suffice to point out that a brief definition is "changes in action readiness" (Frijda, 1986, p. 5). The experience of emotions changes our perception of the world and engaging in intense emotions can feel 'magical' (Sartre, 1992 [1965], pp. 54-55).

Furthermore, even though our identity can be flexible and is continually developing, we each accumulate a unique set of experiences in our meeting with the world and thus form our own unique ways of relating both to situations and to other people, thereby developing a 'core identity' (Layder, 2004b, p. 9). The ability to flex our selves to behave appropriately in different situations has been described as drawing on 'satellite selves' that are subordinate to our 'core self' (ibid, p. 17). We can act differently depending on situation and role, and yet feel an overall continuity and we actively work to sustain consistency between our 'core' and 'situational' selves (Turner, 1988, p. 44). The 'core' aspects of our personal identity are inert to change and yet it is possible to exhibit swift changes in presentation through the use of satellite selves without letting go of the 'core identity' altogether[11].

Leaving the identity issue behind for now we need to go back to double agency. How is double agency used in practice? In all descriptions of the ability to both do something and at the same time observe oneself doing it, the focus lies on the monitoring of the self. However, could not this split in consciousness be used in several ways? And does the use of double agency change over time, both with experience and at every new occasion? For example, is the focus on observing and managing the self more conscious in the beginning of a new encounter or situation than in situations that are well known? It seems plausible that with experience, the conscious monitoring of

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[10] The example that Schechner gives about a man that has played the same role of a semi divine sage for more than 35 years and who is believed by the audience to represent the role, is another issue that is hard to compare with the actor playing an altogether fictive character on the stage for a limited time.

[11] There is a whole literature on the formation of personal identity ranging from describing identity as being essentially fixed and stable to being constantly negotiated, or maybe not being at all. However, these debates fall outside the scope of this thesis.

the self may fade or at least become attenuated, even in new situations. The development of double agency during the rehearsal period will be investigated in Chapter 4, while its relation to and affect on the stage actors' private lives will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

Next we will investigate emotion theory in more detail to see whether a more subtle definition of emotions, coupled with an understanding of how they are instigated and unfold, can further our understanding of how emotions are employed in professional contexts and what effects their use may have on the individual employing them.

Emotion Theory

To define emotion is not an easy task. The definition may vary depending on the type of analysis being used (for example, biochemical, neurological, psychological or social), as well as on what aspects of emotions are being studied (for example emotional regulation, emotional display, or emotional experience). Given that emotion is a multifaceted concept, definitions can appropriately vary depending on the context. However, a definition of any single aspect of emotions is undoubtedly strengthened if it is consonant with definitions developed in other fields and for other purposes. Thus, in sociological emotion theories it is common to refer to neurological findings— *quod vide* Damasio (Damasio, 2000, 2003 [1994]) when contesting the old split between rationality and emotion (Barbalet, 2001, 2002; Turner & Stets, 2005; Williams, 2009). It is also common in the field of sociology not to define emotions explicitly or to use vernacular definitions in order to investigate how everyday interpretations of emotion influence the way people relate to emotions (Shields, 2002). For the purposes of this thesis with its focus on stage actors' professional work with emotions, particularly the relation between emotional experience and emotional expression, we need a more precise definition.

There are a plethora of definitions of emotions and emotion related terms. In order to further facilitate an understanding of the forthcoming analysis some clarification of the definitions used in this study is needed. We will start from the smallest common denominator and work our way up. *Affect* refers to the autonomic response that includes reactions in the facial muscles, breathing, and heart rate—i.e., muscular and visceral changes—to a perceived object, an object being anything that can trigger an emotion, e.g. a situation, a person or a thought (Tomkins, 2008, p. 647). *Emotion* is a process encompassing perception of an object, affect and some form of information processing; this process activates stored experiences (ibid, p. 668), giving rise to a readiness to act (Frijda, 1986, p. 5). The experience of an emotion can be marginal to elaborate depending on the significance of the perceived object. The expression of an emotion can be patterned, suppressed or

altered in several ways. *Feeling* is a person's experience of an emotion[12]. To describe emotional experience that can last for longer periods of time and that is not centered around an object or event the concept of *mood* is used (Frijda, 1986, p. 59). Moods can be described as a baseline from which congruent emotional reactions or stimuli are easily provoked (Sonnby-Borgström, 2002, p. 14). If we are in an angry mood we may easily be provoked to become angry. There must be a trigger of some sort to instigate an emotion, whereas moods do not need triggering. On the other hand, an emotion can turn into a mood or alter a mood. In my analysis, the concepts of emotion and feeling are used frequently, and there are some examples that refer to mood as well. The concept of affect is not distinguished separately in my material but the autonomic aspect of emotions is used in the analysis to differentiate surface and deep acting.

In order to grasp several aspects that are relevant for a definition of the emotion process described above we will start with an old definition that was first suggested by William James and is still used as a basis for later definitions. We will then work our way towards a more elaborate understanding of emotions.

The Emotion Process

A common understanding of emotions is that of a process that begins with our encountering a situation, person, or thought that triggers an emotion that we then express; the experience comes before our expressing it. However, in William James's theory of emotion, that sequence is contested (1884, 1894)[13]. According to James, *"the bodily changes follow directly the PERCEPTION of the exciting fact, and (that) our feeling of the same change as they occur IS the emotion"* (1884, pp. 189-198); we perceive something, our body changes, both muscularly and viscerally, and our experience of those changes constitutes the emotion. Consequently, an emotion is not an experience that we express; it is our experience of its expression. This definition raises two serious questions that need to be answered regarding the biological and evolutionary basis of emotions and our ability to control and regulate our expressions, in our context specifically through double agency. We will start with the biological aspects. William James's theory was published after Darwin's work on the expression of emotions (Darwin, 1999 [1872]) and in many ways corresponded with his evolutionary tenets, according to which emotions are rather hard wired; that is to say, emotions and their expressions are innate due to their survival benefits. This connection to evolution has been criticized for reducing emotions to instinctual reactions that do not

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[12] The feeling can be more or less accessible to one's conscious awareness.
[13] Independently of each other James and Lange published the same theory on emotion in 1884. The theory is therefore often referred to as the James/Lange theory of emotion.

consider social factors (Averill, 1998; Hochschild, 1983, p. 211ff). However, the focus on the survival value of emotions and therefore on the inherited aspects of emotional expression as identified in its various physical aspects is, as we will see, perfectly compatible with an integration of social influence and socially relevant aspects of emotions (Turner, 2000; Williams, 2009). In order to sort out the arguments we need to start with a brief introduction to the origin of William James's emotion theory, as introduced by Charles Darwin. Darwin based his analysis of the expression of emotions in man and animals on three principles: 1) serviceable habits; 2) antithesis; and, 3) direct action of the nervous system (Darwin, 1999 [1872]). Serviceable habits mean that expressions that were useful during some phase in a species' development tend to be preserved or, in his terms, habituated, even though the original use has disappeared.

> Certain complex actions are of direct or indirect service under certain states of the mind, in order to relieve or gratify certain sensations, desires, etc.; and whenever the same state of mind is induced, however feebly, there is a tendency through the force of habit and association for the same movements to be performed[14].

A well known example is Darwin's vain effort not to become startled when attacked by a snake that was safely placed behind a glass wall at the zoo[15]. But Darwin also provides examples of habituation through learning by individuals, for example the ease with which an adult puts on gloves, an operation that demands full attention for a child (ibid, p. 37), showing that expressions that are wilfully learned can become habituated and thus performed without conscious effort and even awareness. He shows how intricate expressions of emotions cannot be performed by conscious manipulation in the moment, but can be learnt through careful manipulation, as in the example of the gloves[16];

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[14] In the 1999 commented edition of Darwin's work Ekman confirms that later studies have found physical change in nerve cells that are habitually used, although the inheritability of these changes are not confirmed.

[15] There is a popular game that children play where the child that blinks her/his eyes when startled by a sudden movement close to the eyes are said to be afraid of being beaten by her/his parents. Most children fail and are accused of being victims of their parents' abuse.

[16] In psychological literature habituation refers to the gradual disappearance of a reaction due to recurrent stimulation. Instead 'automatized response' is used to describe a reaction that is performed through habit—e.g. driving a car (I am grateful to Marianne Sonnby-Borgström for pointing this out to me). However, since I need to separate the autonomic response (the more hard-wired physical reaction) from the automatized response, it is clearer to use the concept of habituation as defined by Darwin. However, from a neurological perspective (focusing on emotions that originate in an autonomic response), these processes are intertwined. The process of fear, for example, has a quick 'low road' that travels trigger-thalamus-amygdala, and a slower 'high road that travels trigger-thalamus-cortex. The evolutionary reasoning is that the quick road takes us away from a dangerous situation, while the slower road helps us learn about new fearful situations. When these are learned they also become automatized and take

Antithesis means that some expressions are used because they look different than the expressions of an opposite emotion. The most common example is that of shrugging the shoulders when not knowing what to do (ibid, p. 65). This principle is hard to prove and for our purposes we can leave it at that.

Direct action of the nervous system relates not only to the nervous system, but also to visceral and muscular functions that are automatically governed by the brain. An example is the trembling of muscles in relation to several emotional expressions, an effect that cannot be explained by serviceable habit since trembling rather is of hindrance to the affected person (ibid, p. 70). Another example that is commonly used to measure emotional intensity is perspiration, particularly in the hands. William James's emotion theory considers these physical changes in the body investigated by Darwin, although his focus is on our experience of the visceral and muscular changes.

The evolutionary approach to emotions has lead to a distinction between primary or basic emotions that are inherited, and secondary emotions that can be modified by experience (Barbalet, 2001, pp. 43-44). The argument for the existence of primary emotions is largely based on three grounds, all relating to the expression of emotions: evolutionary development; ontogenetic development; and, universality. The argument of evolutionary development is that one way to identify distinct primary emotions is to follow their development from lower to higher species; the primary emotions should show a phylogenetic continuity, while the secondary can vary in different cultural environments. The primary emotions should also emerge early in the ontogenetic development, for instance, in infants. The third argument concerning the universality of emotional expressions mainly concentrates on facial expressions and how core expressions of emotions are found across cultures (Ekman, 1999, 2006, 2007). There is a continuing debate concerning which emotions are primary and which are secondary but, independently of this debate, all approaches include fear, anger, sadness and joy in some form. In this debate efforts have been made to merge a biology grounded stand with a social constructionist stand by arguing that the secondary emotions are built from the experience of the expression of primary emotions (Kemper, 1987)[17].

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the quick road (LeDoux & Phelps, 2000). Moving on to sociology, routinization is a widely used concept. However, routinization is associated with "reducing the scope, variety, and opportunity for decision making in many jobs" (Leidner, 1993, p. 1), and is thereby not a definition of the mechanism per se, but rather an exploration of how it can be used in a work setting. This will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

[17] Kemper argues that the secondary emotions need to be built on the experiencing of primary emotions since emotions have an autonomic component that is necessary for the experiencing of emotions and that the constructed emotions are thus constrained by the number of autonomic options in the primary emotions (Kemper, 1987, p. 264). Tomkins offers a slightly different interpretation: "Some scripts [emotions] are innate, but most are innate and learned.

To go back to our question of evolutionary approaches as related to William James's emotion theory, it should be noted that James's definition does not necessarily implicate inherited reactions but rather implies that bodily changes are not consciously manipulated in every individual manifestation. "The ideas of shame, desire, regret, etc., must first have been attached by education and association to these conventional objects before the bodily changes could possibly be awakened" (1884, pp. 194-195). Consequently, the way we apprehend the object that evokes our emotions can be learned by experience. If we are told that dogs are savage creatures, it is likely that we will become scared when meeting a dog whether it wags its tail or growls. The idea of the bodily changes preceding our experience (although that idea is a rather theoretical one since the time span often is reduced to fractions of seconds), implies that expression is not and cannot be consciously manipulated.

The notion that "education" or memories play a large part in our emotions was further developed by Tomkins, who argues that affect (the autonomic response) together with our stored experiences, constitutes emotions. This does not mean that emotions are static; Tomkins especially emphasizes how the experience of affects is perceived in scenes (compare definition of situation), and that our memory of previous scenes is continuously co-assembled when we face new scenes (Tomkins, 2008, p. 668ff). This brings us to the second question related to William James's definition; this concerns our ability to influence the expression of our emotions as specified by our capacity for double agency. As mentioned previously, a common objection to the theory is that it makes people "motored by instinct" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 215); we are bereaved of our ability to influence our expressions. William James argues that there is a predisposition to react in a certain way; it does not follow, however, that we always act in accordance with our predispositions. To clarify that argument we need to use a later definition of emotion made by Nico Frijda (1986).

Readiness to Act

In the section on double agency, Nico Frijda's definition of emotion was summarized as "changes in action readiness" (ibid, p. 5). A more complete definition is: *"modes of relational action readiness, either in the form of tendencies to establish, maintain, or disrupt a relationship with the environment or in the form of mode of relational readiness as such"* (ibid, p. 71). Here the stress is undoubtedly on response tendencies, rather than on expressions as such. For example, when we experience affection for someone, we are inclined to touch the object of our affection; it is more likely that we

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The learned scripts originate in innate scripts but characteristically radically transform the simpler, innate scripts" (Tomkins, 1995, p. 313).

touch someone when experiencing affection than when we are not feeling affectionate. This does not mean that we always touch someone when we experience affection. Furthermore, the implications of our "readiness to act" can change. Neurophysiological studies on emotions differentiate between emotional reaction, emotional action and feeling (LeDoux & Phelps, 2000)[18]. The reactive aspect of an emotion, being situated in an older part of the brain, is reflexive, for example a heightened attention when hearing something frightening. Nonetheless, the reactive aspect of an emotion can be influenced by voluntary control, for example by learning to adjust the heart rate by biofeedback[19] (Frijda, 1986, p. 145). These methods are still contested but even though the autonomic reaction is more or less hard-wired, neurophysiological research confirms William James's theory that the perception of objects that gives rise to the reaction are, with some exceptions (e.g. spiders and snakes), not hard wired. If we hear that a neighbourhood is supposed to be dangerous, then later on, when we find ourselves in that neighbourhood late at night, a fear reaction may readily be induced (LeDoux & Phelps, 2000, pp. 164-165). So, the objects that induce these reactions are to a great extent learned by experience. However, in contrast to William James's theory, these reactions do not, according to Frijda, by themselves constitute an emotion. Our attention can be heightened, and then, when we find out that the frightening noise was just a cat, we relax again and the reaction does not turn into an emotion. Furthermore, identical reactions can be present in a wide range of emotions, and in conditions that are not emotional (Frijda, 1986, p. 143)[20]. The action part of an emotion is dependent on what we expect to happen next and on earlier experiences of similar situations. Eventually, these actions can turn into habits that are performed without conscious thought. This fits with the view that emotions can be understood

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[18] The brain can be roughly classified as a triune containing the reptile brain, the limbic system and the neocortex. The functions that are newer, in an evolutionary sense, operate over the base of the older functions. The older functions are more closed and automatic, while the newer functions are open and more prone to change (Sonnby-Borgström, 2002). The neurological site of emotional reactions are situated in amygdala, that is part of the older system, whereas newer functions in the brain are activated for the feeling of emotions (LeDoux & Phelps, 2000), while the emotion or script refers to the whole package of physiological, experiential and expressive components.

[19] Biofeedback is a learning system that is used to make people alter bodily functions. By measuring and giving feedback about these functions in real time the information can assist the person to control them. It is used within a whole range of functions from blood pressure to concentration ability. The system is being researched but is still considered controversial.

[20] The argument that identical reactions can give rise to several emotions is often stressed by cognitive emotion theorists, such as Frijda, that emphasizes the evaluative aspects of emotions, but has been contested by researchers arguing that the autonomic responses are specific (but can nevertheless be learned by experience) in relation to different emotions (Ekman, 1984; Izard, 1983; Tomkins, 2008). According to Turner, sociologists have a tendency to support the cognitive approaches in psychology, because this emphasis on evaluation allegedly gives room for cultural labels and emotion rules to come to the fore in the process (2009, p. 342).

in terms of scripts containing physiological, motor (gestures and facial expressions), and cognitive components (Tomkins, 2008, p. 668ff). If part of the script is activated, the others will follow. The important point is that the bodily changes described by William James are not expressions of an emotion. They influence their expression; visceral and muscular changes create a readiness to act, but the visible expression can be changed, enlarged or suppressed. Studies of these primary reactions have focused on facial expressions that last for microseconds, not visible to the human eye (reviewed by Sonnby-Borgström, 2002). After those short-lasting expressions, socially induced expressions and experiences take over. For the purposes of ethnography, where the data comes from observations and interviews, the distinction is theoretical since the methods used here do not detect such minute facial changes. Apart from our reflective ability to adapt our emotional expressions the discovery of mirror neurons (di Pellegrino, Fadiga, Fogassi, Gallese, & Rizzolatti, 1992; Gallese, Fadiga, Fogassi, & Rizzolatti, 1996; Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2004) also implies that we can learn from others just by looking at them. When we see actions performed by others, neurons that represent that action are activated in the corresponding part of our brain. The mirror neuron system thereby transforms visual information into knowledge (Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2004, p. 172)[21]. The implications of this research for the evolutionary approach is that we have been "wired for empathy" (Iacoboni, 2009, p. 666) and it can explain how emotions are transferred between people—indeed, may be contagious from one person to another (Tomkins, 2008, pp. 163-164). However, it also implies that a sharp division between heritage and environment is a gross simplification. We do not start becoming social when we are born; we already are social and equipped to experience and express emotions within a social context.

At the end of this chapter, we will return to this discussion in order to develop a consolidated definition of emotions. Before that, however, we will take a brief digression to comment on the nature/nurture division within sociological theories on emotions; additionally, we need to explore the regulations of emotions in greater depth.

Nature and Nurture

In social constructionist definitions of emotions the biological aspects of emotions are, if not denied, at least clearly put aside (Harré, 1986). Harré argues that the physiology of emotion should not be investigated until all the social and cultural aspects of emotions have been thoroughly analyzed (ibid,

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[21] Mirror neurons were discovered in 1992 (di Pellegrino et al.) in research on monkeys and has later been studied in numerous ways in humans, but parents who have put out their tongue to their new born babies and taken delight in their baby's ability to mimic their action have known it for ages.

p. 13)[22]. This view has been challenged (Clarke, 2003; Craib, 1997; Williams, 2009; Williams & Bendelow, 1996), but it still prevails as a more or less implicit assumption that other disciplines reduce emotions to individual, innate reactions (e.g. Harding & Pribram, 2004; Smith, 1992). However, since emotions are multi-dimensional phenomena, the effort to keep the different dimensions apart as if they were not depending on each other limits our ability to understand emotions (Marsella, 1994; Turner, 2009; Williams, 2009). Furthermore, the constructionist approach to emotion tends to discount the bodily aspects of emotions, turning the experience of emotions into "secondary phenomena produced by discourse" (Burkitt, 2002, p. 152; see also Turner, 2000). When studying emotions in professional contexts—as in the case of stage actors—repetition is a vital issue, as is the body's ability to habituate expressions of emotions. In order to understand that process of habituation we need to incorporate biological limits and possibilities in our analysis. Furthermore, the whole notion of two competing camps, nature versus nurture, is misguided since a distinction between the two concepts cannot be described through the use of either/or (Elias, 1987). We are born into a social world and we are also genetically prepared to be social. Elias argues that it affects our analysis when we try to disconnect what is actually connected and interdependent (ibid, p. 346). Elias also brings in a developmental aspect, pointing out that some structures need to be stimulated by environmental factors in order to develop properly. For example, our ability to learn language is greatest when we are very young, and our ability to trust other people in our adult life depends on an ability to attach to our primary care-givers "…the functional dependence between two types of processes, the biological and the social, is reciprocal. No learning processes are independent of unlearned or natural processes and structures" (Elias, 1987, p. 349). Furthermore, avoiding the body in studies of emotions also separates the experience of an emotion from its expression in a rather mystifying manner; we feel something inside, in some hidden core and then we can show that feeling, or some patterned or manipulated version of it, on the outside (Elias, 1987, p. 356), implying that our true self is essentially separated from our bodies.

   As we have seen, the introduction of biological aspects of emotions does not reduce them to instinctual reactions, but rather makes our ability to gov-

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[22] Another common argument not to integrate findings from other disciplines in our research is that we are not competent to examine and evaluate such findings. This attitude is rather self-denigrating, implying that we sociologists are not able to develop an understanding of areas of intellectual inquiry that are new to us. When we conduct ethnographic studies, we find ways to look at phenomena from different perspectives in order to understand them. In integrating research from other disciplines with our own findings we can both use sources that are available for the interested layman and ask fellow researchers from other disciplines whether our interpretations fit with their results. Although our descriptions of relevant research in other disciplines may be simplifications, if they are both coherent and compatible with our data, then they further scholarly understanding of the phenomena under scrutiny.

ern and maneuver our emotions more intelligible. Although the present study is only tangentially concerned with the evolutionary aspects of emotions, we need to consider the nature of the habituation of the bodily changes that are part of an emotion process.

Moving Out of Emotions

So far we have focused on the instigation and maintenance of emotions, but we also need to consider how particular emotions end: that is to say, how we leave them behind. In our private life, concern about resolving emotions often focuses on pathological problems involving an inability to bring an end to negative emotions. In professional contexts, however, where a repetition of emotional expressions is often necessary, we need to consider the process of moving out of emotions in more detail.

In the ordinary emotion process, emotions tend to fade out rather than end briskly. The autonomic aspect of rising and falling emotions takes time; an increased heart rate, for example, does not return to normal in an instant. Frijda argues that a brisk ending of emotion indicates either suppression or surface acting (1986, p. 43). Furthermore, the emotion can last even after the trigger has dissipated. This is consistent with our earlier discussion about emotions being contagious both between and within people; to experience an emotion reinforces that same emotion. It is frightening to be frightened, while the experience of joy is itself joyful (Tomkins, 2008, p. 163). Contagiousness, Tomkins argues, is a reason why an emotion sometimes continues even when the reason for its instigation has disappeared. When children start crying in pain, they often continue crying after the pain is gone because the crying makes them sad. It should be added that the situation and the people involved are an important part of the process; the parent's response to the child's crying can either end it faster or prolong it[23], and the setting (public or private) also affects its duration. For stage actors, it is essential to be able to move out of emotions. They rehearse strong emotions daily and perform them at night. Closer observation of how they move into and out of emotions can further our understanding of the emotion processes involved in their work.

Studies on emotional labour arise from the notion that emotions can be regulated. If we can regulate our emotions in our private lives, then it follows that organizations may require their employees to regulate their emotions in their work lives and may indeed mandate them to display particular emotions, using emotions as commodities. We will now turn to emotional

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[23] The parent's response is of great importance for the habituation of future emotional processes. For example, if crying is met with ignorance or ridicule it affects our tendency to cry when we are older. The gender differences involved in emotional expression have their origins to a large extent in these early experiences: big boys don't cry!

labour in order to investigate how empirical research has used the concepts of surface and deep acting to analyze emotional labour and what this research has shown about how employees cope with emotional labour and how it affects them.

Emotional Labour

As related in the section on 'Emotion Work in Role Playing' Arlie Hochschild's critical theory of emotional labour has generated both empirical studies and further theoretical development, leading to new theories of emotions at work that are both more encompassing and more nuanced.

Empirical research on emotional labour mainly focuses on two occupational areas: service (Abiala, 1999; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Korczynski, 2003; Leidner, 1991, 1999; Russell, 2008) and nursing (Aldridge, 1994; Bolton, 2000; Gray, 2009; Hunter, 2001; Huynh, Alderson, & Thompson, 2008; Mazhindu, 2003; Phillips, 1996; Smith, 1992). However, there are additional examples of empirical research from all sorts of other occupations, ranging from high status professions such as CEO's (Brundin & Melin, 2006), professors (Bellas, 1999) and lawyers (Pierce, 1995, 1999) to lower status occupations such as prison officers (Crawley, 2004), models (Mears & Finlay, 2005) and detectives (Martin, 1999; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989). Studies of emotional labour have a tradition of investigating the effects of managing emotions that are required by an organization in contrast to emotion management that the individual does to manage her/his private emotions. The emotion management that is done in private is supposedly linked to a person's sense of self, while the emotion management that is required by an organization can be disengaged from the self. Nevertheless, the focus on negative effects of organizational emotion management sometimes implies that private emotions are unregulated, and free from control, a notion that goes against research on the civilization process (Flam, 2002) and, as we have seen in the last section, the definition of what an emotion is.

Hochschild's definition of emotional labour—labour that "requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (1983, p. 7)—has been modified to suit other research agendas and a wider selection of occupations. We will not review all these definitions here; it suffices to say that there has been a shift in later research towards a more encompassing way to understand emotions at work. Organizations in general have been called *emotional arenas* (Fineman, 2000, p. 1) and research thus investigates emotions in work life from several perspectives, including the notion that the boundaries between home and work are evaporating (Hochschild, 2001; Rafaeli & Worline, 2001).

Emotion Regulation and Activation

Since Hochschild and Rosenberg published their theories on emotion management, the relationship between the experience and expression of emotions has gradually been conceptualized and empirically analyzed in more complex ways. A common term used today is emotion regulation, a term that has less of a commercial connotation than emotion management.

As noted above "emotions are themselves regulatory processes" (Kappas, 2008, p. 24), a notion that is important to consider when discussing emotion regulation and effects thereof. Another important aspect of emotion regulations is that emotions cannot be controlled directly (Baumeister, Vohs, DeWall, & Zhang, 2007, p. 175; Flam, 1990, p. 43); we cannot decide to be sad or decide to stop being angry in the same way that we can decide to think about something or decide to do something. We need to regulate our emotions in indirect ways. Consequently, emotion regulation is both a general concept and a research field that studies "the process by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998, p. 275). The focus is to a large extent on downplaying emotion (ibid 2002), but the understanding of emotion as a process that contains several phases, thereby allowing people to work with their emotions, is interesting for understanding emotion work in general. For instance, emotion regulation researchers now distinguish between *antecedent* and *response-focused* emotion regulation strategies, where *antecedent strategies* refer to measures we take before the emotional response has been fully activated and *response strategies* refer to measures we take when the emotional experience has kicked in.

What is interesting here is that antecedent and response strategies are distributed along a timeline, challenging the researcher to investigate when these strategies can be used within individual situations. For example, surface acting can be a way to save your face when surprised by an emotion or the lack of one. Gross (1998) has proposed a process model of emotion regulation that identifies five strategies along a timeline of the unfolding emotional response. Antecedent strategies can be used in selection of the situation, modification of the situation, deployment of attention, and change of cognition. These four antecedent strategies allow a more elaborate understanding of what Rosenberg called 'selective exposure' (1990), while the third and fourth strategies concur with Hochschild's deep acting (1979). Surface acting is a form of response strategy that can be used post facto, in modulation of the experience. Before a situation occurs, a person can by use of *selection of situation* avoid or approach people, places or things in order to regulate emotions: for example, a person may change line to get the nice cashier at the supermarket, instead of the bad-tempered one at the other register. When a person has entered a situation, s/he can *modify the situation* by for example changing the subject in a conversation when it threatens to

touch upon emotion eliciting topics. *Attentional deployment* is used to focus on non-emotional aspects of a situation or to move attention away from the situation altogether, by for example daydreaming about succeeding as a rock star when being reprimanded by the teacher.

Cognitive change fits with Rosenberg's emotional identification and is employed when the emotional trigger has been perceived, but not yet evaluated and expressed. One way to use cognitive change is by way of *reappraisal*: transforming the situation so that it fits with the wanted emotion. An example of reappraisal is the flight attendant who chooses to view the passengers as children in order not to trigger an anger response when they behave badly (Hochschild, 1983)[24]. In research following this model the focus has been on reappraisal of the situation as contrasted with suppression of an emotion (Gross, 1999; Ochsner & Gross, 2008; Siemer, Mauss, & Gross, 2007).

What is interesting here is that deep acting, or, in Gross's wording, deployment of attention and change of cognition, is not a single strategy but can be used differently depending on when it is employed during the unfolding emotional response. Response-focused regulation is used to modify the physiological, experiential and expressive aspects of an emotion (Gross, 1998). People may turn to alcohol, cigarettes, coffee, food or deep breathing to calm down; these are common ways to modify physiological and experiential aspects of emotions. Regulation of the expression is comparable with Hochschild's surface acting and includes for example hiding embarrassment by talking faster and more intensely or putting on a smile to hide that one is annoyed. Nevertheless, there is a problem with Hochschild's definition of surface acting. Her examples of surface acting are raising of a brow and sighing loudly (1983, pp. 37-38), accentuating conscious manipulation. However, as we have learned in the last section, the expression of an emotion can be habituated without originating from an autonomic response, making Hochschild's definition in need of elaboration. The conscious manipulation involved in surface acting may be employed in the starting up phase, when the person uses gestures or mimics for the first time, or when caught off guard, but eventually that expression also becomes habituated and thus performed by routine (Gross, 1999, p. 557), even though it has not worked from 'outside in' generating an experienced emotion.

Altogether, the process model enables a more subtle understanding of the fluidity of emotion regulation and illustrates how the same person can employ several strategies depending on individual preferences, contextual factors and time.

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[24] Several of these ways to regulate emotions fit with the strategies identified by Thoits in her studies on emotional deviance (Thoits, 1990). However, she did not fit the strategies within a time line of the emotion process, differentiating when they could be applied.

Surface Acting

How has surface acting been conceptually interpreted and empirically applied by researchers on emotional labour? Ashforth and Humphrey argue that surface acting does not imply a lack of emotions, but rather that the displayed emotion does not coincide with the felt emotion (1993, p. 92). It follows that surface acting can imply both suppressing experienced emotions and faking emotional expressions. It is more common to suppress negative emotions such as anger and to fake positive emotions such as enthusiasm (Mann, 1999, p. 365), but this may differ between occupations. Female police officers for example, work with their appearance, always standing astride and learning not to smile (Martin, 1999, p. 120). Nurses, on the other hand, can suppress positive emotions towards a patient, in order to not be perceived as incompetent, since competence often is associated with emotional distance (P. Lewis, 2005, p. 571). Nursing can also involve a "dual consciousness" wherein a nurse might suppress expression of emotions in front of the patient while at the same time entering into the patient's situation from a private perspective. That dual consciousness enables the nurse to adapt the care provided to what the nurse would have wanted, as a patient, in that same situation (ibid, p. 573), combining surface and deep acting capabilities. Furthermore, in nursing the dichotomy between surface- and deep acting is attenuated. When the nurses "synchronize their emotions with those of the patient without actually feeling them, they are not 'surface acting' but are 'labouring' to establish an authentic and meaningful encounter" (Huynh et al., 2008, p. 200). This goes in line with the concept of *cultivated emotions* which implies that the caregiver is able to neutralize her/his own feelings of contempt or anger by having knowledge about the patients and their situation (Holm, 2001, p. 202). Caregivers with a high awareness of their own emotional reactions can, with less strain, meet the expectations of their patients without themselves suffering psychologically.

Surface acting is also associated with emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 1983), which comes from maintaining a division between experienced and expressed emotions over extended periods of time (ibid, p. 90). Emotional dissonance is generated as a result of having to express organizationally desired emotions that are not genuinely felt. According to Morris and Feldman, the risk of experiencing emotional dissonance increases when emotions are expected to be displayed frequently, during long intervals and with a small variation in the emotions to be expressed (1996, pp. 992-994). It has been argued that emotional dissonance can lead to poor self-esteem, depression and emotional exhaustion (Abraham, 1998; Rafaeli & Worline, 2001). Emotional dissonance can also be a motivation to actually internalize a role through deep acting (Hochschild, 1983, p. 90), making surface acting in the long run a predisposition for deep acting. This was shown in a study that asked people whether they needed to be good actors to perform their

work, and whether a good friend that saw them work would say: 'that's the person I know'. It turned out that half of the respondents said yes to both questions implying that they could both act and still be perceived as or be in correspondence with, their sense of self (Ashforth & Tomiuk, 2000, p. 187; see also Taylor, 1998, p. 99), implying that their work persona and private persona were integrated. Another situation when deep acting may be reached through surface acting is when, in interactions with other people they treat you as if your emotions were genuine; eventually genuine emotions arise (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 102). Surface acting (implying suppression) can also change the experienced emotion. For example, a nurse who must deal with a dead foetus might at first have to suppress repugnance. Eventually, however, as she becomes used to the physical aspects of the work, she may start to care about the process of taking care of and dressing the foetus, turning the suppressing of one emotion into the experience of another (Bolton, 2005, p. 176).

So far the examples have been limited to the suppression aspect of surface acting. The aspect of surface acting that includes manipulation of gestures and facial expressions is mostly associated with "smiling faces" (Steinberg & Figart, 1999, p. 9), but in a service context also entails the scripting, or shaping, of one's speech, movement and body language (Leidner, 1999), for example eye contact and verbal expressions such as greetings (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990, p. 629). Rafaeli and Sutton argue that service personnel's display of positive emotions enhance their sense of maintaining control when confronted by demanding customers (ibid, p. 634). Rafaeli and Sutton also studied police interrogators and bill collectors and investigated the good cop - bad cop strategy as a means to gain social influence (1991). This strategy typically refers to two people working together who display contrasting emotional expressions: for example, one may talk softly and in a relaxed way, while the other shouts in a tense and aggressive manner; alternatively, one may behave coldly and mechanically while the other presents a front of enthusiasm[25]. However, even though the strategy may have originated from conscious manipulation, the interrogators or debt collectors ended up experiencing the expressed emotions, often becoming angry 'for real'. Another example that contains elements of both surface and deep acting, and has some similarities with stage acting, is the labour required of the insurance agents that Leidner studied (1991). They had a two week training course where they were taught in detail how to express themselves; how to stand when waiting for the door to open, when to make and break eye contact etc. in all a full script of behaviour to be followed in detail. The detailed presentation was to be accompanied with aggressiveness in order to relentlessly

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[25] The good cop-bad cop strategy has been proved to be ineffective. Today, the preferred strategy is establishing "rapport", by personalizing the interview and showing empathy between suspect and interrogator (Holmberg, 2004).

keep on trying when they were turned down or met with hostility[26]. As with acting on the stage, the service person is supplied with a script and blocking i.e. speech, movements and expressions. That is not enough, however; the script needs to be supplemented with deep acting to at least some extent in order to be convincing.

Deep Acting

It has been argued that deep acting requires greater effort than surface acting because the person must actively invoke thoughts, images and memories to be able to turn on the appropriate emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 93). Ashforth and Humphrey argue that the effect of these efforts can be damaging. They base their argument on the findings of Charles Darwin, arguing that his research identifying the signal function of emotional expressions implies that over time, deep acting may distort the innate reactions and thereby weaken the worker's sense of having an authentic self (1993, p. 97). In general, descriptions of deep acting the focus less on how it is made and more on the effect it can have (Abiala, 1999; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Leidner, 1999; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990; Rafaeli & Worline, 2001) or how people cope with performing it (Guerrier & Adib, 2003; Korczynski, 2003). It has been argued, for example, that burnout can be induced if there is a merge between the self and the work role. The problem is not that the employees need to express emotions that they do not experience but that the emotions they express at work cannot be separated from the self (Wharton, 1999, p. 162). However, burnout is not an effect directly associated with emotional labour; it is rather caused by an interaction between emotional labour and high levels of job involvement (ibid, p. 167). Wharton also found that the employee's personality type affected the risk for burnout in work that required emotional labour. People that scored high on self-monitoring (described in the section "Double Agency") were better able to avoid burnout than people with low self-management ability. Another aspect that concerns personality is that people are more or less expressive in general. A smile from a person low on expressivity can be just as intensely experienced from within as loud shouting and joyful expressions from a highly expressive person (Gross, John, & Richards, 2000). Another study showed that the suppressing of emotional expressions generated higher blood pressure in European Americans, but not in Asian Americans, plausibly related to the fact that suppression of emotions is normative and habituated in the Asian culture, while in contrast, the expression of emotions is normative in Euro-

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[26] It is interesting to note that the ability to interact with customers in an submissive manner, never talking back and always replying with a smile even when met by hostility, was regarded as feminine work when performed at McDonald's, but masculine when performed by insurance agents (Leidner, 1991).

pean Americans (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2009)[27]. These findings suggest that the relationship between the experience and the expression of emotion varies both between individuals and between cultures.

In nursing, emotional labour often involves interaction both between nurses and patients and among nurses. Among nurses there can be a strong demand to be professional, i.e. not to show emotions. New nurses or student nurses may understandably become nervous and anxious in life or death situations; however, they handle those emotions very differently depending on the response from the nurse in charge. If the senior nurse at the scene gives continuous feedback and stays calm, the students have an easier time focusing on their task. By contrast, if the nurse in charge is impatient and refuses to acknowledge or address the students' emotions of anxiety, their emotions may become overwhelming, so that the effort of suppressing those strong emotions and maintaining a calm face interferes with their ability to perform their duties (Smith, 1992, pp. 70-72). Originally, studies on emotional labour focused on the interaction between workers in an organization and people outside the organization, principally clients and customers. However, as illustrated in the last example, the emotion work within an organization is also important (Wharton, 1999, p. 161). Because employees may work together over a long period of time, and have many more interactions with each other than they do with clients and customers, the boundaries between private and public emotional labour in the workforce may become extremely complex (Waldron, 2000, pp. 66-67). In the example above the seniority and status difference between the nurse and the students enhanced the students' emotional experience.

Studies that focus on how people can best cope with challenging emotional labour have focused on distancing strategies, in which employees transform difficult situations in order to distance themselves. Here, deep acting is a manoeuvre applied to avoid painful emotional experience. Police officers, prison officers and nurses all use black humour (for example joking about tragic events), and strategies of de-personalization—for example, calling prisoners 'bodies', or naming patients by their afflicted organs in order to avoid seeing them as persons (Crawley, 2004, p. 418; Martin, 1999, pp. 122-123; Smith, 1992, p. 131). Another, different strategy to cope with emotions is to form "communities of coping" (Korczynski, 2003, p. 58; P. Lewis, 2005, pp. 575-577) using "unmanaged spaces" (Bolton & Boyd, 2003, p. 303), often off-stage areas where co-workers can vent the emotions that may

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[27] A cross country study involving 23 countries found that suppression of emotions scored higher and was positively correlated in countries that valued embeddedness and hierarchy compared to cultures that valued individual autonomy and egalitarianism, where suppression was lower and negatively correlated (Matsumoto, Yoo, Nakagawa, & Members Multinational Study, 2008).

not be expressed in the work situation[28]. To date, deep acting as applied professionally has been associated with negative effects; however, this analysis has been criticized and to level the ground we will shortly review alternative analyses.

The Effect of and Coping with Emotional Labour

Several studies focusing on the effects of emotional labour have criticized Hochschild for painting a one-dimensional and negative picture, not taking into account the positive effects it may have. To identify with a work role may be enjoyable and enhance the well-being of the worker (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Furthermore, expressing positive emotions can help the worker to maintain control over demanding situations and meetings with customers (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990), while sharing emotions with co-workers is an essential positive feature of work (Waldron, 1994). Workers who are required to work with rude and offensive customers and to treat those customers much more nicely than the customers treat them are well aware of the manipulation to which they are subject and use different strategies to resist and negotiate the emotional labour they are expected to perform (Taylor, 1998; Taylor & Tyler, 2000). A study that compared different types of service work found that the negative effects were most often seen in three types of circumstances; first, when workers had more or less continuous interaction with customers, so that they had a very limited ability to act according to their personal preferences, but rather were required to adopt a specific, contrasting work role; second, when they were employed on account of their personalities or looks; and third, when they were required to work in a somewhat concealed or deceptive sales situation (Abiala, 1999).

The transmutation of feelings that Hochschild argued was a negative consequence of being continuously required to respond to customers in a predefined way has been criticized as over-stating the limitations on workers' ability to control their feelings both in relation to management and towards customers (Bolton & Boyd, 2003). Bolton and Boyd argue that Hochschild overstates the split between public and private performances and that a physical labour process cannot be equated with an emotional labour process, the way Hochschild does. They argue that the alienation that may be an effect of physical labour cannot be compared with the emotional labour process because in the latter case the worker owns the means of production, as it were. Bolton and Boyd instead support Goffman, arguing that workers pos-

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[28] Both in nursing and in police work one may be expected to be emotionally distant, which leaves no room for expressing emotions between colleagues (Jackall, 2000; Smith, 1992). Smith argues that in nursing work the medical criteria define the feeling rules for the whole ward (1992, p. 59). As a result, nurses in some wards do not share "communities of coping" and have to handle upsetting emotions by themselves or in a private setting (P. Lewis, 2005).

sesses 'multiple selves' (ibid, p. 295) and are therefore able to handle the divergent emotional demands put upon them.

Bolton and Boyd offer a typology that sets out four ways of managing emotions at work: presentational, philanthropic, pecuniary and prescriptive, the last two being equivalent to 'emotional labour'. 'The presentational category' represents the basic socialized self; as members of a social world we already have an understanding of how to behave. 'The philanthropic category' represents the extra work done, emotion management as a 'gift' that is often shown towards colleagues but is also an aspect of the customer work that engages our altruistic capacities. 'The pecuniary performances' and 'the prescriptive performances' involved in service work are directed by the employer in order for the ensemble to produce a reliable and homogenous performance. In a study of airline crews, the employees saw these as being divided into commercial and professional aspects respectively, where the professional aspects were regarded by the crew as being more important. In Bolton and Boyd's study the cabin crew did not engage any feeling in accordance with these rules, they merely enacted the 'display rules' established by the company. 'Prescriptive' emotional management can sometimes be in conflict with 'pecuniary' aspects: for example, if employees fatigued by keeping up with service demands neglect security concerns.

Hochschild did bring up the use of 'multiple selves' but argued that young and inexperienced workers, in particular, had difficulties juggling with several attitudes and tended to be affected privately (Hochschild, 1983, p. 133). Although more experienced workers may be able to handle 'multiple selves' in their work life, the transmutation of feelings involved in emotional labour seems to be too simple an explanation of the effects emotional labour has on the patterning and expression of our private emotional expressions. Goffman stresses the importance of emotions in our everyday rituals (1982 [1967]). "I want to stress that these emotions function as moves, and fit so precisely into the logic of the ritual game that it would seem difficult to understand them without it" (ibid, p. 23), implying that regulation of emotions is an integrative aspect of all social interactions. We all go through situations and meetings that generate emotions but they are not always appropriate for the situation at hand. The example of the flight attendant portraying her client as a victim could also be called empathy. By putting herself in his shoes her anger vanished. To call the feelings involved self-deceiving is to simplify a complex matter. The use of imagination and empathy in a work situation, whether on stage or in an airplane, is by all means strenuous and is an important aspect of the work that needs to be done, but to say that the actress "…tries to delude herself; the more voluntary, the more richly detailed the lie, the better" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 46), is not congruent with the Stanislavski's use of "as if" that Hochschild bases her description of 'deep acting' on.

To sum up, in research on emotional labour the relation between surface and deep acting is complex and cannot be reduced to an either/or relationship. Studies on surface acting often focus on suppressing experienced emotions. When surface acting is required by a predefined script, it is expected to be filled with deep acting capabilities; what is more, surface acting can generate experienced emotions. Deep acting, on the other hand, is associated with great efforts, both to induce emotions by help of memories and concentration and to avoid emotions by help of humour and de-personalization. It is also intriguing that, although emotion theory or definitions of emotion are rare in this research, the supposed effects of performing emotional labour often presuppose definitions of emotions that are situated in a biological or psychological tradition. In the empirical setting of studying the effects of different types of emotional labour and coping mechanisms to deal with those effects, it is challenging but necessary to bridge the interdisciplinary boundaries. A richer picture of the different elements involved in emotional labour and its effects has led to a change in the way emotional management is perceived, from a belief in a uncorrupted inner self that experiences and expresses genuine emotions, towards a view that "the 'authentic self' [also] requires intense emotion work to be revealed" (Wharton, 1999, p. 173).

Non-Reflective Emotion Activation and Regulation

The focus so far has been almost exclusively on reflective emotion regulation (apart from response focused regulation by use of alcohol etc.) and also on strategies that downplay emotions rather than activate them. In emotion theory in general, cognitive functions play a dominant role, and are even depicted to be necessary components of emotions. Lazarus argues that "emotions cannot occur without some kind of thought" (Lazarus, 1991, p. 353) and Frijda calls his theory a cognitive emotion theory (Frijda, 1986, p. 5). However, the debates about whether emotion requires cognition or not center to a great extent on the definition of cognition, which can range from primitive information processing to high mental processing, i.e. reflection (Buck, 1994, p. 268). The cognitive emotion theories use a vast definition of cognition, while the non-cognitive theories use a more narrow definition.

Nevertheless, in our everyday life the activation and regulation of emotions often occur without reflection. We have learned and gradually habituated both activators and regulators of emotions (Tomkins, 2008, p. 178). As Elias argues, ontogenetic development plays a part in the activation and regulation of many emotions; responses from our parents, pre-school teachers and other children teach us what is fun and what is bad, and also how to behave when becoming happy or afraid without much reflection involved. Furthermore, children that had an insecure attachment as infants have a lower threshold for negative emotions later in childhood than do children with a secure attachment (Izard, 1993, p. 83). Our previous experiences af-

fect our individual tendency to activate emotions. A given person may have a low trigger for a particular emotion and a high trigger for another emotion.

There are also several non-reflective ways to activate and regulate emotions in the moment e.g. by using some of our senses: touch, smell, taste (Izard, 1993, p. 78) and hearing (Gabrielsson, 2008). We have mentioned touch before: for example, massage. Izard gives the example of odours that can activate emotions, both in animals and in humans, without involving a reflective process. The infant's recognition of its mother's smell, for example has an important role in the attachment between mother and infant. Another sensory source for emotion activation is music. We use music to activate, enlarge and to change emotional experiences. For example, we may put on peppy music to induce a happy experience, sad music to indulge in a sad experience, or intense music to activate an angry emotion (Gabrielsson, 2008).

In conclusion, the tools presented here can be used to make a more differentiated and process-focused analysis of emotion work in general and deep acting in particular. When emotion is defined as a process with several sequential components, the relationship between the experience and expression of emotions become less dichotomized, while the relationship between surface and deep acting is revealed to be more nuanced. The nurse who avoids meeting a patient by staying in her office protects herself by isolating herself from even the beginning of the emotion process. The prison officer who calls the prisoners 'bodies' appraises the situation in a way that protects him from indulging in an emotion.

In studies of emotional labour, a focus on display uncovers variations of surface acting that simply do not fit in an emotion theory that postulates a process that starts with a trigger that generates an experience. Theories that assume that the inside out perspective is most valid do not do a good job of investigating the various ways to work from outside in: that is to say, starting to express an emotion without a corresponding experience. These different aspects of surface and deep acting and their relationship to the experience and expression of emotions will be further explored, leading to questions that will be investigated in the empirical chapters. The base for that further exploration will be a summary of the emotion process, indicating where in the process social cues are needed to form an emotion.

Before moving on, we need to place the concepts of emotional labour and emotion work, which we have discussed at considerable length above, in a stage acting perspective. The definitions of emotional labour focus on managing emotions in relation to people outside of the employing organization, e.g., customers and patients. The goal of the stage actor's work is to present emotions to an audience; that presentation can certainly be defined as emotional labour. However, the purpose of this study is to investigate the rehearsal process leading up to a performance. To that end, we must use a more encompassing analysis of emotions at work, considering both the na-

ture of emotion work during rehearsals and among actors and the emotion work that reaches across the footlights. Therefore, the broader concept of emotion work will be used, acknowledging that the work involves both collegial and audience presentations, and keeping the focus on the intersection between private and professional emotions.

An Interactional Emotion Process

In this section I will integrate the emotion process, as discussed above, with a more nuanced description of the relationship between emotional experience and emotional expression. This integration is needed to study the process of rehearsing a role for the stage. The intention is to examine afresh the contention that emotional expressions are either intended or unintended. First, I will sum up the emotion process going 'from inside out', i.e. from the perception of a trigger to emotion. Then, I will follow the emotion process 'from outside in', starting with the expression of an emotion and, as a result inducing the corresponding experience. Next, the habituation of emotional expressions will be discussed. These elaborations on the variety of emotional experiences and expressions will lead up to questions specific to a stage acting context, which will then be explored in the empirical chapters.

The emotion process investigated so far has focused on how an individual experiences and expresses an emotion. This process can be described as starting with the perception of a trigger. The trigger may be a situation or a thought: for example, a car suddenly veering into your lane or a memory of a high school incident in which you made a fool of yourself in front of the whole class. The perception triggers an autonomic response, an affect. The car incident raises your pulse, and the shameful memory makes you blush. During this phase the experience is in arousal level, and may be subconscious. However, the autonomic response—for example, the raising of the pulse—may itself be experienced as stressful and thus generate an even higher pulse. The expression of such an affect is limited to fractions of seconds, often invisible to the human eye and skimming below the conscious mind. The next phase is the step to a full emotion. For an affect to turn into an emotion there has to be some form of evaluation or information processing, both of the trigger per se and of the autonomic response, i.e. the muscular and visceral changes (compare William James definition earlier in this chapter). The experience may be marginal or intense or anywhere in between, depending on the significance of the perceived trigger and on the evaluation of the situation in general. If the car whose sudden move threatened you returns to its own lane or you have time to take evasive action, then the affect might fade away and not develop into an emotion. But if the evaluation of the situation is alarming it can turn into fear. The shameful memory can turn into a full blush if the memory is not turned off, and can

generate further thoughts of exposure and inadequacy, making the experience intense. The expression of this emotion can be patterned, suppressed or altered in several ways depending on the situation. The expression of fear coming out of the car incident depends to a large extent on earlier experiences and thoughts about how to behave in the event of a calamity, while the expression from the shameful memory depends on such factors as whether the person is alone or in public.

The overall outline of this description fits with Hochschild's interactional definition of emotions (at large taken from Thoits, 1990) comprising the awareness of the four elements of a) appraisal of a situation, b) changes in bodily sensations, c) free or inhibited display of expressive gestures, and d) a cultural label applied to specific constellations of these three elements (Hochschild, 1990, pp. 118-119; for a figure, see Thoits, 1990, pp. 191-192). However, there are some useful refinements that can be made to this definition, refinements that help to identify those intersections where social factors can influence an emotion. *Information processing*, either by way of reflective or less conscious processes, a concomitant liability to be affected by social circumstances and individual agency are involved at three points. First, the trigger of an emotion can be modified or created by experience. Second, the evaluation of the autonomic responses is largely dependent on previous experience. Third, the evaluation of the trigger is made with reference to the situation, from previous experience and expectations about what will happen next.

As we can see, although the focus has been on the biological machinery, it does not reduce the impact of social factors in the shaping of emotions both before and during an emotion process. Furthermore, the use of *information processing* as a complement to *evaluation* attenuates the reflective component of the emotion process, articulating that emotions can and do evolve without reflective efforts. As will be elucidated in Chapter 4, these clarifications are needed to work out a theoretical frame of reference for the professional dimensions of the emotions used by stage actors.

However, the emotion process described so far only runs one way, from trigger to emotion, not fully incorporating the complexity of the process. Emotions may also evolve from outside in, starting with an expression that eventually can instigate an emotion process. We will now investigate some of the varieties of emotional expression and experience that are important for an understanding of emotion work.

The Variety of Emotional Expression and Experience

As we have seen, in emotion theories the expression of an emotion is at least partly included in its being experienced and therefore it is often assumed that it is unintentional and impossible to manipulate (Frijda, 1986, p. 61; James, 1884, p. 192). The expression of emotions is therefore, by definition, unin-

tended, sometimes labelled as a spontaneous or involuntary emotional expression, in contrast to gestures or emblems (Ekman & Freisen, 1969, p. 96). In sociological studies, on the other hand, the display of emotions is often the focus of studies. Rosenberg differentiates between *emotional expression*, referring to unintended manifestations of emotional experience, and *emotional displays* that are intended or manipulated (1990, p. 4). As we will see, the relationship between experience and expression of emotions is more complex and difficult to categorize as simply intended or unintended[29]. Studying emotions during rehearsals, when they are in the making and the relationship between experience and expression is evolving, one can assume that expressing emotions can generate experiences corresponding to the expression, i.e. yelling giving rise to feelings of anger. Additionally, emotions may result from the expression, i.e. the actor who expresses anger may experience shame as a result. One can also assume that the expression of an emotion, when being repeated continuously during rehearsals and performances, becomes habituated; as a result of this habituation, the actor becomes able to perform that expression of emotion without conscious manipulation, whether originating in an emotional experience or not. Therefore, to avoid confusion, we will use the term expression for all emotional manifestations.

Surface acting, as defined by Hochschild, implies the controlling of gestures and facial expressions where the displayed emotion has no relationship to the experienced emotion. However, in line with Frijda's definition, an experienced emotion, containing bodily changes, can be expressed more or less in line with its "mode(s) of relational action readiness". How does that relate to the work of stage actors? Do they experience an emotion and express it in line with its modes of relational action readiness, or do they intentionally enhance the expressions to fit the demands of staging, thus combining deep- and surface acting? This will be investigated in Chapter 4. Another related aspect pointed out already by William James is that we can consciously create emotions by voluntarily going through the *outward motions* of the emotional expression (1884, pp. 197-198)[30]. Stage actors call it working from the outside in; by intentionally displaying the gestures and voice of an emotional expression the experience of that emotion tend to emerge (Bergman Blix, 2007; Hochschild, 1990). We can thus reach deep acting by way of surface acting. This relates to the understanding of emotions as

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[29] The problem of making a distinction between manipulated and automatic emotional expressions has been questioned regarding facial expressions. One suggestion has been to analyze facial expressions using a three-dimensional scheme involving: degree of modification, degree of learning and degree of consciousness, all of them ranging from non to total (Matsumoto & Lee, 1993). However, these dimensions are developed from a neuropsychological standpoint and, from what I understand, rather concerns affects, since unlearned emotional expressions are inconceivable.

[30] Regarding facial expressions this notion has been called 'the Facial Feedback Hypothesis', and has received some support implying that the muscles of the face give feedback to the brain giving rise to emotional experience (Ekman, 1984, pp. 324-328).

scripts that contain physiological, motoric (gestures and facial expressions), and cognitive components (Tomkins, 2008, p. 668ff) that we referred to earlier: if part of the script is activated, the other parts will follow. Another use of physical activity is to clear the way for an openness that facilitates the initiation of an emotion process. Inhibitions in expressing feelings have physical correlates, constituting a muscular armour (Reich, 1972 [1933]). Wilhelm Reich argues that the modern world requires a constant inhibition of emotional responses and that this continuous inhibition results in a constant tension of the muscles. "It is as if the affective personality armoured itself, as if the hard shell it develops was intended to deflect and weaken the blows of the outer world as well as the clamouring of the inner needs" (ibid, p. 338). The armour makes the person less sensitive and thus less open to emotional experience. If these tensions are softened by physical activity, or relaxed by, for example, pharmaceuticals or massage, the probability that the emotions will be released increases. Reich's ideas have had considerable influence on acting theory in inspiring acting training programs that focus on relaxation and body awareness as a means to gain access to the body's impulses (Roach, 1993, pp. 219-220).

This takes us back to Darwin's example of putting on gloves. Expressions that do not include autonomic responses can still become habituated; we perform them automatically, without conscious manipulation. One example is the social smile that we give to people when greeting them. The smile is not the result of a readiness to act due to a joy response, but it is nevertheless habituated; we do not have to control the facial expressions in detail in order to perform it as the definition of surface acting implies (Hochschild, 1979, p. 558). In terms of Tomkins's scripts, this tendency of expressions to become habituated does not only concern surface expressions, but also emotions that include an autonomic component. Concomitant with the autonomic response is a readiness to act that tends to be expressed in ways that we have used previously. A person that shouts and throws things when s/he is angry tends to do that every time s/he is angry: the expression becomes habituated; it follows in the paths that have been ploughed through previous enactments of the same behaviour. An expression thus habituated is similar to an autonomic response in that it is performed without intentional manipulation. On the other hand it differs from an autonomic response in two ways. First, it is induced socially. Second, it is amenable to adaptation both in a particular situation and in the long run. If the shouting angry person gets angry in a public place s/he probably restrains the urge to throw things. The ability to both habituate and regulate expressions is important in the context of professional emotion work that includes repetition of emotional expressions. The actor repeats the performance every night. In everyday life our emotional expressions become habituated both as individual manifestations and in relationship to the people we daily express emotions towards, particularly people we are close to. The fights we have with our spouse tend to take the same

route every time; we follow our ploughed paths and can have difficulty getting out of them. On stage, the actor needs to find emotional paths that correspond with the character. Private scripts need to change to professional character scripts. How does the actor do that, and does it affect the emotions s/he experiences and expresses in the private sphere? Furthermore, how does the fact that the stage actor performs emotions within strict and settled blockings influence the emotion itself? Is the experience of an emotion affected by being continuously expressed in rehearsals and during performances? In general, is there a qualitative difference between spontaneous emotions and emotions that are initiated during rehearsals, repeatedly displayed and gradually habituated?

Furthermore, apart from the emotions that are being presented, the presenting of emotions in itself generates experiences of subsequent emotions. Turning back to Goffman, there is seemingly no problem with a complete decoupling between experience and expression of emotion when entering an interaction, but instead a focus on the experiencing of emotions that are the result of an interaction, or rather our evaluation of our performance in it for example giving rise to feelings of shame. On the other hand, Hochschild focuses on the emotion work we do before entering an interaction, trying to connect our experience to the appropriate expression. Hochschild focuses on the experiencing of the emotions that are being presented, while Goffman focuses on the experiencing of the emotions that emanate from the presenting of emotions. Even if a presentation is all surface, or, in line with Hochschild, especially when a presentation is all surface and decoupled from a corresponding experience of an emotion, the effect of that presentation may generate experiences of emotions depending on how the performance is evaluated.

The emotions, such as shame, that emanate from working with emotions and the efforts to establish an emotional climate during rehearsals that allows for these resulting emotions to run their course will be investigated in Chapter 3. The interplay between experience and expression of emotions will be investigated in Chapter 4, and the interface between professional and private emotions will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In conclusion it is important to point out that surface and deep acting are not separate entities. There are several ways in which surface and deep acting are related; deep acting can be enhanced or diminished by surface acting and surface acting can be used to reach deep acting. Furthermore, surface acting does not necessarily imply intentional manipulation every time; surface expressions can also become habituated and thus be performed without being controlled in detail.

2. Methodological Considerations and Data

This chapter introduces the methodological considerations that preceded and emanated from doing ethnographic research in a theatrical setting. First the general phenomenological approach is discussed, followed by a further elaboration on ethnographic studies relating to emotions. Before presenting the field work, I briefly discuss how the different roles that the researcher and the actor have influence their perception of the situation. Then the focus moves to the field work, starting with my preconceptions and journey into the theatre and followed by a description of the three means by which data were collected: participant observation, interviews, and emotional participation. Finally, the data and the analysis are described in more detail.

Ethnographic Research from Two Perspectives

I followed two lines of investigation in my quest to understand stage actors' work with characters in general and their work with emotions in particular. In preparing for the study, during my fieldwork and in the analysis, I used a phenomenological approach to study the stage actors' subjective understanding of their work. However, when analyzing the data, in addition to using a phenomenological approach, I interpreted my findings in terms of emotion theory, analyzing how the relationship between experience and expression was manifested in the stage actors' bodies: that is to say, how emotions work from within. This perspective was used in the analysis of stage actors' work with emotions, particularly in the empirical Chapter 4.

With a phenomenological approach, the aim is to describe the stage actors' emotion work as a general yet subjective phenomenon, the common features of the work of individuals. Schütz stressed the subjective as well as the generalized knowledge that can be deduced from the experiences of a phenomenon:

> It should be stressed that this transcendental intersubjectivity exists purely in me, the meditating ego. It is constituted purely from the sources of my intentionality, but in such a manner that it is the same transcendental intersubjectivity in every single human being (only in other subjective manners of appearance) in his intentional experiences (Schütz, 1962, p. 126).

We have an individual and unique understanding of the world but we create bridges to other peoples' unique understandings by way of how we express ourselves in the social circumstances in which we live. In order to understand stage actors' emotion work, the researcher needs to learn the codes and modes of expressions that the stage actors use in their work: the *first order constructs*. Reduction and comparison of several actors' first order constructs will reveal common features, subjective but interpersonal to this particular social group. These intersubjective features are used to create a *second order construct* that all actors can recognize. The subjective approach to the stage actors' work implies that the focus is on the *structures of meaning* (Aspers, 2001) on which their work is based, but it also implies that there might be other structures of meaning if the same process were studied from another perspective, say for instance from that of a theatrical producer. For example, Chapter 3 describes how the rehearsal process unfolds, as seen from the stage actor's perspective. The descriptions of the experience of shame seen in the start up phase and the frustration felt in the crisis phase would most certainly be interpreted differently if producers rather than actors were the focus of the study.

An important premise for the study is that stage actors' work with emotions can be described as a complex process containing several components, such as motives, experiences and expressions. These component parts are not always available for the individual actor's own reflection; for example, practices that are routinely ignored or unnoticed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007 [1983], p. 231). Therefore, the process needs to be studied from several perspectives; in this case participant observation, interviews and emotional participation. Furthermore, in order to come close to the phenomenon and avoid general descriptions, the process has to be 'rolled out', that is practiced. If this is done in a concrete way, in vivo, the process can be analyzed by an observer. However, while the expression of emotions can be observed by a researcher, the expression comprises only half of the picture. How can one study the actor's emotional experiences? Interviews are one way—and generally an excellent means to learn about people's experiences—but although actors are professionals in expressing emotions they are not necessarily similarly adept in reflecting upon their emotional experiences. Interviews may generate overly general or stereotypical answers. In my experience of interviewing stage actors, two antithetical problems occurred. First, actors who were accustomed to being interviewed (for example, by journalists) had a tendency to respond to questions with canned speeches. Second, when I focused the interview questions on specific work methods, actors would

often say that they had not talked about this before and had a hard time articulating what they actually do[31].

Talking about emotions does not necessarily coincide with experiencing emotions, both due to the fact that emotions can be difficult to verbalize and because people are not always aware of what they feel (Rosenberg, 1990, p. 5; Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 6). To study emotions we have to come up with alternative methods. Therefore, a third and complementary possibility is to use the researcher's own emotions as a tool when studying professional stage actors rehearsing, with the primary aim of studying the relationship between emotional experiences and their expressions and the secondary aim of exploring how private experiences relate to professional emotional expressions (Bergman Blix, 2009). As we shall see, by reflecting on my emotional experiences as an observer, in relation to the stage actors' emotional expressions, I was able to discover how the relationship between the actors' experienced and expressed emotions varied during rehearsals.

In the ethnographic literature the researcher's emotions are often seen as important aspects of their field notes, mainly because emotions affect our relationships with interviewees and with the situation in the field. Additionally, emotions may affect what the researcher chooses to observe and interpret, as well as how s/he observes and interprets (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007 [1983], p. 151). However, used with care, the researcher's emotional reactions can be put to work to understand the phenomena under investigation (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, pp. 27-29).

First, therefore, I will briefly review how observers use their own emotions in the field as developed in social anthropological studies and in psychoanalytical discussions on countertransference. Then I will discuss how the different roles taken by observer and actor, respectively, influence their emotional reactions.

Emotions in the Field

In order to discuss the place of emotions in ethnographic research we will first undertake a brief review of how emotions are perceived in the ethnographic literature. As described in Chapter 1 there is an ongoing debate among researchers undertaking ethnographic studies (as well as in many other disciplines that study emotions) as to whether emotions are biologically determined or socially constructed. More specifically, the question that is posed within the anthropological discipline is: Are emotions universal or local? Most researchers would agree that this question does not have an either/or answer but rather that the two traditions have focused on different

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[31] In studying knowledge of any kind tacit knowledge is a well-known and disputed concept, first described by Michael Polanyi: "…we can know more than we can tell" (Polanyi, 1983, p. 4).

aspects of emotions. The universalists mainly focus on the experiential and bodily aspects of emotions, while the constructionists focus on language and the cultural context (Beatty, 2005, p. 19). Universalism stems from Darwin's evolutionary emotion theory, which was developed further in modern times by researchers such as Ekman and Izard (Ekman, 1999; Izard, 1983 cf. Chapter 1). Universalism originally investigated what is common to all men: the boundaries of social influences. Constructionism, which developed as a reaction to universalism, emphasized social aspects, both in studying how emotional displays are learned and how emotions are expressed between rather than within individuals. Somewhat incisively worded, one can say that the universalist believes that one can study emotions using empathy since we all share the same basic emotional experiences (Wikan, 1992), while the constructionist regards empathy as a projection that only reveals our own feelings (Geertz, 1984, pp. 123-136)[32].

The deliberate application of empathy, "creating a resonance" between one's own feelings and those of another person, in order to make use of one's own emotional experiences to understand others', started out as an effort not to exoticize the emotional displays of other cultures (Rosaldo, 1989; Wikan, 1992). However, this methodological device needs to be analyzed more closely in order to meet the requirements of a suitable analytical tool[33]. According to Hollan, empathy assumes a relationship and can only be used in collaboration with the person we try to understand (Hollan, 2008). In the theatre that argument needs to be specified. When an audience watches a theatre production, they create an empathic understanding of the characters in the play as the story unfolds on the stage. Everyday life rarely unfolds in such fluent and understandable ways as on the stage and a more active participation is often necessary in order to create resonance in the observer. Another difficulty when observing emotions is that people normally try to control their emotional displays and how they are interpreted by others; that is they try to hide what they really feel and they may also display emotions that are different from the ones they experience (ibid, pp. 484-487).

It is important to note that a lack of empathy, the researcher's failure to empathically understand a situation, can be a tool to understand differences

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[32] Geertz clearly argues that the best way to study "meaning" is to use the "experience-distant" hermeneutic circle, but he actually does not criticize empathy the way it is defined scientifically (see further next note). Rather, he sees it as a form of attunement, in his words "to get yourself into some inner correspondence of spirit with your informants".

[33] Empathy relates to a process that can be described in three phases: First, the empathic person receives and resonates to another person's emotional condition. Second, the empathic person communicates a response to the other person's emotional condition. Third, the other person receives the processed feelings and reacts to them. In this process, cognitive and emotional components correlate. It is important to note that the empathic person's interpretation of the received emotions does not have to be correct. Studies have shown that the correlation between self-reported empathy and empathic precision (from the other person's perspective) is very low. (Holm, 2001, p. 126).

in perceptions of the phenomenon being observed (Hollan & Throop, 2008, p. 396). A noteworthy comment made by Leavitt is that, "The problem with empathy is not that it involves feeling, but that it assumes that first impressions are true" (Leavitt, 1996, p. 530). The use of empathy can be seen as a process, taking account of the fact that emotions often change over time, both with reflection and with more experience of the field (see further Hollan, 2008). The overall conclusion is that the observer's emotions have the potential to be useful tools if used with care: The observer has to consider that the people s/he observes work with their emotional displays and that the emotional expression is rarely perfectly matched with the corresponding emotional experience. At the same time, the observer needs to reflect continuously on her/his own emotions and, if possible, discuss interpretations thereof with the people in the field[34].

A more thorough discussion of the relationship between the observer and the observed emotions can be found in the psychoanalytic discipline. In the field of psychoanalysis, discussions on *transference*—the patient's unconscious redirection of feelings from significant persons in his/her early life to the therapist in an analytic session—and *countertransference*—the analyst's emotional responses to those feelings—can be divided into two opposing approaches: the classical and the totalistic approach (Bouchard, Normandin, & Séguin, 1995). According to the classical approach, countertransference is an unwelcome by-product of the therapist–patient relationship and an indication that the therapist has failed to control her/his own reactions. This view regards the analytic session as one-way directed, analyzing only the patient's interpersonal emotions. On the other hand, the totalistic approach emphasizes the intrapersonal aspects of the session, making all the therapist's emotions relevant. Today, the dominant approach is to view countertransference as a helpful tool in the therapeutic session, i.e. the therapist recognizes and reflects upon his/her own emotions using them as clues to an increased understanding of the patient, particularly if the emotions deviate from the therapist's ordinary spectrum of emotional reactions.

In order to sort out the emotions that are associated with and contain valuable information related to an observation, one has to be able to separate private reactions from those that are significant in relation to the current situation. In the course of their training, therapists go through therapy to be able to interpret these differences; the ethnographer may be less alert in this respect and thus left with less subtle interpretations. Furthermore, in psychotherapy, the focus of the analysis is to change the patient with help from the therapist. In ethnographic studies the goal is rather to consider the changes that inevitably are caused by the presence of the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007 [1983], pp. 63-96). Even though the ethnographer's emo-

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[34] I prefer to call it "emotional participation" since empathy is only one aspect of the emotional reactions that the researcher can use.

tions as encountered in a short-term field study cannot be dealt with in the same profound way as in psychotherapy, it can still be valuable for the researcher to reflect on private versus situational emotions and what they can contribute to her/his understanding of the field. The use of psychoanalytically informed interpretations of countertransference can be helpful when the researcher spends a vast amount of time in the field and builds up a relationship with the respondents that is open to reflections on emotional reactions (Davidson, 1986).

In order to further understand the observer's emotions it is necessary to clarify the different roles of the people in the field. I will focus on the researcher and the actors, with reference to the audience, as a way to discover differences between the three roles.

Different Orientations and their Relation to Emotional Experiences

Emotional experiences and expressions are at the core of rehearsing. In order to discuss observations of emotions it is necessary to clarify how one's role, whether one is actor, researcher or spectator, determines one's focus in relation to the rehearsal or the performance as well as how the different orientations relate to emotions. In the next paragraph the different orientations that are associated with these roles will be elucidated in more detail.

The function of being an observer colours how emotions are perceived and experienced. The researcher and the audience share the experience of being observers; they are not verbally or physically involved in the performance. The audience, however, is oriented towards following a plot, to understand what is happening and what that implies. The spectators thus are *self-oriented* in the sense that they are focused on making sense of what the emotions mean to themselves: that is to say, how their own emotions and experiences in a wider sense relate to what is happening on stage. They may avoid the emotions by intellectualizing the story, for instance by referring to other theatre events or to related phenomena in society. The researcher, on the other hand, knows the story and can wholeheartedly focus on the actors, how they trigger, modify and express emotions. The actor's main focus is on making a credible and coherent totality of the character on stage; his/her emotions are thus *inhabit-oriented*[35], that is adapted to make experiential as well as bodily aspects of the character come to life. The actor has to display the character's emotions so that the audience can understand them. The actor also has to perform tasks such as moving props, moving around the stage according to fixed blockings, going backstage in one mood and returning to the stage in another mood, etc. To accomplish these tasks in front of an audi-

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[35] Inhabit refers to the actor's work with embodying a character which implies in some sense experiencing the emotions the character has or endures as well as the physical expressions those emotions give rise to. In Swedish the term is 'gestalta', which, apart from covering the same meaning as inhabit, also has an artistic component; the actor not only inhabits a characters; he also presents it.

ence generates emotions by itself (Konijn, 2000). Both the emotions that are generated by performing in front of an audience and the emotions that correspond with those of the character are *inhabit-oriented*, that is focused on how to express the character's actions or body language in a comprehensive way.

Figure 1

ROLE	ORIENTATION
Performing Actor	inhabit-oriented
Spectator	self-oriented
Emotion Researcher	actor-oriented

The scheme shown in Figure 1 is a simple and summary presentation of the dominant orientations of the different roles. It should be added that in a particular moment several orientations may be applied or actualized more or less simultaneously: For example, the actor may start out with a *self-oriented* emotion that turns *inhabit-oriented* during the rehearsals, or the researcher may focus on *actor-oriented* emotions and then be struck by *self-oriented* vulnerabilities[36]. The actor's feeling ashamed at the beginning of the rehearsals (see further Chapter 3) is an example of a *self-oriented* emotion that turns into *inhabit-oriented* emotions as a result of professional training or practice; with experience, actors find that the duration of the time *self-oriented* emotions dominates their rehearsals become shorter. In every project the actor, by her/his own efforts, becomes fully aware of her/his initial shame reactions, and is able to reflect on and gradually distance her/himself from them, thus moving the focus from her/him self to the task at hand.

The way in which these different orientations can make a distinct difference can be exemplified by a story that one of the actors told me. She was acting in a tragic play that involved stories of abuse and death. After performances the actors in the ensemble often went for a beer at the local pub, also frequented by spectators who had been at the theatre. When I have asked actors about the emotional consequences of engaging in powerful emotions on stage I almost always got the answer that it is exhilarating; the professional anger feels the same as private anger, with the significant difference that private anger involves frustration, and often shame, whereas on stage the negative consequences are absent. For the actor, expressing strong

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[36] In a letter to the composer Allan Pettersson, Birgit Cullberg, choreographer and founder of "the Cullberg Ballet", wrote: "I was in shock and started crying in the middle of your ninth symphony at the Opera. Your music is always dance. It is body and movement, dynamic force, and explosive outbursts. And thereafter rest, delightful peace, lightness…I have to create a dance also for the ninth. Thank you for being there" (my translation). The result was "War dances" (Barkefors, 1995, p. 287). In the quote one can see that Cullberg's emotions are both *self-oriented*; she is overwhelmed and starts to cry as a spectator, and *inhabit-oriented*; seeing the opportunities to create a dance for this music.

emotions rather generates energy when moving out of them. The side effects of performing *inhabit-oriented* emotions are thus often referred to as becoming energetic, feeling "on top of things" (see further Chapter 5). Another aspect that strengthens that feeling is that the actor has had time to go through all the sad emotions of a tragic play during the rehearsal period, and thus is in a different phase than the spectator seeing the story for the first time (see further Chapter 4). As a result the actors came into the pub happy, laughing, and in a good mood, only to run into serious, sometimes tearful spectators who had just come from seeing the performance. The obvious clash between what the spectators expected to see (actors sobered by their characters' experiences), and what the actors really felt (after-work high spirits), forced the actors to restrain themselves and walk in with neutral faces so as not to offend the deeply moved, *self-oriented* spectators.

Now, we will turn to the fieldwork, and how the three strategies, participant observation, interviews and emotional participation, were used in order to gain knowledge about stage actors' work with emotions.

Fieldwork

We will start with some general information about the fieldwork followed by a description of my preconceptions and my journey into the theatre. After that, we turn to the collection of data through participant observation, interviews, and emotional participation. The data and the analysis that was conducted are described in more detail and finally some definitions will be provided to further the understanding of the upcoming empirical chapters.

Two field studies were carried out between 2005-2007. These field studies included observations of rehearsals and informal talks and interviews with stage actors during the rehearsal period and the first weeks of performance of two theatre productions. The particular productions were selected so as to obtain as rich a variety of acting experience as possible (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007 [1983], p. 33). The chosen projects included actors of both sexes, with a great range of experiences and diverse employment conditions. The two projects were situated at the same theatre, but no actor was involved in both projects. The theatre house is one of the largest in Sweden. It has a permanent actor crew, but also employs actors on contracts on a one to two-year basis or for particular projects. Twenty actors, seven women and thirteen men, were involved in the two productions. Thirty-two interviews were conducted at various stages of the rehearsals and in the beginning of the performance period. Six interviews from an earlier project about the profes-

sional competence of stage actors (Blix, 2004) were also included, so all in all in all 25 actors and 38 interviews were analyzed[37].

In order to observe the acting work from several perspectives, interviews were also conducted with other members of the crew who work close to the actors: a stage designer, a prompter and a make-up designer. In addition to the formal interviews, more casual conversations took place in between rehearsals, at lunch, and so forth. In one of the productions, one actor accompanied me several times on walks after rehearsals or performances and thus brought me up to date on the latest progress or difficulties. I attended almost all rehearsals for both productions. The first production had a rehearsal period of two months and the second had a rehearsal period of three months; thus, all in all, I was in the field for five months. In Sweden, actors rehearse from Tuesday to Saturday, during the day, for five hours each day. In addition, if they are not engaged in a running theatrical performance, they rehearse for a further three hours at night.

In the first project there was a crisis when the director had to resign due to illness; I was asked to stay away for two days while the ensemble had meetings about how to handle the situation. I was also sent out during one rehearsal. The actor involved in that rehearsal later told me what had happened when I was not present. In the other project, there was a period of two weeks when I was asked not to be there when certain scenes were rehearsed; the reason was that two of the actors were uneasy about my presence. During that time, I attended rehearsals of the other scenes and also observed the ensemble rehearsing several scenes in succession. Apart from observing rehearsals, I also observed other performances that the actors were playing in at the time to use as contrast in the interviews.

My Role as an Observer

I have previously worked as a director's assistant at several theatre productions and I have also had one year of acting training at the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre in New York. These previous experiences helped me in two ways. First, it was a door-opener to the field. Rehearsals are, in most cases, closed to everyone except the people that absolutely have to be there. The fact that I had worked in the theatre and attended many rehearsals before gave the directors a level of comfort that I would know how to behave and how not to disturb anyone. Second, my knowledge of the process made me trust my feelings on how to behave: when to back off and when to go ahead. A negative aspect or risk associated with my having worked in the field could be that I have got so accustomed to the field that I have become blind to what happens there. This would probably have been a real

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[37] The numbers do not foot precisely because one of the actors in the study on professional competence was also involved in the first production.

risk if I had conducted my research immediately after having worked as a director's assistant. However, as it happened, I left the world of theatre several years before the fieldwork took place, and felt rather thrilled to be able to re-approach the field with a fresh look and to pose 'naïve' questions that were difficult to ask or that I had not considered when I was part of the field.

The first production that I had intended to observe was postponed. In that production I wrote to a director and asked to observe a production as a researcher, and was accepted after having described my background and intentions. When that production was postponed, I contacted a person I knew who worked at another theatre; he mediated contacts with two directors, one woman and one man, whose productions I eventually observed. After the first production I was in contact with yet another director who was positive at first, but then declined to participate in the study due to the sensitive rehearsal situation.

In order to get started on the fieldwork, I called the directors who had finally granted permission and arranged individual meetings with them. I told them briefly about my research and about my background and they contacted all the actors before the first reading of the play to make sure that everyone would accept my presence. The meeting with the first director took half an hour, while the meeting with the second director lasted for four hours. Directors of course work differently, and I did get the information I needed from each of them. The advantage of having such a long meeting with the second director was that we really did get to know each other a bit; in subsequent rehearsals, the director could refer to topics that we had discussed and in that way show the actors that I was a person to be trusted and not a complete stranger. I do not know whether that was the intention or not, but that director often referred to past experiences with people of the ensemble in a way that enhanced the solidarity within the group. In the first production I approached all the individual actors during the first rehearsals and introduced myself and my research. In the second production the director introduced me at the first rehearsal. I promised beforehand to keep all participant's anonymity and not to reveal the name of the theatre. In general I was positively met.

The first production had a crisis when the director had to resign, which led to several informal meetings on how to proceed. Some of the actors were more involved than others in discussing, for example, if any changes should be made in the manuscript. During those occasions I was sometimes asked to give my point of view. I always started by saying that my participation was as an observer, and that I should not offer opinions, but on a few occasions I did in fact comment on their ideas. I did that for two reasons: first, in order to be trustworthy I had to behave with a degree of collegiality, even though my intended role was to be a non-participant, a silent and neutral observer. Secondly, I couldn't help myself; being involved around the clock in a pro-

ject that was in danger made me care about the production and the people involved[38].

In the second production the first week of rehearsals revolved to a large extent around discussions of the play and its social context. The discussions were often sociologically relevant in the sense that the issues they talked about involved class membership, social vulnerability and how our position in society and the situations we enter into can influence our lives. In these discussions several of the actors often looked inquiringly at me, probably both to see if I, as a sociologist, had any objections, and to ask about my opinion. I did not respond and after a while the inquisitive looks became rarer. During this production, I had decided to regard lunch breaks as breaks for me too, although not necessarily as an observer, because sometimes interesting comments were made etc, but as a silent one. It was both a way to make the actors to get to know me and trust me; it also gave me an opportunity to relax in the midst of all the emotional activity that otherwise filled me up with no vent for expression.

The reasons for observing two productions were both practical and theoretical. On a practical level, I had a limited time at my disposal and a huge amount of data to sort through. On an theoretical level, I found during the second production that several of the codes I investigated were saturated and only generated more of the same information. Therefore, I shifted my emphasis from finding new data to looking for new angles in the existing data. The interviews, for example, generated more detailed examples of the themes I had previously identified and analyzed, rather than bringing forward new themes. Evidently, one can never exhaust all individual differences, and other questions could be asked that would demand further inquiries.

Observations and Interviews

During the rehearsals, I took notes continuously; I then used these notes to formulate the specific questions posed to the actors in interviews that took place throughout the rehearsal period and in the beginning of the performance period. The observation notes fell into three categories, depending on the purpose: First, I made notes describing visible behaviour, such as movements, gestures, and facial expressions, for later analysis. These notes were very carefully limited to observed behaviours—for example, 'turning red, gesticulating, moving closer to other actor', rather than to perceived emotions, such as 'angry' (Fangen, 2005, p. 91ff.); Second, I made notes of dia-

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[38] Hammersley and Atkinson argue that the researcher often over interprets the reactions that people in the field have to their presence. In many cases people do not care, as they have more important things to do (2007 [1983], p. 61).

logue and certain sentences that could be used as examples of the work; and, finally, I took notes on my own reflections and the emotions that arose in me when observing. I also marked some of the notes that I wanted to use later, in my interviews.

In the first production, my notes covered a broader spectrum than in the second production when I had narrowed my focus (Hammersley s.144-5). I realized early on that it was easy to focus too much on the second kind of notes, writing down dialogue, especially since actors and the director sometimes talked in detail about the working process; how it could and should be done. When the discussion became interesting, the visual aspects would disappear into the background. I had to choose which to memorialize in notes, because I could not focus on both what they did and what they said. Nevertheless, I did make notes on behaviour, particularly behaviours that seemed of interest as a starting point for further inquiries. Before each interview with an actor, I focused on that particular actor and what s/he did during the rehearsals. In the interviews, I would then ask about specific behaviours and what their intentions were when doing certain things, for example *"when you approached him you lifted your arms…?"* Sometimes they knew exactly what I was talking about and why they did it, and sometimes they were surprised. The focus on actors' specific behaviours made for good interviews, both because it was clear that I had observed them carefully (and everybody likes to be noticed), and also because the interview had a concrete foundation in acting practice.

In the fieldwork for the first production, I interviewed most of the actors twice: the first time about two weeks into the rehearsals, and the second time at the end of the rehearsal period or in the beginning of the performance period. In addition to the formal interviews, I had frequent informal talks with many of the actors during breaks and before and after rehearsals. Sometimes actors commented on what had been said in the interviews by sharing thoughts that had been actualized by the interviews and sometimes they commented by glancing in my direction when concepts they had talked about were used in rehearsal. As an example of this latter type of comment: In one of the interviews, an actor had told me about something he called "close-up". He explained that when the actors wanted to highlight a particularly important part of the story, they could create a close-up by focusing on this one sentence or action and not fussing around with other activities on the stage: in other words, creating a discipline where only one thing of interest was happening on stage. In one of the next rehearsals, he commented that a close-up would be suitable for the short episode they were rehearsing at the moment. It was evident that the other actors did not need the term in order to understand what to do, and he glanced at me to make sure that I understood the concept. That type of remark can be interpreted as an effort to bridge the gap between spoken knowledge and practice.

Generally speaking, the first interview with an actor focused on what s/he had done so far in the production and then on how it was different from what that actor usually did—if indeed it was different. Actors were encouraged to speak freely, although I did have a set of questions to keep our dialogue as concrete as possible. If they were engaged in another production at the same time as rehearsing this one, I arranged to observe them in performance and asked them to compare their work in the two productions.

I also asked the actors how their way of working had changed with more experience. Other questions concerned how they built relationships on stage —for instance, by blocking. In talking about blocking, the actors often demonstrated what they meant by showing me. One actor, for example, was sitting in his chair talking when suddenly he leaned towards me and continued talking with his face two centimetres from mine, leaving me embarrassed and self-conscious. He seemed unaffected and just remarked that being that close demanded a higher intensity between us in order to work; blocking both generates emotions and needs emotions in order to be congruent with the situation and the involved characters.

In the fieldwork for the second production, I only scheduled one interview with most of the actors. The ensemble was smaller in this production, so it was possible to have frequent small talks with most of the actors during the whole of the rehearsing period and they sometimes spontaneously talked about how they worked during rehearsals. In the second production I also taped some of the dialogues in the play, short episodes that I taped on every occasion that they rehearsed them, from the beginning of rehearsals until the opening night, so as to be able to follow the development of the scene. The selected episodes were emotionally intense, so that I could follow the building up of emotions in episodes I knew would be emotional[39]. The interviews in the second production were refined from those in the first one. I had reduced the number of questions, and they now focused on rather specific issues. I also gave the actors of the second production a longer briefing on my research, in order to give them a better context for the questions. In the first production interviews, I had been rather vague about my research interests.

The actors involved in both productions comprised a mix of people: in their 20s to 80s; women and men; serious and funny; insecure and self confident. All of them agreed to be interviewed and tried to answer all of my questions. Nevertheless, as in all encounters between people, some exchanges were more productive, than others. Some interviews generated interesting and rich data, while others were mediocre and could be used only

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[39] The way the dialogue is delivered can change many times during the rehearsals. When I first began taping, I recorded some emotionally expressive episodes that, as rehearsals evolved, became rather unemotional. I ended up focusing on a couple of episodes that had to be emotional, based on the script, and focused on them.

for validation of comments made by others[40]. Sometimes, though, an interview that felt slow when I made it was discovered to contain interesting information when I listened to it afterwards. It was not only the interviews that were enriched by my observations. My observations were enriched by having heard the actors discuss what they were trying to accomplish. During the interviews, I always picked out interesting events from the latest rehearsal and asked the actors to comment on those events. That also helped me interpret what they did in subsequent rehearsals, after the interview.

Next, I will present three examples of how I made use of my own emotional reactions in studying stage actors' emotions during the rehearsal period. This discussion is followed by reflections on how to use emotional participation to facilitate an understanding of emotions in the field.

Emotional Participation

I was to a large extent a silent observer during rehearsals. However, even though I was silent, I had to be participative in order not to disturb. Most often the people present were the director, two actors, the prompter and I. In a typical situation, the director, the prompter and I were sitting against the wall of a large room and two or more actors were on the floor. The prompter and I were silent most of the time. There was an all-embracing focus on the actors. If I were to lose my focus on them, it would have disturbed their work; I had to participate in the sense that I was emotionally participative, even though I did not say anything. At first, emotional participation was a tool that I used not to disturb the others, but gradually I started to use my own emotions as a methodological tool, generating reflections and insights relative to the situations and the persons that were the object of observation. The following are three examples of how reflections on my own emotions during the rehearsals that I observed enabled me both to understand the phenomena under investigation and to find new ways to describe the field and begin relevant concept formation.

Example One – To Snap out of Emotions
During a night rehearsal that included two actors, the director, the prompter and myself, the actors experienced a breakthrough for a scene that had previously been problematic. The script called for two characters to have a quarrel that turned into an attraction between them. During the rehearsal it became evident that the actors were experiencing the same emotions that

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[40] If I would search for a pattern among these 25 actors I would say that although most interviews went surprisingly well, the ones that did not go as smoothly were all with men my own age or younger. The irritability that sometimes surfaced during these interviews was manifested in defensiveness towards theorizing, in a wide sense. One can speculate that this displeasure could be a sign of the difficulties involved in talking about emotions, especially for young men working in an emotionally intense field.

their characters expressed. They started to giggle when the attraction started blooming. The director commented *"That's it, the type of attraction that makes them giggle, something is happening to them"*. They talked about how not having eye contact in the first half of the scene made the contact more charged when they finally looked at each other, and how it made one of them sad when the other one then left. Watching them work made me moved by the obvious, almost palpable attachment between them. I took part in their work, cried when they "connected", and found myself quietly giggling when they were embarrassed by their obvious attraction. After the rehearsals I wiped my tears and started to leave the rehearsal room, still moved by the last hours of strong emotions.

As I walked out with the actors, I realized that I was in a completely different mood than they were. The moment they left the rehearsal room, they started to talk casually about the difficulties of quitting smoking. As I was still in the grip of the strong emotions created in rehearsal, I could not relate to the smoking discussion and indeed had to make an effort not to show what I felt. As commented on by the director during the rehearsal and confirmed by the actors in interviews afterwards, the actors had been moved when rehearsing; after rehearsal, however, they seemed to just snap out of it. That conspicuous difference between their way of dealing with their emotions and my own prompted me to start to investigate the actors' work, not only with moving into emotions, but also with moving out of emotions. I started noticing the transitions from rehearsals to lunch or after rehearsals and I started asking the actors questions about moving out of emotions. Apart from the actors being used to moving in and out of emotions in rehearsals and performances, a feasible interpretation might be that the *inhabit-oriented* focus places the emotions primarily in the here and now, although they can originate in or ignite from the actors' private experiences. The emotions are soon taken over by the plot, how the co-actor responds, how the blocking is developing, etc., bringing the emotions into the present, leaving the private connotations behind and thereby also making it easier to move out of them when the rehearsal is over and the fiction evaporates.

Example Two – Private versus Professional Emotions

Another example comes from the first week of rehearsals for the second production. The actors and director sat in a ring and discussed death and how people react to death. I happened to sit in the ring that day and although I could not take notes when I was that close I decided to stay in the ring in order to be closer when they got up on the floor. I could see facial expressions etc. in more detail if I stayed in my seat. The prompter, stage manager and prop woman sat leaning against the back wall. One actor told a long story about the tragic death of a person that had been close to her. The story corresponded to a tragic event in my own life and I became so moved by the story that I considered leaving the room. I cried silently, unable to stop. I

decided that my leaving would cause too much focus on me and it did not seem like anyone had noticed my harrowed state. I could not hide by making notes so in an effort to shift my *self-oriented* focus towards the actors I started to watch their reactions to the story even more closely. Their faces were grave and attentive, but no one else cried or seemed privately distraught. They seemed to listen to the story with a focus on the play they were working with. When after the rehearsal I could make notes again and start to reflect about what had happened, new questions arose: If in their professional practice they talk about events and experiences that many people would consider private, what then is private to them? There are of course things they would not talk about in rehearsals, but what differentiate those topics from the ones they do discuss? Considering that many plays deal with tragedy, must it not happen that private vulnerabilities sometimes come to the fore in a professional setting? How do they separate what is private from what is professional when their own body, experiences and emotions are their working tools? I had touched on those types of questions before, but my own experience of almost overwhelming emotion made the professional versus private aspect obvious and helped me to formulate specific questions in that area.

Example Three – 'Just Volume' or 'With Feeling'

The third example involves a scene that I saw rehearsed over a longer period. After one month of rehearsals the actors started to let go of their manuscripts, at least in some scenes. To act without holding a binder in their hands made the physical gestures and actions come out stronger. The actors began doing their interpretations with more 'volume' and expressions and this also made the dialogue emotionally more intense.

In one scene, two characters in a family have an argument. One of the characters is usually the stronger party in their relationship and thus, when the other person starts to talk back, she loses control for a while, really letting him have it. Before this particular rehearsal, the actors had more or less read the text and the quarrel had just been outlined, but without the manuscript the director wanted the actors to put in 'full volume'. After a couple of lukewarm run-throughs, the director asked them again to do more, and they went through the episode again, screaming at the top of their voices. Afterwards the actor that was supposed to lose control said that she did it 'without feeling'[41], just with volume. My difficulty as an observer was that I could

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[41] The Swedish expression is "att inte ha täckning" (to not have coverage), which implies that the actor goes through the scene doing all the gestures, movements and expressions of emotions, but does not feel them; s/he has not reached the point when what s/he feels and thinks is congruent with her/his actions. It may be due to problems with the interpretation or it may merely be a phase in the building of a character; the director wants to see how the scene is coming along and therefore wants the actors to act it out even though they are not yet ready to fill it with meaning (see further Chapter 4).

not see the difference. The actors are skilled in doing 'just the volume' in a way that looks like it is seriously meant, and there was no way for me to detect the difference.

Several days later, when that particular scene was rehearsed again, the actors entered into the quarrel and began screaming. Since I had seen this several times before, I was surprised when I found myself moved. When the screaming came to an end, the actor who was (in character) supposed to have lost control sat on a chair and was quiet. I could see tears running down her cheeks and hear that her voice was cracking when she spoke again. It was obvious that this time it was not 'just volume'. After that I found that I still did not *observe* any difference between the occasions when the actor did the scene with volume only and when she actually felt it, but I could *feel* the difference. Every time I saw tears in her eyes afterwards, I had been moved by the quarrel. She often commented on the times when she only did it with volume, so in that way I got a form of validation of our joint emotions, or lack of them. To refer back to the different orientations that researcher and spectator have when watching a performance, my lack of emotions when the actor was doing 'just volume' does not necessarily imply that a spectator also would have been unmoved. I was following the actor, focusing on her building up and expressing emotions, and thus observed the episode without taking the story into consideration. A spectator sees the same emotional outburst in the context of the story and the particular situation the characters are part of. Through those all-encompassing glasses the audience could be moved to tears even though the actor is not[42].

Some Concluding Reflections on Emotional Participation

The field studies described above were indeed helpful in a heuristic sense, because they helped me to refine the investigative approach of using the researcher's own emotions as a methodological tool. I would note that the emotions that I experienced as an observer were not always interesting in themselves. On occasion they were painful and made it difficult to keep a proper distance in my position as observer. However, when I was able to step back and reflect upon them consciously and analytically, they were a great help in finding new questions and clarifying the boundaries of the actors' emotion work that I had observed.

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[42] It is commonplace that actors' feelings about how a performance came across and the audience's reactions often do not coincide. Several actors have told me that when they have felt that the performance did not go well and that they had acted without the intensity they would have liked to reach, the audience thought it was wonderful and were greatly moved by it. The different orientations of the two groups might be a key to the different experiences of the same show—the actors are inhabit-oriented, focusing on how the character can be embodied in congruence with her/his emotions and thoughts, while the spectators are self-oriented and thus focus on the story and how it relates to them. The activities on stage can thus be vitalized by the individual spectator's own understanding of the story and its relevance to her/himself.

Furthermore, as I worked to analyze my emotional participation in these field studies and reflected on the different roles of researcher and stage actor, I found it helped to distinguish the professional components of the stage actors' emotion work in contrast to my own emotional reactions.

The three examples illustrate how my emotional experiences could be used to clarify several aspects of the relationship between the stage actors' experienced and expressed emotions. In the first example, the contrast between my holding onto the emotions of the scene and the actors' ability to let them go generated insights on the professional importance of being able to move out of emotions. Subsequently, I was able to make distinctions between emotional experiences that are more or less anchored in earlier *self-oriented* private experiences as opposed to the *inhabit-oriented* here and now.

In the second example, a similar incongruence between my own and the actors' emotions could be used to further illuminate the private/professional dimension and also suggested specific interview questions on the private consequences of working with emotions.

In the third example, the congruence between my own emotion and the actor's felt emotion (rather than her displayed emotion) put focus on the difference between displayed and experienced emotions. This example also showed the strength of using emotional participation when exploring emotions, since a professional stage actor's emotional display can be difficult to separate from the corresponding emotional experience; the stage actor's frustration when not succeeding could only be understood in light of my own lack of emotional experience and not by my observations. As noted above, my emotional participation contributed to an analysis of the relationship between experienced and expressed emotions that would not have been as nuanced without the use of my own emotions as a tool.

To sum up, a crucial point is that the researcher's emotions can be more or less congruent with the situation at hand; both matches and mismatches can be used as information in the research process. Furthermore, the emotional expressions displayed by professional actors can be more or less emotionally anchored within the role-player. Do the observer's emotions correspond with the research subjects' felt emotions or with their displayed emotions? Reflections on these issues can be used to accomplish more detailed observations and in interviews with research subjects to attain a more nuanced and tangible interpretation of the studied phenomena. Finally, it seems possible to generalize the use of emotional participation to studies of other professional role-players.

Data and Analysis

This section presents profile information on the actors that participated in the study (see Figure 2), as well as a description of the coding and analysis used in the thesis. Additionally, it provides some comments about the use of quotes in the following chapters.

Figure 2. Actors

NO.	SEX	EXPERIENCE OF PROFESSIONAL ACTING	THEATRE ACADEMY	EMPLOYMENT
1	Man	Novice	yes	freelance
2	Man	Novice	yes	freelance
3	Man	Novice	yes	freelance
4	Woman	Novice	yes	freelance
5	Woman	Novice	no	freelance
6	Man	Novice	no	freelance
7	Man	junior experienced	no	freelance
8	Man	junior experienced	yes	freelance
9	Woman	junior experienced	yes	freelance
10	Man	junior experienced	yes	freelance
11	Woman	junior experienced	yes	freelance
12	Woman	junior experienced	yes	permanent
13	Woman	senior experienced	no	freelance
14	Man	senior experienced	yes	permanent
15	Man	senior experienced	yes	freelance
16	Woman	senior experienced	yes	permanent
17	Woman	senior experienced	yes	permanent
18	Man	senior experienced	yes	permanent
19	Woman	senior experienced	yes	freelance
20	Man	senior experienced	no	permanent
21	Man	Veteran	yes	retired/freelance
22	Man	Veteran	yes	permanent
23	Woman	Veteran	yes	retired/freelance
24	Man	Veteran	yes	retired/freelance
25	Man	Veteran	no	retired/freelance

Experience of professional acting: Actors described as being members of the novice group had worked as actors from one to eight years. The junior experienced group had 10-21 years of working experience, the senior experienced group had 15-38 years of experience, and the veterans had 41-65 years of acting experience.

Theatre Academy: In Sweden there are four Theatre Academies that train actors on a university level. Most actors that work professionally today have been trained at one

of those academies. Actors that have not attended the higher education academies of acting often have attended other acting schools and classes.

Employment: Actors' employment was described as falling into one of three categories. Actors labelled as freelance employees had acting work that was not permanent. In some cases they had been hired for a specific project; in other cases they had short-term contracts (for one to two years). Actors in the "permanent" category had full-time employment with a theatre company. Finally, the actors labelled retired / freelance had (in every case but one) had a permanent position at the theatre before retirement. In Sweden, actors have the right to retire at the age of 59 and must retire at the age of 67. Such people often work long after retirement as freelance actors.

The variable *experience of professional acting* needs some further explanation. When I asked for the number of years of work experience in professional acting, actors generally started counting from the year of graduation from the acting academy. But some of the actors in the study had worked professionally before graduating from the academy, often in film; in those cases, their first professional job counted as their starting point even though they went to the Theatre Academy later on. It should be noted that, in acting, as distinct from many other occupations, it takes several years to be regarded as experienced; the *junior experienced* actors in this study were typically in their thirties. There are several reasons for this. The difficulty of finding professional work is one; many actors began their careers working in amateur- and semi-professional productions. Another explanation might be that the acting profession is about inhabiting characters and thus requires life experience that comes in part with age. In any event, this is a qualitative variable. Even though the descriptor in most cases fit closely with years in practice, the assignments were based on the actors' own descriptions of each other and, foremost, on my observations regarding their status: their ability to affect their work situation and the different ways they were treated by the director and other staff. *The novice* actor was typically a recent graduate of one of the theatre academies or had worked for up to eight years. The Novices in this study were all free lance. In general, novices are treated differently from more experienced actors in several ways. S/he has a lower status; when problems occur, the novice receives more pedagogic help from the director. The novice has limited manoeuvring room when it comes to getting her/his way and influencing the rehearsals. There were six novices in this study.

The experienced actors were the largest group in my study, comprising 14 people, and contained actors that had worked for more than ten years in the profession. They were both free lance and permanent and could be further subdivided into junior experienced actors and senior experienced actors. The senior experienced had not always worked for a longer time, but they were to a larger extent permanent; even when they were freelance, they had passed the roles of 'young lover' and were cast in character roles. The junior

experienced actors were often in their peak of 'lover roles' and were not as settled in their careers as the senior experienced group[43]. The junior and the senior experienced groups were more willing than the other groups to take on responsibility for the whole production; they had the power and knew the tactics to influence several aspects of the work. *The veteran* actors were often retired from permanent employment, but still working and treated with great respect by all the other members of the ensemble. In this study, the veteran actors were most often men; that also reflects the circumstances in a wider stage actor population.

The study included 15 men and ten women. Again, this reflects a common distribution in the theatre; there are more roles for men than for women. However, in the first production, the small roles were often played by men, while in the second production, there were several substantial roles played by women. Consequently, the women take a substantial place in the data.

There were no interviews with the directors. Their contributions would have enriched the material, especially the section in Chapter 3 about the director's role. I deliberately chose not to interview them because of my prior experience as a director's assistant. When working in that role, I soon became aware that my being close to the director led the actors to be careful about what they said to me and, in particular, not to discuss issues that they did not want the director to know about. The director is the leader of the production and therefore someone not to share all insecurities or frustrations with.

In the start up phase the directors helped me to gain the actors' trust; however, I needed to distance myself from the directors in order to be able to talk with the actors without their fearing that comments they made to me would be shared with the directors. I had originally planned to interview the directors after the première of the plays but for various reasons beyond my control (e.g. the first director's becoming ill) that did not happen.

Analysis

The interviews were transcribed word by word, and amounted to about 219,000 words in total. The field notes, which were originally taken by pencil, were also transcribed and amounted to 67,000 words in total. I coded all the data in the program NVivo. I had about 100 theme codes, such as sad-

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[43] This categorization needs further elucidation. First, it is useful to understand that dramatic texts (and hence actors' roles) are often divided into young, lover's roles and older, character roles. When I was an acting student in New York the good looking men all strove to be cast in lover's roles, while the less handsome men tried out for character roles. Character roles may be main parts but more frequently they are smaller yet interesting parts. It was understood that the less handsome women did not have the same opportunities; basically, women had to be good-looking to be cast. Second, not all actors play 'lover's roles'; they may have character parts all through their career. However, in order to gain permanent employment at a large theatre house like the one where I did my field work, actors need to be successful at winning main parts. Thus, all the young experienced actors in my study had played main roles.

ness, reality, fiction, status, inspiration etc. and five actor codes: occupation, training, experience, employment and gender. The theme codes were a combination of inductive themes that came out of my reading the text and being in the field, and more deductive codes that originated from my theoretical framework, such as 'surface acting going deep', and 'deep acting going surface'. My intention was to start out with as many codes as I could when working my way through the data. Eventually, when I had a better appreciation of the whole of the data and how it could be analyzed, I merged several codes. In this merging process, I eliminated the codes that were not relevant for my intended purpose and fit the rest of the codes into four sections depending on focus. These sections approximately reflect the content in Chapters 3-5: practice, surrounding aspects, working with emotions, and professional/private emotions. There were also codes about 'novice to experienced', 'body' and 'other occupations' that were later merged into the four main sections. The codes consisted of extracts from interviews and observation notes that I read through several times looking for themes and recurrent points, starting out with a rearrangement of the data and eventually writing more and more myself and keeping examples from the data. The intention was to stay close to my data in the beginning of the writing process, so as to not deviate from what had actually happened or what I had actually been told. I continuously investigated how all my themes could be analyzed through the filters of growing experience in the field, and if and how my interviews differed from my observations. When all the codes in a section/chapter were analyzed and put together I went through them all again with a more consistent theoretical approach, both in relation to the intersubjective structures of meaning that could be deduced from the data and in relation to how the data fitted with emotion theory and could be interpreted in congruence with previous research.

Quotes

In the first production my goal was to study actors' creation of a character from a wide range of perspectives, looking at the rehearsals from different perspectives so as to be able to concentrate on more specific aspects later on. In the second production, I started out with a deeper understanding of what was going on and thus could focus more on details, laying more weight on my observations and conducting shorter interviews focused on specific aspects of the creation of a character. Therefore the quotes used in this study come to a greater extent from the second production, when my questions were more targeted. However, I would not have been able to fine tune my questions without the experiences I had in the fieldwork for the first production and analysis made from that fieldwork.

The quotes presented in the study are cleaned of some spoken language repetitions and stuttering before they were translated to English. In order to preserve the participants' anonymity I present the quotes without any refer-

ence to the actor that has made it. When the quotes contain names of other people in the productions I have fabricated the names or used the name of their profession in the quotes, for example *director* instead of the director's name.

To give some idea of the distribution of quotes this is a general description: In Chapter 3 there are 41 quotes from the first production, 46 from the second and one from the earlier study. There are 50 quotes from men and 38 from women. In Chapter 4 there are 25 quotes from the first production, 73 from the second, and two from the earlier study. There are 38 quotes from men and 62 from women. In chapter 5 there are 17 quotes from the first production, 40 from the second and none from the earlier study. There are 19 quotes from men and 38 from women. When counting the quotes I merged some that were short and came in a sequel as one; this happened most frequently with the directors' quotes. The described distribution gives some information about how I used the data, but it does not provide a full picture. In trying to illustrate any given point with a quotation, I almost always had several quotes to pick from that conveyed the same idea; naturally, I chose the one that was best phrased or pithiest. Some people tend to be more articulate than others; their sayings were used more frequently. Finally, when a situation offered rich opportunities to be mined for meaning, I would deliberately use the same situation in several different examples, thereby giving the reader several perspectives on a single situation—and, I hope, a deeper understanding—instead of having to gain insight into a new example every time.

3. Emotion Work in the Rehearsal Process

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first half is principally descriptive. The intention is to give the reader an understanding of the work that actors do during the rehearsal process in more general terms before the focus moves on to how they work with emotions. As discussed in the Introduction, there are an array of assumptions and misconceptions about the nature of stage acting. In order to replace those assumptions with a shared, observation-based understanding of the process, this section is quite thorough. In particular, it describes the rehearsal process from the first reading of the play to the start of the performance period. After a general overview, several key aspects of the rehearsal process are described in more detail: the reading of the script, blocking, co-actors, preparation and repetition. This chapter also includes some descriptions of the performance period, even though the focus of this thesis is on the rehearsal period.

The second half of the chapter analyses the emotion work involved in the rehearsal process, with a focus on the emotions that arise from working professionally with a role and on how actors deal with these emotions. This analysis is loosely organized around the four phases that I have found to be constituting the rehearsal process: the start up phase of building a working climate; the creative phase, characterized by relaxation and large emotions; the crisis phase, where the transition from the fooling around of the rehearsal period to the seriousness of the performance period takes place; and, the final phase, with an almost-ready performance, where the ensemble closes their ranks and prepares to meet the audience. Finally, there is an examination of how the director and actors work together to develop the performance and bring the characters to life in accordance with their intentions.

I have merged these observations into one narrative. For that reason, the story that is told will appear to contain some contradictions: for example, the director is alternately described as being a man and a woman. Part of the analysis in this chapter is about phenomena on group level. Given that I have only observed two productions I do not have access to the same rich variety of observations as when the analysis lies on actor level. However, the actors often related to other productions they had worked with, contributing indirectly with experiences from multiple productions, during several decades. The work with a theatre production is to a large extent relying on the director. The two directors I observed did not work in the same way and there are, evidently, more ways to relate to the rehearsal process and the participating

actors than I have observed. Nevertheless, I would venture that the interpretations made here are applicable to other working processes although they also contain individual variations.

From First Reading to Performance

> Rehearsals are about going back to the starting points and try to start again from the beginning, over and over and over again, every day.

The first reading[44] of the script initiated the rehearsal phase and everyone who worked with the production was gathered for the occasion. Several occupational groups, such as the stage designer, costume designer and builders, had already worked for months on the production, but this was when the work started for the actors. The theatre executive was there to kick off the project and, in one of the productions the playwright was there to talk about the play and its origin. The actors and director sat at a table in the centre of the room, while the crew sat on the sides. The reading began with speeches, presentations, and introductions of the actors. The dramaturge talked about the language and the time the play was set in. The set designer presented a model of the stage design and said that they had already started manufacturing at the work shops. The costume designer showed costume sketches and talked about how she envisioned the characters wearing costumes that accentuated their family identity. Most people left after the first half of the reading; those who remained listened to the actors reading the script together for the first time.

After the first reading, the actors did not meet again as a whole ensemble for quite some time. At the end of every week the stage manager gave out a rehearsal schedule prepared by the director. In the beginning of the rehearsal period, the actors rehearsed separate scenes and only the actors that were playing in those particular scenes were present. The details of the schedule varied between directors/productions and during the process. In the very beginning the director wanted to see all the actors in rehearsal, and so they alternated between different scenes, the actors coming and going. When the process was further along, the director wanted to see the scenes in proper sequence and the actors had to be prepared to go on stage as soon as the previous scene was rehearsed, which meant that the actors sat waiting to participate. The actors were required to be available to rehearse during the scheduled work hours, even when they were not called to rehearse on a particular day. In between rehearsals the actors met costume and make-up designers to talk about their appearance and to have fittings or to try on wigs or

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[44] In Swedish 'the first reading' is called 'kollationering'.

die their hair; different aspects of the characters of the play were developed concurrently.

The first half of the rehearsal period took place in a rehearsal room. There was tape on the floor to mark out the stage limits and stage design, and some furniture and rehearsal props were present even on the first day. After a week or two, dresses and shoes were hung on a rack with the actor's name to use for rehearsing[45]. The actors often began to use the same type of shoes that they would later perform in and sometimes certain costume elements or props as well—for instance, if they had to put on or take off a coat during a scene, they might begin to incorporate that even in the early rehearsals.

Rehearsals are closed events. In most cases, only the personnel that were directly involved in the specific scene that was being rehearsed were present. In the productions I observed it varied from three persons (director, actor and prompter) to 12, when all the actors participated in the same scene.

During the first weeks of rehearsals the focus was on the lines, the relationships among the characters, the action, and the "curve" or development that the characters manifested in the play. The rehearsals started with the actors sitting in a ring of chairs reading a scene out loud. They sat close to each other and to the director so that they could exchange looks and take breaks to discuss why their characters behaved or talked the way they did. In one of the productions these conversations were rather shorthanded. The director told the actors what had happened before the scenes started and hinted at motives for the characters by asking questions: Why are they there? What do they want to accomplish? The director often also offered suggestions to create counterweight: for example, if one character was in a hurry, the director would tell a co-character to be slow. In the other production, the director often devoted the first two hours of rehearsal to discussion. A common element of both productions' early rehearsals was that the actors constantly asked questions about their lines. What do I mean by that? What is my motive? Eventually the actors started to take the outlook of their characters and to defend that outlook.

When the actors had read through a scene they started to work on small fractions of the scene "on the floor", that is staging the scene in the rehearsal room within the tape marks. These tape marks are important to set the limits for where the actors can move, but the focus is on creating a sense of space and time within these physical boundaries. One actor said that: *"One has to know the directions and turns. I have to know to whom I'm talking. Where are the lines coming? What does the room look like? What kind of room am I creating?"*. When working on the floor there were intermittent breaks when the actors were flicking through their scripts looking for their lines.

The relationships between the characters are both planned and created in the moment. The planned relationships are taken from the script. That is to

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[45] These are not the ones that are used in the performance.

say, the script sets out parameters; certain characters are sisters or lovers or friends, and so forth. However, the manifestation of those relationships on stage evolves during rehearsals, from suggestions by the director or the actors. *"I say that line to person A, but I actually want person C, who stands over there, to hear what I say"*. These planned relationships are the base, but then the actors need to be open to impulses from co-actors during the rehearsals. *"If my co-actor has chosen to be angry at me when he says his line, I have something to play against…I have to work with what I get"*. Another aspect of relationships has to do with social position, for example how to give a character status. In one of the productions, the main part had a high status role. To make this evident on the stage, everyone else had to contribute: for example, by being silent when he came on stage, by waiting until he nodded before beginning to speak, and so forth, These were details that had to be incorporated in all the actions in the play.

All the lines, relations and actions make up the character's development curve in the play. Even though the actor has general thoughts about the character, the details and actual expressions of the character materialize step by step when the scenes are put together so that the whole curve becomes clear. *"It is impossible to feel the character before one has run through the whole play. It is first when we do a full rehearsal that it is possible to know how to be in a specific scene so that it fits with the next scene"*.

After some weeks of rehearsing separate scenes, the actors started to rehearse scenes in succession and then in whole acts. After a month, the rehearsals moved to the stage; however, when the stage was occupied, actors sometimes still had to rehearse in the rehearsal rooms. Two weeks before the opening there was a full dress rehearsal when stage design, lights[46], costumes, wigs and make-up were all tried out and supposed to be ready except for details. After that day rehearsals were much more directed towards a stage-ready production, leaving behind the possibility of large alterations and focusing more on run-throughs and polishing. All the technical details needed to work. During this last phase all the actors were present most of the time and the ones that were not on stage either sat in the auditorium and watched or stood in the wings, preparing to enter the stage. They needed to find the rhythm behind the stage as well as on the stage. Dressers helped the actors to change costumes and the make-up artist worked on wigs and make up. Dressers and the prop woman came in and out with costumes and props that needed preparation for upcoming scenes. During the final weeks, actors also agreed to be interviewed and to play short scenes from the play in front of journalists. Before the opening night the play was performed a few times

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[46] Lighting design is today as important as costumes for its dramatic effect and its ability to guide the audience into the play. There is a famous story about Birgit Nilsson who came to a rehearsal in Berlin with a head-lamp on, like a mine-worker. She said she could not see enough to be able to move on stage. The director Karajan loved 'dunkellicht', but had to change the lightning design after that drastic critique.

in front of a small audience of selected people. Finally, after two months of rehearsals in the first production and three months of rehearsals in the second production it was time for the opening night.

After the opening night the climate was transformed. During the first week of production, most of the actors were tired and many of them had colds; this was a result of the high level of tension before the première. But after that first week, the climate became relaxed. The intensity of the backstage activity dropped; the greenroom where the actors sat before the performance and during the breaks felt like any office lunch room. Some actors came to sit in the green room long before the play began, while others just dropped by to say hello. One night, one of the actors made a cake as a treat for all the others. The television was often on, and the actors watched documentary and soaps during the intermission. The main topic during the breaks was the audience; they were silent and boring, or connecting and listening. One night an actor wanted to "kill" two people who had forgotten to turn off their mobile phones.

During performances, backstage was dark and almost cosy with mini-light strands here and there. There was a booth for costume changes and chairs that the actors could sit on when they were not on stage. Sometimes it was almost empty and then suddenly, in the minutes before a scene change, the backstage would become crowded with actors, technicians, dressers, etc. The communication between the different occupational groups was to a large extent limited to the people that worked together: for example, the prop woman and the actor that needed those particular props. Some actors were concentrated and distant, while others joked around and whispered to one another. Sitting there in the dark silence, it was hard to imagine that there were hundreds of people sitting just a few meters away concentrated on watching the play.

Monitors were located at several places and the actors often stood there to see their co-workers perform or to time their own entrances. On one occasion, an actor that had a quick change came off stage. She stopped in the dark wings, a meter from the light-flooded stage. Three people, two dressers and one make-up artist, helped her. One of them had a small pocket torch that she used to make sure that all the buttons and zippers were ok. Two technicians walked by when she was in her underwear. They walked a meter from her, but looked straight ahead as if she was not there, thereby signalling that they were not peeking. During the whole change the actor only said one word - "*trousers*" - when she had problems with a button. Then, she walked straight out onto the stage.

Reading the Script

Before the first reading the stage actors had received their scripts and started to read them. These first readings were often done at home and in silence,

although one actor admitted that if he found a *"juicy monologue"* he could not help trying it out loud. However, the main focus of these first readings was to stay open.

In interviews, actors stressed the importance of *not* starting to make decisions about how to interpret the role at this early stage. They gave several reasons for this. First, the actor must be prepared to adapt her/his interpretation of the text to the ensemble, meaning both to the director who has the main responsibility for the general interpretation of the play, and to the co-actors: *"In a collective work like this one, it's fatal to get locked to a certain understanding and then having to deal with confrontations with all the other people's locked understandings"*. Second, the actor must stay open in order to avoid getting stuck in clichés about the role and so as not to censor the spontaneous thoughts and feelings that arise during the early readings. The third reason to stay open has to do with the type of role that the actor plays. If the role is a supporting one, the actor must see the main roles before s/he has anything to work with.

Early in the process, the actor needs to find the curve of the role, meaning how the role develops during the play. In this curve the actor can find points that are appealing or emotionally significant. *"I look for points that are interesting for me and that surprise me, making me think about something new. It is a difference between systematic memory and the creation of memories that are spontaneous"*. These readings before and during the starting up phase of the rehearsals are part of a search for inspiration in finding the character, a search that may also include looking at pictures and reading other texts. It is important to note that this search may preoccupy the actor in a more fundamental way. The actors told me that they needed to take care of their private relationships before going into this phase, because during this phase, their focus on their characters shuts them off in some part from other social relationships. One actor used to dream about the feelings and atmosphere of the play. In the production that I observed she dreamt about a child crying that she could not find. *"It woke me up. And then I thought that it was my child, so I sneaked up and checked on him, but he was asleep. And then I thought: shit! Is this the way it's gonna be now?"*

The last aspect that was sometimes mentioned when talking about reading the script was memorizing the lines. Some actors tried to learn their lines at an early phase; they were fast learners or they felt uncomfortable holding a binder with the manuscript However, most of the actors that I interviewed preferred to wait until later in the process to memorize their lines. They saw the lines as one aspect of a larger puzzle that contained blocking, relationships, etc. The lines came in relation to movements and gestures and were not meaningful without their context.

Blocking

Blocking is a term invented by the English librettist William Gilbert (of Gilbert and Sullivan); when he was planning productions, he used small wooden blocks, moved about on a miniature set, to represent actors. Today, blocking refers to work done during the rehearsal period, when the ensemble plans where, when, and how the characters will move on the stage. Blocking includes placement, movement, distance, proximity, and intensity.

The obvious aspect of blocking is the part that the audience sees. The audience needs to understand the plot, the characters and their relationships, and the staging needs to be properly balanced. One actor described the stage as if it were placed on top of a stick. If everybody stands on one side, the stage tips over. Besides having blocking that enables the individual relationships on stage to work, all the characters need to relate to counterpoints, to balance the stage. This also applies to emotions and verbal expressions. *"If I yell 'you son of a bitch, get out of here!' and I want to do that up close, so that that line comes in focus, I can't start close to her, I need to find a counterpoint at the other end of the stage, so that I get a long distance to zoom her in"*. The focus on how the staging is perceived by the audience also has dramaturgical aspects; there are rules that apply to the connotations of objects on the stage, for example weapons. One of the directors said that: *"Weapons on stage are difficult. If you hold them and then put them aside, the danger is over. Just as when the lovers have kissed each other. It is done with"*.

Blocking also has a practical side; *"how are these chairs coming in and out when they are needed?"* or *"If you put your jacket in that chair, you have to pick it up before she sits down in the next scene"*. Furthermore, the lines are often learned in conjunction with the blocking. In rehearsals, when the actors needed to go back a sentence or to start all over, they always went back in the blocking so that the movements and gestures went hand in hand.

Finally, blocking has a relational aspect; it is an important element of building relationships between the characters on stage. This aspect of blocking may be subtle or decidedly unsubtle. For example, one actor had problems with a scene and was helped by developing a specific physical movement to react to her co-character: *"I felt that she (her character) wants her to tell the truth. I turn my back on her if she lies, and I turn towards her, if she tells the truth. Suddenly there was a situation where I condemned her, physically"*. The blocking creates tension and emotions to which the actors can respond. In the early stages of rehearsal, it is critical for the actors to be open to the impulses that the blocking—the situations that are created on stage— prompt[47]. This is an extract from my field notes from a rehearsal of a scene

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[47] In contrast to real life, everything on stage is there for a reason. Everything the actors do or say can be interpreted through its meaning for the play.

about a hostile meeting between mother and daughter where the daughter is desperate for her mother to help her:

> Daughter blinks slowly, as to shut the mother out, wipes her mouth with her hand. They look at each other. The mother sits, the daughter stands. The mother looks directly at her daughter and vice versa. The daughter continues to look at her mother, the mother looks straight out. The daughter sits down. The mother knocks at the table with her finger. The daughter looks away. The mother sits with her legs together, swinging back and forth. The daughter stands up abruptly.

This sequence took less than a minute and took place when the actors were just starting to understand their characters and their characters' relationships to each other. The blocking generated emotions that made the characters vulnerable yet hostile towards one another.

In the first part of the rehearsal period the focus centered more on directions and movements than on expressions; if the directions were right, then the appropriate emotions and expressions would emerge sooner or later. The director said: *"Let's do this a couple of times and see what happens with you"*. The blocking in this early phase was more of a sketch, leaving room for impulses that could change the scenario. The actors needed to understand their characters in order to settle the blockings in detail. *"If I lock myself in a certain position, and put my energy on remembering that position, I cannot be open for new impulses, I do not go any further"*. When coming closer to the performance period the details of the blocking were often meticulous, although some actors said that too much detail could lead to 'anti-acting': *"you only do lots of stuff, where you should do them, you don't meet your co-actors"*. Another risk was that of setting the blocking and then inadvertently taking away the reason for the blocking without inserting a new reason; when this happened, it resulted in the actor's moving around without motive or intentions. When the blocking changed from day to day the actors often mixed blocking, taking some old movements together with some new ones, and in the process becoming confused. This resulted in discussions about when, where and why they did what they did. The rehearsals of scenes took the path of first looking for new ways to interpret the situation and then repeating the scenario several times to remember the new blocking, to get it into the body.

Co-actors

Co-actors are essential both in the creation of a character and in playing the character on stage. During rehearsals the characters grow and take form in large part through their interaction with the other characters. In the field work of observing rehearsals, it became clear that the way one actor looked or looked away from another actor, walked towards or away from her/him,

smiled or frowned, all established conditions for the co-actor's response. The blocking and gestures were set during the rehearsals but the tone could and did change from performance to performance. Indeed, this was a useful way of keeping up the energy and making the actors alert and focused in the present. When watching a performance, the audience tends to focus on the actor or actors who are speaking. In my observations of rehearsals, the silent actors were as important: *"You are in dialogue, even when you don't say anything. You can have a mute character, but it is still dialogue, even though it's a silent dialogue"*.

Furthermore, the appearance of power and status (or the lack of power and status) were often created more by the people surrounding the character than by the character her/himself. When one character was threatening another character, the director wanted the feeling of threat to emanate from the fear of the character who was threatened rather than from the anger of the threatening character. This approach allowed the threat to become clear to the audience without the scene's becoming too violent; it also made the scene more effective. This leads us to consider the somewhat unusual ways that actors on stage may cooperate. A good or productive cooperation does not necessarily involve being kind to one another. On the contrary, an actor who does not hesitate to be evil can help her/his co-actors in their interpretations of their characters. One actor I interviewed gave the example of playing a character who was raped on stage. Her co-actor, the rapist, had been so cruel to her on stage that it was easy for her to enter into the feeling of fear that was needed. This relationship made both succeed in their character interpretations and they became the best of friends off stage.

Developing relationships on stage is the basis for character work and in my observations the stage actors that were not supposed to be in on stage relationships had problems creating their characters. For example, one actor was playing a dead person; therefore, she could not relate to her co-actors as a living person would. It took her a long time to understand how to avoid entering into on stage relationships and she said that *"for my own sake I avoid to look at the others. When we look at each other we are drawn into a relation"*.

In general, eye contact is important. One veteran actor still remembered an experience from his youth, when he played with a grand actor of the time who *"nailed me with his eyes…he was so totally present, collected and expressive, and it made me calm. There was a will on stage that locked me in a position where I could be, without flittering about doing whatever"*. The exchange of energy is vital on stage and the actors I interviewed talked about looking at co-actors to get energy when playing and how they lost energy themselves when they did not get energy from their co-actors: *"You always have an inner motor on and if the other actors are out of phase your motor turns down, or, you start taking responsibility for the scene, even though it doesn't fit with your role"*. This last quote specifically referred to a scene

where a lot of actors were supposed to be creating a noisy group. They did not make enough noise; as a result, the actors that were not part of the group started trying to raise the noise level, but without allowing the audience to see what they were doing, since it was not in line with their characters. They took responsibility that went beyond their characters in order to raise the play's energy level.

A common comment when asking actors about their relationships with co-actors concerned actors that were bad team players; they did not care about building relationships and collegiality but instead took up all the attention for themselves. *"Hogging the limelight[48]"* is when actors steal focus from others, putting their character in front of the play and teamwork. I was told several stories about actors that compete with others to get as much attention as possible: for example, by taking long breaks before their lines to show that they can keep the audience's attention, by cutting off laughter that the audience has directed to another actor, or by standing so far back on stage that the speaking actor needs to turn his back to the audience in order to see the person s/he is talking to. The novice can be put out of place and have a hard time dealing with those situations, while the experienced actor said that *"I just don't give a damn about them, I do my own thing. You can't change them, they just care about themselves"*.

To Prepare

The preparation before a performance can be divided into three phases: the day of the performance; the hours before the play starts; and, the back stage intervals between being onstage. Several actors said that the day of a performance was like one long preparation. They could not focus or become engaged in other activities, because they were constantly thinking about the upcoming performance. They literally had to plan meal times and the associated bathroom visits so that digestion would not interfere with performance. They had to work up their spirits in order to reach an energy peak when it was time to perform.

> The process starts in my everyday life and moves in to my coming here. I feel like I'm free until eleven o'clock, then I start feeling that now it's almost seven (performance time), even though it's only eleven. I'm very particular with what I do. I know I have to save my energy until later.

Some of the actors came to the theatre several hours before the performance and sat in the canteen or in their dressing rooms, while others came just before their make-up time. Most actors came to the make-up room and were painted up and had their hair done by a make-up artist, although a few actors

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[48] In Swedish the term is "*Att öppna eget*" which refers to opening your own firm.

who had minimal make-up did it themselves in their dressing rooms. After having their hair and face done some actors would hang around in the canteen or in the green room behind the stage, while others went to a rehearsal room or found some cubbyhole back stage where they could focus on the upcoming performance. One actor said that she needed to "start by cranking myself up". If the actors had a lot of text, or difficult text, they went through their lines before the performance, by themselves or with the prompter[49]. If they had had problems with a scene in earlier performances they sometimes rehearsed the scene with their co-actors on stage before the audience was let in. Some of the actors (but only men in this study) said that they just went straight onto the stage with no preparation. *"I usually shout a bit on my way down to the stage, taking my voice up and down a few times to get the muscles going. Then I'm in shape to go on stage"*. One actor said that she prepared to act strong emotions such as being very angry or very happy by presenting the contrasting emotion offstage. *"I'm never so pleasant as when I'm doing unpleasant characters and vice versa"*. Another actor said that he activated emotions by help of some imagined scenario that he thought of before going on stage. The scenario was not necessarily a fully articulated story, but included elements that enabled him to enter into the appropriate emotions.

In between scenes, actors evidenced two contrasting backstage strategies: distancing from co-actors and fooling around. The actors that distanced themselves from others typically walked around backstage or stood watching the monitor to follow the happenings onstage. These actors explained their behaviour by saying that they had to focus on their character's development, which often took place in between scenes. The actors that spent this time fooling around joked with each other or commented on each other's costumes or looks. I was told stories about actors playing poker and when I worked as a director's assistant I often saw actors watching television when they had longer periods backstage. One actor explained that these shallow activities were a way to keep up the energy for the performance, staying in the 'flow' without being disrupted by reflection: *"It's to protect what's working inside of you. You have to avoid being deep, it disrupts the work"*. Another reason that was given for joking around was to avoid being over prepared for the next scene, but rather to stay in the moment. *"I need to know what I'm after when I go in. And then it changes when I'm in. I can never be ahead of myself"*.

Having said that, both the actors that distanced themselves and those that fooled around showed the same behaviour immediately before their next entry onto the stage. They stood for a short time in the wings before an en-

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[49] Some prompters left notes on the actors' dressing room doors with the mistakes they had made during the last performance so that the actors could rehearse those specific lines and thus avoid repeating the wrong ones.

trance and most of them went through some of the physical gestures that the character would do in the next scene. A priest made the sign of the cross; the high heeled miserable woman stood swaying in a characteristic way; the married couple tickled each other or corrected each other's costumes. In this way, the actors entered the body and physicality of their characters. When they went offstage the transition was faster. In one scene, a character was very upset—indeed, screaming—when she walked off the stage. The second that she had left the stage, however, she stopped screaming and started talking in a normal tone to a co-actor.

Repetition

The long rehearsal period in theatre (as compared to film productions) has to do with the nature of the medium. In a film or on television the actor repeats a scene until it has been captured on film to the director's satisfaction. This may take a few takes or many, but the goal is to capture one perfect take. On stage, where the actors repeat their performances over and over, night after night, and perform in front of live audiences without the possibility of re-takes, the rehearsal needs are very different. The need to understand the character and the situations s/he meets in detail comes from the inherent nature of stage performance: the need to repeat the performance every night, and to make it credible every time. *"That's the job, having it all clear, so that it's just there to retrieve every night. It has to come automatically, because I have those paths ploughed"*. However, in order to find the ploughed paths the actor needs to concentrate on being in the moment, to perform every night as if it was the first time. Actors often pointed out that every performance is unique and every audience a new one. In order to keep their performances fresh, the actors would change details so that they could continue to explore and develop their characters during the performance period. *"I think it's exciting to find expressions that can be paralleled to poetry, to cultivate certain expressions, either text or physical expressions"*. However, these changes needed to be small so that they did not throw the co-actors off their paths. If the actors thought of bigger changes they sometimes rehearsed or asked the concerned actors beforehand. *"I give myself small tasks to be able to surprise myself and hopefully also my co-actors, making it new, so that it feels for real"*. Nevertheless, many actors admitted that after around 50 performances there usually is a stagnant period; it becomes boring to go over it again and the actors really have to shape up and *"find new fantasies for the character to make it fun again"*.

Emotion Work in the Rehearsal Process

With this overview of the rehearsal and performance process in mind, we will now turn to the analytical section of this chapter and focus on the emotion work that is involved when working with a new role for the stage. First we will scrutinize the start up phase, with a particular focus on the creation of a productive work climate.

In order for the interpretation of a role not to be stuck in clichés—all the actors, including the veterans, need to be able to try out different approaches without being afraid of making fools of themselves. They have to dare to be inferior as a prerequisite to becoming good. Since the rehearsal of a play only lasts for about two months the work needs to be effective; it is necessary to create a functional work climate—a climate that allows for insecurity—from the start. This is done by creating a 'mental incubator', within which the actors and the director can work, protected from outside scrutiny, firmly closing the doors to outsiders. I will show how the non-acting staffs who need to be present become silent participants, acting as supporting personnel, and how the director plays the role of gatekeeper, protecting the climate by shutting most people out and decisively interpreting the presence of people and situations that are unavoidable as fruitful for the work. Then we will turn to the work within the 'incubator' and investigate the insecurity and shame that permeate the start up phase seeing that these emotions are indispensible parts of the rehearsal process. After that, we will discuss the ways that the actors try to avoid using role distance to handle their shame, keeping these expressions in check. Finally, we will learn that this initial insecurity does not fade away with more experience; the actors' growing competence rather lies in the ability to accept and relate to the fear. They learn to observe their own feelings of fear and insecurity while they are experiencing them, and to let those feelings have their necessary time.

We then turn to the second phase—the creative phase—where the actors gradually start to engage in more physical contact and get comfortable with each others' physical presence. The climate becomes more relaxed and open, enabling private expressions to leak into the rehearsals. It will be argued that for the individual actors the relaxation is dependent on some basic level of emotional connection with the rehearsed character; a mismatch between actors with different level of connection to their respective characters can lead to feelings of intrusion into the actors' private boundaries.

In the next section the third and fourth phases (the crisis and final phases) are scrutinized, showing how the transition from the rehearsal period to the performance period predictably creates a crisis that need to be managed. In order to make the transition effective, the director must undertake several successive role transitions, first changing from leader to coach and in the end leaving the actors to assume responsibility for the performance.

Throughout these phases the director and actors have their own strategies and tactics to mold the production and its characters in line with their intentions. This will be investigated in the two final sections. We will see how the director works to get the actors to do what s/he wants them to do, and what strategies the actors use in order to secure their own creative space. They are *affirmative with an open agenda*, and try to follow the director's instructions, they are *affirmative with a hidden agenda*, doing as they please, or staying put, but they seldom openly oppose the director.

The First Phase: Start Up and Creating a Work Climate

Emotional climate refers to sets, tones and patterns of emotions that are shared by a group and that are significant in forming social identities and collective behaviour (Barbalet, 1995, p. 23). The emotional climate of a group also makes the group exclusive due to the improbability of members sharing the same emotional tones or patterns with non-members. Barbalet argues that emotional climates function as points of reference for feelings about social conditions and limitations and opportunities that influence both individual and collective behaviour (ibid). Although the emotional climate of a group is shared by its members, it is perceived as existing apart from personal feelings and rather reflecting what the members think that the other members are feeling in a current situation (de Rivera & Paez, 2007, p. 234). Furthermore, the individual experiences within a group may vary depending on role and power, making the contributions to the climate distinct as well as complementary (Barbalet, 1995, p. 23).

With this in mind we will now return to the rehearsal process, but examine it from another perspective. We will start by going back to the first reading. For the first reading, the rehearsal room was packed with chairs and tables arranged in an inner and an outer half circle. In the inner half circle, the actors, director, set designer, dramaturge, and costume designer took their seats, while the outer half circle was taken up by administrative and technical personnel. After the theatre executive had bid welcome and left, the director introduced everyone in the inner half circle. The director talked at length about the play, its parallels to today's society and all the characters in it. The director said: *"I want us to start talking with each other, and then that might spread to other groups in this house and then out to the streets and all over the world"*. Everyone laughed, but there was an element of seriousness in his words. After each presentation the director asked if anyone had questions. None of the actors took notes. Someone scribbled the name of a novel written by the playwright. Some of the male actors gave each other looks and sighs when there was talk about a forthcoming lecture on the history and politics of the play.

After the presentations it was time for lunch. I could not find my way to the canteen and asked an actor for directions. She gave me directions but indicated quite clearly that we were not going there together. In the canteen, several new actors and I stood uncomfortably with our trays, not knowing where to sit. Where was it ok to sit down? Who was sitting with whom? The stars in the acting crew were highly visible; they stood up when greeting someone and did so in an exclamatory fashion with large gestures. The seating was divided by professional groups.

In "The Other Role" Marika Lagercrantz observed two productions from first reading to final performance. Her study in many ways describes the same approach to organizing the work that I found, although her focus is not on emotion work (1995). She also describes the strict boundaries between different groups in the canteen and points out that the exclamatory gestures and laughs function as a demonstration of the intimacy that is demanded by the profession (ibid p. 56 and 173).

After lunch most of the administrative and technical personnel left and only a few people remained in the outer semicircle. A cast list had been distributed during the break and it contained a mistake: two of the actors' roles had been switched. The actors concerned got irritated and talked about a crisis, not loudly but noticeably. Later, two of the male actors started to discuss small additions to their lines: *"When you say that, I will answer this, to support you"*. The tension in the room was noticeable and the roles were not yet established. Who was important? Who were the ones to care about and laugh with? An actor who was working in this theatre company for the first time told me afterwards: *"One starts to sense the hierarchies and one starts to sense who knows who from before"*.

It was then that the read-through of the entire play started. The actors read with more or less feeling and the ones that had roles together looked at each other and nodded. The most significant feature in my observations this day was the tension and the jostling for rank within the group. Afterwards, when I talked with the actors, they focused their comments on their insecurity during the start up phase: *"When you start working with new people you don't know what they are used to. Do you wait for the director to tell you to get up, or to tell you to leave?"*

The day after the read-through, the first rehearsal took place. Now the work started for real; only the actors that were rehearsing a particular scene were present. The director was friendly and caring towards the actors and talked about the importance of focusing on the content of the scene: what a person does shows who she is. The atmosphere was intimate and searching.

In the afternoon a scene with two actors was rehearsed. Apart from the two actors, the only other people present were the director, the prompter and myself. The actors read through the scene sitting on chairs at one end of the rehearsal room. Then they moved to the floor to start staging the scene. The director pressed the female actor to be more expressive. Shortly thereafter,

the director asked the prompter and me to leave the room. In a subsequent interview, the female actor told me what had happened after we had left:

> S/he asked you to leave, and then s/he turned to me and said: 'Why don't you do as I say? And I became all…! But I told her/him right away: 'Because I get blocked and embarrassed'. And s/he just: 'ok'. And then s/he hugged me and laughed and said: 'Good, I just wanted to know'. S/he said: 'I have so much respect for you and I know what you are capable of, so I did not know if it was because you thought it was a bad idea or because you did not want to work this way'. And I said: 'No, it's not about that at all. I'm just more cautious in the beginning'. And then s/he called me during the weekend and told me that s/he thought that s/he had been a little too hard on me. And I felt a bit scared before the next rehearsal. I had these thoughts about not being able to do it, that I cannot do these things. Another actor would just have been able to pull it off. It's a lot like that in this job.

Both director and actor needed to establish their roles as director and actor respectively in the new production and even though both were experienced in their craft, it was evident that their insecurities clashed. Another actor, a novice, described how the insecurity of the more experienced can feel edifying. *"When I understood that even Alice, and she has worked for many years, that even she is nervous, it is kind of comforting. We are all in the same situation".*

In this atmosphere of enveloping insecurity, where everyone was searching to define their roles in the production and, tentatively starting to work with their characters in the play, it was necessary to create a functional working climate: a climate that allowed for insecurity. Even veterans described that they feel insecure during the initial phase of rehearsing a new play and that the insecurity is a prerequisite for doing a good job. It is vital to *"dare to lay oneself open during rehearsals…You cannot be scared of appearing stupid or, you have to talk about it if there is something you don't get"*. In order for the interpretation of the role not to get stuck in clichés or become simplistic, the actors need to try out different ways to act without being afraid of making fools of themselves. The prompter described the sensitivity of the start up phase: *"The way you breathe is important. You can't have someone in the room that isn't present; someone you feel is somewhere else, not breathing with the others. It doesn't work. In here, that [the climate] is everything."* The climate of the group was in focus. A mental incubator was built, within which the actors and the director could work protected from outside scrutiny. Lagercrantz refers to the actors' work with their characters as "the inner process", and draws parallels to adepts in an initiation rite, who are isolated and fragile when going through a secret indescribable process (1995, p. 167ff). I would argue that "the inner process" is an all too vague concept, but that the rehearsals have the potential to be used as initiation rites. The director can establish group ceremonies to create a joint

focus and a sense of exclusiveness[50]. However, the insecurity involved in entering new emotional arenas and the fear of making a fool of oneself in the process are vital factors in understanding the need for the isolation in the start up phase of the rehearsal process. Furthermore, in line with Barbalet's arguments (1995, p. 23), the incubator does not eliminate the impact of social differences. Status and power still affect the relationship between individual actors and the director; consequently, different actors had more or less freedom to interpret their characters within the safe haven of the ensemble.

After the first weekend the work continued and the director started out with some small talk about the two days off. The actors talked about what they had been doing over the weekend, but the prompter and the dramaturge were not asked to participate. The director talked about energies, that one can feel the presence of thoughts and feelings in the room; discussing the weekend was a tool to make those private energies fade away so that the ensemble could focus on work.

Every rehearsal started with a reading of the scheduled scene. The actors and the director sat on chairs in a circle. The prompter, dramaturge and I were seated at a distance; clearly, we were not part of the ensemble. The director said that she had to help this group (director and actors) come together as a working group first. The exclusion was evident but seemed invisible to the people participating in the conversation[51]. Prompter, property maker and stage manager were often at the rehearsals and they were not involved in the conversation. Notwithstanding the everyday tone of the conversation and the invitation from the director to contribute to a more benevolent society where everyone talks with each other, it was evident that the conversations had a function for the actors' character work and therefore concerned only them. All the other personnel were silent. In the second production, I was placed with the actors and director in the inner circle and I found that it was difficult to stay silent when placed in that circle. They looked at me and I was listening but I did not talk. The other silent members —those in the outer circle—looked more comfortable in their roles. When I asked them about being silent they did not seem to understand what I meant; their roles as support personnel simply do not include conversation during rehearsals. However, as the prompter said in her interview comments about breathing, it is necessary for these support personnel to participate in the rehearsal; those who participate silently also participate. But it is only the

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[50] Ingmar Bergman used to end his rehearsals by lighting a candle and solemnly reflect over the rehearsals of the day. The invitations to this ceremony were exclusive to the concerned personnel with the proper focus (compare 'to breathe right'). The ceremony also confirmed Bergman's high status; to be invited to this ceremony, if you were not part of the ensemble, was regarded as an honor.

[51] That interpretation is contested in "The Other Room" where a prompter wants to be part of the discussion and is sardonically put down by director and actors (Lagercrantz, 1995, p. 64).

actors, the ones inside the incubator, who are continuously requested to explore and try out various emotions and expressions.

At lunch the director and actors sat together and the rest of us sat at another table. At the same time it was important for all the relationships to be maintained. The director took on this responsibility, communicating with the actors and with the other staff in between rehearsals. One night, after a day when I had been asked on two separate occasions to leave the rehearsal room, the director called me to explain why I was excluded. She also explained that one of the actors was hesitant about my presence and wanted some assurance that he really would be anonymous in my writings. We agreed that I would introduce myself to each and every actor in between rehearsals so that everyone had an opportunity to ask questions. The next time the hesitant actor was present at a rehearsal, the director asked me for a favour and then said loudly *"we will keep her, she can help me out"*. The director never asked any favours from me again, but that occasion sufficed to make the hesitant actor accept my presence.

In an article about emotions in groups, Kemper has argued that even when an expressed group feeling is not felt by the majority of its participants, the 'bystanders' still add substance to the emotion by not rejecting it (Kemper, 2002, p. 63). Being the leader of the ensemble, the director's decisive approval was interpreted as representative of the whole group and thus made the other members of the group interpret my presence in a positive way. Another actor approached me one day in the rehearsal room and looked inquiringly at me. I asked her if she wondered who I was. *"No"*, she replied, *"I know that you are one of us, but I am not sure what…?"*. She did not question my presence but she could not remember my name and the reason I was there. There is a sharp line between inside and outside.

In the start up phase of the rehearsal period the group and the climate are of central concern and "care-giving acts" (Ozcelik, Langton, & Aldrich, 2008, p. 188) such as giving positive feedback to establish a positive emotional climate are frequent. Within weeks the actors have to play the characters of siblings, parents, lovers etc with their co-actors, some of whom they have never met before. In a short time they need to come close to their fellow actors, to get used to their bodies and ways of expressing themselves in order to give life to their characters and their relationships in a credible way on stage. The director has the main responsibility for the work and the directors I observed worked actively with the group and the climate in the start up phase in order to establish trust (cf. Poder, 2004, p. 206ff). First and foremost the director pointed out the importance of each individual actor for the staging of the play. The director hugged several of the actors when they showed up for the day's rehearsal. The ones that did not have lines at a particular rehearsal were asked about their blockings. The director encouraged questions and quoted another actor saying that the final version does not have to be there on the first day of rehearsals. Every time an actor rehearsed

for the first time in the production the director talked with her/him separately after the rehearsal.

Some of the actors were active in this climate work. They looked at their co-actors when reading the scenes, they initiated laughter and jokes and tried to create a zestful climate. Even though all actors held their binders and more or less read their lines, they only sat down for the first read through, and then they started working on the floor with the blocking.

The people working close to the actors are supporting personnel:

> Most of us prompters are older, and I do not mean that we have to be older, but I think that many actors find it comforting. We become sort of mother figures. Maybe the men do not have to show off as much in front of an old lady.

To sum up, in the start up phase of the rehearsal period the focus is establishing a functional work climate. Each person needs to find their role in the ensemble and the actors also need to find their characters in the play. The inner group of director and actors closes up to create effective internal relations that facilitate their onstage relations and that enhance a creative climate where the participants dare to explore their characters. All others are kept out or participate as silent members.

Insecurity and Shame

Stage fright is a well known concept referring to feelings of insecurity and fear of failure that actors experience before performing in front of an audience. In my conversations with stage actors, however, fear was more often mentioned in relation to rehearsing, especially in the start up phase of a new rehearsal period (Blix, 2004). As depicted by this experienced actor shame is frequent in rehearsals: *"I believe that there is a whole lot more sweating going on during rehearsals than during performance. I think so. That shame sweat"*.

In interviewing actors about the start up phase of rehearsals, I found that they frequently talked about shame. I was even told that a well known actor some of them knew used to say that he planned to call his autobiography "I Was Ashamed for Sure". How can all this talking about shame be understood?

Stanislavski's central maxim is *be truthful!* The actor shall not *play* but *be* on the stage (Stanislavski, 1961 [1936]). One actor told me that actors do not have to experience traumatic events or difficult crises in their private lives in order to be able to give life to such events on stage; the talent rather lies in the ability to *make* the experience on stage; to be in the moment (cf. Hastrup, 2004, pp. 29-30). In light of that statement it becomes understandable that actors often describe feeling like novices in the start up phase of every new

production; they shall, over again, experience something for the first time. The necessity of always starting out as a beginner (at least, to some extent) explains the often mentioned reference to the importance of being brave and being able to feel trust *"...then I try to be as brave as I can be and to feel a zest for playing. One needs imagination, and that also has to do with courage in some ways, but also with talent"*.

One aspect of making new experiences on stage that has been described earlier is that every new role implies meeting and being physically close to new actors, getting used to their bodies and the body of the played character, and learning how the character relates to the actor and others on stage. Physical closeness that entails touching, being aware of bodily odours and so forth is often associated with the sphere of intimacy, but here it is an aspect of the work. Helena Wulff has described how physical closeness is a readily apparent aspect of the ballet profession and how female dancers, for example, talk openly about having their periods. The body is such an obvious and essential tool for actors that its private aspects also need to be taken into consideration when considering its work function (Lagercrantz, 1995, p. 106; Wulff, 1998, p. 112). One actor referred to his background as a dancer as an advantage in that respect: *"I started out as a dancer, you know, so it comes natural for me. I wasn't this size back then, but it has stayed with me; I have never been afraid of my body"*. Bodily reactions in general are of great importance in the acting profession and the courage that actors talked about is related to being present in their own body, and in consequence being able to follow the impulses that come out of rehearsing; to trust what the body does in meetings with the text and the co-actors on the floor. *"It's also about being brave and having trust. And I believe that the body intuitively goes in the right direction. One can feel it, and I can feel that the director uses it. He uses the intuitive stuff"*. The body is important in two ways. First, the actors need to get used to each other's physical presence to be able to give life to close relations on stage. Second, as illustrated in the quote above, the actors need to be able to relax physically in order to open themselves up to the bodily intuition and body memories that are used in making the character come alive.

During rehearsals the actors tried the different scenes over and over again to find their way into their characters and the situations they found themselves in. Were the actors not to try out different modes of expressions and ways to handle the upcoming situations neither they nor the director would be able to comprehend how or if the proposed scene solution would work. It would become difficult to move on. For the rehearsal to move forward, the actors had to express unready characters acting in unready situations with unready co-characters. *"Yes, I have to deliver my lines fully; otherwise I'm not trying it out. Then the director tells me: 'try being laid back'. And then I do that fully. Then it might not be that good, but you always have to try it"*. One actor suggested that the feelings of shame and insecurity experienced

during the start up phase can create a sensitivity that can be helpful when working on the floor. *"Maybe it's a necessary evil that it has to be this way. There is a sensitiveness and carefulness that comes out of it too".*

In order for the insecurity to open the door for creativity, there must be trust. The work climate is critical to the actors' readiness to open up to innovation and to relinquish at least in part the all too human need to control oneself. Goffman has pinpointed how we use role distance in order to handle insecurity about what our roles can and cannot do. A rehearsing actor, however, has to keep these expressions of role distance in check.

Avoiding Role Distance

When actors try out different character expressions, the result is not always successful the first time out. Thus an important aspect of finding a way into a character is the ability to accept the experience of experiments and mistakes. In everyday life when we do not succeed with our role presentations we often express role distance in order to show other people that a certain expression was not part of our overall role presentation. Since rehearsals are part of a process where failures are normal components, expressions of role distance would both interfere with the process and separate the actor from the role; indeed, in order to inhabit the character, the actor needs to minimize role distance. The actor has to keep the internalized social excuses in check. Expressions of role distance are part and parcel of the social interaction we practice daily and the expressions are often minute and well integrated in our overall spectra of expressions; indeed, it is difficult not to express them. In my observations, it was mostly novices that now and then directly expressed role distance either by verbally apologizing or, more commonly, by showing with their facial expression (for example by wrinkling their eyebrows), that the suggested character expression was not good. The fact that actors often are ashamed of their role presentations also appeared in their comments on their work, often in the form of humour. When an actor did not enter the floor on time (due to problems with finding all the props), she started saying her lines offstage and later commented: *"that is the way to handle embarrassment: to talk behind the screen"*. Everyone laughed. Another time an actor did not want to do a whole scene in front of a small audience of people working with the production, and the director said that they could instead do the beginning and the ending. A colleague said: *"I am not to interfere but you are just being a coward"*. The other actors started to joke about not wanting to do their scenes either because it did not feel right. The actor ultimately did the whole scene. In another scene, when an actor was supposed to mimic another person doing an accent she said that she wanted to go home and practice first, because she was not comfortable doing accents. Having said that and thereby implicitly giving herself an excuse for doing it badly, she did the scene anyway, with an accent.

A professional actor does not excuse her/himself for doing imperfect performances during rehearsals and experienced actors do not express role distance in such direct ways. But the embarrassment can still show up through exaggerated gestures and looks, making the presentation vague or overloaded. When the rehearsing process has proceeded further, these gestures are refined and the character, somewhat counterintuitively, becomes better defined when the actor performs fewer gestures and looks that are more exact and congruent with the situation at hand.

The Experienced Novice

In most professions, people with more experience make fewer mistakes and the feeling of being secure and of knowing one's trade grows correspondingly. This is true for actors as well, especially when performing in front of an audience; it is evidenced, for example, in the ability of an experienced actor to save a scene, in character, when something goes wrong. However, when it comes to rehearsals, the statement above must be qualified. As discussed previously, even experienced actors need to some extent to start out as novices in the initial phase of every new production and hence must come to grips with an embedded, inescapable insecurity (Lagercrantz, 1995, p. 86). An ability to sustain this feeling becomes a necessary qualification for the work. In interviews with experienced actors, they stated that they still experience this initial fear and that their growing competence lies in their ability to accept and relate to the fear. In a way, the experienced actors' fear of shame can be greater than that of the novices since they have higher expectations to live up to. They are obligated to be good, while the novices can be forgiven by their inexperience. However, the experienced actors learn to observe their own feelings of fear and insecurity while they are experiencing them. They can recognize the fear and *"let it have its time"*.

> Every time I start rehearsing something new all these old insecurities come to the surface. In the start up I'm so self conscious and guarded. Who am I in the group? Who am I to the director? How does it feel with the other actor? And I know that I will get past it. My way of coming through is to just keep on working, and be patient with myself…It becomes so personal. But I try not to go into that, instead I just: 'OK, now, this is the way it is, and I know, that when I get warmed up, it will let go.

Several actors joked about the shame they have felt during their work life and some of them even said that they have become used to being ashamed:

> As an actor I'm used to being ashamed and all that. You are always a bit ashamed. You do a lot of bad stuff. And I think that is the way it should be, you need to be bad, in order to try things out. But in the beginning of your career you are terrified and wet through with perspiration and all…well so embarrassed that you just wanted to die. You were scared. And of course I'm

scared now as well. But now I know that it's part of the job. So now I've gotten used to it.

A couple of actors, having worked more than 60 years in the profession, said that by now they have such a routine that they can go through with the process even when it fails. *"Nowadays, I'm experienced enough to know that if it doesn't work, I can use my experience and go through with it anyway"*. The shame is finally gone or, rather, the actor is confident that s/he can get away with not performing her/his best. This can be interpreted in line with Scheff's argument that people with high self esteem can manage their shame better (Scheff, 1988, p. 405), or, through the lens of Kemper, although the veteran actors know that if they do not live up to their own expectations they will not experience any *introjected shame* (Kemper, 1978, p. 61) because they also know that no one will notice.

The actors' professionalism involves a paradoxical requirement of being bad in the beginning of a new rehearsal period (Roach, 1993, p. 16): having to perform in front of others without cover, knowing that the performance is bad, letting it be bad in order to find one's way past clichés and through to an original presentation. To demonstrate such a mediocre performance while professing to be a bona fide actor apparently gives rise to shame. Furthermore, the actors have to show their failure over and over again in front of director and colleagues. As described in Chapter 1, efforts to avoid shame can lead to social conformity (Barbalet, 2001, pp. 103-125; Scheff, 1988)—an effect that would ruin the creativity of the actors' work, forcing them to face their shame, letting it have its course. However, since all actors work under this predicament, others do not expect them to hide their shame as people do in everyday life[52]. The examples of shame depicted in this study can be analyzed as introjected shame, which follows from having gained status under false pretences (Kemper, 1978, p. 61). According to Kemper, the outcome of this type of shame is either acceptance of lower status, withdrawal from the social situation, or an effort to fix the discrepancy between what was expected and what was performed. In the rehearsal situation the actor has no alternative but to try to compensate and live up to her/his expected level of performance. This effort can lead to further disappointments leading to a shame spiral of shame - failed compensation - more shame, etc. Although there are many tales of actors trying to drown their fears in alcohol

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[52] There are several aspects of this embedded shame that give rise to additional questions that would need further investigation. Firstly, are the feelings of shame experienced in the same way by someone who is used to being ashamed as compared to someone who is not? Does private shame differ from work-related shame? Secondly, if shame is regarded as an unavoidable work-related emotion, can it not then be exaggerated: if the feeling of shame is a sign of work well done could then the lack of shame be a sign of sloppy work? The feeling of shame could become a token of diligence. Nevertheless, regardless if the actors do overstate their shame or not, the feeling of insecurity and the ensuing fear of doing poorly, seems to be an indispensible part of the work process.

and other avoidance tactics, this study found actors using other strategies to deal with shame in more upfront ways, avoiding the shame spiral by expecting and thus submitting to missteps[53].

When the rehearsal process was on its way and the ensemble had started to find their roles outside of the play, it became easier to explore their characters in the play. Some characters were only on stage in part of the play, and therefore the rehearsals were not done in sequence, although the director saw to it that all the actors got to rehearse together. For some actors, who had small parts in the play, there might be several days between rehearsals; consequently, it took a longer time for those actors to feel that they belonged to the group and to get into the work process.

To sum up: The start up phase revolves to a large extent around the creation of a work climate, constituting a 'mental incubator', within which the actors and the director can work, protected from outside scrutiny. The non-acting staffs are silent participants and the director plays the role of gate-keeper. Inside the incubator, feelings of insecurity and shame permeate the start up phase as indispensible parts of the rehearsal process. The actors try to avoid letting these emotions hamper their work by striving to keep expressions of role distance in check. Over the course of a career, an actor's growing competence does not reduce the feelings of insecurity and shame per se; competence lies rather in the ability to accept and relate to these feelings. Actors learn to observe their own feelings of fear and insecurity while they are experiencing them and to let them have their necessary time.

The Second Phase—Creativity without Pressure

During the third or fourth rehearsing week the ensemble moved into the second phase; the group had come together and the climate was gradually more relaxed. The working climate was established and the work was coming along but there was still no great pressure for results. In this phase, the camaraderie within the group was good; there was lots of laughter and a clear group bonding. The members of the ensemble often touched each other. They laid their hands on the shoulder of the person standing next to them. Earlier this was only seen between actors and between actor and director, but now it had spread to prompter and dramaturge. The actors that were playing

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[53] In my work as a director's assistant I came across actors that were performing so badly during the rehearsal period that the director considered discharging them. These actors all seemed obliviously ignorant of their total failure and when the performance period started their presentations became brilliant and they got the best critiques from reviewers. By being able to ignore their failure during the rehearsals they could fully concentrate on their work without becoming stuck on the failures they enacted to get there—they stood out as being *shame free*.

the loving couple often hugged and touched each other in between working with scenes. Overall, the roles in the production were grounded.

The relaxed working climate also made it possible for private expressions to leak into the rehearsals. The actors forgot to turn off their mobiles, and sometimes even sent text messages while waiting to go on the floor. Many actors yawned during talks about the scenes or when they were not the focus of attention on the floor. This relaxed attitude had also spread to the silent participants. The prompter and the prop woman often looked distracted, not listening to what was happening on the floor when they were not needed. The prop woman was drawing endless patterns on the manuscript. The actors waiting to rehearse sometimes laid down on the floor resting. Such behaviour had never occurred during the start up phase. These relaxed behaviours coincided with a creative phase on the floor. The scenes were starting to take form and the actors were having fun working with them. They giggled in delight when receiving suggestions from the director and played their scenes with more engagement. Sometimes the rehearsals started with gossip about the theatre world. Once the actors talked about kissing on stage and they all related, in great detail, 'their worst working kiss'. We were all doubled up with laughter. Nevertheless, when one of the actors told the director that he had not learnt the lines for the day's rehearsal he clearly had crossed a line. The director talked about a misunderstanding, but hid her anger. *"It is good that you tell me so that we can talk about it"*. On the side she said with an irritated voice *"I thought you had understood!"* Then she immediately turned her attention to finding a solution.

The group had now become a 'family'. When I was away a couple of days on a teaching assignment, the prompter and the prop woman welcomed me back and said that it was empty without me. Several actors gave me a blink from the floor and some expressed that it felt like something was missing when I was not around. The group had come together; we were getting used to each other's presence, 'bodies and souls'.

The fact that actors need to be close to each other physically and touch each other in their work also makes it necessary to handle attraction or repulsion that might arise between them. One way to do that, also observed by Wulff in her study on dancers, is joking about it (Wulff, 1998, p. 112). Several actors, men and women, novices as well as the more experienced, joke about sex. Once an actor held up a water-jug in front of her co-actor pretending that it was a penis. They both laughed.

Offstage also, stage actors touched each other in ways that would have been startling in workplaces where physical contact is not part of the work. This playing around with a relationship in between rehearsals is not disconnected from the onstage work; the actors use it to get used to their character relationships and, later on in the performance period, to create the proper energy before going on stage.

> One becomes closer to one another. The work benefits from being close before one is playing those roles…because it can be embarrassing to hold hands or be that close to a person. To do those things without being used to how the skin feels and all that.

However, this playing around with characters' relationships requires that the actors have reached a certain stage in their work; there must be characters to play around with. Before the actors have started to inhabit their characters, the playing around would involve the private actor and thus be too personal. An actor who was having problems finding her way into her character was not participating fully in the relaxed climate that the other actors enjoyed. When the actor playing her husband commented on a word exchange between them, saying that it was all about their relationship, he simultaneously leant over and said with a tender voice *"oh, kiss, kiss, kiss"*. The troubled actor did not reply to his romantic expression and had a studied, neutral look on her face. She talked about their relationship intellectually and compared it to other relationships in modern society, thereby distancing herself from her character's relationship. She had not yet inhabited her character and the invitation from her co-actor thus reflected on her private person and thereby became an infraction; their different levels of character involvement clashed. Later on in the rehearsal period, when her deadlock had passed, these actors often played around with their fictional marriage *"as a laugh"*. This need to play around with character relationships off stage can off course be used in inappropriate ways, but the playing around as such does not necessarily entail harassment.

Sometimes, however, the boundaries of what could be regarded as sexual harassment were passed, for example when a male actor lifted up his female co-actor and dry humped her against the stage wall in front of some fellow male actors. Several times I observed younger female actors handle physical contact with older male co-workers by calling them *"little papa"*, effectively defusing the erotic aspects of the physical intimacy by treating these actors as harmless old men; they got fatherly, decidedly non-sexual hugs[54].

To sum up: In the second, creative phase of rehearsals, the actors gradually began to engage in more physical contact and to become comfortable with each others' physical presence. As the group dynamics became more settled, the climate became more relaxed, and private expressions began to seap into the rehearsals. For the individual actors, a prerequisite for relaxation was the achievement of a basic level of emotional connection with the rehearsed character.

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[54] Sexual harassment in the theatre world has started to become more acknowledged. In a report from 2009 about gender work at the four Swedish Theatre Academies they found that during a period of two years 20 % of the student actors that did their practice in a Swedish Theatre were harassed (Lund, 2009, p. 184). In order to further the understanding of how to handle this problem, my research suggests that a process perspective could be effective, with observations of the different phases of the work.

The Third and Fourth Phase—From Crisis to Performance

> Theatre is collective work. I don't think there is another such collective occupation. And that always entails conflicts. Things happen, and two weeks before the opening night you don't believe that it will come together. Yet, you remember that last time it felt the same, and it turned out a success. You always doubt it beforehand.

When working on a theatre production, at some point there has to be a transition from the safe rehearsal period, when nothing is set and mistakes can be made, to the point in time when the ensemble presents the entire performance to a live audience. The journey from the safe haven of the incubator to standing scrutinized on a stage in front of an audience is done in around eight weeks. When the transition comes closer some form of crisis is practically unavoidable. The reasons and scenarios can vary, but it seems to be necessary to have a crisis in order to get through the transition and into the performance period. Some directors attempt to make this transition as fluidly as possible by for example opening up the rehearsals in the last phase and showing the almost-ready performance to a selected audience, using the medium of an open dress rehearsal or preview. And some directors are known for not regarding the opening night as a final performance; they continue their work during the performance period. Nevertheless, all these arrangements do not hide the fact that the rehearsal period is over and it is time to be judged by critics and audience.

An important element of the transition from crisis to performance is a change or evolution of the director's role. The director must step back from being the leader and become more of a coach. When the director starts to step back, the actors' vulnerabilities come to the fore.

During the last weeks of the rehearsal periods that I observed, the director and the actors worked on the task of establishing the final version of the play. *Everything*—from the details of a look or gesture, to the timing of set changes, to the exact use of props—had to be decided and stay decided. There was a tug-of-war between a desire on the one hand to continue investigating and further deepening the interpretation of the characters while on the other hand there was a need to establish and settle the characters. The actors felt trapped. The director coaxed and asked them to try for a while until they could do it on stage. The director wanted to finalize blockings and move on with his eyes on the whole play, while the actors wanted to stay in the scenes and work on details. At this stage all the supporting aspects of the production needed fine tuning to fit with how the play had been staged. Light that originally was expected to be used in a certain way had to be modified due to changes in how the actors used the stage. Some details of the stage design needed to be removed and other, new ones had to be found or created and added. All these final alterations demanded time and concen-

tration from the director. Even though I had no way of knowing how the director's time was spent in between rehearsals, I got hints from actors; it is reasonable to imagine that, although he still led the rehearsals, the communication with actors in between rehearsals was cut back as he spent more time meeting with other personnel. The actors did not get all the attention anymore and were to a considerable extent left to themselves.

At this time, the actors had become worried about not doing run-throughs (rehearsing an act or even the entire play without interruption); they needed run-throughs to map their characters' journeys through the whole play. In one of the productions the director, about to go on sick-leave, did not have the energy to repeat scenes. This led to a situation where every rehearsal started from the beginning, since nothing was set.

> We hadn't made any run-throughs of the play. It is an actor's horror not to know about the next scene. Ok, I leave the stage left and what the hell am I supposed to do now? Shit, I need to enter stage right, I'm in a hurry! And you run over and then you understand that you have ten minutes to spare. Good! You need to find a breathing.

During the test run-through, when the actors went through the whole play in full costume and make-up for the first time, one actor was not there; afterwards, we were informed that he had fallen ill. When the review of the run-through was about to start, the director explained that something was wrong and that the ensemble was going to have a meeting on their own. I asked the dramaturge what had happened and she replied that it was a delicate situation and that I should leave: *"It's so sensitive now. I will call you later"*. She did call me later and told me that the actor who was ill on the day of the run-through would leave the play due to his illness. It was important that I did not tell anyone about this. Some days later the director resigned, also due to illness. There were then two weeks remaining before the première; one of the actors would take over responsibility for the direction during these last two weeks.

After some days of chaos, the rehearsal atmosphere calmed down and the focus moved back to the actual rehearsing. A few of the actors now and then exclaimed *"I can't do this!"*, *"We need more time!"* or became agitated if someone came in late. Several people told me directly or in conversations with others that I overheard that others in the group were overly sensitive and had problems dealing with the situation. In the elevator to the rehearsal the dramaturge told someone that one of the actors was nervous and that she was annoying. During another elevator ride an actor said that it was the dramaturge that was too nervous. The inability to cope was always said to concern someone else in the group. Another actor told me that there had been rumours at the theatre about disagreements in the ensemble. Everyone

wanted to deny that; several of the actors emphasized that there were fewer conflicts than was typical.

At this point in the rehearsal process, I had to be away for some days to meet prior teaching commitments at the University. When I returned, several people approached me to ask where I had been. The producer told me that people had been asking him if he had been mean to me, causing me to refuse to come back. The stage manager was worried: *"There are so many schisms in the house, so I wondered if you did not want to come back anymore"*. It was clearly important for the remaining group to stay together; I was in some way a member of that group since I had been present through the whole rehearsal process. However, earlier in the rehearsal period, when I was away for a couple of days, no one was worried. They gave me a blink from the floor when they first saw me and that was it.

Even though the defection of a director affects the ensemble profoundly it does not in itself need to lead up to a crisis. One actor commented:

> At that time, the director had already set the ground for the play, the objectives and everything. The work that was left to do was more fine tuning; to feel the tempo and so on. And at that stage it was possible. The staging was already made.

The secrecy, all the talks behind closed doors and comments about chaos and panic made the experience of insecurity and crisis bigger. Lagercrantz also comments on the fact that at this point in the rehearsal period, the supporting personnel are fully occupied with backing up the actors. They iron their costumes, furnish their stage, prepare their props and fix their hair; all these chores make the actors appear even more fragile (1995, p. 110).

In this case, the ensemble needed to dampen the tone of crisis in order to make the transition to the performance period in time. After some days of chaos, the new director and some of the actors took charge of the situation and the ensemble came together again.

In the other production there were no actual resignations. At one stage, there were two actors who were said to be about to resign from the play; although this did not actually happen, the last phase saw the ensemble in a state of high alert. Earlier in the process, actors had been away when they were ill or doing other work and no one thought much of it. In the final phase, however, everyone became more observant of where people were. One day, when an actor left early, her co-actor immediately wondered why and asked the stage manager if everything was alright. When another actor did not come to the rehearsals one day and did not call in, someone asked if he had had too much to drink at a party the day before. When the same actor called in sick some days later an actor asked if he was about to resign. The director laughed and said *"let's hope not"*. The actors wanted to know where everyone was and how they felt.

During the last weeks of rehearsal, the climate was tense. Everybody seemed annoyed and stressed. One actor told me that she thought everything was horrible. She said that it was all going too fast. Sometimes she did not know at all where she was in the play. One night, when I walked together with an actor on our way home she told me that the ensemble was frustrated due to the fact that people were *"not playing the same game"* and that the director did not deal with it. There were underlying conflicts.

> The director should see to it that everyone plays the same sport; not that someone plays cricket and someone else football. We need to play together. There is always anxiety at this stage, when the actors start to feel where the play is about to take ground.

Lagercrantz also noticed the change in climate during the last weeks before the opening night in both the productions she observed (Lagercrantz, 1995, pp. 71-72). The director was said to blame his difficulties on the actors and the conflicts and difficulties in cooperating seemed endless. However, as described before, these emotions were almost always ventilated between and after rehearsals.

During rehearsals the main object for the actors is to express the emotions that the character feels. Methods of triggering emotions are essential. If the actors were to engage in emotions outside of the play, the work would come to a halt. The actors do not necessarily suppress their individual experience of frustration so much as they 'park it out of the way' so as not to interfere with the work or with the climate of the whole group. Thus, the emotional climate is upheld through the whole ensemble's effort to maintain its focus on the upcoming performance.

One of the first questions that came up during the third phase—and was immediately dismissed—was whether to postpone the première. Some of the actors instead wanted to work overtime, but that was also ruled out. Changes in working hours that will impinge on leisure time and on workers' rights cannot just be ignored at a major theatre house. The management instead asked those who wanted to come outside of rehearsals to come and discuss the ending of the play, which was still unresolved. They sat down and discussed several solutions that could be rehearsed on the stage later. An experienced actor pointed out that one had to be careful with putting in extra hours; it could send out the wrong signals to the ensemble and to the rest of the theatre house. This way of keeping the talks outside of the rehearsals, so that the rehearsals could focus on work with scenes and run-throughs, was one way to regain control over the process. There were despondent and angry looks and actors about to quit, but everyone regained control and continued to struggle on. For example, when an actor did not want to rehearse a certain scene with one of the co-actors missing, the director immediately changed his plans and they rehearsed another scene.

To get through the crisis a feeling of "we will make it against all odds", was created. Even I, the observer, could not avoid becoming engaged in the intensity of the moment and buying into the goal of succeeding against all difficulties. The new director asked everybody's opinion, including mine, and I found myself pondering over stage solutions before I went to sleep at night. When the actors asked what I thought of their last run-through, I had a hard time to maintain my sweeping comments that I usually used (cf. Lagercrantz, 1995, p. 74).

In the last days before the opening night, the actors started to find their way back into the ensemble again and the joking and closeness reappeared. During the technical rehearsals, which were frequent at the end, the actors joked around to keep up the energy. They praised each other for every small task. For example, when the lighting designer needed to check the changing of spotlights and an actor had to walk across the floor under the new lighting arrangement, she received enthusiastic applause from the other actors. Two actors joked about having given it all: One of them needed to stand in a doorway for a couple of minutes. The climate became more focused and there was none of the yawning and relaxing of the second phase or open disputes of the crisis phase. One actor did sit-ups on stage while waiting for a review of the last run-through. During one such review, an actor sat down and leaned her head on another actor's lap who gently stroked her hair. At the first public run-through, with an audience of 75 people, everybody embraced each other. They hugged, smiled and saw everybody from their best sides.

During the first public rehearsals the nervousness on the stage was palpable. Several actors forgot lines. The experienced actors were good at saving the scene when something went wrong, while the novices had a harder time adjusting to unexpected problems. Overall, most scenes were a bit rushed. Afterwards an actor told me that her mouth was so dry that her lips got stuck on her teeth. Another actor described the difficulty of being present in the moment during the first public run-throughs.

> Nervousness can make you shut off a bit. I felt tense and was distracted by that damn scarf! I didn't live it. I wasn't there. It is difficult when that happens because it is hard to get out of. I feel: 'I'm tense, I'm tense' and I try to relax and look at my co-actors. 'Be there!'

At these first public run-throughs, several of the actors asked other actors and friends to come and watch the performance and give feed back. In earlier rehearsals, the director had been the only outside eye. Now, the actors started to take on the responsibility for their performance themselves; they wanted to be sure that the coming public audiences would see what they were trying to express. Some friends were good at suggesting small changes to the costume that enhanced the performance. Others could assure the actors

that their interpretation was coming through and give suggestions on what needed more work. Some of the actors also asked me for feedback: for example, was the interpretation of a female character presented too much from a man's perspective? Was it clear that one of the characters was in collaboration with another character? At this point the actors' insecurities were different from the insecurity of the start up phase. They had their characters to present, but they needed to make sure that they were good enough.

When the opening night arrived, the peace had returned. The nervousness and fear in the crisis phase had led to determination and a feeling of solidarity. There was nervousness in the air as there always is in the start up phase of the performance period and before a première, but the feeling of "we will not make it" had changed into "yes we can!"

To sum up: In relation to the actors' process the crisis phase emerged during the transition from rehearsal period to performance period. In order to facilitate this transition, the director had to step back, changing role from leader to coach. The actors in turn needed to start taking responsibility for the play; they were the ones who ultimately had to stand for the director's interpretation. This transfer made their position exposed. However, by keeping the frustrations outside of the rehearsals and focusing on the work with scenes and run-throughs, they regained control over the process. The director supported the transition by coaxing rather than pushing the actors. The actors in their turn invited people from the outside to come and watch, moving the responsibility away from the director and into their own hands.

Throughout these phases the director and actors have to collaborate, and in different ways influence the forming of the production and its characters. This will be investigated in the final section. We will start with the director.

The Relation between Director and Actors

Although the director from the start has a clear vision of the final staging of the play s/he has to adjust that vision to the actors' developing contributions (Hastrup, 2004, p. 214) and to take on the role of a guide, letting the actors work to find their own ways into their characters.

> He probably has an idea about how he wants everything to end up, but he doesn't let us know it all from the start, he waits for us to find it out ourselves, and he observes the things we come up with. Sometimes we come up with things that he hasn't thought of and that is damn good.

The strategy to 'wait for the actors' was evident when the director worked with novices. The director showed the actors step by step how they could work, not giving away the next step until the previous one was understood.

When working with more experienced actors the pedagogy was less notice-able and the exchange between actor and director was more collegial.

The director's responsibility for the entirety of the staging also incorporates the totality of the individual characters, their general attitudes and ways of dealing with the situations in which they find themselves. There is a need for an overarching idea about each individual character, including her/his motives and place in the play. It is vital for the director to find the words or images to convey her/his concept of the character so that the actors can work on developing that concept. That work incorporates both the initial work on individual scenes and then the later work on expressing the character's curve of development through the play.

The directorial concepts that proved most helpful to the actors seemed to be those that conveyed a prototypical interpretation of their character's function in the play. Actors found it useful to be given an allegory that captured the tone or quality that permeated the situations the character would have to face in the play. In the quote below the character was compared to an animal:

> I had a rat when I was a child, he said. And then we had a cat and it was as if the rat, always, when she was running around in the house, knew where the cat was; never a move without paying attention to the cat. The way to always let someone else lead, because of a feeling of insecurity and fear.

The fear that permeated the rat became the overarching description of the character. In another case the actor described how the director's reference to the character's possible lack of life was a help in finding her way into the character. *"I thought it was liberating when he said: 'she is liberated from all problems in life since she is dead'"*. That sentence characterized her function in the play and became a filter for her way of dealing with the situations she faced in the play. These short sentences can probably be useful to return to during the rehearsals. In observing the rehearsals it was clear that those particular sentences were part of many descriptions with a similar essence. Another time the following exchange took place:

Actor: *The difficulty lies in this non-engagement that is not indifference.*
Director: *I think that she feels that she has been silent all her life. She cannot come out of her body, but she has started to become a bit more outspoken. I think it is like talking to the TV.*
Actor: *I did that the other day, to that finance guy: 'Cut that tail off, I said! Oh, God, you look ridiculous with that ear ring!* She shows how she talked to the TV with an agitated voice.

The director's illustrations can sometimes become a smorgasbord of explanations from which the actor can pick and choose those one or two that are

most helpful to that particular actor at that particular point in the rehearsal process. In the explanation below, the director explained why a character did not tell her stepmother right away that her sister had been visiting. He referred to her age; *"she is a teen ager"*; her character: *"When reading the play one can believe that your character is nice, but she is really a little rat"*; how her not talking manifests itself: *"it is like talking to someone watching TV"* and finally the director drew parallels to his own life: *"I'm a stepfather myself, I know"*. The director wove a net of illustrations to nourish the character work. Some of the illustrations worked for just one rehearsal; others worked for a longer time or turned out to have some staying power as overarching descriptions of the characters. Another way to illustrate the characters was to exaggerate, almost caricature, a character. In the start up phase the director often gave the actors attributes or props that emphasized the character's flaws; the alcoholic walked around with a glass in each hand, the homeless person got a whole pile of garbage to sort etc.

To a large extent the rehearsals focused on making every scene, every situation important. The director often made the situation more trenchant for the individual characters by adding pressure to the situation. When a character had to help another character, even though she did not want to, the director suggested that her agreeing to help came from her fear of the other character's tearing apart the room, her work place, where the scene is situated. *"She sits there and starts to mess about with the things that belong to the church, you have to stop her"*. Another tool the director used to increase the urgency of the situation was metaphors: for example, on one occasion the director compared the situation the character found himself in to that of having peed one's pants: the character stands naked, so to speak.

The absence of words can also be used to aggravate a situation. The director pointed out: *"You know, if you have a teen ager, that it means something if they don't say hello when they come home"*. Many situations have to be made concrete; to place them in reality, the director often used comparisons to recent situations in the real world. When a character in the play was about to meet a powerful man the director compared it to meeting the Swedish king: *"it is cool to tell your friends that you have met the king, but when he actually stands there, in your home…"*. When a character was supposed to become embarrassed by another character that suddenly began to sing for him the director coached: *"Oh my God in heaven, now she turns out to be one of those Waldorf - kids!"*.

A great deal of rehearsal time is spent on blocking. The director suggests a set-up for a particular scene and gives directions on how the actors will come in and move around the stage and in relation to each other; the actors then start to do the scene, with frequent breaks to adjust the blocking. The physical expression of the play is of course always important; however, the search for the best blocking is based on discussions about why the characters

act the way they do. The blocking is created against a backdrop of repeated discussions about the motives and drives of the characters.

When a scene did not work out the director often referred to the blocking being wrong and needing to be moved or changed. When it worked it was often the blocking that was given credit for validating the emotional expression: *"It is good that you leave when you tell her about the church. If you are too close to her it becomes a threat. When you leave you become manipulative"*. In the start up phase, the actors often described the scenes as sketches and most actors did not take notes on all the blocking decisions that were made during the rehearsals. Further into the rehearsal period the sketches grew into set scenes and the blocking became more precise. The director wanted the actor to sink to the floor in despair. *"Then you recharge and it changes completely"*. The actor took a deep loud breath and sank to the floor. Technically it was difficult, since the wall she leaned on was made of a screen, but she held on to the character. The director continued: *"when you recharge your eyes meet and you stay that way"*. Every look and every movement was set and justified. When the director did not want the actor to look at his co-actor he referred to the character's attitude to life: *"I think he wants something better out of life than to look for problems, that's why he looks down - forward and not directly at her"*.

In the rehearsal of specific scenes and lines the director often gave voice to the subtexts; thoughts that emerged from the reaction to the actor's or co-actor's lines or blocking. These subtexts often hold the emotional reaction, as for instance when a character asked a question to another character and the director commented: *"Good question! You get fine grades for that question and it makes you proud"*. When the director gave out subtexts they often served to bring matters to a head. For example, when a character told her mother that her friend was cross, the director inflicted: *"when you say that your friend is cross it means that you have been fighting, literally"*. Hastrup argues that theatrical action is about desire (2004, p. 43ff), and that the urgency of desire exceeds both meaning and control. The actors' actions must be real if they are to affect the audiences' emotions; this means that the actors must find ways to want something desperately in order to act convincingly. An important part of the director's work is thus to awaken the desire for the characters to act.

The subtexts that the director fed the actors typically represented the perspective of one character and often put other characters in a less flattering light. For example, the director might have long talks with one actor discussing her/his character's anxieties and background in detail, and then turn around and, adopting the perspective of another character, dismiss the character in focus as *"nagging and bitter"*. The "nagging and bitter" character often reacted to such negative descriptions either by pretending to be insulted while laughing, or by clearly moving back, not wanting to hear the other character's subtext, because it could interfere with her own character

work. On the whole, the rehearsals on the floor were characterized by a serious consideration of emotions and their expressions; these were subjects of high honour and validity in this world. Even though the actors could joke about their characters they did not apologize for their work. The only reference to the fictional aspect of the world under construction was the director's recurring *"Now we will imagine that…"* a suiting paraphrase to Stanislavski's "as if".

A common way to make the actors understand what the director wanted them to do was to show it with gestures or mime. However, when the director did that it was not intended for the actors to mimic the director, but rather to create their own version of the director's suggested gestures (Hastrup, 2004, p. 211). Indeed, in order not to intimidate the actors it is better if the director is not a very competent actor. The director should show the gestures in a way that allows the actors to understand the intention, but executed sufficiently poorly that the actors dare to try their own version: *"He was an actor originally and his gestures were incredibly expressive, and made it very hard to live up to, because his way of doing it was so beautiful"*. The directors I observed often demonstrated verbally by emphasizing a word or by mimicking a line and then explaining the reason for the line to be said in that particular way. The motive was often an attitude and the director's intervention and focus would usually bring the matter to a head.

If the blocking is the basis of rehearsals, the emotions fill the blocking with life. The blocking, which specifies the characters' movements and the distance between them, creates emotions; these emotions in turn give rise to new blocking. During rehearsals the director often described how and when he wanted the actors to express emotions. The director talked about emotions and the resultant demands to which the actors were subjected when it came to working with emotions.

When it came to short and precise emotional expressions, like laughter or fear, the director often simply told the actors where to express them *"become afraid when she says hello"*, or *"It is important that one can see her becoming afraid not daring to…"*. *"I think that the line starts with laughter"*. These emotion demands could often be exactly timed even at an early stage: *"You start laughing at that line and then you stop when they talk about how it bended…"*. These plain emotional expressions were also qualitatively defined. For example, an expression of sadness could be either an act of despair or a manipulation to receive an advantage: The director wanted the actor to sink down into a chair and cry. *"Not manipulatively, it just happens. The crying before is manipulative, but not this one"*. The emotions were also defined quantitatively: *"The whole package has to go up in aggression"*, or *"Then you have to enlarge this feeling, as teenagers do. You lay it on thick in the world of emotions"*. In the last quote, the director used a metaphor to describe the emotional expression. Metaphors were often used when the emotion was not limited to a specific character, but rather defined the emo-

tional tone of a scene: *"He suddenly becomes emotional, he can hear the silence and feel it". "When the gray man comes into the room talking about broken dreams, the pain walks in"*. When the director wanted three characters to evidence difficulty in separating from each other, he asked them to think about it as if they were a family: mother, father and son. The characters, who actually were strangers to one another in the play, for a moment entered the roles of worried parents with grudging son, all having difficulties leaving.

Concerning the characters' emotional expressions, the director expected the actors to be able to express plain emotions, like fear, on demand. They were also expected to be able to deliver the emotional expression at specific points and vary them in quality and quantity. These demands were expected parts of the actors' professional competence. Novices did sometimes get more instructions; for example, the director might tell them to use the frustration they felt over forgetting their lines to find their way into the character's frustration.

In conclusion, the director did not show all her cards at once, but awaited the actors' own understanding of their characters. This became especially noticeable when it came to novices, where there was a pedagogical element to the director's approach. The director provided an overall reading of the characters by using a smorgasbord of explanations, stories and metaphors to describe how the characters related to the world and what motivations drove each of the characters. When working on individual scenes, the director would orchestrate struggles and breakthroughs to push the actors to ground that scene. The director created and changed the blocking so that emotions and thoughts were created and gave subtexts, showed with gestures and mimics how he wanted it done and motivating the actors to find their own path to the stated goal.

The Affirmative Actor

> It's part of an actor's job description to be open. To be open for different ways to work; to be a pallet of colours for different painters to use, and all that. But after a while you understand that you do a fair amount of painting yourself as well.

The actors' work is both firmly framed and creatively free. The work often emanates from a specific text. The words that the actors use are already decided in detail: sometimes even the smallest sighs are in the script. There can be some room for alterations—lines can be removed or changed—but to a large extent the actors' lines, and thereby their characters, are decided outside of the actors' control. Then there is the director's interpretation of the play, which also affects the material conditions under which the actors work.

By the time the actor comes to the first reading, the stage designer, costume maker and make-up designer have already started their work. Some directors have prepared the blocking in such detail that all the actors' movements on stage are set beforehand. More typically, the director presents an overall interpretation of the play at the start of the rehearsal period, but even so, gives suggestions on blocking that the actors use when they start working on the floor. Finally, actors usually work with other actors on stage, and each actor's character is dependent on other actors' interpretations of their characters. So, lines, costumes, looks and movements are more or less there when the actors start working on a character; they are the constraints within which the actor works.

Research on emotional labour in the service sector has shown that tightly scripted work is associated with routinization and low levels of control (Leidner, 1993). In theatre work, however, the scripting per se does not mean that the performers experience a lack of perceived control. On the contrary, some actors argue that the constraints of the theatrical setting are a requirement for freeing their creativity: within the set constraints the actors are free to create characters of their own. The movements and lines may be set, but the thoughts and emotions are the actors' work; clearly, the thoughts and emotions affect the way the lines are expressed and the way the characters move. For the actors, together with the director, the rehearsals are about creating characters that work on the stage. To be able to manage that within all the pre-existing and ongoing constraints, the actors need to find their own creative space. The next section will describe how the actors relate to the constraints and how they create their own creative space.

All the actors emphasized that they worked differently with different directors. The actors are always subordinate to the director. One actor, who also works as a director, expressed anger over the need to always please the director; except in that one interview, however, that aspect (anger over the need to please the director) did not arise. One veteran actor noted that even though actors are to be *"as an instrument to the director"*, it is more of an attitude. The actors can manipulate the power relationship by answering in the affirmative to the director's suggestions: *"I cannot remember having had any difficult discussions with any director, there hasn't been any need. My work method has been to always answer the director in the affirmative, and then I do as I please anyway"*. Since actors constantly work with new directors, who may all have different leadership styles, the start-up phase of a rehearsal period also involves searching to understand the way the current director works. The style of the director concerns both the leadership and the way the director works with the staging of the play. Some take full control over the whole production from day one, while others want to improvise their way.

If the director has a clear image of the finished production, including for example all the blocking details, several of the actors describes the work as

being akin to a choreographed dance work, where their job is to fill the movements and the script with meaning: *"all the blocking is made, it is in the inner work I have my freedom"*. A novice that had not worked in this way before described her inability to both learn all the blocking and fill it with meaning simultaneously. Instead she took one step at a time. First she focused on how to move on stage; after that was accomplished, she could fill the movements with the help of her imagination: *"I pretend it is a dance. I don't need to find it here (she points at her body). I just walk and stand as I'm told, and then I will fill it somehow, I will make up a reason for why I walk and stand the way I do"*.

Some of the actors were used to working with predefined blocking and felt safe and free with that style. It enabled them to be fully free and creative within these fixed constraints. Indeed, the firmness of the constraints facilitated their way into the character, provided that the blocking was well conceived. They regarded the fixed constraints as a shelter within which creativity could blossom. Other actors expressed a more neutral reaction to the director's working style; they said that actors need to be able to work under a variety of circumstances and that it is important to create an imaginative world of their own to give the blocking meaning.

> I have to find a reason for walking just there just then, filling up his blocking. Maybe I make up a fantasy world of my own that is not in the script. For example, this director asked me to stand front stage and look straight out at the audience when I say that line, and then I have to fill it by maybe thinking that my mother is standing way back, behind the audience, and giving me a reason to talk like that.

In the work on the floor, it was clear that the actors did follow the director's instructions regarding work style. They were also keenly aware that the director had to watch and monitor the scenes with all the emotional expressions, even though the actors still were absorbed by the technical aspects of their work. The actors needed technical rehearsing now and then to remember and establish when to sit down or stand up, when and how to to pick up props and so on, but if the work was to be efficient, they could not use too much rehearsing time for that technical work. It often became evident that the actors had worked between rehearsals, both with their lines and with their blocking. *"The director does not have much to say about actors who rehearse technically. He can only sit there and role his thumbs and comment: 'Did I sit down there?' 'Yes, maybe you did.' He cannot do anything"*. The work that did not need the director's eye was mostly done outside of rehearsals. Later on in the rehearsal period, when the director needed to see run-throughs to make out whether the scenes fitted together, the actors sometimes became frustrated over not knowing why they were doing what they did in the scenes: *"Even though I am really frustrated, I try to think that ok,*

it is creative for him, the next time when we rehearse the separate scenes he has seen the overall picture and knows what we need to work on". All in all, there were seldom open conflicts during the rehearsals. Everyone in the ensemble understood that they were dependent on each other to perform their work: *"To be an actor is to be part of a group and if you resist and refuse to do things, it becomes a problem. Eventually, maybe you won't have any work"*.

When the actors had worked with the director before or had gained faith in the director during the rehearsals, they could decide to trust 'the outside eye', because what they as actors felt was good did not always look good: *"I can think and feel that this is great, while the one that sees it says no! The outside eye is so important. And I have good faith in the director"*. This acting strategy was to be *affirmative with an open agenda*. One actor said in an interview that he always said yes to suggestions, both from the director and from others and that he tried them out fully: *"I always throw myself out fully when I rehearse, or I can hold back a little, but I use my intuition, and it can never be wrong. It can only be wrong in the sense that the idea is wrong"*. The reason for being *affirmative with an open agenda* is that it is impossible to know whether an idea works or not if one has not tested it; furthermore, if one tests all suggestions something good will come out of it in the end. Another reason to try out suggestions wholeheartedly, with emotions and all and not just as a technical sketch, is to show the co-actors how the character reacts and thereby give them an opportunity to respond to the expression; to play with open cards. If two actors have decided to become angry with each other, it is better to express the anger fully:

> When you just drive your own race, it's a hell of a lot of treading on people's toes. And that's why I always rehearse at full gear, because then I show my intentions and the others can relate to that. They can either go with it or oppose against it.

Another consequence of being *affirmative with an open agenda* is that one gains a good reputation, a reputation of being fun to work with. This way of work was frequent when the scenes included several people. When several characters were involved, it was complicated to mesh all the blocking and motives; it was vital that everybody made an effort to be as constructive as possible. All the same, there were many stories about actors who did not care about their co-actors.

> And then there are actors that keep it all in through the rehearsal period, just mumbling and mumbling, and then at the dress rehearsal and première, they just burst. Bang! They have their own track. They break all our agreements, because they have made their own character's thing. And I think that is damn rotten, but they become really good. But they pull the carpet for everyone else on stage. And then they get the good reviews. And all the others stand

> like this (shows how he is taken aback, dropping his chin). It has happened to me twice and it was tough. Really tough.

To succeed in that approach one has to be a phenomenal actor, otherwise one can count on not getting job offers in the future.

Even though the actors had an underlying trust in the director there were moments during the rehearsal period when they needed space not granted by him/her. The veteran quoted above as saying that he always said yes to the director's suggestions and then did as he pleased is an example of finding a creative space of one's own: to be *affirmative with a hidden agenda*. Another approach was to listen to the director and use what fitted (in the actor's mind) and then disregard the rest. In the same way that the director did not give away the whole reading of the play on the first day, the actors also kept some interpretations for themselves. *"Even if I know just about how I want it to be, I don't show it right away. I let him talk first"*. That strategy was probably easier for the more experienced actors to use, since the director often gave more leeway to the senior experienced and veteran actors to work independently. During the rehearsals, experienced actors who disagreed often showed their disagreement by staying silent; that could be interpreted as a master suppression technique. For example, there was an incident in rehearsal when a co-actor wanted to change the blocking. The experienced actor just stood there silently as if she did not hear his suggestion. He repeated the suggestion and the experienced actor continued being silent but gave a glance to the director, who negated the suggestion. When experienced actors were silent, the director often asked to hear their opinions; this gave their suggestions more weight than the ones that were put forward in the middle of a discussion. Several times an actor sat in silence during a discussion and when the director asked about his or her opinion the actor (who had been silent until that moment) proposed a solution that had clearly been well thought about in advance. During the interviews I conducted during the rehearsal period and in the informal talks between rehearsals, I was often surprised by the level of frustration and disdain that the actors expressed: frustration that had not been at all visible during the recently finished rehearsal. For example, on one rehearsal the director changed the blocking and the actor whose blocking was changed did as he was told, although he did (quietly) suggest an alternative change. When I talked to the actor directly after the rehearsal he expressed frustration over the change:

> And sometimes you can fall into the hands of a director that wants you to sit with your back to the audience for a long time. And all of me, all my professional knowledge, I have been working for 28 years now, says: 'no, it is wrong! He is trying to convince her, if anything he is leaning forward, towards the other person, at just this moment! And you want me to turn my back, being repudiate!'

During the rehearsals it sometimes happened that an actor told the director that another actor did not want to perform a certain blocking. When the message was delivered by a third party like this, it was less blunt and it was possible to regard it as a joke, even though the intention was obvious. On a few occasions, an actor openly showed her frustration and became agitated when she did not understand the director's intentions. They tussled, but the director did not become angry; instead, he became condescending. At last the actor blamed her anger on her embarrassment over doing poorly when several people were watching the rehearsal. The open conflict was denied and faded. If we refer back to the idea that emotional climate refers to what the members think that others feel (de Rivera & Paez, 2007, p. 234), the importance to the director of limiting that experience of frustration to that individual actor—preventing it from becoming a shared experience—can explain the apparent obliviousness with which the director met the actor's frustration.

Other conflicts that occurred concerned costume and make-up. In the start up phase of the rehearsal, all the actors met the costume and make-up designers to discuss their appearance on stage. The designers were careful not to express any fixed suggestions in these first meetings. They did not describe their sketches as permanent. They listened to the comments made by the actors and often asked them to try out their suggestions before undertaking any changes.

> The actors' face and hair is my working material, and they are so private, so the way I approach to get access to my working material differs a lot. How I can build confidence and justify my idea. It has to be variable; I have to show that I'm open for their ideas, but at the same time it needs to be tangible and clear.

There was a balance between having an idea that worked for the whole play and compromising that idea to satisfy the individual actors. Make-up was even more sensitive than costume since make-up sometimes affected the actors' private appearance. An actor who was asked to shave off his cherished beard cut it in intervals so as to slowly get used to his new appearance. Another actor's hair was dyed several times without a satisfactory result and she ended up using a wig on stage. Some actors immediately said that they wanted to keep their own private hair as it was; they got wigs from the start. A veteran with a small role got her way in changing her costume so that she differed from the other small parts and instead resembled the star in the play. The costume designer had to compromise her intention and referred to the actor, not the character, in her decision: *"the actor wanted to show that she was different from the others. But the director and I had thought of them as being the same, but she is the strongest. There is no doubt that she is a strong actor"*. No one said anything openly about the costume change, but

the co-actor expressed frustration and felt degraded. It was obvious that a novice with lower status would never have been able to get such a costume change.

In conclusion, actors use a wide range of strategies to secure their own creative space. They may be *affirmative with an open agenda*, trying to follow the director's instructions, or they may be *affirmative with a hidden agenda*, doing as they please or staying put, but they seldom behave in open opposition to the director. When they disagree, they often wait until a rehearsal break, or the end of rehearsal, to air their frustration. They may ask their co-actors or supporting personnel like the prompter to mediate in upcoming conflicts and they may deliberately forget to perform tasks that they maintain do not agree with their character. Whether they succeed or not depends to a large degree on their level of experience and their earned status (cf. Lagercrantz, 1995, p. 127). An experienced actor is met with a larger willingness to compromise than a novice, who has to accept the rules of the game to a greater degree.

Next, following this investigation of the emotion work that is involved in the rehearsing of a play, we will now turn to the actual character work: how actors go about inhabiting their characters.

4. The Interplay of Experience and Expression of Emotion

This chapter analyzes actors' emotions from several angles. The purpose is to examine how emotional experience relates to emotional expression when actors bring to life, express and repeat emotions in their work. Emotional experience and emotional expression are analyzed using the notions of deep- and surface acting.

Deep acting refers to an emotional expression that is rooted in a correlated emotional experience. The expression is not manipulated; it is a habituated physical expression that comes from the experience. The actor therefore needs to experience an emotion to express it. When the experience has been expressed, however, the actor can repeat the physical manifestation from a weaker emotional base in a simultaneous experiencing, since the body remembers the expression. Surface acting, in this context, is used to indicate when an emotional expression is created through a deliberate change of body or facial expression, but without being accompanied by a congruent emotional experience. This expression can then be habituated, but has no origin in an emotional experience.

The concepts of surface and deep acting should be seen as ideal types rather than as actual phenomena (Poder, 2004, p. 45). It is most likely a universal human phenomenon to sometimes express superficial emotions, without an anchor in an associated experience, and to sometimes achieve perfect congruence between emotional experience and the physical expression of that experience. For the most part, however, we are somewhere between these two extremes. We can intentionally increase the expression of our experiences. We can also, by means of a manipulated expression, reach an anchored experience by first expressing it mechanically. Surface and deep acting are in reality endpoints in the interplay between two processes. The first process accounts for the emotional expression and can vary from completely manipulated to fully habituated. The second process represents the experience of emotion and it can vary from being fully anchored to not being anchored at all. These processes can be more or less correlated at any given time.

In this chapter, I will show how the actor works with these processes. We will analyze various inputs in the actor's work. We will first take up deep acting. Then we will examine how surface acting is used in different ways to

reach deep acting. After this comprehensive overview, we look more specifically at the relationship between actors' thoughts and emotions, the relationship between body and emotion, and a selection of specific emotions: joy, sadness, anger and fear. Finally, we analyze the concept of double agency from a surface-depth perspective. The next step will be to examine how these processes relate to different time perspectives: a time period following individual actors' professional development from novice to veteran, and a period following the rehearsal period into the performance period. This thorough investigation of the interplay between experience and expression of emotions in the stage actors' work during rehearsals leads up to a discussion of the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis. The conclusions focus on three issues: 1) decoupling of the original private emotional experience, giving rise to professional emotional experience and expression; 2) the relationship between surface and depth as endpoints in the interplay of two processes relating to the emotional experience and the emotional expression respectively; and, 3) modes of habituation of the processes related to surface and deep acting.

Deep Acting

When actors describe how they work to reach an emotional anchoring in their character, they use the concepts "to be covered" and "to be grounded"[55]. We will use these concepts in an analysis of deep acting. One of the actors said that: *"To be covered is to know what you do, that you feel it all the way into the body and the mind. That the mind and the feelings are connected"*. As the concept is described in the above quotation, "to be covered" is closely associated with what Stanislavski calls to "be truthful" (see Appendix 1). The fact that an emotional anchor (deep acting) is important to actors is clearly evidenced in spontaneous comments that several of them made about what bad liars they were. While actors are described as professional liars by researchers such as Ekman and Friesen, Snyder and Goffman (see Introduction), that is not how actors see themselves or their work.

Deep acting is a tool that actors use in order to experience the emotions that their character is meant to express. One actor described it as follows: *"I want to feel before I play"*. Hochschild describes how flight attendants are told to pretend that the airplane is their living room and that passengers are their guests, thus conditioning themselves to act friendly to the passengers (1983, p. 105). Deep acting describes how the actors imagine the fictional situation in order to bring out the emotions that the character is experiencing. *"I trick the body into signals, I tickle the places inside myself that trigger these feelings"*. During rehearsals, when the actors are working "on the

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[55] In Swedish the terms are: "att ha täckning" and "att bottna".

floor", they immerse themselves in the situations that the character is experiencing; this helps them to achieve the emotional experience that the character is expected to express[56]. In addition, an actor usually works with a script and the lines may have a similar function, not as an analytical input, but as a direct-acting, unmediated emotion opener:

> I would of course want to understand what it is the person says and does and what it means, but I get a pretty strong sensuous feeling for the character's language. What is important for me is what colour, emotional colour, the text gives. And it affects me physically and emotionally too.

Here the language—the words and lines—take on a meaning beyond the intellectual; the actor creates a channel for emotions by reading in a different way.

The term "to have coverage" can be viewed either from the actor's or the character's perspective. For the actor, the emotional understanding that is needed[57] is drawn out of the lines to be recited or the content of the scene in which the acting takes place. From the characters' perspective, it is critical that the association between the blocking and the spoken lines makes sense, not only in each scene (so that the actor can embody the character plausibly in each scene), but also over the course of the play, so that the character's development over the play makes sense.

> If I, for example, in the scene between me and Gerd, would not be using the basic emotions such as anger or betrayal, if I would skip it and try to play the scene like we had a little chit-chat, that urgency level would be very low, then my character would, in the final scene with John when I get home, be very strange, in that my aggressiveness towards Gerd suddenly is so strong, since I would have no coverage for that.

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[56] As related in Appendix 1 Stanislavski emphasizes that the actor shall encounter the situation 'as if' it was real in order to instigate appropriate emotions. This can be contrasted to Tomkin's use of 'as if' which focuses on acting as if actually experiencing an emotion although the feeling is not present. His example is of someone used to crossing busy streets acting as if being afraid when looking for cars, while actually not experiencing any fear due to having performed the operation repeatedly (Tomkins, 2008, p. 667). The important difference is that Tomkin's 'as if' focus emotion per se, while Stanislavski's 'as if' focus the situation in order to instigate an emotion. A common beginner's mistake for actors is to focus on the emotion and thereby not be able to experience it.

[57] The word understanding can have both an intellectual and an emotional component. Here the focus is on emotional understanding. Just as the police process of interrogating a criminal needs to be open, to understand how the suspect is experiencing the situation in order to gain a picture of the events, or the therapist needs to be able to see situations from the patient's point of view in order to develop the therapeutic conversation, the actor must have a emotional understanding of how the character relates to the situations s/he meets. The police or the therapist may stop at an emotional understanding, while the actor then needs to take a step further into an experience to create an emotional expression.

As we can see in the above quotation, the concept of coverage, as applied to a specific character, has to do with the character's evolution or development during the course of the play. The character's acting must make sense in relation to how s/he behaves both earlier and later in the play (Bandelj, 2003, p. 397). *"Then it is not about where you are in the process as an actor, but about the view from other people"*. This view from other people, the intersubjective perspective, is of course also subject to negotiation between the actor and director; part of the director's job is to motivate actors or to persuade them to integrate their interpretation of the character with the director's interpretation. In order to "be grounded" in their work, actors must have coverage for their characters' life on the stage.

To Be Grounded

"To be grounded" is an expression that actors commonly use to describe an interpretation that works on stage. "To be grounded" may apply either to an individual actor's work with a character or to a whole show; you may say that a staging hasn't "grounded" until after perhaps ten performances. In the case of the actor's work, a failure to be grounded may be blamed on bad rehearsal work, where the actors haven't been able to find coverage for their characters. However, if an actor has been able to find an emotional anchor, depending not on a haphazard inspiration or a burst of energy, but on a complete construction of fantasy images that gives life to the situations in the play, then s/he can repeat it during rehearsal and performance. *"If you are grounded, then it affects you every time. Then it is inside you, it's something you carry with you throughout life, your disappointments and failures, and what hurts you and does good for you"*.

In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of the work that an actor does to become grounded in the character, and also to show how detailed and meticulous the process may be when an actor is working with text, I asked the actors, in their interviews, to focus on a short piece of the text that they had worked with quite recently, and to tell me how they were thinking when they recited that brief piece. Here are one actor's thoughts on a single line, a sentence that says that it is better to live with someone who ruins life for one, than to live alone. This single sentence—which appeared in the middle of a long reply to another actor—created all these thoughts, or needed all these ideas to become concrete:

> And then, she almost, if you say the words 'stab Anna in the back', even if you think from the front, that you almost just, you just run it straight up in the face of someone ... being honest. This is to say that one knows what it's like to be alone and that it is worse, it's a deeper truth than of my character, to rather have a hard time with people who are putting a strain on your nerves day and night and only destroy you, than not having anything to relate to at all. It is quite honest to say and we talked about it today too. That it is like my

> character does a lot of stuff, all the time, to relate—like the director said, that you relate to people all the time, life is occupied by relations to anyone.

In the beginning the actor used a metaphor "to stab someone in the back", to express how forcefully the reply should be delivered. Then she went into a logorrheic monologue, entirely worthy of the role in which she was cast, talking with great intensity as she sought to describe the complex emotional background and content of that one line. She expressed that her character blamed her problems on others, believing that it was (and always would be) other people's choices and behaviours that forced her to remain in her terrible, trapped situation. The actor's thoughts and words became an input into the character's high-tempo emotional roller-coaster; they also affected how she was grounded in that one line and how she delivered it.

At the same time, it is obvious that an actor, to be grounded in her / his character, apart from the emotional anchorage also needs to have found her / his bearings in all the blocking and technology that is part and parcel of a stage production. If the actor needs to devote conscious thought to where s/he will go next, or to work on remembering to place the props correctly, or if the actor does not have a well-established, "bodily sense" for how long s/he waits in the wings for the next entrance, then the whole character is a bit superficial. This is, of course, more evident in the scenes where the actor has to attend to a lot of practical details. In one of the productions that I observed, there was a scene that had very complex blocking. In order for that scene to work and to be fun for the audience, the actors had to perform exact movements at precise times while also attending to various props and other details. While all the details had been worked out, the actors were not grounded in their enactment; at the première, the actors were not relaxed about it and the scene foundered. When I saw the show 20 performances later, the scene was totally changed. The actors did the exact same things as before, but were now obviously familiar with all the moves. As a result, they were able deliver the intended effect. Long glances, pauses, and sighs, all precisely executed, gave a clear impression of how much one character disliked the other character, while the second character's attempt to ignore this was both powerful and laughable.

In interviews, actors discussed the importance of being grounded. Several actors noted that they could reach the audience better when they were grounded: *"because I know when the character is sitting, I automatically turn outwards. I give more to the audience"*. The emotional anchorage in combination with a technical security allows the character to be grounded. Thus securely grounded, the actor can consciously begin to connect with and play on the audience's reactions, making the character clear to the audience.

In conclusion, it becomes clear that the actor needs to achieve an emotional anchorage partially through the text—which can be both analyzed and used as a direct-acting emotion opener—and partially by exposing

her/himself to the situations the character must face "on the floor" through the blocking and interaction with fellow players. In this way the actor creates a comprehensive construct of images that enables her/him to "be grounded" in her/his character. The actor inhabits the character and can thus be in the moment and in the experiences that the character goes through. When the actor is grounded in the character, the physical expression follows. The emotional experience thus becomes a necessary precondition for the character to be able to express her/himself.

Surface Acting Going Deep

> …One of the first things you think when you read a role is what does the surface look like? What labels do I use?

In the chapter's first section deep acting was described as the basis of the actor's work. In this section we will look at the concept in another way. Surface acting is a way of describing the use of superficial 'labels' without any anchorage in the experience, while deep acting draws from more genuine associations. In the actor's work, however, I have found that these different types of acting are not entirely disconnected from one another. Actors often spoke about working from the outside in or from the inside out, or in other words, from surface to deep acting or from deep to surface acting (Hochschild, 1990, p. 120).

> An actor at this theatre sometimes quotes Laurence Olivier who has said that an actor must be credible, and if you can fake that, you have succeeded. It's about attitude. At the moment you need to fake it and then you will find it, but in the beginning, you need to believe that you are good! If you fake the confidence, the confidence will be real eventually (Theatre executive during a rehearsal a few days before the première).

Pretending to have an experience and having the courage to express it fully can lead to producing an experience, where the actor goes from surface acting to deep acting. Although directors rarely expect or require that actors should have a fully-developed expression of emotions ready to show at the beginning of rehearsals, some kind of expression is needed very early, both for the director to be able to form an opinion on how the staging is working and on how to proceed, and also so that the other actors have something to which to respond. Early in the rehearsal process, the director often asked the actors to make the emotions stronger, "make larger expressions", even though they did not yet have coverage for the expressed emotions. A certain amount of "outside in" is needed during rehearsals, particularly during the early period. In this inchoate environment, when all the actors have their

scripts in their hands, and there are constant short interruptions from actors finding their lines and trying to remember their blocking, it is difficult to find and connect to the emotional anchor; surface acting gets the actors through this phase. In short, surface acting is sometimes necessary.

> Like I did yesterday when we did paragraph repeats. When you don't have the full journey with you, you don't quite have the character, you don't have the whole relation, basically. Then I have to do it technically. I just scream. Sometimes you can get help from the exterior. The director said, you are blowing up all the sound barriers. Well, then I'll do that. And that's when it becomes an expression for an extremely strong feeling, even though I don't have it. I didn't have it yesterday, I play, I pretend.

One can also claim that a person's surface or outward expression says a lot about the person, whether it be a private person or a staged character. One actor that I interviewed argued strongly against talking about a person's exterior as something empty and disconnected, as if there would be some room deep inside the human where the real person exists, separated from the surface (see also Elias, 1987, p. 356). To find the surface of a character is, of course an important aspect in developing an understanding of a character.

> …the shallowness captures the incredible expressive range of the human face. I mean, we don't have that many features; we have nose, eyes and mouth. None of them are like each other in any way, the variation is tremendous… the surface starts it, and then gives a signal inwards to the experience. So those who prevent the surface and call it shallowness—I don't like shallowness as a negative word, as a critique[58].

Several actors described how simple physical movements can open up the emotions and also help the lines to flow. In addition, actors can trigger particular emotions such as anger, by using physical movements: *"if I take a thing (quickly yanks her bag), I get angry because of it"*. To fake an emotional expression may also open a path for another emotion that you want to

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[58] This actor expresses a general objection to the distinction between surface and depth, but also comments on an educational approach that for several years was taught in the theatre academy in Stockholm. Those who dislike this approach usually describe it as "those who walk around and mumble until the première". It can be described in terms of a clear "inside out" perspective. The actor will do a deep reading of the text and let it work itself into the body, not forcing any physical expression before the emotion leads to it. In my field work, it was only men who followed this method and in conversations with actors, they explained that it was a method often followed by a particular group of dedicated young men. That it resulted in such a clear aversion is a function of their resistance to giving expression to the character in the early phase of preparation, which means that actors who work in any other way may have very little to interact with if they have a colleague who follows the deep reading method. Those who liked working that way also described how they could engage in deep reading in particular productions, where everyone followed this way of working, while in the usual works, had to compromise.

reach: *"One can make use of physical tricks, for example to scream a lot. Being so incredibly loud shocks me, and often another reaction of sadness or crying comes afterwards".* To go from the outside in also appears to be a way to find the character while bypassing the intellect—that is, one works from a physical gesture of emotion, without reflecting, as too much intellectualizing can hamper emotions. *"The body gives the feeling, from the outside in. I don't think a lot when I work. There's more action".* In Bandelj's study where she observed acting students (described in the Introduction), she found that one training tool was putting costumes on students; costumes forced the student actors to change the way they held themselves—their posture—to adapt to the costume; if the costume was well matched to the character, then the changed posture helped to "flesh out" the character (2003, p. 402). Focusing on physical expression—using the physical attributes of the body to fake emotional expressions—can generate an emotional experience (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). This way of describing the inputs to the character's emotions makes sense when viewed in the context of theories of how natural and mechanical movements can open up the emotions. The Tomkin's definition of "scripts" that consist of both physical and motor components, where the emotion can be activated by using parts of this script, is consistent with these examples (see Chapter 1).

A recurring theme in the above quotations about surface acting going deep is that they focus the actor's attention on what to do with the physical body; and of course it is the body and its expression that the audience can relate to. There are both advantages and dangers in each way of getting to a particular emotional expression. Surface acting may become caught up in clichés about how a particular emotion should look, while deep acting may be trapped, either in the intellect seeking an experience, or in the experience itself, which may not lead to a clear and convincing physical expression: *"Sometimes I think that I can become too much head, and forget myself physically. I can experience that sometimes, that you don't quite follow with all parts".*

Sometimes the need to rely on superficial aspects is obvious. For example, if the actor is going to play a character that has clearly different physical expressions than the actor himself—e.g., a character who is much younger or much older than the actor, or a character who ages during the performance and whose physical appearance and movements must evolve over the course of the play—then the actor must develop appropriate physical expressions for that character. Another situation might be the case of a character who has physical disabilities, or is, for example, extremely nervous. At a seminar with one of Swedish theatre's grand old ladies, Ingrid Lutherkort, she described how she *"often gets the imagination blooming, by going outside in".* As an example, she described rehearsing a character that she decided should have a humpback; by finding that, she also found the character. The physical expression of the humpback limited the body and gave an understanding for

the character. In interviews, several actors described how they would engage in the physical part of their character for a period of time in order to get inside the way that character should move or gesticulate. For example, an actor, whose character had problems with one leg often went around limping heavily before repeating his scenes or during breaks in rehearsals.

The actor can take both conscious and unconscious paths to finding the physical expression to be used. One actor who was going to portray a highly expressive character had an early rehearsal habit of snapping her fingers when she couldn't remember her next line. For her, it was a tool to loosen the memory of her lines. The director thought that the snapping fit well with the character and it was kept even after she had learned the lines; however, the expression then took on a more psychological meaning than the technical function that was the original reason for the finger snapping.

The focus so far has been mainly on the "outside in", surface acting toward deep acting, but there is also the opposite process, from deep acting toward surface acting. It is necessary for the actor to be able to travel in that direction as well, because deep acting is sometimes not enough for an actor to express her/his character. For a play to reach beyond the third row in the theatre, actors must enlarge their expressions somewhat. If one observes the action on a large stage with an adequate audience, one sees that actors may for example be required to raise their voices even when they play an intimate scene and are close together. Likewise, all physical movements and gestures are enlarged so that they can be understood even by those sitting in the balcony—but without the actor losing the emotional anchor. This aspect of acting is very much part of the craft an actor learns during training.

In conclusion, it is clear that emotional experience can be accessed via manipulated emotional expression (from surface to deep acting) and that experienced emotions sometimes have to be enlarged for the stage by consciously manipulating their expression. Also, it is a normal part of the early rehearsal process, when the script reading and other interruptions put obstacles in the way of experiencing emotions, for actors to express superficial emotions (surface acting); this enables the director to formulate an evaluation of the scene and it enables the actors to develop their early phase interactions with each other. Furthermore, the option of working "from the outside in" also can help actors to avoid getting stuck in over-thinking their work, which often can prevent the emergence of an emotional experience; taking the route from body to emotion without a detour around reflection can be effective. By restricting or in other ways relating to the expression, physical expression can create an anchor in the character and the emotions that come from the character's body, for example a limited mobility. The process that means to work from surface to deep or vice versa also clearly shows that surface and depth are ideal types and not concrete empirical phenomena that can be studied as if they were two isolated methods. After this analysis of surface and deep acting, we will now see how these concepts more specifi-

cally relate to the means the actors have at their disposal, their thoughts and their bodies. We will start with the thoughts.

Thought and Imagination

In this section we will discuss how actors use the text and their thoughts in different ways to find an emotional anchor (compare deep acting) in the character.

Thoughts can be distinguished as tending toward one of two distinct categories: as an analytical tool and as a practical tool. Thought as an analytical tool may sometimes occur early in the rehearsal process, when actors and directors set aside time to discuss the play's theme and setting, as well as the characters, their motivation and development. These discussions typically focus on understanding characters' emotional expressions, but they also have an important function as providing the ensemble with a common platform— a vision of the play and what the roles go through. In interviews, several actors emphasized the danger of thinking too much and said that analytical thinking can hamper emotions (this aspect will be developed under the section "From Novice to Veteran"). Rather, actors talked about the usefulness of thoughts as a practical tool. These thoughts concern blocking and can also serve as direct, unmediated emotion-openers.

In the beginning of the rehearsals, script-reading is an important input to the character. Besides the obvious need to learn the text, these readings are about finding those meanings that hide behind the characters' lines. That process of discovery starts with questions about why a character says something, but it continues on to consider what the character thinks before and between her/his lines. The actor makes constant choices, and the choices made at the beginning of the process change continuously after meeting with the director and fellow players. Several actors talked about how they sit at home and review the scene they worked on during the day, writing down new thoughts on how the character thinks in order to remember them and to build on them at the next rehearsal. These thoughts can be extremely detailed and concrete. A bit of a line that says, *"it is tragic, very tragic"*, gave birth to the following effect.

> 'It is tragic'. And then 'deeply tragic'. You often emphasize how damn sad it is, it was not a little sad, but very sad. But the director wants to have some other thought there somehow. That's tricky of course. Then you have to know crystal clear how it is... So you need to read so that you feel like this: 'Well, that's pretty damn bad: She's gone, that's why I won't get to see her, for she is no longer'. And then you can of course: 'it is tragic' – It doesn't have to do with it being sad, or that you are sad, but 'damnit', those devils, they have made sure she's gone.': 'it is tragic 'and then: 'Oh my God!', in a different tone, then it may of course be: 'I was so sad for my whole youth,

since I never got to tell her how I felt'. That I might not only be mad then, maybe in the first part, but then 'it is extremely sad, I get sad because it was so good before she disappeared'.

The above ideas are specific to the process of making a particular piece of text come alive, but the actor also needs to understand her character's comprehensive approach and situation. Then more metaphoric ideas open up to an emotional understanding. An actor tells how, when first reading the script, he found an entry that made the work enjoyable and thus opened up a lot of fantasies:

> But from the play, from reading it, I suddenly got an idea. And it is that they are all in a nursery. And that is one of those parts where I say: I will have lots of fun with this! Dumb, cruel children! That's where you have one of those gateways where you're not thinking; now I'm going to sit and look for the child, instead you just do.

Metaphors are in general very useful and can also work in more practical ways. Here, an actor describes a metaphor that he uses to think about how to present his first line in a particular scene: *"When the music is silent my plan is to start big. 'He died!' (he says with power). I'm thinking that I am delivering a bomb"*. Other type of cognitive fantasies appear to be quite straightforward and direct acting like thinking about *"mother's sweet rolls"* to start crying, or *"I really must flatter to ingratiate!"* to become angry.

One way to manage conflicting emotions is to work with two processes in parallel, one process focused on the notion that the situation is fine as it is and the other with the opposite focus. If something is good it usually does not lead to much thought, so in practice it may be sufficient to just focus on thoughts about how good it is, for the contrary to be clear:

> It's like playing drunk on stage. You do not play drunk by staggering around, you play drunk by attempting to stand up straight, by trying to be as clear as you can (speaking and gesticulating as if he became more and more intoxicated), but there is something that is not working...and it is the same here emotionally. What I do here, is simply trying to feel good. And then there is this sadness, this longing, pushing me. Which is harder to keep away, but I try to keep it.

Whether the idea is concrete and detailed, general and metaphorical, or doubled to create resistance, all the above quotations are examples of situations where the idea came before the emotional experience. Many actors, especially novices, describe such a scenario as being ideal. The appeal of this approach seems to be having the time to explore your character's motives and thoughts: *"I would prefer thinking about what I'm saying before saying anything, so that I don't just say it because I think it sounds good and I*

would not want to play anything that I don't feel."[59]. However, when I asked about more specific situations, actors described other ways to get into the character.

For instance, thought and expression do not always come in that order. An actor commented on the conventional wisdom that the actor must have a clear view, before s/he can say her/his line: *"You always think that the thought comes before the words. And then you have to have a pause to have enough space for the thought. But for me the words just as often come on the other side, the word comes first, and then the thought".* That realization may affect how the line is delivered, but it still assumes that the idea is there. Sometimes the emotional understanding comes first and then the thought emerges as a result of emotion: *"...It is not necessary that I begin with creating the scenario, it might just be that I use the feeling, and then the scenario pops up".* In the various teaching methods that Swedish actors encounter at the theatre academies, there are of course different ways to approach this problem, although almost all the actors I talked to claimed they have no method. Presumably, the actor in the quote below has a point:

> In the school in Stockholm where I went they had the 'Penka method' that was more out of the top of your head, and the school in Gothenburg had some other method based on movement, generating feelings, and then there is also Stanislavski, which is empathy. I think, probably all actors do, that you have a mish-mash. Every single one of us has our own methods, therefore it can be quite hard to describe practically. For example I can sometimes get surprised over how I get into it myself. I can all of a sudden take another path, or some other feeling that I notice helps me a lot more, behind these words.

Actors are their own instruments. They can learn techniques and approaches that work, but these are subsequently internalized to become inalienable parts of themselves. The tools of acting have come integral parts of their personalities. The finding that actors do not want to be associated with a particular method may, as the above quotation suggests, also have to do with their not wanting the process to become too dissected and over examined. Even though much of the work is conscious, there must be some room for intuition and letting themselves be drawn into the character. The actor quoted above went on to describe how the character she was working with

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[59] When the actor is talking about "thinking" in the practical work, it is obvious that the word associates to "imagining" and not to intellectualizing. The latter is a given association in scientific contexts, but is of little use in the work with physically portraying a character. In the quote above, thoughts and imagination convert to emotions that later on can take a physical expression. It is possible to draw a parallel to the director's work where there are larger analytical demands on, for example, how a human reacts to sorrow. The director can read studies about this to be able to propose a believable interpretation, but later on the next practical step always follows: how does it look on the stage, how should the character move and relate to others in this situation?

when I interviewed her wasn't created so much out of reflections as out of experience:

> ...less in this than in other stuff I think that I have chosen that at this point I react this way. It's more like, this is the way she reacts here, oh, was she that pissed here? […] I got a little surprised over what twists, or feelings that have been worth activating.

The above example shows how the actor, by being fully present and in the moment during rehearsals, discovers how her character reacts, rather than the reaction coming from an analysis.

As we saw in the section about deep acting, an important part of the actor's work is to open channels to an emotional understanding; this is an area where cognitive barriers can create problems in getting into the character. For example, one actor had a difficult time getting into a character who was meant to express a great callousness and lack of understanding for the suffering of others. The difficulty was not that the character was cruel to others, but that the actor could not find any entry point into this lack of empathy. After a while, she tried going in with the premise that the character was really frightened. The work then loosened and she had no problem expressing coldness and cruelty to other characters. The difficulty seemed to lie in understanding how the character could behave as s/he did, rather than in playing a nasty person. Several actors emphasized that they could not put moral values on their characters' actions; those kinds of thoughts prevented them from entering the character. Instead, they needed to find points of common interest with their own experiences:

> A feeling like malice in your private life, and that one can feel a huge malice because it hurts so damn much in another place. It is quite human, you can understand that, if you are pumped with adrenaline, it can be redeeming to laugh at someone else's failure. So I guess that's some kind of identification. …If I cannot feel love for the character, or respect for the person that she is the one she is, or is thinking that way, then I can't go into it.

In conclusion, we can see that thoughts, both as analytical and practical tools, are clearly linked to deep acting; they are necessary both to understand and experience the character's emotions and as direct emotional, experiential inputs. Thought as an analytical tool provides a comprehensive plan to understand the characters, their roles in the play, and the interaction that the director wants to convey. During the discussions that deal with these questions, a common reference frame can facilitate the social interaction. The concrete work with the character is dominated by thoughts as a practical tool. The use of concrete details, metaphors and contrasts paves the way for the lines and generates emotional experiences. In addition, the character's

internal momentum can be created by, for example, creating many ideas quickly for a character with high speed.

As described in the section from the "surface to deep", however, it does not matter how much the actor thinks and feels if it is not being represented and reflected in the body. How do the body and the emotions then connect to each other in action?

Body and Blocking

The body can be manipulated to intentionally express emotions, i.e. surface acting, but it is also through the body that experienced emotions are expressed. The expression of experienced emotions has two components (see further 'Emotion Theory' in Chapter 1): an innate affective repertoire (Darwin, 1999 [1872]); and, a socially induced component. The latter may vary by situation but tends to follow ploughed paths that we have developed since birth, as we gradually learn how to express or conceal different emotions. Together these emotion components constitute a script (Tomkins, 2008) that has become habituated out of an emotional experience. The experience is in the body and is expressed without conscious control at the moment of its expression (Frijda, 1986). In conversations with and observations of actors in work, it became clear that the body is an arena for both surface and deep acting, but also that the border between the two are often blurred. Actors are constantly working with their bodies.

During rehearsals, actors work a great deal with distance and proximity between bodies to create emotional inputs. These distances are sometimes determined in advance by the director[60] and thus consciously performed to show an expression; at the same time they open the way for emotional experiences. Moreover, it becomes clear that different characters are more or less expressive; what would be considered as superficial in one character, is seen as an expression of a different character's temperament and personality. While rehearsals include discussions about motives and thoughts that facilitate the understanding for the character, the actors' work between rehearsals is a very big part of understanding and expressing characters. Blocking, however, is a focus of rehearsals. Intellectual analysis, thoughts and emotions are tools. The body, the expression, is the goal. In observing rehearsals, it becomes very clear that the focus is always on the right staging. Even though the talks and analysis can sometimes take a long time and a lot of space, the goal is always to reach an expression. *"You do use a lot of body in this work. Many people think that it is an intellectual work, but it's not...when you have gotten it in the body, it's there. And then you don't need*

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[60] Ingmar Bergman was famous for his already conceived and detailed blocking that gave the actors a great deal of help in the search for their characters.

to think". At the same time, the process goes both ways; emotions come to expression in the body, and the body's movement creates emotions. The blockings that are created during the rehearsals become a part of the finished product; even if the blocking is changed, it was one of the ingredients used to create the staging and find the emotional anchorage for expression.

Once the actors start rehearsing on the floor, the body and the expression are the focus of the ensemble's attention. For example, when the director asks actors to change their thoughts a little—to alter the motive for a line—everyone stands up to try it in their body and with their eyes. If it's a long break, the actors often continue to rehearse by themselves, miming lines and moves, to anchor it into the body. An actor describes it as a matter of making the expression into her own.

> …my mother, I can sometimes see in front of me (giggles), while she's listening to someone very intense, that she almost follows with her mouth, you know...I think that's a way of transferring. Because sometimes it's those nuances, it is about the hidden motive in the line, and then the physical part that I am trying to find my own, the way I do it, when I do it. When I have that motive, in what way do I do it then?[61]

As described above, the actors try to find their own expression, harmonious with the director's, but not necessarily the same. This need to constantly be in touch with the body was clearly shown in a scene when an actor's character was afraid; his fear affected the way he gently turned the page in his script, so as to not upset the person he was afraid of. Browsing the script is of course outside the characters' interaction, but when the fear is expressed in the body it also affects how you move your hands. After some of the scenes have been set in a preliminary fashion, you can see how the actors constantly, while they act, adjust the distance between each other and to any furniture or props. They back up or walk toward each other to find where their relationship works the best.

As an example of this type of adjustment: In one scene that I observed in rehearsal, a character needed to give a paper to another character. Since they didn't have a real paper, she gave an imaginary paper to that character. The director thought it would be better if she gave it to another character. The actor then took back the imaginary paper and gave it to the next person. Similarly, on a couple of occasions I saw actors who had to rehearse dialogues by themselves, playing both parts, when their co-actors were sick. They were able to present full scenes, with all the details. For example, they

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[61] You can also see this physical empathy in a dedicated audience that is copying the mimic happening on the stage, or showing expected reactions from scenic situations. Different people of course do this more or less, but if you turn your eyes from the screen and instead study the person next to you while sitting in front of a film on TV, there are always some people (this author included) who are immersed so intensively that they mimic quite obviously changes with the characters and the situations in the drama.

would move their co-actor's props and then respond to that movement, glance at the absent character in response to a line, stand close or far away, and then regulate both the body language and voice level of the proximity of the non-present, co-actor. This showed both the level of detail in which everything that occurs on stage is determined in advance and how important it is to rehearse lines together with the blocking; the body always has to be there. When the actors stop carrying their scripts and the text is still not fully memorized, they often have to repeat lines that they got wrong. In that situation, they always back up to the blocking, so that they say the right line with the right move. Sometimes, the director's talking about a certain character will trigger the actor to link with the character's body, e.g., by stretching his back or pulling down the corners of the mouth while staring and looking harsh; the actor and the character's body are linking.

Blocking often provides a direct, physical input into the character's emotions:

> Sometimes directors ruin things by talking about it too much. Sometimes it is in—do not go to the left there, go to the right, then you go to the right and feel it was correct. You don't need to analyze what it is, but you know that the body said yes. And the soul said yes as well.

This emotion-opener can also, temporarily pause the play if the emotion is in the way of the line: Linnea is supposed to push Anna down by the knee, hugging tightly, desperately, then hold her arm and ask a simple question. They do it a few times. The third time Linnea is clearly touched. Her eyes turn red, the tears begin to flow, and her voice thickens. Then she loses her line, even though they have done it lots of times.

How strongly the physical distance to another person can affect the emotional experience in general become clear in the constant discussions about blocking. The director said: *"When she is talking about what she wants to talk about, but is difficult to talk about, she walks further away from the wagon"*, or: *"Shall I make it more full of nerves? Then I might look down more, instead of straight out",* Anna says, and tries it while saying it. Often, small changes in blocking can change the total expression, and parts that the actors have found difficult suddenly become obvious. In a scene where the actors were supposed to be attracted to each other, they avoided looking at each other during the first half of the scene. When their eyes first met, it was much more loaded than it would have been if they had not avoided eye contact for that long period of time.

Another aspect of the experience/expression perspective is that our body language can vary in expressivity. Actors should be able to depict a full range of characters: from introverts who use small expressions and for whom the slightest movement is a sign of a huge emotional charge, to extroverts who always exaggerate expressions, where even the least emotional experi-

ence leads to large gestures and moves. An actor who depicted a character with big moves described the efforts to finding the character's expression as a series of doors, where every choice of a door leads to a new sample of doors. If a character has big moves, the momentum is such that it is difficult to change doors; a character with small gestures has time to reflect on the door that is opened next. When you are on *"full blow",* it becomes much clearer if you have ended up wrong

Body Memory

Surface and deep acting are both expressed in the body, but the body also serves as a bridge between these two forms of expression. The actor can experience an emotion, which is then expressed in the body, and this expression can then be repeated using physical memory. Subsequently, a partial decoupling from the original experience can happen; when that happens, the body must be able to express emotion, even though the experience itself is fading. This decoupling is a fundamental aspect of the actor's skills and can be described as a loop, in which the body, when the distance from the experience has faded, needs to recharge with new experience in order to maintain the habituated expression. *"That's what the job is, that everything is so clear. That it is there, so you can just pick it up every night. That it comes automatically, since you already have those paths ploughed".* During a performance period, this replenishment is often generated from the interaction with the audience.

The fact that actors always link lines with blocking is important for the character to become a whole person. But it is also important for the expression to settle in the body. During a show, lines and blocking have to come together seamlessly and without thought in order for the actors to be able to act in "the moment" (see further in the coming section). Physical memory is an important part of the finished product. Physical memory can help make the lines come automatically when the actors do their scenes, but it also helps trigger the emotions that the character needs to express without the actor's needing to have the entire experience of the emotion:

> …you find feelings that you have experienced. You always use personal stuff. And then you go into the feeling when you rehearse a lot, then you are in that feeling. But after 15 times, you don't need to go into the feeling. You have it in your body automatically. Then the feeling doesn't trigger the personal part, it doesn't affect me personally.

Emotional expression can sometimes be very strong. One actor was crying so hard on stage that mucus was running down her nose. Afterwards, when I asked her how she did it, she replied: *"That's the way it is every time now … It's physical memory. I've done it so many times, so it is turned on by itself.*

Rehearsal does it". After showing such a strong emotional expression you are often a little discombobulated, but this actor went straight off the stage and spoke to me with the same tone as if we were discussing something completely mundane. The emotion was apparently in the body at the scene, but as the repetition of a previous experience, partially disconnected from its origin. This partly fits with previous studies arguing that habitual scripts tend to become less strenuous to perform over time (Ashforth & Fried, 1988; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). However, an important difference is that the stage actors emphasize the need to keep in contact with some level of emotional experience. If the experience is completely decoupled, it needs to be recharged or the expression will become mechanical.

Physical memory can also be used to create more multi-dimensional characters and multilayered emotions. Emotions can work in several layers and be compatible, as well as incompatible with one another (Flam, 1990, p. 44). Compatible emotions, such as insecurity and shame that we have discussed in Chapter 3, can be worked at simultaneously, but incompatible emotions, such as love and hate need to be worked at as separate composites, that then can be used variably during a scene. During the rehearsal process, actors often consider scenes from the perspective of several different emotional inputs. For example, an actor might do a scene using anger in early rehearsals, but discover that the character should instead be frightened; however, there may be a trace of anger left in the performance[62]. When the actor has done it on the stage, in the body, one or a few times, it is still there—it appears when they say certain lines, or do some parts of the scene. The underlying feeling may be very weak, more like an idea that "flashes" when they say the line and the body remembers the voice and eyes from an earlier time. In order for this to happen, the body must remember it; that is a condition. If the actor has understood something intellectually, but has not internalized it, then it is not in the body.

> …it flashes in you. 'I'm watering the flowers' (In an angry tone), but you might not have to say it like that, but the thought is still left, you have the feeling that 'Are you stupid?' It is like a subtext. Even though you still 'Nah, I'll water the flowers' (In a pretty natural tone). But you still have the thought: 'Are you stupid?'

Things may also become set that are not supposed to be set, such as old blockings or expressions that no longer fit into a newer interpretation but have not been "covered" (see section "to have coverage"). For example, the character may sound angry in a certain line, even though the motive for being angry has disappeared; if the actor has not put anything else in that op-

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[62] Fear and anger can be compatible emotions, such as when anger is a reaction to or cover up for fear, but in this scenario fear and anger rather represented opposite emotions in relation to an unexpected meeting between two characters, and thus became incompatible.

eration, the old expression remains in the body. Actors talk about "cementing" an expression of a scene, meaning that the body follows movements that it has done before. In the later part of the rehearsal process when they settle the scenes and decide what expressions should remain, the actors always have a need to rehearse the scene a couple times *"So that it becomes settled"*. If the actors don't get to repeat it, or if it is changed frequently close to the première, then the actors have a harder time on stage; old blockings or emotional expressions are mixed with new ones and the play can become fragmented.

At the same time, actors also describe how some of the various expressions that they try during rehearsals, but which then do not remain in the finished show, may still be helpful during a long run. If they have been examining a scene from different perspectives and with different emotional inputs, they have a better sense of what to use when they need new ideas to be able to repeat the show again and again. They fill in with new experiences when the body needs to recharge for the recurring expression.

In summary, it is through bodily expressions that the audience can interpret the events on stage. Thus, during rehearsals, the character's establishment in the body is in focus. Through carefully constructed blocking, channels are created that provide the character a path through the play. When the actor makes good use of them, they help bring the physical memory to life, so that the expression is habituated even though it initially may be either "superficial" or come out of a private experience. The expressions that come from emotional experiences can be subsequently separated from their origins and brought to life with more or less rooting in the original experience. When during the course of a play, the physical memory fades; a recharge of sorts is needed. That recharge can be drawn from new ideas as well as from interaction with the audience.

We have now gone through how actors work with thoughts and with their bodies, and how these tools relate to surface and depth. Now we will proceed and investigate how some specific emotions are related to the terms surface and depth and how the actor works with expressing these.

Joy, Sadness, Anger and Fear

The purpose of this section is to review some of the common emotions and examine how the actors work with them and what is specific to a particular emotion when it is used on a stage. Joy as its own emotion was unusual in the works I followed. When there was laughter it was often expressed through surface acting. In the case of sadness, the demands for deep acting were greater and the actor might have to distinguish between the experience, which had a private origin, and its expression, which was professionally created. Anger was often described as a character trait and thus as an under-

lying drive in the overall work with a character, the type of drive that requires deep acting, while the pure anger outbreaks were described in more technical terms, where the connection to the emotional experience could be variable. Fear as a sudden emotion can be built up as a surprise element in which the natural reaction does not require so much experience from the actor; the audience that sees it the first time will be surprised and will understand the fear. Fear as an underlying drive is, like anger, common on the stage and is described in two steps. The first step is dominated by the use of thought as a practical tool while the second step employs the body as an emotion opener. First, the actor builds up fantasies around what concretely can create fear, and then the scene that forces the character to meet what he is most afraid of is built up. These steps entail deep acting in the base, but with such a conscious build-up that there are possibilities to enlarge the expression by using surface acting.

By now, it is obvious that an emotion can be manifested in a large variety of ways. However, stage actors build their characters for public presentation and therefore need to work in concert with our common references about emotional expressions (Bandelj, 2003, p. 404)[63], even though they do not always use them. I will therefore start each section with a general description of what a typical emotion implies.

Joy and Laughter

Joy involves increased intentionality in general which implies that it can be attached to any object that comes in sight (Frijda, 1986, p. 38). It often involves movement and vocal expressions. *Laughter* is similar to weeping in that it involves a surrendering to the bodily response and often ends with chuckles that come at longer intervals than the laughter. Laughter is often considered to be a tension release and it leaves the person relaxed afterwards. Furthermore it suspends seriousness and blocks aggression (ibid, p. 50), qualities that are interactive and also imply a sense of taking command of a situation. Laughter can also be used to block sadness (Tomkins, 2008, p. 320).

In the stagings that I followed there was not a lot of joy and laughter on the stage, but it did appear sometimes. In rehearsals, laughter is often created mechanically on demand; the director can suggest that a line or a situation should be followed with a laugh, and then the actor adds it. To laugh mechanically to test a particular situation on stage is one thing; to later use it in the play is somewhat another matter:

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[63] Bandelj argues that the actors' use of typifications of social behavior in mass media performances such as Hollywood films has a substantial impact on the audience and thus reaffirms and reproduces such behavior in every day life (2003, p. 407).

Take for example when I was going to laugh, I just couldn't. I might have been able to if I had another person in front of me that was doing something, some funny faces or something, I really don't have an easy time laughing randomly. I need something more for it.

In that situation the laugh was being recorded, and therefore the feeling had to be conveyed beyond the mechanical expression. Then the actor might have to find images that actually make her/him laugh: *"... to find why you laugh. One can also have your own memories, photos, to find access to laughter"*. If there is room, a mechanical laugh can turn into an experienced laugh, but it takes time. *"You start to laugh and then you just laugh and laugh (shows)"*.

Sometimes, small changes in the blocking elicit a laugh that previously was hard to instigate. During a rehearsal where the actors tried back and forth to find a solution, the director said: *"Ah, the hug is poorly timed"*. They tried out a different blocking, in which Anna went away first, and then hugged. After doing so, Anna began to laugh about the experience at the point where she was supposed to laugh in the scene. In the end, the result might be a laugh that is performed mechanically at times, but whose expression is taken from an experience during the rehearsal period, or that comes at certain performances. *"I think it's really difficult, since it just came naturally the first time. Then I have felt a little forced since I don't think it is as fun anymore"*.

In the productions that I followed, the characters rarely expressed happiness on their own; however, they often laughed at someone else or used happiness as a forced expression to hide nervousness or aggression. That kind of expression may lead the audience to laughter, but it is not primarily joy that actors work with to produce such an expression. In one scene, where a character performed very forced joy in the beginning of the scene, it was clear that the emotional anchorage was about aggression and that the expressions of joy were a shell around the anger, anger that would soon show. However superficial the joy in the scene, it contributed to a "verve" that would have been hard to achieve with only aggression. Protected by that shell of joy, the character could hug, poke other characters and turn around in a way that would have been too openly threatening without the smooth surface. If the character had not made use of the applied happiness the other characters would have had to run away, or more clearly protect themselves against attacks. Instead, they could express irritation or try to gloss things over and still the menacing atmosphere became clear. The expression of joy made it socially acceptable to ignore the threat behind; the laughter was blocking the underlying aggression (Frijda, 1986, p. 52).

Sadness and Crying

Sadness is a response to losing or not attaining a goal (Barr-Zisowitz, 2000, p. 608) and it is an emotion that turns the focus on the self; it has been described as a "non-behaviour", an absence of relational activity (Frijda, 1986, p. 22). On the other hand, sadness can also be turned outwards in a search for help. Frijda differentiates between crying and weeping. Weeping can be described as surrendering to the bodily response of experiencing helplessness (the person lets the body take over), while crying is a distress call, implying that the sound involved is made consciously (ibid pp. 50-54). Tomkins argues that crying in itself produces relaxation of the muscles and thereby turns itself off eventually (2008, p. 311). Crying also affects other people; it prompts them either to feel compassion or to become irritated. In the following section, actors sometimes alternate between talking about sadness and grief. Grief is associated with loss and can give rise to several emotions including sadness (Barr-Zisowitz, 2000, p. 607), but here the focus is on sadness even when the sadness is coupled with grief.

In talking about depicting sorrow or being sad on the stage, actors do not refer at all to such mechanical principles as can be applied to laughter. On the other hand, the situation can make it easier to instigate sadness: *"He is throwing me down on the floor and mocking me and opening the door, it felt very concrete. Then you don't have to act so much"*. Being in the situation and experiencing a co-actor's ridicule is enough to open up the feeling. In other cases, sadness can come out of seeing the scene from another perspective. In the following quotation, sadness emerges from the actors being present in the situation on stage, while at the same time considering the incident from outside and thus experiencing the sadness of what the character is going through:

> Yes, I got sadder, but by then it was almost decoupled. It was when I saw, I can have these associations. It is often pictures that I react to, or silences. That it suddenly turned quiet. That he was sitting with his back to me. I suddenly became sad. Because then I saw an old man sitting with his back to me, silenced, or put in his place. And then he just sits there. It is a sad... suddenly I saw it from a bird-eye view. That I saw the sadness in the fact that two family members were sitting in silence and not being able to communicate and both are angry and both feeling misunderstood and abandoned. I thought it was such a sad situation.

Sadness—in contrast to fear—is often defined as a response to a situation that has already taken place (ibid p. 608). However, as depicted above, the last tense can be shaped by thought or imagination. To imagine that an event has occurred or that a situation can be depicted in a certain way can give rise to feelings of sadness.

Actors need different ways to evoke sadness. To shape and evoke sadness can also be done by resistance. In the section on thought and imagination, an actor described how he tried to walk straight when he was going to play drunk or to focus on that all was well when he was supposed to be sad. When the actor engages actively in not being sad, he creates a resistance that makes the sadness penetrate. Another way of evoking sadness is to use private experience, but then cover it up with another expression:

> So that to, for example, start crying, I take memories from when I myself have cried, and how I felt then. But it is not really me crying on the stage, it is the character, and there you add stuff that you would not do yourself. If I take an example…yes, take this part of crying or laughing...I draw the inspiration to do it, it is me myself. But if I would cry privately, for example, maybe I would be sitting like this and be crying (showing how he sits slouching), but it doesn't fit with the character. I just take the feeling, only the cry, and then you maybe sit like this instead (shows how he looks up instead) and cry. But then I have distanced myself, do you understand, then it is a character that does it, but the feeling to start crying I get from myself.

The experience of sadness has a private origin here, but the expression is professionally cultivated. The actor in the quote above also described how the private inspiration eventually loses its value. The sadness comes when the actor does a scene in combination with the right lines and the body takes over the emotion from the thought.

It should be noted that actors can have different distances from the various emotions. Some have an easy time expressing sadness, while others have an easy time showing anger, etc. An actor who is close to particular emotional expressions does not have to work as much to conjure up the precise emotion: *"…look at Linnea when we play. She can go from 0 to 100 when it is about crying, really fast. I'm not as good at it. I really have to feel the situation"*.

Sadness is different from the other emotions that are described here in that it is seen as exhausting to repeat[64]: *"It is like you don't want to be there. Because you know that there are no shortcuts, you have to go through the whole damn thing. You can't fake it and cheat a little and (pretends to cry) if you have those scenes"*. Sadness is seldom managed using only surface acting. It is not socially accepted to show that you pretend to be sad in a situation where you are expected to express sadness[65]. In contrast, sadness is also

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[64] Shame was also described by actors as a difficult emotion to go through repeatedly. It is an emotion which, like sadness, is hard to express superficially and thereby demands an experiential anchoring that can be demanding to go into night after night (The Swedish playwright Lars Norén's plays were often given as an example of plays in which the actor needed to go through strong feelings of shame).

[65] In a few cultures, it is common to have, for example, "criers" at funerals, a phenomenon that is not considered acceptable in western values, where grief should be both experienced

perceived by the audience through their entering into the situation, and thus the actor does not need to express the feeling fully. If the character shows sadness through the scenes, the physical expression and the situation, s/he does not necessarily have to cry on stage; indeed, some actors think that they should not cry)[66]. The actor quoted above also described how having to go through grief every night meant that she didn't have to cry on stage; rather, the audience completed the scene with their own tears. The emotion therefore needs to be experienced every night, but the expression is processed and thus more distanced from a private experience. During the rehearsal period an unresolved sadness can well up, but it is too private in its expression and is subsequently channelled into a more professional expression. The private expression is not communicable; there is no interaction, either with the audience or with co-actors (compare self-oriented in Chapter 2), and it is thus not effective on the stage. According to Lagercrantz it is considered "embarrassing" when private emotions are expressed on the stage; it is not professional (1995, p. 123).

To continue with this thought: Private expression of sadness obviously has negative consequences. First, the audience cannot hear what the actor is saying if s/he dissolves into tears. Second, private sorrow can be difficult to control and it can awaken memories that should be treated in the private context where they belong, not displayed for the audience of a play. The emotional anchor is there, but if the character is going to be uncontrolled in her expression, the audience is left no space to themselves fill in the uncontrolled element. Even if the actor has processed the emotional expression, there is not necessarily a watertight seal between private grief and the sadness of the character. Several actors testified about how they or their co-actors suddenly started to cry "privately" during a sad scene in a show. They had experienced a strong private emotional surge that could not be restrained in a certain scene where they were supposed to express sadness. This, however, is regarded both as an exception and as undesirable.

Anger

Anger, in contrast to fear, involves a readiness to move forward, rather than to retreat (Frijda, 1986, p. 19), implying that the expression of anger can be

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and expressed in context with the reason of the grief; that someone you know, and feel for, is no longer alive.

[66] In opera, which often deals in tragedy, it is at the same time obvious that the singers cannot cry since it complicates the singing. You sometimes hear that the singer who plays the title role in the opera Madame Butterfly has to go through a period of grief, where she in a few rehearsals cries over the destiny that affects her character. After rehearsing with constant interruptions where she cries, the singer can later concentrate during the course of the play on the singing and the acting, and permitting the audience to cry instead. That grief that the singer has gone through provides an emotional anchorage in the character that remains even when the tears stop falling.

associated with power: moving forward and taking charge or intending to change a situation that has gone wrong. Anger is surrounded by display rules that, if not adhered to, have implications for social interactions and relations. It has for example been shown that children who are having difficulty regulating their anger in socially accepted ways are less liked by other children and regarded as less socially skilled by both teachers and parents (Lemerise & Dodge, 2000, p. 595). On the other hand, socially accepted manifestations of anger are seen as constructive[67].

In the productions that I followed, all the actors did not of course depict all kinds of emotions. Instead, I spoke with different actors about different emotions, depending on what their respective characters were expressing. This sometimes led to more general discussions about expressing other emotions, but in order to hold as closely as possible to what I could observe in practice, I focused on the particular characters who were depicted when I had the opportunity to watch.

Anger is a common emotion on stage. In the second production that I observed, all the characters were sometime angry; in interviews, the actors were able to describe how they worked with anger. Anger may appear to be a quite unambiguous emotion, but it can be expressed in a variety of ways, as well as behind the facades set up by other emotions—maybe due to the fact that the manifestations of anger, as described above, are bounded by strict display rules; sometimes anger cannot be expressed straight out, but lurks in the background of other expressions.

In addition to, and often in connection with pure anger outbreaks, anger can simmer and fester beneath the surface of a superficially calm conversation. The actor needs to interpret the situation from an aggressive position, yet be able to maintain a calm exterior. The next quote refers to a scene where the anger is simmering during the whole scene before a bigger outbreak. The actor can therefore prepare the emotion while in the wings, by fantasizing about the coming meeting:

> …there is pure anger underneath, and it needs to be there when we do small talk, when I try to straighten up; the anger must always be there. It has to be there from the beginning, from when I fantasize about meeting her. I have to pander to a woman who has only disappointed me. I have to humiliate myself. It is a lot of stuff when you think about what you can use to layer up yourself, so that when the part comes, where you know that, that's where I can release the anger, you're supposed to have all this stuff, it's supposed to become that it is up-to-the-brim, that the glass is full, so that is the effect.

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[67] Children are also treated differently depending on sex; girls' anger is often ignored, while boys' anger receives attention (Lemerise & Dodge, 2000, p. 597), a difference that also is depicted in adult life where anger and aggression is associated with male respectability and power versus female emotionality and hysteria—men's anger is related to being provoked by a (justified) situation while women's anger is related to their (emotional) personality (Shields, 2002).

Anger need not turn into aggression that leads to physical blows. However, if it does, it needs a great deal of detailed blocking to make it work so that it does not appear as a messy scrimmage. A scene where two people argued physically required very detailed choreography to enable it to work. It wasn't until the actors knew exactly how they were supposed to move—and when they were supposed to move—that they could fully express anger in the play. On a few occasions, when they tried to rehearse the scene with the emotion before the choreography was done, it quickly became confused: the arguing became private and the scene became very difficult for other co-actors. Props were thrown around without control, actors did not have time to say their lines, and the chaos became an obstacle to any spectator's being able to understand the fight. The blocking had to be prepared in order for the stage drama not to collide with the private fight.

Another aspect of expressing emotions on stage is more general, but became especially clear when studying the expression of anger. Since I was able to observe how the same actors expressed anger when they played different characters, I discovered that subtle differences in emotional expression were interpreted very differently depending on the situation and other qualities of the character expressing the anger. To some extent, the actors used different gestures for the different characters they played, but for me, sitting looking at the same actors day after day (unlike the audience, who go and see a show one night and then don't see the same actor until much later, in a completely different context) the similarities were bigger than the differences. An actor who was rehearsing one play during the day and performing in a different play at night described the difference between the character she rehearsed during the day and the one she played at night in a different production:

> In contrast to Gerd, Dolly is an empathetic woman, her anger is there to be felt, disrupt the flow, and also some kind of despair in the fact that Vera does not understand that she wishes her well—that she's just there because she wishes her well. That of course creates a genuine despair and anger, but it is there to open up, while Gerd's anger is defensive, only to say 'stay away, watch yourself for Christ's sake. I've done nothing, I owe you nothing'. So it's the personalities that are different more than that one prepares it differently. There is no difference in the preparation, purely technically, in fact. It doesn't make a difference, the difference lies in the content.

Fear

Fear is often mentioned in relation to the startle reflex, an autonomic response that was described earlier in Darwin's depiction of encountering a snake. The autonomic reflex is just the start of fear (and may or may not become fully developed fear), but it is significant in defining fear as an emotion that "reverses the direction of locomotion" (Frijda, 1986, p. 17). The

experiencing of fear involves a tendency to avoid and move away from the frightening object. However, this common definition of fear as an individual response to a physical threat needs further elaboration in order to include the social aspects of fear (Barbalet, 1995). Barbalet argues that fear can also arise from an expected risk of a relative decline in well-being, for example fear of becoming unemployed, and thus be intersubjectively felt (ibid, p. 17). In order to investigate the different potential reactions to fear he distinguishes between the cause of fear and the object of fear. The object of fear is the emotional trigger, while the cause is the condition under which fear is experienced (in this example, insufficient power); the cause thus affects the handling of the emotion. Barbalet distinguishes between three different fear behaviours depending on power: fight, flight, and an effort to remove the source of fear. Flight and fight are reactive behaviours. An effort to remove the source of fear is a strategy employed by people used to having power.

When the actors wanted to express fear as a sudden, relatively short-lived emotion, coming from a specific event, they expressed it technically, using their bodies, with a jump or twitch. They did not need or want to spend any great deal of attention on the expression of that type of fear. On the other hand, if an actor needed to express fear as a more long-term condition, where the character's entire being is coloured by the fact that s/he is afraid of something or someone, that fear needed a more detailed interpretation. Such fear can be generated in part by using the imagination: *"... You can find lots of stuff there. He is afraid of losing his state. He is afraid of losing customers. He is extremely afraid of authority"*. In addition to their own fantasies, the co-actors that they are supposed to be afraid of can help to bring fear to life. The actual things that co-actors do on stage to create fear may be increased by fantasizing about future scenarios from the play. What could the character do that might be even worse?

> Then Martin helps me a bit too. By being moody. With that moodiness there is a reason to be afraid. You don't know, he might knock you down. He might hit you. And you can also fantasize that you know he usually does hit people. Especially if he is drunk, he can be violent, it has happened lots of times that he has hit people, I can imagine. And then you walk in with this thought, now I better be careful, I better be polite, I better not say anything wrong or provoke Martin.

Once the actor has created the fantasies that make fear inevitable, the next step, clearly pointed out, which applies to fear, is to resist that fear. How can the character overcome his fear? Below I quote an actor who described how he tried to ward off the thought that he was frightened by focusing on how good everything was, and thereby elicit fear (compare with "sadness"). Another actor described how he worked physically:

…what does he do to overcome these fears? You can think about an exaggerated politeness, an exaggerated caution in his acting. And this caution, what kind of physical expression does it take? I can, for example, get going on, when I am serving the wine, when I come out…I exaggerate, stretch out my hand, keep my body where it is, to avoid coming physically too close to B. Then I sometimes think about an extension, that it might be a posture that he has, where the body is still, while arms and head are a little tilted forward. But at the same time I can think the other way—that he is straight as a nail, very strict, like a stick, sort of. So I don't know, or you switch between the two.

These descriptions of how the actor gradually creates fear show both how the experience of the emotion is generated and also how it can be enlarged where needed. Through examining this material, it became clear that there is one particularly interesting aspect of fear, an aspect that stands in contrast to other investigated emotions such as anger. One can feel an attraction to anger; we want to be angry when we are angry. Fear, on the other hand, is a condition that readies us to flee (Darwin, 1999 [1872]; Ekman, Levenson, & Freisen, 1983). Therefore, the actor who needs to depict the emotion of fear on stage has an urgent need to show the character working to avoid fear[68].

This review of actors' work with different emotions has depicted how the use of surface and deep acting varies with the general social demands associated with particular emotions. Some emotions, such as sadness, have a high demand for authenticity; the expression needs to be grounded in an experience. Other expressions, such as laughter, can be used to demonstrate social competence or to hide emotions that poke behind the shell.

The following is a summary of the two aspects of emotion—experience and expression—that includes all the elements we have discussed so far. Emotions on the stage need to be anchored in the situation in which they are expressed, and in the character who expresses them. In order for the actor to be able to get the emotion to be congruent with the character as a whole, and for the audience to understand it, the emotion might have to be built up during the particular scene in which it is expressed (unless the scene begins with an emotional outburst, in which the actor may prepare backstage). An emotionally charged situation that has occurred earlier in the scene can be used by an actor as a trigger point to revive a specific emotion, e.g. anger. The power of this trigger to arouse anger may gradually diminish but each time it is set off the intensity of the anger tends to increase. When the anger is expressed, it can also be more or less "anchored". The expression and the ex-

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[68] Then we might also like getting frightened. We read or watch detective stories and thrillers on film that elicit fear. We play computer games where fear is constantly present, do different kind of games, like paintball, where you are supposed to attack others and get attacked yourself or games where we for example are supposed to have the fastest reaction to avoid electrical shocks. In all these games, fear is present, but the point of the game is often to get away from the fear: pull your hand away before you get a shock, hide and shoot paintball at others, turn the fear to aggression and fight with opponents in computer games etc.

perience of anger may be in accord, or the expression may be intense without a correspondingly intense experience. During an emotional outburst actors can make use of an earlier anchoring and the associated body memories, in this way giving colour to gestures and movements that are less well grounded in the immediate experience. A necessary precondition for the actor to be able to at the same time experience and control emotional expressions (a precondition that was commented upon by many actors in interviews) is that they employ a kind of mental dichotomy, a duality that allows them to simultaneously act and observe their acting (double agency).

Closer analysis of this mental split will make it clear that surface and deep acting are in reality the endpoints of two processes, one representing the emotional expression, which varies between being totally manipulated and totally habituated, the other representing the experience of an emotion, which varies between being not at all anchored to being totally anchored. These processes can be more or less correlated at any moment.

Double Agency

This section analyzes actors' use of double agency when they create and inhabit a character on the stage. We will see that double agency is used in different ways in different phases of the rehearsal process and in performance. Thus double agency will serve as a bridge between this and the succeeding section where the focus is on the relationship between surface and depth and how it changes depending on the time perspective.

Double agency, as described in Chapter 1, is an example of *the observation and regulation of bodily, particularly gestural activities in order to investigate and indulge in other activities*. The actors in my study described this as being "split in two"; one persona that is in the fictional situation and one that watches the same situation and regulates its appearance both regarding future blocking and audience reactions. This split is necessary in order to maintain the fictional situation 'as if' it was real with the emotions it gives rise to, and yet stay professional.

> If I'm mad and fly out at someone in character, I have the same feeling as when I am mad privately, but I am not mad. I always stand beside myself as an actor. All the time I look at what I am doing…if not there would be no limits. Something could go beyond control. That is not possible. If that happened one would not be quite healthy I think.

In this quote it is evident that the actor distinguishes between professional and private emotions in that the professional emotion is split into two and thereby more controlled than the private emotion. At the same time, she maintains that the emotion is experienced as similar in private and on stage.

When the actor moves into deep acting, the emotion is experienced as it is in her private sphere but now she surveys herself and hence can use the emotion as a professional tool; this makes it possible to deliberately shape the expression of the emotion. The use of double agency makes surface and depth become interdependent and interwoven.

To watch oneself while acting is a necessity but it can also be rather unpleasant and can give rise to feelings of shame if the expected sense of presence does not appear; the actor watches herself making a fool of herself, as it appears to her (cf. the looking-glass self).

> But the terrible thing is when you stand there beside yourself, if you are in a big auditorium, or if in a close-up on TV, when your character is breaking down or something, then it is really gruesome to stand beside yourself, if you are in a close-up, because then it is impossible to pretend, it will show. And when you have repeated a scene several times and you have to repeat it again and you feel quite ice-cold and exhausted, wow, it is so terrible!

That this evaluation is more or less one's own fantasy about how one appears becomes clear in the continuation of the citation:

> It is true as well that if I have acted in a film that I can watch afterwards, I sometimes have a look to see how disastrous it was. Often it is not that terrible. It is not that bloody embarrassing, most of the times, as you think. That you have some kind of technique then makes it possible to cover up, when you think it is a disaster, you are able to cover up the most awful parts.

In a discussion on how Goffman used and developed Cooley's looking-glass concept, Scheff points out that neither Cooley nor Goffman considered that one's evaluation of how other people think of one's behaviour may be more or less correct (2006, p. 45). Actors do sometimes have the opportunity to evaluate a discrepancy here, when they watch their own interpretations of characters on stage or on TV, or in encounters with the public after a performance. The monitoring part of the actor can be used to inspect and shape the expression, its surface; the actor's monitoring, however, is far from neutral, but is governed by ideas about (the experience of) how others, in this case the public in particular, interpret the expression. Said otherwise: The actor experiences an emotion, monitoring at the same time how it is expressed; the evaluation that is done may generate a new experience derived from the actor's conclusion about how the expression is perceived by the spectators. For actors there is a great demand that emotions should emerge from experiences; hence actors generally evaluate the experience of emotions at work as something positive.

The split or duality described by the actors develops during the course of the rehearsal process. In the beginning of the rehearsal process, when the actors try to find the correct entries into the scenes, with the accompanying

blocking, the duality apparently makes it easier for the actors to handle new and untested situations. At the same time, as they move to the right or to the left and respond to lines from their co-actors, they need to consider how their characters would respond to these events. *"Sometimes a line may come quite late because as an actor you hesitate a little, thinking: stubborn, stubborn, what does she mean by that? Yes, that's it, now I have to say it. You deal with two processes at the same time".* In order for the play to proceed and for the actors to develop the interpretation of their characters, they have to act and reflect upon their acts at the same time. They can also, when they act one way, discover other ways to act; as a result, their expressions may turn out somewhat erratic. During this period, the rehearsals and the actors' performances appear rather disrupted, sometimes with extended breaks between questions and replies or when they move around. The two sides of the duality do not operate simultaneously; the controlling aspect is sometimes slower than the expressing aspect.

Large emotional expressions are rare in the early rehearsal period. Rather, actors are more likely to present an indication of a large emotion, even when the motivation exists for a full-scale eruption. After a while the actors and the director need more outspoken expressions to be able to evaluate the scenes as they will finally turn out. Now it is time for the full-fledged expressions. During this period the duality apparently functions as a protecting screen that allows the actor to let out her/his emotions.

> You sort of harbour a miniature actor in your head all the time who knows that now it is time to move a little closer to the ramp, it is quite okay to stand there, but now you have to… you are a little too close compared to last time, it's not going to work when you have to do that other thing. But perhaps you can back up a little. You are aware of that now the director says 'break', now we have to talk a little, and now we have to do it again. Someone who goes on like that while you are in character and because this one is turned on, it is possible to let out one's emotions. It is a kind of awareness whilst you allow the automatic impulses to come out. You let them be, sort of.

Another way to use double agency, which only appeared when the productions had been running for some time, is simply to think about something altogether different and outside of the play, for instance events in one's private life: "did I take the right shoes, the weather is really bad? You would think that it is a formidable split, but it just works that way. You just have to accept it and not despair". Stories are told about actors who for instance carried hands-free devices to listen to hockey games on stage during performances and still were able to act. This may be an extreme case but it clearly shows how the actor manages to be in character and somewhere else at the same time. *"Every actor can tell that you are totally split in two. One half of you can think about quite trivial things while the other one functions properly (in character) in this make believe situation".*

To sum up how actors use double agency, a process perspective is necessary. In the first phase of the rehearsal period, the two parts of the duality do not work simultaneously but the actors alternate between sometimes being able to manage and monitor their acting at the same time, and taking breaks to ponder on the thoughts that have emerged through their acting. During this phase of split focus, they concentrate on their acting and on evaluating and altering their acting. During the next phase of the rehearsal process, the emotions are focused and double agency is used to let go of more unguarded emotional experiences through control of its physical expression. Hence during this phase the emotional expressions are often stronger and take more space than in the final version. The ability—and courage—to let go of unguarded emotions is exceedingly important in order to avoid role clichés when characters are created. As the opening night approaches, the emotional expressions become more and more precise and controlled. During the performance period, when the actors do not need to be fully concentrated to be able to present their characters, double agency can be used to scan the audience, think about private matters, or both.

The effects of using double agency on the actors' private lives will be considered in Chapter 5. In the following section, we continue the examination of how actors work with emotions, now applying a developmental perspective.

Surface and Depth: Two Time Perspectives

Actors develop both during their professional careers and during the process of bringing a particular production to life. In this section we will investigate this development in two time perspectives: from novice to veteran; and from rehearsal to performance.

Among the actors in this study, some came fresh from the Theatre Academy, some had several decades of experience, and the majority were in between (see Chapter 2). This spread made it possible to identify changes that related to increasing professional experience.

From Novice to Veteran

Actors, like other people, are more or less close to their own feelings. Some people are more temperamental, others are less so. People vary greatly in how prone they are to specific emotions. Some people cry easily, others are predisposed to irritability, and so forth. These temperamental differences between actors mean that they have to work more or less hard to evoke a certain emotion, that is reach an emotional experience. Actors who have difficulty expressing anger, for instance, have to store up anger in advance, long before it needs to be expressed, whereas others just have to press the

right button to stir up the emotion. Besides these more or less fixed differences it is obvious that being close to one's emotional experiences and expressions is a skill that is exercised within their professional work and that the craftsmanship of that skill gets better over the years. The experienced actors did not need as many nutrients to evoke their emotions as the beginners did. The latter described all sorts of tricks, mental and physical tools that they used to summon emotions, while the senior actors apparently had forgotten how they did it; they regarded their emotions as mental tools that were available when needed[69].

For the experienced actor, deep acting is all about creating a coherent character, more so than getting at the correct emotions. Their descriptions and my observations together suggest that the paths between thoughts, emotions and the body have been prepared to be reached swiftly, as it were, compared to the slower, more circuitous paths available to the novice[70].

> That is a confidence I have, and experience of course. I can turn on and off just like that. It's nothing I have to prepare several seconds in advance. It's just there. I mean, I can blast at you, you ass! (yells angrily at me). And then I can be nice (shifts to a friendly voice). It is a technique you learn. There are probably other explanations, but to me it is not a problem. To raise your voice and have black eyes. I write in the script, for instance mad or angry or happy or laughs like that, when I memorize the lines. Then you learn it and you know precisely when it is time.

Actors seem to pass through a series of phases as they gain experience over a period of years in expressing emotions. To take the example of anger, the less experienced actors start from a physical action. They get the anger from someone or something that annoys them and they need a trigger in real life to find the emotional experience: *"It must be something that happens. When you act together with another person, then it's easy, then you take it from him. There are of course terrible situations when you do not get anything. Then it's really difficult. You cannot just create anger"*.

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[69] The effortlessness that experienced actors have acquired may be regarded as a contrast to the difficulties they experience in lying plausibly or in standing up to give a speech in their private lives. However, it should be noted that their ability to easily get into and out of emotions is part of their profession and is expressed "when protected by" their character.

[70] It should be noted that the character's proximity to his/her emotions varies in the same way as it does for the individual actor. Sometimes, actors are employed to play characters that are supposedly akin to their private emotional profiles (typecasting). However, typecasting is not always used to select an ensemble. An actor who, for instance, is not close to his own anger, should nevertheless be capable of incarnating a character who is prone to tantrums. Furthermore, it may be exciting to watch an actor who privately is shy and quiet play a Don Juan character. Playing such a contradictory role—also known as playing against type—is described by the actors to be sometimes liberating, sometimes very difficult. When it is difficult, the challenge apparently lies not in their lack of closeness to the emotions per se but in the difficulty of figuring out the character's emotional disposition. If the actor manages to gain such an understanding, it is possible to work out the appropriate emotional expressions..

Stanislavski pointed out that actors should never act in general: "Be specific" was his motto (1961 [1936], p. 37). In order to avoid expressions in general Stanislavski describes how the actor should break up every action into smaller parts in order to arrive at a totality that is specific. However, it is not always easy to find these smaller parts; the less experienced actor often gets stuck in a paralyzing generality in her/his hunt for emotions. The more experienced actors were more likely to refer to their finding smaller parts; they talked about finding leads, or finding tracks that ended up in an expression, and how, for instance, they went about building anger as the play progressed:

> I'm still looking for paths that I think will work out. And then when you start off the emotions so that they are there from the start to the end. If you have chosen the wrong paths, and not the easy, practical, mental paths, then you can really be lost and not be able to deliver anything[71].

It is also very much a matter of listening to the other characters and using their expressions as triggers for one's own anger; to find events or moments, which may have occurred long before the outburst, which can be charged with fantasies. The experienced actors do not see any major differences between expressing strong emotion and acting generally; the expression of the anger will show up if the character and the situation in which the character finds itself are congruent, or go well together. The ability to pick up emotions quickly is regarded as an aspect of their professional know-how. *"My job is very much about being able to find something quickly. To make the threshold as low as possible"*. Most of those with long experience had a hard time describing how they did this. It appeared that the process had become so internalized—method and person united—that the process had itself become invisible even to the actor:

> When I was young and acted. Then you go into all emotions head on. If you should be offended then you searched your personal memories, when was I hurt last time. And you went through all that. I find it must faster today, being older, or when you have worked a long time, you find it much faster. All these raging emotions.

The novices often described being insecure about whether the emotional experience would show up when needed. They tried to pin down distinct situations where they felt safe that they could create a charge. By contrast, the more established actors trusted their instrument, the body, and were able to concentrate on the overriding task of finding and sustaining their character's profile or curve in the play.

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[71] Here again is an example of how the actor refers to "mental paths" and, in the same sentence, describes these as "practical" – thoughts are, in this context, images, associations, that direct the actor to appropriate emotional and physical expressions.

One reason why it may be frightening to express emotions is that they may be difficult to control, especially in the early phase of the rehearsal process when the actor searches for ways to inhabit the character. The novices, who have just recently started to use their emotions professionally, may perceive the lack of control which follows from opening up and living through emotions, as threatening. The senior actors, on the other hand, have experienced their emotions within professional settings so many times that their way of articulating them—body and soul—is not that private any longer. They know their register.

Double Agency as an Obstacle

There is a clear difference between actors with more or less experience in their view of coverage. Those who had recently left the Theatre Academy talked about it in a self judging way. They emphasized the importance of not saying or doing anything unnecessary on stage.

> I can say a speech only if it is necessary. There must be a necessity in me saying it; otherwise I must say nothing (we both giggle); which never functions properly. In the second year of the Academy everyone just sits there quite inhibited (shows how she tries but can say nothing). Nobody has the courage, because in the end you are not covered for anything.

For an actor to reach emotional grounding, to be covered, seems to arise out of a focus on her/his own expressions; this is, at first, inhibiting. Each movement or speech raises a number of questions that have to be answered before the actor can take the next step. *"This old lady I am talking about, what is my attitude towards her? I had not really made a picture of her yet, so I do not have coverage for the situation".* If the rehearsals are going to proceed successfully it would be unmanageable if everyone had to await a proper emotional grounding before they move or say something. To act without being covered here and now is something the actor learns how to do in practical work (see further about this topic in the section "From Surface to Deep Acting"). At the Academy the actors' ability to reach an emotional resonance within themselves must be learnt and practiced. In working life they are expected to do that on their own, using the tools they acquire during the rehearsals and by reading the script.

Sometimes it was quite remarkable that the difference between a situation when an actor experienced themselves to have and not have coverage was impossible for this observer to detect. The more experienced actors in particular have a technical knowledge that enables them to fake a grounding they do not have, while the younger actors got stuck in such situations. The senior actors rarely objected to directions, and they did not seem to have any difficulty when they were put on the spot to try out an expression that they had had no opportunity to think about or probe into. Being able to act "on

the surface" takes a specific skill that is acquired gradually with more professional experience, making the experienced actor's surface acting difficult to separate from deep acting; his/her body is so accustomed to express emotions that even a superficial expression looks like it is grounded in a corresponding experience. The technical skills that are taught in theatre schools, how to sit, stand and walk, and what signals are emitted, vocal technique etc. are for the more experienced actors solidly situated in their bodies; the actors can use them as tools without having to think about them in advance.

Another difference between actors with more or less experience was that the less experienced actors asked much more specific questions to the director. It may be described as a development in three phases. The novice is fully occupied with analyzing her/himself and is very guarded in his/her expressions during the rehearsals on stage. The junior experienced actor dares to let go a little bit more and goes on, with or without being covered, but tends to be frustrated when s/he lacks emotional grounding: *"here I stand and say something that someone else has written"*. The senior experienced actor and the veteran also go ahead during the rehearsals, but afterwards they approach the director with very specific questions.

> …this little bit, 4-5 words perhaps, can ruin… if it is not covered. Would that person, would he really say so? I don't think so, can't we cut it out? And sometimes you do it, to help the actor. But sometimes that small piece may be essential, and then you must try to find… and here the director's contribution is critical, he must put it in another way so you understand, aha, that is why he…then I understand! And then it works.

The ability to identify in detail what it is that does not work often concerns blocking and how the proposed blocking hampers the emotional grounding. *"Why shall I sit down when I say that? I want to stand up. You can't really explain why, it is a feeling"*.

To sum up, it takes many years to grow and cultivate the capacity to reach emotional experiences and expressions. An exaggerated focus on oneself and various deadlocks has to be identified and removed to ease the efforts to create an emotionally grounded character. The actor has to comprehend the character's situation, both intellectually and emotionally, to be able to find emotion-triggering "pictures" that pave the way towards deep acting, a process that is very trying for the novice but seems to be forgotten once you have internalized it: *"The more extended process is before, in your mind, but once you have set your mind, now I try this, I think this emotion is the right one here, then it is very easy"*.

With more experience the actor becomes increasingly able to handle situations where technical failures interfere with a smooth progress of the play. In this predicament the actor is able to "stay in character" and deal with the technical problems, at the same time. This is done through the use of

double agency or by incorporating the technical mishaps into the character's activities. To move props can be a real difficulty because it has to be done irrespective of the character's presence on the stage. *"My head just cracks. How the hell shall I do it? What shall I think?"*. In rehearsals, before everything works properly, it is easy to see when an actor, often a novice, does something outside of her/his character or in a careless way. If s/he for instance puts a chair on stage in a sloppy way, it takes the audience's attention away from what they should look at. If the actor who is not using double agency thinks about when she should put a prop at a specific place, it becomes clear to audience that her thoughts do not belong to the character, but to the actor. The duality or split of double agency is necessary not to violate or break up the fiction on stage, the audience's suspension of disbelief. Another example showing that experienced actors can use double agency to facilitate acting was that they started acting "naturally" on stage much earlier in the rehearsal process than the novices: they could for instance spot a loose thread on their trousers and remove it—in character. The less experienced actors did not seem to be able to manage such mundane problems when acting. Double agency can be an obstacle for the novice, but is an effective tool for the experienced actor.

From Rehearsal to Performance

A categorization of the actor's work through the rehearsal period and into the ensuing performance period could be outlined as follows. At first there is a certain amount of surface acting to get the play started and get hold of input that is necessary for the director and the actors to move on. Thereafter the emotional anchoring becomes more important to reach a deeper understanding of the character and not get stuck in clichés. Emotional understanding, in contrast to sheer intellectual understanding, leaves its marks as body memories, so that the actor, during the performance period, can express an emotion by means of her/his body. Over time, the emotional experience changes, gets a different significance or intermittently tend to fade or even vanish.

   After a period when emotional experiences and expressions are strong and frequent—and sometimes out of control—a second technical phase follows, but now in a more advanced condition. Emotions have become more precise, but tend once more to be expressed more on the surface, while the actors focus on technical procedures and efforts to attain flow in the play as a whole. Usually the play does not settle entirely until after a couple of performances following the première and then emotions get more space. When the actors feel that they are safe and secure in the physical and social structure of the play, then they feel safe to stay put in their expressions. During the performance period, experiencing emotions can be replaced in part by using body memory which, however, needs to be refilled from time to time.

The actor then again has to revive a lived experience to be able to keep on expressing the emotion even during a long run of performances.

When the actors start rehearsing they have not yet anchored their characters' emotions in their own experiences; as a result, early expressions often are sketchy and transient. Some of the physical expressions which they display in this phase can serve to protect them as well, by reducing their embarrassment over their inadequate achievements (see Chapter 3 on shame). *"Often there is this wobbling in the beginning. Some talk like this (imitates a loud voice). Some wobble and some talk"*. As Goffman has described, we often use physical gestures, such as scratching ourselves or adjusting our clothes, in order to hide our embarrassment (1956, p. 266). An actor who at first had difficulties finding ways into her character, talked with a high and tight voice, like an affected way of talking to a child. Later on, when she started to understand her character, her voice lowered and became much more relaxed. This process happened gradually, with the tense voice remaining in certain scenes where aspects of her character appeared that she still had not come to terms with[72].

When the actors have rehearsed for a few weeks they often comment that they still have not found proper coverage for specific emotions, but are confident that they will find such coverage later on. They have understood why the character has ended up in a particular situation and feels a certain, but they have not had the time and opportunity to probe and explore the emotion. An intellectual understanding does not by itself suffice to reach an emotional understanding; however, it is necessary to pave the way to such understanding. If the actor for instance does not really comprehend the significance of her speeches, an emotional understanding of them is impeded.

During rehearsals, a character's motives for speaking or acting in a certain way can be discussed, and the actors can expect the director to contribute with an intellectual understanding, but then they have to concretize these motives in order to attain an emotional understanding that is anchored in them as individuals. When rehearsing, the actors often repeatedly enter and leave such emotional understanding of the character. Sometimes when a scene is run through there may be a perfect flow in the speeches between the characters or there may be a scenic arrangement that makes the situation come alive at that particular moment, but when the same scene is rehearsed the next time, it may be lost. An emotional anchoring can appear instantaneously but may disappear in a moment if some arrangement has to be changed in order for the scene to proceed. Moreover, the emotional charge that is

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[72] The character she performed was a very tense person and could easily be associated with a tight voice. Nevertheless her character was perceived as much more tense and stiff when the actor managed to loosen up her voice—the actor's tension was only painful to look at. In order for the character's rigidity to show clearly, the actor had to be relaxed because then she was free to let her character tighten up in exactly the right situations, not constantly as when she herself was strained.

required can be roused quite easily by an actor that happens to feel energetic one day, whereas the repetition that is required in a performance that is played night after night, needs more nourishment and a covering structure to be sustained.

Gradually, when the ensemble starts doing run-throughs, the blocking has to be adjusted so that it all fits together. Each actor has to adjust their characters in relation to each other to bring about a trustworthy totality that makes up the play.

> When you rehearse a scene, you can create a drama of that scene alone but then, when all parts are put together you realize: no, that I have to balance a little to accomplish that, or, it may be someone else who goes mad just afterwards and then I have to reduce my tantrum, to make the story trustworthy.

Also, actors learn text more or less easily; when they relinquish their scripts, there sometimes are long pauses between the speeches. Since the light is often set at the end of the rehearsal period and the actors have to adjust their movements in order to be situated in the correct light, the process of probing and exploring one's character continues into the performance period.

In one of the productions that I observed, the performance was not altogether set at the opening night. I observed the play several times during the first weeks of the performance period, and there were often alterations between the performances. The actors told me in interviews that they still had to both act and think about their acting on stage: *"There is an awareness as well: okay, this works fine, or shall I do it like this? That is what we talked about, that I'm not grounded"*.

Another consequence of the production not being quite set at the opening night was an extra dynamic of actors attempting to cover up for deficiencies. One actor described it as being more aggressive: *"sometimes it is like, it is a common actor's thing, that you fall back on aggressiveness to make it more real, but it feels a little, you do not really know why, or understand. It becomes sort of artificial"*. The situation has to agree with the expressed emotions; otherwise they may appear artificial, however anchored they are in experience. Also, if a stand-in is employed, the technical parts have to be set before the stand-in actor can play with full commitment. Otherwise, the controlling part of double agency simply engages too much of the attention. Furthermore, if the actors in performance are still searching for speeches and motives, they cannot let their emotions loose; there is no room for impulses to show up.

In the beginning of the performance period the actor has to pay attention to how the audience appreciates and take in his/her acting.

> Well, there was someone who reacted, well now they are silent, but what kind of silence is it, is it an interested silence or do they think it is boring, and

here they laugh, and here some of them cry. One notes certain obvious things, then one make changes.

For instance the actor must decide how s/he shall behave if there is laughter in the audience and the interchange of speeches has to be interrupted so that the next words will not be drowned in the bursts of laughter.

The capability to use double agency shows clearly if something unexpected happens on stage. In one performance that I observed, someone happened to spill a glass of soda. At the time, there were two characters on stage and they were in the midst of a quarrel. One of them was—as a private person—very helpful and kind; there is no doubt that she would have helped to wipe up. On the stage, however, there was not even a twitch in her face suggesting that she had any such impulse. On the contrary, her disdain towards the other character became even more accentuated and the latter, strenuously drying up, was precisely as degraded as she was supposed to be in that scene. Afterwards, the actor playing the disdainful character told me that she had considered different alternatives, but concluded that she had to continue her ongoing monologue. To be able to do that she had to be able to control and adjust her expressions, on the sly, without anyone seeing it, and simultaneously be present on stage. This simultaneous capability is needed so that the public "maintains the frame", as Wulff puts it in the manner of Goffman, referring to a similar situation in a dance performance (1998, p. 128).

To rouse emotions on stray occasions is different from repeating them night after night on stage. As in the case of laughter, an actress described how anger appears only at times in performances and how she most often has to imitate the expression. *"Often it's only in one of ten performances that you find it, when you get angry for real. And then you imitate that anger, or try to get back to it"*[73].

During the performance period several actors emphasized that they needed to perform their character in line with their daily private mood: *"one's private mood is always reflected in the character. That is not a bad or a good thing, it's just the way it is"*. When they tried to resist their mood they turned numb and got stuck when inhabiting their character. This did not imply that the character did not present the same type of emotional expressions night after night, but that the tone or quality of the experiences changed.

The objective of the rehearsals is a set, operating performance, and part of this objective is something we have not mentioned so far: an artistic, aesthetic dimension. Up till now we have focused on the artisanal aspects of

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[73] It may appear contradictory that the actor talks about "becoming angry for real". Compared to earlier citations "if I'm really mad and blast at someone, I feel just as I do in private, but I'm not angry. What the actress probably means when she maintains that she is "angry for real" is that she experiences anger, not that this anger is identical to her private anger. The obvious difference is that anger on stage can be unplugged at any time while private anger is less controlled. This will be analyzed in more detail in the next chapter.

acting and examined the actor's minute work and the craftsmanship involved in making a character come to life, incarnating it by inhabiting it, as it were. Like in other artistic professions it requires practical skills: the painter must know how to mix colours, control perspectives and other technical aspects of painting; the author must know how to handle a keyboard and language as a tool, etc. Craftsmanship goes hand-in-hand with the artistic expression; creativity, the personal aspect, which, by being truly personal, can appeal to the personal in the spectator and thereby become universally valid. The actor describes the objective of her/his work to be that the preparation, the groundwork, technically as well as personally, is so well done that s/he can take charge of each moment on stage, be present at those moments and thereby provide his/her individual expression which makes his/her interpretation alive and unique[74].

Being in the Moment

> …the blissful moments when one suddenly, for a few short moments, is completely, without reservation, in the moment.

The living moment on stage is a performance feature, but is dependent on a preceding rehearsal phase. The actor cannot be in the moment on stage unless there has been elaborate preparation, where the character's practical and emotional paths have been furrowed. The actor needs to be settled in how/when/where s/he has to stand, walk, put down props etc., and when lines and specific emotional expressions are coming. When this path or

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[74] Experiences in real life are often described in terms of moments, flashes of time when one is present here and now. This is particularly evident in experiences of intense happiness or grief. Someone who grieves lives most of the time as if the dead person is still alive. Only in short moments does grief, reality, strike; moments that are painful but authentic because then the person is really present, consciously aware of his grief. Then the moment is gone and the person continues her/his life mainly in the past or the future. Theatre offers an experience in the present, for actors and audience alike. For the audience, the experience of the drama, the moments, can be prolonged, protected by the fictionality of the drama. As Jouvet, the French actor and director, writes: "C'est une heure d'éternité, l'heure théátrale" (Jouvet, 1948) moments in the theatre can last forever. The experience is authentic, we laugh and cry at events and persons who arouse our own emotions, but we are protected by the fictive story—it is because of the distance to our own reality that we dare and get the opportunity to be present in the moment longer than we are able to in our personal reality. We laugh at our own shortcomings and cry over our own sorrows, but they are disguised in other dresses and take part in other tales. As Goffman has pointed out the actor does not have to face the real consequences of his/her acting (Goffman, 1961). This goes for the audience as well. We do not have to face the effects of our experiences. We are allowed to cry over griefs on stage, but the rules on how one should mourn in real life are much more complicated. We can allow ourselves to put aside the strict emotion rules that we apply in our daily life when we enter the world of fiction.

curve is made, so that it has become habituated, then the actor can be in the moment on stage; to be in the moment demands meticulous preparation. During the rehearsals the actor can have the sense of an operating play—of feeling emotionally present. That presence however, is far more dependent on arbitrary and private aspects: the actor has a good day, connects with her/his co-actors and appropriate emotions emanate. To be in the moment in a performance is a professional phenomenon.

In order to be able to be in the moment in several performances during a performance period, actors argue that rehearsals must have built a rich and complex foundation. It is impossible to repeat a play on stage if the characters and the situations are not thoroughly investigated at an earlier stage. *"There has to be some sort of emotional logic, otherwise it is impossible. Like when I talk to you now, I don't (shouts in a strange way), I don't do those kind of strange things. I don't suddenly stand on my head".* The preparatory work is centred on finding emotional paths or curves that work during performances. If the actors, with the director, have had the opportunity to discuss and try out several solutions and motives, these can be used during the performance period when there is a need to refuel with new triggers to instigate the needed emotions:

> It is alive. It's not just something that you repeat the way you did it before, it lives. There are thoughts that go through your mind when you are talking, and it is not always the same thoughts. Even though we have the same blocking they are differently coloured so that it becomes a real dialogue. And I can see reactions; I can see that the person I talk to actually is moved and seeing that creates feelings in me.

Apart from the preparatory work, access to the experience of being in the moment is facilitated by the entrance to the fictive world of the live stage, aided by costume, make-up, lighting, music and foremost, the other actors (as long as the interaction works). Furthermore, to be on a stage in front of an audience also can generate a sense of presence:

> The audience might react unexpectedly at some point, or someone starts crying or laughing and suddenly that gives you energy; impulses, a new angle to what you are going to say. Sometimes, there can be a silence that is charged. You feel where they [the audience] are.

As described in Chapter 3, the actor needs to *make* the experience on stage and cannot indulge in private experiences when acting on stage. The stage actor can use private experiences to trigger an emotional experience, to prepare for a situation on stage, but then the onstage reality has to take over. If the actor were to indulge in the private emotion, s/he cannot be in the moment on stage and communicate with the co-actors and the audience. One actor describes how the experience of being in the moment can be prolonged

by a thought of leaving the options open—a pretence of not knowing the ending—that tonight, maybe it ends in a different way. The thought of not fully having decided it all, helps the actor to look at the situation with new eyes. Another important, albeit difficult precondition for being in the moment is to let go of the demands of having to be good. If it doesn't work out, if you miss a line, you have to let it go and move on to look for the next moment.

To be in the moment seems to have two slightly different meanings. The first is a basic sense of everything working as it should; the whole play and the characters have been thoroughly researched and rehearsed, enabling the scenes to operate smoothly and the actors to do their work (compare "to be grounded"). The other meaning assumes that the first condition has been met and refers rather to a sense of flow, often lasting for short periods of time; a feeling of everything working out.

To reach the feeling of being in the moment is described as an overwhelming satisfaction; the actors liken the feeling to a religious experience or to being high on drugs. One actor even testified that he had been hurt on stage and did not feel that his arm was broken until after the curtain was drawn[75].

> Sometimes actors are so excited and happy after a performance and that comes from being in the moment for an hour or two. That makes you high. It is great! You have not been bothered with world starvation or some row at home, or other everyday worries. You just stood here, in the middle of Greece or Egypt and were occupied with the present.

These descriptions fit with the definition of 'flow' as being total involvement, forgetting time and space and experiencing a feeling of unity with the activity at hand (Bloch, 2000, 2002, 2008). Bloch has found that the feeling of flow can be associated with being absorbed in 'other spheres of meaning', e.g. when being drawn into a novel (2002, pp. 111-112) a description that fits well with the quote above. According to Bloch, flow is associated with positive emotions such as joy and pride (ibid, p. 319). Stage actors describe positive feelings after having experienced flow; however, their work often involves experiencing and expressing strong negative emotions, yet those negative experiences do not limit the feelings of flow. For example, one actor described inhabiting a rape victim on stage, giving rise to strong negative emotions of fear and anxiety, yet experiencing flow. The key to understand this seemingly contradictory experience is the actors' continuous dou-

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[75] This could be related to the experience of being in a crowd that Elias Canetti describes in his famous work "Crowds and Power". When in a crowd people lose their ordinary roles and boundaries that direct their lives: stepping out from everything that binds, encloses and burdens them is the real reason for the elation which people feel in a crowd" (Canetti 1973, p. 376 in Borch, 2009).

ble agency; they experience and express strong emotions, yet never stop looking at themselves:

> …I can still register what I do, but it goes fast, very fast. It just happens bam, bam, bam, as a strange sort of improvisation. Simultaneously I, or another part of my brain knows what will come. It is all logical and everything adds up.

The experience of flow while inhabiting negative emotions is also linked to the actors being surprised by their own reactions—by being in the moment they can experience and/or express emotions that they did not consciously plan, giving rise to an experience of having understood the character and the event in a way that goes beyond intellectual reflection—i.e. having been there.

The positive feeling that comes after these presentations can have several explanations. Part of the explanation may be the fact pointed out by Goffman, that the actors do not have to take the consequences for their behaviour on stage. They can yell at someone without having to deal with it in reality. The quarrel stays in the fictitious world. A more complete explanation may be that the emotions on stage are to a larger extent bound to a particular situation than the emotions in our private life. Emotions in our private lives, although triggered by a situation, are anchored in our relationships and memories of earlier experiences. When an emotion that we have had before is activated, we are reminded of the events that occurred on previous occasions when we had that emotion; these memories affect the emotion, and it will usually develop along the lines of the patterns set before (Tomkins, 2008). On stage, on the other hand, emotions can be experienced and expressed without the private connotations that they usually are associated with; they are disassociated from earlier experiences and thereby bound, to a larger extent, to the situation. They are experienced and expressed and then dissolve when the situation is over. They are in the moment.

Conclusions

This section elaborates upon the theoretical implications of the preceding analysis, focusing on three issues: 1) decoupling of the original private emotional experience giving rise to professional emotional experience and expression; 2) the relationship between surface and depth as endpoints in the interplay of two processes relating to the emotional experience and the emotional expression respectively; and 3) modes of habituation of the processes related to surface and deep acting.

First, I will argue that the rehearsal and repetition of emotional expressions lead up to a decoupling of the original private emotional experience

that is gradually converted to a professional emotional experience and expression. Decoupling comprises two steps: first, the expression is decoupled from the experience; then the experience is decoupled from the original private connotations leaving a professional emotion. This process has implications both for the audience and for the actor. The thorough process of rehearsal where emotions are emanating from actual experience (and not clichéd interpretations thereof) makes the presented emotions resemble private emotional expressions to the extent that the audience can understand and experience them, and yet leaves space for the individual spectator to interpret the emotion from her/his individual frame of experiences, thus making it personal to the onlooker. From the actor's point of view the decoupling and professionalization of emotions facilitate the repetition and makes the transitions in and out of emotions less strenuous[76]. Secondly, I will argue that surface and deep acting are ideal types that function as end points in the interplay between two processes. The first accounts for the emotional expression and can vary from completely manipulated to fully habituated. The second represents the experience of emotion that goes from being fully to not at all anchored. These processes can be more or less correlated at any given time. Thirdly, I will investigate the different modes of habituation that relates to surface and deep acting. We start with the process of decoupling.

Decoupling

In order for actors to be able to rouse and express emotions, they often evoke private memories or use mental pictures of people or situations that have evoked the emotion in their private past. When they have found an experience that fits with the character's feeling in a situation, they use that experience to understand the character. However, the characters might express the experienced emotion in other ways than the actors would in their private lives. Hence, the actors change the expression of the privately induced experience to a greater or lesser extent. Since stage actors build their characters for public presentation and therefore need to work in concert with our common references to emotional expressions, private expressions that are consonant with common values can be used, adding character-specific details. During the later part of rehearsals, when the actors continuously repeat the emotion with its tailored expression (originating in a private expression, but customized to the character), the manifestation gradually becomes habituated. The precise repetition of blocking and lines furthers the development of a ploughed path that is associated with the character's curve in the play.

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[76] The actors in the study that had experience of both stage and film noted that the preparations for the two are different. In movies, since the emotion only needed to be expressed once in front of the camera (although it might require multiple 'takes' of a scene to capture the best expression), the preparations were made differently; it did not need to last for nightly repetitions and could be more dependent on momentary inspiration.

Eventually the ploughed path generates the emotional expression without the need for an elicitation of a private experience. The private connotations of the experience are decoupled and the experience emanates from the situational cues in the staging of the play. The emotion has become professional.

Goffman uses the concept of "a strip of behaviour" turning into "a strip of play" when describing play fighting (1974, p. 41) and Schechner applies the concept of "restored behaviour" to describe how behaviour in general is performed in strips that have lost touch with their original source. He concludes that: "They have a life of their own" (Schechner, 1985, p. 35ff.). However, I would argue that although the behaviour, or expression of an emotion, is decoupled and turned into a "restored behaviour", it still has threads leading back to its origin. This can be seen as a balance between Hochschild's over-involved worker that does not distinguish her private self from her professional self, and the over-distanced worker that does not engage in the role at all (Hochschild, 1983, pp. 186-189). However, in contrast to Hochschild's third alternative, the consciously acting worker that knows that the performance is a mere act, the stage actors have built the performance on private experiences and the knowledge of acting per se does not and should not cut the experiential aspects off completely. When the expression has become habituated and situated in the body memory, the experience of the emotion tends not be as articulate as in its original form due to the constant repetition. A tentative interpretation could be that, since the emotion is grounded in an earlier experience the autonomic responses should be at least partly activated, thereby giving rise to "the feeling" of the emotion. However, in contrast to private emotions that have been released many times, are associated with past experiences, and follows familiar paths that can be difficult to deviate from, these decoupled emotions follow less established paths that are situational and thus can be more swiftly entered and exited[77]. It is important to note that the mere walking of a path of blocking and lines is not enough to elicit the emotions, there is a demand for concentration of attention and double agency for the characterization to come alive[78]. The decoupling can be described as a loop, in which the body, when the distance from the experience has faded, needs to recharge with new experience in order to maintain the habituated expression. Furthermore, since the decoup-

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[77] This can be paralleled to Damasio's description of 'somatic markers' that can either activate a 'body loop' that then signals back to the brain, or an 'as if loop' where the representation of bodily changes are created in the brain, even though the body actually has not changed (Damasio, 2000, p. 281, 2003 [1994], p. 212). By bypassing the body, the 'as if loop' speeds up the emotion process and saves energy. Since the brain "tells us" that our body has changed, we can experience an emotion, but due to the fact the body has not actually changed one can assume that we can move more swiftly in and out of the emotion since the bodily changes ordinarily would have slowed that process down.
[78] The whole system that Stanislavski created emanated from his experience of (just) performing mechanical repetitions of earlier experienced emotions leaving a sense of emptiness and disdain (Roach, 1993, p. 204).

led emotion still rests on an emotional experience it can backlash and generate a privately connotated emotion; that is, when private vulnerabilities or moods are at the fore, the ostensibly decoupled emotion may trigger a private emotion. However, that scenario is an unwelcome effect and also regarded as unprofessional in the acting business.

The fact that the experience is not as strongly felt as the first times and is more in control can be a precondition for the audience to be able to get a space for their experience. A strong private emotional experience does not communicate as well as an expression that is partly a physiological response and partly a conscious expression. The audience needs a clearer manifestation than we present in our private lives:

> An actor experiences the agony of his role, and weeps his heart out at home or in rehearsals, then calms himself, get rid of every sentiment alien or obstructive to his part. He then comes out on the stage to convey to the audience in clear, pregnant, deeply felt, intelligible and eloquent terms what he has been through. (Stanislavski, 1983 [1961], p. 70).

The Surface and Deep Interplay

The relationship between surface and deep acting is illustrated in the figure bellow. The coloured parts represent deep acting: a complete correspondence between emotional experience and expression.

Figure 3
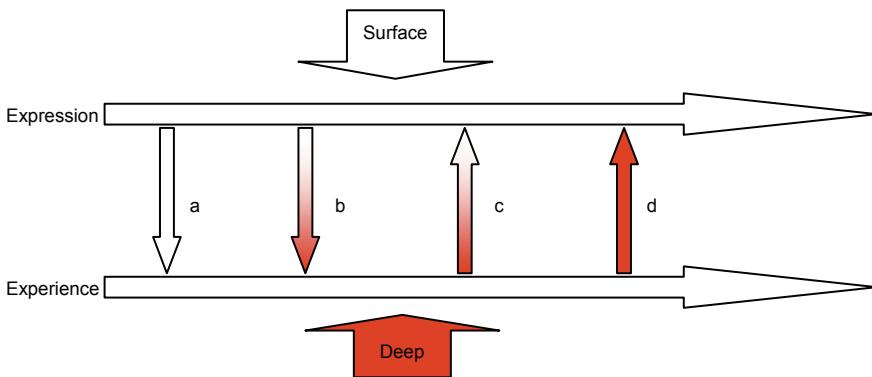
The concepts of surface and deep acting should be seen as ideal types rather than as actual phenomena (Poder, 2004, p. 45). The actors sometimes act only superficially, without an anchor in an associated experience (arrow a in the figure). This is usually described as related to short and immediate emotional expressions such as fear and laughter that have to be expressed at specific points in the play and have a short time span. Sometimes the actors achieve perfect congruence between expression and experience of that expression (arrow d); however, these manifestations were mostly observed in the second, creative phase of the rehearsals when the actors tried out different emotions. In the earlier phase, when the rehearsals were starting up, and in the later phases of rehearsals and in the performance period, the stage actors were somewhere between these two endpoints. They could by means of a manipulated expression, reach an anchored experience by first expressing it mechanically (arrow b); this strategy was often used in the start up phase. They could also intentionally intensify the expression of their experiences, for example by sounding angrier than they really were or changing the expression of a privately experienced emotion (arrow c); this was observed when the actors started working on the stage and needed to enlarge their expressions so that the audience would perceive and hear them. It was also observed in the creative phase, when actors tried on emotions.

Surface and deep acting are in reality endpoints in the interplay between two processes. The first process accounts for the emotional expression and can vary from completely manipulated to fully habituated. The second process represents the experience of emotion that can vary from being fully to not at all anchored. These processes can be more or less correlated at any given time. This analysis fits with Ross Buck's description of the interplay between the analytical categories of spontaneous communication, i.e. innate and automatic and symbolic communication, i.e. socially induced and voluntary (1984, p. 9). These categories concern emotional expressions and do not consider experience, but his interpretation is nevertheless relevant since he describes the interplay between these two modes of expressions as a complex relationship where the spontaneous (compare deep) and symbolic (compare surface) expression, can be supportive, contradictory or independent in relation to one another.

Habituation

The habituation of emotional expressions is a fundamental aspect of the stage actor's use of emotions. In a book about how the stage actor's work with emotions has been analyzed through the centuries Roach argues that "the actor's spontaneous vitality seems to depend on the extent to which his actions and thoughts have been automatized, made second nature" (1993, p. 16). Since the term automatized lies close to the concept of autonomic response that is a much more hard-wired matter, I will use the concept of ha-

bituation (see further Chapter 1). What Roach argues (and this argument was supported by the actors in this study) is that in order for actors to be able to "be in the moment", their routines must be both well established and re-hearsed many times so that the whole curve, as well as the details of block-ing and lines, can be performed without deliberation. This interpretation, that habituation paves the way for vitality, is in striking opposition to the notion that habituation often is associated with mindless performances and rigid behaviour (Ashforth & Fried, 1988; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). The actor inhabits the character during the rehearsal process. The way the character relates to the situations and people s/he encounters is incarnated in the ac-tor's body through habituation, thus making the actor able to situate the character in new situations while still being able to respond "in character", since the paths that have been ploughed can be used in many situations when the path has deepened. The original physical path is internalized and can be applied elsewhere.

However, it is important to note that the habituation that the actors use can originate from deep as well as surface acting. The habituation that origi-nates from deep acting has, like all experienced emotions, a base in an auto-nomic response. The autonomic part of the emotional expression cannot be consciously manipulated, but, as suggested in the section about decoupling, there may be some aspects of the response that eventually are toned down due to repetition. However, in this study the stage actors that for example were close to tears when they were sad or angry continued to shed tears dur-ing most performances as well; the autonomic response of crying did not fade away due to repetition. The main, or most visible, part of the emotional expression of deep acting had been worked out during rehearsals so that the expressions fitted with the character presentation (although based on the actors' interpretation thereof). These expressions were sometimes con-sciously decided upon, but more often came out intuitively through the ac-tor's putting her/himself in a situation and being open to what that situation would feel like when seen through the (imaginary) circumstances that the character was in. These expressions were deep in the sense that they origi-nated in an experience. The habituation is similar to Tomkins' use of script, described in Chapter 1.

The other mode of habituation is when expressions that were originally consciously manipulated are performed repetitively and thus become habitu-ated. Surface acting not going deep, but becoming "second nature". The actor who is supposed to laugh at a specific point in the play that her charac-ter does not convey as being humorous nevertheless laughs at that point every time, and eventually the laugh comes when she hears the cue, although she still does not feel happy (or in this case should not, since the laugh was done ironically). These habituations can become manifested to the extent that they sometimes continue to appear even when they have been deleted

from the performance. They do not have a reason to appear in the perform-ance but due to what the actors call "cementation" they are hard to remove.

In an actual performance, these two modes of habituation of surface and deep acting respectively are floating and used intermittently. As described in the previous section on the relationship between surface and deep acting, the stage actor uses a variety of expressions and the depth of the experience can vary from moment to moment.

The theoretical implications described in this section will be discussed in a wider, professional context in Chapter 6.

5. The Professional – Private Interface

This chapter investigates the professional – private interface of the actor's work. It explores the questions posed in the Introduction about how the actors' private emotional experiences relate to their professional expressions, what a professionalization of emotion may entail, and what implications come out of working professionally with emotions. The findings will be related to earlier studies and to the theoretical considerations discussed in Chapter 1. The issues related to the professionalization of emotions will be interpreted against the backdrop of earlier studies on emotional labour that focus on the effects of coping with emotions at work. The chapter is divided into three dimensions of the private – professional interface: the connections between professional and private emotions in actors' work; the professionalization of emotions emanating from the rehearsal process; and finally, the private implications of working with emotions.

I have found that the first dimension, connections between professional and private emotions in actors' work, falls into two categories: thematic and open connections, which emanate from conversations within the ensemble, undertaken to form a shared emotional understanding of the play; and specific and secret connections, drawn upon by individual actors to give urgency to their actions and to instigate emotions.

Conversations about emotional experiences were common in the rehearsals, yet actors often pointed out that emotions were a sensitive subject. When examined more closely, it became clear that actors and director talked openly about private emotional experiences in order to form a shared understanding of the play and the characters' actions in the play; those conversations were considered professionally motivated if not necessary. However, when it came to individual actors' work with instigating and finding drives for specific emotions, the topic became sensitive and was less discussed. Although an actor might load an action with a private memory, it was considered that this approach needed to be hidden in order to be effective; also, it was considered less professional. The interface between professional and private emotions was not clear when it came to using private experiences to load specific emotional expressions.

The second dimension, professionalization of emotions, comprises two aspects: to be able to swiftly move in and out of emotions; and to be able to cultivate and present precise emotional expressions. The actors were reluctant to use the term professionalization regarding emotion work, pointing out

that emotions cannot be reduced to pop-up products, where the actor presses buttons for different emotional expressions (see further 'Emotion Regulation and Activation' in Chapter 1). The professionalization discussed here does not diminish emotion work into pop-up products. Rather, it focuses on the general technique used to cultivate emotions and reach emotional precision; this technique can be summarized as letting emotions run their course and then giving space to the ensuing consequences, such as shame.

The third dimension, private implications of the actor's work with emotions, contains three different time perspectives, covering 1) short range implications of being in a work-related emotion; 2) play-specific implications emanating from working with a specific production that nuances and limits the use of catharsis, as for example when the character's emotional sensitivity infects, as it were, the actor's private life and, finally; 3) long-term implications generated both through the actors' use of themselves as instruments, and derived from actors' cooperating as professionals playing characters who are involved in private, often very intimate relationships: a singular combination that may have consequences for work relations in general.

Private and Professional Emotions during Rehearsals

In this section we will investigate the connections between private and professional emotions in actors' work. In conducting fieldwork that was focused on working with emotions, it soon became evident that emotion work could be a sensitive subject and that actors were concerned that they not be dismissed as 'emotional' due to their sometimes emotion-rich presentations on stage. Nevertheless, in rehearsals, conversations about emotional experiences were common. As a phenomenon, these conversations could be compared to academic seminars: in particular, rehearsal conversations would see a play scrutinized and analyzed from all possible angles. The difference from the academic setting was this: In the theatre, the goal is to form a joint emotional understanding for the actors' work. Everyone must act in the same play; therefore, they must have a common reference base for what the play is about and the drives that take the characters through the situations in the play. The parallels to private emotional experiences are therefore considered strictly professional, however detailed and intimate they may be. However, the actors also need to inhabit their characters and in that process deliver specific emotional expressions. In order to do that, they sometimes use private emotional experiences. This process is a hidden one for two reasons: first, in order to be effective the instigators need to stay hidden; second, the use of private emotional experiences to load specific emotions is considered to be not entirely professional This is rather a grey area.

The thematic conversations make the actors' private experiences come to the surface so that they become accessible to the actors in their work with

their characters and support the creation of common references in the ficti-tious world they are building. This in turn establishes a group climate with this world as a common frame of reference. This fictitious world becomes important in a very real sense and affects the way the actors look at events and experiences even outside the walls of the theatre.

The specific and hidden connections to the private are used to understand and inhabit the individual characters. The actors use their own personality traits, emotional experiences and structural positions (e.g., sex, education, or ethnicity). Additionally, they make use of the emotions that emerge from the current working situation. Furthermore, the actors use double agency in their private lives to collect emotional experiences and expressions that can be used in future character work. The use of private experiences or relationships is kept secret; they are too private, not articulated, or need to be hidden so as not to lose their potential to charge emotions on stage.

Thematic and Open Conversations

In the two productions that I observed, the first weeks were full of conversa-tions. These conversations, which included the director and all the actors, were open and free. The conversations sometimes appeared to deviate from the task at hand or indeed to be irrelevant but, when inspected more closely, turned out to serve several functions. Some aspect almost always connected back to the play or the characters. The conversations in both productions took place in two different spheres that sometimes interacted: society and private experiences. We will not scrutinize the conversations on society fur-ther here; it suffices to say that the talks on society often had clear connec-tions to themes in the play, but originated in current media debates and often served as a means to make the play more topical and connected to the pre-sent reality, hence more urgent and meaningful. Together with the conversa-tions on private experiences, these talks linked the actors together, creating common references to the fictitious world they were creating.

> We make it real to us. If you don't do that work you just float around in some sort of nothing. This work is built on relations and the world the characters live in. Since we are not a real family; we don't know each other very well, we need to create a world, a fictive world that contains both private memories and talks about society. And then the text gets another meaning, you see it from another angle.

Georg Simmel argues that relationships between people give rise to pictures about one another and that our interactions are based upon the pictures we have of each other; our relationships are both based on and generate recipro-cal knowledge (Simmel, 1950, p. 309). In our everyday world these pictures develop and change over time. On stage the relationships need to be there in

order for the situations and actions to be interpretable. During the rehearsal period, the actors need to form these pictures and reciprocity in order to be able to interact with one another in the fictitious world.

One of the directors often used private experiences as references in these early conversations and by doing so created a climate where the actors also started to draw parallels to their own lives. This openness in the conversation, the encouragement not to hold back private experiences, was something that several actors emphasized as a key to their inspiration. The actors may not have uses the actual stories told by the director or others in the group, but the discussion and the stories made the actors' own experiences come to the surface and become accessible in their work with their characters. *"When the director talks so much about these things you start to remember things that you have been through yourself. Like I remembered my meeting with that psychotic girl"*. If the director shares private experiences that are relevant to the play, then it becomes less dangerous to open up and look for resemblances between oneself and the character.

> In this type of work it is a lot about sympathizing with these characters, to feel for them, in spite of their doing these unsympathetic actions. And to do that I think I have to understand strange things that I have done myself, to be able to understand how the character can do it.

The discussions that originated in private experiences were sometimes detailed and could take the form of short stories, but they were at the same time concrete and without emotional expressions; this made them part of the rehearsing work, not private conversations. The form was often matter of fact with links to the play, while the content was from the private sphere. In contrast to private conversations, when the topic involved people other than the narrating person, they were seldom named. The director talked about relatives and friends having psychoses and went on to describe how it was to be alone, the experience of being isolated from the world. An actor picked up: *"One can feel the mouth moving in a strange way"*. Another actor told a story about when a childhood friend died from cancer; she told the story as an example of keeping the truth at a distance when it becomes unbearable. She told the whole story with a firm voice. One actor talked about her relationships to boys as a teenager. A co-actor asked how old she was when she lost her virginity.

Sometimes the discussion could reach outside of the rehearsal room, for example with experts on a topic included in the play. One actor met with a child psychologist to hear about real cases and how the psychologist interpreted her character in the play. The conversations often continued during lunch breaks and other intermissions. As described by Lagercrantz the theatre comes out as a place for continuous and everlasting conversations (1995, p. 115).

The conversations were most frequent and lasted for the longest time during the start up phase. Eventually, when the rehearsals on the floor took over, the conversations became shorter and changed in nature. Now they often dealt with the work on a certain scene, a shorter sequence or even a single line. The director explained how the sequence should be played by giving a statement: *"When you give birth to a child you meet yourself, and these mothers do not have the ability to do that"*. The actor replied*:*

> I was terrified when I was pregnant. My own mother was like a daughter to me. I have realised afterwards that I was haunted by a fear of repeating that. It was never spoken out loud, but I always talked about the baby as a son. This family has not been able to break that chain.

In this dialogue the actor was struggling to find her way into a character that she did not understand. The connection to experiencing fear became a fruitful opening for the actor to start understanding her character. Before this, the actor had distinctly marked her distance to the character, folding her arms across her breast, talking about "her". In this dialogue she leant over towards the co-actor with her hand folded on the table between them. The openness in the conversation seemed to derive from the emotional state in the scene that they were working on and the discussion was much more precise than it had been before; it related to a certain piece of text, rather than the whole play. Before, the conversations were more focused on finding a common way into the play as a whole. Now the focus had narrowed, to finding a way into a certain situation that the character had to deal with.

All these conversations in and between rehearsals opened up a world; it created a group climate with this world as a common frame of reference. This world became important in a very real sense and affected the way one looked at events and experiences even outside the walls of the theatre. Several actors described daily scenes from the subway and people they saw around them that inspired their character work, a method also described in another study of stage actors (Bandelj, 2003, p. 401). Even I as a bystander noticed how I started to observe more in my everyday life, noticing people on the subway and in the supermarket, and how these observations came to mind when they had some relevance for the play. The commonplace happenings of everyday were observed more actively and then exploited. The dialogue and the work during rehearsals engaged the whole person, working up an emotional sensitivity towards the theme of the play.

Several actors commented that many directors do not want to talk at all. The rehearsals then focus on blocking and on solving situations in the play, without any talk about their meaning to the characters involved (cf. Lagercrantz, 1995, pp. 102-103). When working with these directors, the actors must find their own way into their characters. From what the actors told me and from my own experiences as a director's assistant, the actors then talk

more with each other outside of rehearsals; they watch plays or have coffee or beer together etc. *"New ensembles often relate privately, to feel one another off and talk about their characters and talk more in general, to not just see each other on stage. If we like playing together it shows. The people in the audience can feel it"*. It is important to note, though, that talking can also be a diversion, a way to postpone the insecurities that come with starting to work on the floor.

> There are directors that just sit and talk. Because all actors want to shirk in the beginning. It's so horrible to pull down one's trousers at first, before you have cover for anything. So sometimes you just sit there without being able to bring yourself to start.

To conclude, the open discussions that take place early in the rehearsal period functions both as a way into the characters and as an opener for relations between the members of the ensemble. Telling stories and reflecting on private experiences clears the way for the creation of close and trusting relationships in a short period of time. The common reference base that is created during these conversations opens up a sense of belonging in the group and an urgency to move forward on the play, as well as a focus on the play, that affects the actors' view of the world outside the theatre (Lagercrantz, 1995, p. 116). In the first phase, the conversations often relate to the whole play creating a common reference base for the ensemble to work from. The conversations in the second phase are more focused on specific scenes; indeed, the focal point may narrow to examine individual lines and words, all of which prepare the ground for an emotional understanding of the individual characters and their relationships. These conversations relate to emotional experiences but that does not mean that they only relate to deep acting. Even characters that express themselves with less anchorage in emotional experience need to be performed with underlying emotional anchorage. These characters may for example jump from expressions of anger to expressions of joy to get their way in a situation, but the playing actor still needs to experience the underlying fear that justifies the character's surface expressions. The open and thematic conversations thus focus on the experiences that justifies the expressions and not on the expressions in themselves. For that the specific and hidden connections to private experiences are used.

Specific and Hidden Connections

> In a quantitative sense, it is only fragments of our inner life which we alone reveal, even to our closest fellowmen. What is more, these fragments are not a representative selection, but one made from the standpoint of reason, value, and relation to the listener and his understanding (Simmel, 1950, p. 312).

In this section, the focus is on the specific and hidden ways that actors use private experiences and emotions when working with a character. This analysis is based on interviews since they were mainly not spoken of during the rehearsals.

In order to understand and inhabit the characters, the actors used their own personality traits, emotional experiences and structural positions. Additionally, they employed the emotions that emanated from the current working situation. These work-related emotions were not connected to the character per se, but could sometimes be used as character's emotions. Furthermore, the actors used double agency in their private lives to collect emotional experiences and expressions that could be used in future character work. The use of private experiences or relationships was kept secret; they were too private, not articulated, or needed to be hidden not to lose their potential to charge emotions on stage[79]. To facilitate being in the moment on stage the actors also worked with contrasting emotions backstage; in this way they kept the front stage a secret to themselves until it was time to enter.

As Simmel argues in the quote above, the thoughts and feelings that continuously pass through our heads and drive our actions are to a large extent secrets, hidden from outer view. In order to inhabit a person on stage, the parallel world of secrets that accompanies the manifest world (which on the stage refers to such things as blocking and lines) must also be created on stage, albeit hidden from view, to make up a whole person. The actors need to create pictures of relationships and interactions and let these pictures open up as triggers for emotional experience and expression, many of which would lose their power if they were brought out in the open (ibid, p. 330).

In order to inhabit characters the actors need to find their characters' personality traits and corresponding emotions within themselves. That often implies finding negative traits and emotions that the actors try to avoid in their private life:

> I have this emotional instability that can come to the fore in some settings. But that is not something that I stimulate in my private life. I know that I can have this trait if I am provoked for example [...]. And then I need to enlarge that side in me, making that trait greater when inhabiting this character.

Apart from using private vulnerabilities the actors also used private experiences (Bandelj, 2003, p. 397ff). An actor that was about to play a murderer noted that he had never murdered anyone, but he described how he could use an experience he had of killing a hen. *"I have killed a hen. I have held that hen, lifted the axe and I have, chop, killed it. And that wasn't easy, it was horrible!"* The hesitation he felt and the pressure to go through with it to be

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[79] This fear of losing the ability to reach emotional experiences by articulating them is manifested in a saying about actors not wanting to go in psychotherapy; they allegedly need their neuroses in their work.

a "real man" was a useful experience when he needed to inhabit a character about to commit murder. Another actor described his feelings of kinship to a character that was restrained by his social class. The actor did not himself belong to a lower class but felt that he also had had to struggle harder than most people due to his ethnicity. The two structural obstacles of low class and divergent ethnicity were of different kind but worked the same way.

> To not be accepted by society and to be deprived of one's rights for example when standing in line to bars or at cash dispensers, or anywhere in everyday life…I recognize that underdog perspective that this character has. He knows that he is a strong person, he knows that he is good enough, but because of his class and blood he is inferior.

Some of the actors also described how they used traits or expressions from people in their intimate relations: *"It is often the people closest to you, those that you have the most access to"*.

Another way to employ private emotions described by some of the actors was to make use of the emotions that emanated from the theatrical work situation. One actor described how her insecurity as an actor could be useful in inhabiting the character's insecurities. *"It was really an overwhelming feeling of being inadequate and to not fit in, or not be able to perform. But, if I can use that, that feeling of being different and lost that my character feels"*. This use of emotions that arose from the working situation, although not at all connected to the character, could also be used in a direct way. For instance, an actor could use her/his irritability over the co-actors' inability to remember their lines or emotions that ensued from having been criticized by another actor or director, to give energy to the character's emotional expressions. When the director demanded more expression from an actor not agreeing with him, the next run-through of the scene became more emotionally intense. When an actor forgot to place a prop that was needed by another actor, the concerned actor placed the prop herself; the scolding that she then gave him (in character and as part of the scene being rehearsed) was more intense and aggressive. The scene benefited from that intensity and was praised by the director.

Collecting Emotions through Double Agency

Actors' use of private experiences is not always associated with their working with a particular character. In interviews, actors stated that they observed themselves when experiencing private emotions in order to use them in upcoming productions. A veteran actor said that *"when they are met by a big grief, actors cannot help to think about how that could be used if it were on stage…is this a label I should collect that can be interesting?"* Several actors testified that they constantly observed themselves acting and feeling in their private life. One actor described it as having a little man sitting on his

shoulder. In situations where most people would not be consciously preoccupied with how they express themselves or react, actors continuously register both experiences and expressions:

> There is a little man somewhere who is looking. And it does not make me stop being mad or whatever feeling I have. The emotion has its time and then I calm down and remember: yes, that's what I said, that's why I yelled, and that's how I moved. I walked back and forth, I did not stand still…and all those things that can be of use sometimes.

Experienced actors related these observations to emotional situations, while the novices also described how they observed their movements in general; how they walked, opened doors, and so forth. In order to be 'natural' on stage, with an audience looking on, they had to observe how their bodies moved in the world when they were not being observed by others.

Secrets

Actors often referred to the use of private experiences or connections as a secret that only they themselves knew about. They stated that these private events needed to be hidden to be of use. *"The effect that the text has on you digs up old skeletons in the closet. And then you bring them with you. You don't have to say that the reason that I do this is that when I was thirteen I experienced…"*. The actors could and did talk about private experiences to reach a common understanding of the play. However, the specific memory or person that the actor used in order to charge his/her character, to get energy in a scene and to instigate specific emotions was private and was kept a secret. The actors that I interviewed would sometimes tell me about past secrets that they had used in previous productions, but no one told me about their present ones.

> That time I really used myself, or rather a close friend of mine, from when I was young. And I could not have told anyone about her at that time, because that would have ruined it, really smashed the whole thing, the whole character. She was my secret in a way—that I knew how she was. I didn't mimic her but she was still very much present.

The rationale for keeping these matters secret is that they are too private, or cannot be articulated, or from a feeling that talking about it would hurt the performance: *"Then I wouldn't have anything to show through my performance, because I would already have said it"*.

During rehearsals the actors sometimes said that they did not want to talk about certain aspects of a scene. That denial was always accepted by the others. Although some actors said that they found that private connection early on in the rehearsal process, they did not begin to use it until the end of the rehearsal period. It was in the period immediately preceding perform-

ance, as the director's role changed and the actors started to take over responsibility for the performance, that the actors found themselves needing to call on the secret that made the character's actions urgent, not only walking in the by-then rutted paths of blocking, but actually *needing* to walk them. Sometimes the secret did not have to be a specific image or thought; it could be a use of contrasts. One actor used to fool around and make jokes before entering the stage as a dysfunctional, anxiety-ridden character. She told me that it was the contrasts that gave her energy: *"It is like what I'm doing on stage is a secret until I stand there"*. She kept her character's journey a secret to herself; this enabled her to treat the situations she found herself in as new every time she was on stage.

Professionalization of Emotions

To talk about a professionalization of emotions can give the impression that there is an essential difference between emotions that are experienced and expressed in private life as compared to those that are experienced and expressed in professional life. I would argue that this is not the case. As discussed in Chapter 1, *emotion* is a process encompassing perception of an object, affect and some form of information processing; this process activates stored experiences (Tomkins, 2008, p. 668), giving rise to a readiness to act (Frijda, 1986, p. 5). One cannot talk about emotions without reference to process; some aspects of the emotion process are always involved, whether the emotion is expressed privately or professionally. On the other hand, in order to use emotions in their profession, actors need to handle this process so that the emotions can be expressed in a professional setting. I have found that this professionalization principally comprises two aspects: being able to move swiftly in and out of emotions; and, being able to cultivate and execute precise emotional expressions. The general technique for cultivating emotions and reaching emotional precision was to let emotions run their course and then give space to the ensuing consequences. This technique was evident in three ways: First, work-related emotions were allowed to be expressed in order to get them out of the body and be able to go on working. Second, humour and laughter were used as protection when working with tragedy. Third, actors handled the shame that arose from expressing intense emotions with laughter.

Moving in and out of Emotions

Inasmuch as actors' work consists of embodying characters and their emotions, they need to have easy access to their own emotions. Several of the interviewees commented that it is part of their professional skill set to be emotionally swift, to be able to quickly go into and out of emotions. One of

the actors, who had had a role in a TV-series for many years, described how that job (where two episodes often were recorded each day) necessitated that emotions could be turned on instantaneously.

> It's a technique, but it's not the same thing as pushing button two and becoming angry. You have to find it. The technique is to find the emotion and find the content, although you don't need a grand start-up.

Several actors emphasized that it is not an automatic procedure, but rather that they have an ability to enter into situations, to have *"easy access to my fantasy"*. Emotional expressions which they have performed several times become worked out: *"Expressions you have done many times and are familiar with"*.

The ability to switch off an emotional expression without a preceding attenuating phase has been interpreted as indicative of manipulation (see Chapter 1). This interpretation is only partly supported by the material in this study. During the rehearsal period it happened repeatedly that the actors needed some time to let an emotional expression "leave the body". They had a thick voice or dried their tears while listening to directions for the next scene. On the other hand, they described how during performances, they were able to switch off an emotion as soon as they left the stage. Most of my observation work was of rehearsals, but on several occasions I watched a performance from the audience or behind the stage. On several occasions, I observed actors who had expressed strong emotions on stage leave the stage and immediately started talking to me or someone else in an every-day tone of voice. Thus, it is apparent that emotional expression can be switched off instantly. However, in the context of stage acting, this should not be seen as manipulative, but rather as decoupled (see Chapter 4). To be able to leave, or come out from, a specific, strong emotion, is one aspect of a professional skill. That skill is probably founded on the ability to quickly change focus or aim. During the rehearsals some scenes included swift changes of emotions, or it would happen that scenes rehearsed in succession included swift alterations of emotions. In one scene a character started crying and dried off the tears that were pouring down her cheeks. A few seconds later she was in the middle of a fit of anger. Sadness thus departed when she entered the next thought or motive. One actor described how he had learnt to "reset" to a new situation when he grew up:

> I adapt very quickly. I'm a refugee child and have escaped and had to forget my language in my country because you are not allowed to speak my language in school. And my father is politically active, the police arrives, 'no we don't know where he is'. And then when you came here you are a fugitive, you want to be accepted. You learn. Anyway, I think I have learnt that way. To find it quickly, to adapt, refocus.

This actor's experiences are probably exceptional but it is possible to find other parallels to actors' professional lives. They often work with several productions simultaneously and have other acting work on the side as well: replacing other actors, doing voice work, etc. They have to be able to change focus swiftly. During my field work, there were several occasions when I tried to talk to actors after the rehearsals, on our way out. I would start talking about the rehearsal that had just ended but the actor that I shared the elevator with, or perhaps walked together with in the same direction for a while, was already "somewhere else." Actors who had been very friendly and cooperative in the theatre only moments before now looked as if they hardly recognized me. One actor who recently had had a child described how she left her character behind in the same moment she came home from the theatre. *"You are thrown into another world whether you are prepared for it or not. Even if you think about your work until you are at your front door, you stop directly when you open it".* This ability to shift focus rapidly may be a prerequisite for arousing different emotions. First, the focus of attention changes; then it is possible for another emotion to come to the fore.

Emotions are in themselves processes, and thus fade out whether they are professionalized or not. Strong emotions such as anger and grief attenuate after a while. The muscular tension which is part of the emotion is followed by relaxation (Tomkins, 2008, p. 311). An emotion cannot persist indefinitely. If an actor has to express the emotion repeatedly, s/he has to rely on tricks to energize his/her body in order to arouse the emotion once more. As described in Chapter 4, the craft does *not* rely on an ability to lie that is to do surface acting without an emotional understanding of the character and situation. Therefore, in these instants, the actors have to trick themselves into actually feeling; they manipulate the experience, as it were, rather than the expression. An actor rehearsed a scene where she had to unreservedly go into emotions of pain and anguish. This particular scene could not be rehearsed mechanically but had to be played "body and soul". She felt that the emotion ultimately weakened but she had to *"manipulate my mind to bypass my body".* She used yet other thoughts and fantasies to find the proper experience over and over again.

Emotional Precision and Emotion Spill

In the theatre, the term spill light is used to describe light that spills over to parts of the stage where it should not be. Spill light is never wanted, but is sometimes present in rehearsals before the final lightning is set. In the same way actors sometimes talk about emotion spill during rehearsals[80]. In the performance the emotions are supposed to be expressed at exact points in the

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[80] The term the Swedish actors used was "känslorna slaskar". The translation "emotion spill" is mine and whether it is used by English speaking actors or not, I do not know.

dialogue or blocking, but in rehearsals, when the actors are trying out different emotional reactions and intensity, the emotional expression may spill to scenes where it should not be, or it may be more or less intense than it should be.

When an actor inhabits a character, it's impossible to include the entire complexity of the character. Some of the character's traits have to be cultivated and others downplayed or excluded. The actor has to find emotions that fit the character and the context of the play. This selection is described as an implicit, intuitive process that starts when the actor enters into the character's life situation: *"Part of the work consists of a kind of cultivation of a great many impulses that cross each other, and you have to choose".* Before this cultivation and organization of the emotions has been done, the emotions can settle anywhere; they spill over. The actors find emotion peaks and dash ahead through the action of the play, but their emotional expressions of those peak emotions may not be clear. If their expressions are muddled, you can perhaps see what is emerging, but the forward action of the play is hampered; it is like a straight road that has been turned into a switchback. *"It can be more spill. When you try out an emotion, you have to run it a little too much or prolong it, to find the proper limits".*

Actors who have to express many and strong emotions often use alternative expressions unrestrainedly in order to find the character's emotional tone or ambiance: they go into and out of laughter, crying and anger. Sometimes it corresponds well with the scene and sometimes it turns out oddly: the expressions go wrong, or the co-actors' responses are too strong or too weak. *"Now when we rehearse it's not any line that evokes this emotion, I have just decided that this is the emotion I'm trying out".* After a while it is possible for an observer to distinguish nuances and to recognize that certain emotions always appear in specific situations. Precisely at the line *"bread crust"* the voice thickened and tears started pouring down.

In this phase the director often intervenes and fine-tunes emotional expressions so that they won't interfere with the audience's understanding of the piece. On one occasion the director commented: *"Let's try to get rid of that fear. You don't hear what you are saying when you are scared all the time".* The fear had to be there for the scene to work, but it had to be precisely placed and timed so that it had vanished before the next speech. Overall it was evident that every phrase and expression on stage had to be cultivated and refined so as not to spill over. The audience interprets and organizes everything they see.

> As soon as you are on stage, you are a character. You can never be private on stage. You can be as personal you wish to be, but never private. Because as soon as you get private (snaps his fingers), it spills over.

As outlined in Chapter 4, cultivation of emotions goes hand in hand with decoupling them, leading them from private to character paths. This is evident for instance in actors' accounts of having no problems with expressing emotions on stage, whereas this may be difficult in private situations where many more conditions and constraints have to be taken into account.

> I could be outraged as easy as that, or delighted, or start crying, but at the same time...if I really get sad, I may be unable to cry. Do you understand? I recognize emotions and I can produce them, but if it's private, then it's private.

Several actors described how they in their private lives might be inhibited in giving voice to, for instance, anger, even though they had no problem expressing anger on stage. In actors' private lives, "pure" emotional expressions are contaminated by a multitude of earlier experiences and tend to fall into the experiential and expressive paths that that particular emotion usually follows for that individual. On the stage, where the character follows a more shallow and controlled path devoid of an extensive pre-history, the actors can more easily identify cultivated, "adequate" emotions.

Allowing Emotions to Run Their Course

Another aspect of the professionalization of emotions was facilitating the cultivation process, where emotions initially grew luxuriantly and step by step were weeded to refine the character's profile. Certain techniques emerged that the actors used when rehearsing. The general technique for cultivating emotions and reaching emotional precision amounted to letting emotions run their course and then giving space to the ensuing consequences.

As described above, one emotion can generate other emotions that ought not to be part of the current scene, but are derived from either the actor's or the co-actor's emotional expression. Often such emotions were expressed in giggles. It could for instance be situations with erotic implications, which made the actors feel embarrassed. In one scene the director suggested that one of the actors should look significatively at the other actor's groin. Both actors started to giggle each time they repeated that sequence. They giggled a while, started all over again, giggled again and started all over again. They let their embarrassment out and allowed it space. After a few repetitions they were able to do it without giggling. When one actor was supposed to dance in a scene, she protested. *"It's the worst thing I know to dance on stage, the absolutely worst thing I know"*. They tried the scene. They had to do it three times because both the actor that danced and her co-actor, who was supposed to interrupt her, laughed unrestrainedly. The co-actor said: *"we have to do it until we stop laughing, let the embarrassment come out"*. These open com-

ments on emotional experiences that came from working with the characters were common. As described in Chapter 3's section on 'Insecurity and Shame', the emotion work that is involved in the rehearsals was to a large extent out in the open in the productions I observed. In the above examples, it is worth noting that it is the character who behaves shamelessly. The shame that the actors experience can be explained by their embarrassment at having to engage in such behaviour. Their expressions of shame thus become a sign of their social appropriateness as actors; however, that shame is a sign of role distance that they need to pass through in order to inhabit their characters.

One of the productions that I observed was a tragedy that included several disastrous life stories. During the rehearsal of this play, laughs were abundant. Several actors told me that this is common when tragedies are rehearsed; they need the laughter to be able to go into *"all the darkness"*. They made silly entrances and they laughed when the characters were mean to each other. They laughed the first times that they used strong emotional expressions, for instance when they offended each other. When they had finished laughing, they did the scene again; they were then able to "run" the emotions without having to distance themselves by laughing.

On a few occasions, an actor started to laugh while her co-actor was serious and in line with her character. The laughing person sensed the emotional clash and stopped laughing: *"It's terrible but it looked so funny"*. When the co-actor realized that her partner was still "in character", she apologized—emotions that enter into a scenic situation are respected. They repeated the scene; now both were serious. Considering how role distance plays into this situation, we realize that the example of tragedy rather implies a distance from the uneasiness of having to experience negative emotions, rather than, as in the example of shame, distance from making a fool of oneself.

Compared to most other professions, stage acting has a very high component of emotion work. But stage acting is also different from other professions that have a high component of emotion work; the emotion work in stage acting is deliberate, articulated, and importantly, involves rehearsing of emotional expressions. This becomes clear when comparing research on the professional handling of emotions in other occupations as distinct from the professional handling of emotions observed in this study of stage acting. While nurses and call centre workers form 'communities of coping' where they can secretly ventilate their emotions (Korczynski, 2003; P. Lewis, 2005), the stage actors vent their work-related emotions in the open during rehearsals. Compared to other professions where professionalism is associated with seemingly non-emotional expressions, the stage acting profession has a more open (and in this sense, one could argue, a more straightforward) relationship to the emotions that emerge in the work situation: in order to be able to express emotions in a professional setting there needs to be room to ventilate the emotions that come as a consequence of that work.

As we will see in the next section, some of these fits of laughter that seemed to be needed in order for the actors to be able to sincerely portray strong emotions on stage can be interpreted as catharsis releases, e.g. related to unresolved embarrassment.

Private Implications of Working with Emotions

This section will examine various private implications of the actors' work with emotions. Such implications can be seen in different time perspectives, including short-term effects that are linked to the immediate work situation as well as long-term consequences that do not change in response to a certain work situation but rather can be seen as identification marks related to the acting profession as such. I have found that these consequences can be differentiated into three types: 1) Immediate, transient effects of being in a work-related emotion, e.g., talking to the director in an angry voice after having rehearsed a scene where one's character is angry; 2) More extended or recurring effects emanating from working with a specific production, that can appear either a) as an inability to relax from or switch off work and a resistance to entering into painful emotions, or b) as more patent and distinct emotional consequences where the character's emotional sensitivity infects, as it were, the actor's private life; 3) Long-term implications. These can arise through the actors' use of themselves as instruments, which may lead to their cultivating traits or abilities that become part of their patterns of behaviour in private life. Also, the fact that actors cooperate as professionals playing characters who are involved in private, often very intimate relationships is a singular combination that may have consequences for work relationships in general.

Clearly, there are a number of other work-related implications of being an actor that are not dealt with here, since our focus is on actors' work with emotions.

Short Range Implications

Several actors described being physically tired after rehearsals, particularly when their characters displayed strong emotions, much like athletes feel after a tough work-out. Then it may be necessary for the actors to *"play it dry"* during a rehearsal, meaning that the actor just indicates the emotional expressions without doing them. Intensive emotional charges cannot be sustained endlessly but fade spontaneously after a while (cf. the sense of release after crying, Tomkins, 2008, p. 311). Some of the actors also described the importance of having intermittent breaks from the work with their characters and the related emotions. The day-after-day probing into and experiencing of emotions related to vulnerable characters who are in difficult life situations,

gives rise to a need to break off and live one's own private life: to rest from tragedy.

However, becoming tired and requiring breaks as described above was mainly characteristic of the rehearsal period. In contrast, the actors stated that during the performance period, they rather became euphoric after having embodied emotions on stage. This can be described as an effect of the character's emotions in this phase having been decoupled from the actor's private emotions and adjusted to be expressed in proper amounts and at the right time. It should be noted that emotions that emerge during a performance are not only derived from the character, but are triggered by the intensity and by the concentration that goes with performing in front of an audience (Konijn, 2000). Several actors described the process of unwinding after a performance when they had been fully concentrated and been in the audience's focus for several hours. Some talked about how they easily ended up in a bar with a beer in order to relax. Others, who had small children, described watching TV late at night as one way to snap out of the arousal connected to performing. In the following section, this euphoria will be analyzed in more detail.

Catharsis

Most of the examples given so far depict negative emotions, negative emotions are prevalent in many plays. However, relationships that generate positive emotions do occur. One actor described a scene where she was part of a very close mother-daughter relationship that was portrayed in a physically quite advanced set. She described the experience of working together and being close to her co-actor, physically and emotionally, as a marvellous experience. In another play, where that passion between a man and a woman was expressed in a dance, the actors described a similar experience of euphoria. To be allowed to enter into character and show one's love to another person, was as satisfying in that moment as doing the same thing in one's private life, even though the relationship was quite professional.

> It is pure love, you just live it out like that…like wonderful! And after the dance, we are just happy to be allowed to be part of it. It is so rewarding [...]. I think it is both that you can express love and dedication and curiosity and be allowed to be in these feelings so unrestrained. Because they are marvelous feelings, and then that you are two.

Some actors described how playing tragedies, in particular, can feel like a kind of purification that generates euphoria:

> Above all, if it has been a tragedy you laugh very much. It's like some weight has been removed…then when it's over you can have kind of a sad hangover. But it's probably very individual. But it is a quite common feeling that it as a kind of joy that arises when you have done it.

This quote goes in line with Thomas Scheff's definition of catharsis (2001 [1979]). Scheff observes that modern society requires constant inhibition of negative emotions and therefore leaves people in need of discharge. He argues that the "thrill-seeking" that people engage in, when for example going on roller coasters or watching sad movies, is an attempt to relieve earlier painful experiences (ibid, p. 12). However, in order to find relief, i.e. catharsis, the emotion needs to be at a proper aesthetic distance (compare double agency); that is, the person needs to be in control. If the emotional experience is overdistanced the person does not experience the emotion enough to gain relief. By contrast, if the experience is underdistanced, the person gets overwhelmed by the emotion and thus loses her sense of control, the effect being painful rather than cathartic (ibid, p. 54ff). Scheff's examples of cathartic moments are related to observers (for example theatre spectators) and he argues that the observer is usually not aware of the source of distress that is being resolved when laughing or crying at a performance. However, this sense of relief could also be paralleled with the actors performing in emotionally intense situations, yet being in control of their expression. According to Scheff, the cathartic process for anger as well as embarrassment is through laughter (ibid, p. 47).

There was an example from my observations where expressions of anger indeed released feelings of euphoria for the onlookers. All the actors were crammed together in a small sound studio to record the sounds of a quarrel for a sequence in the production. They quarrelled in pairs of two (for a total of eight actors) and after a while several of the screaming actors turned red and hot. However, the actors who were not quarrelling at that moment and who had to sit quietly in order not to disturb the recording were all having trouble not laughing out load. People sat holding their hands in front of their mouths in order to silence fits of laughter. The instant that they paused the recording, everyone started to laugh. I laughed too and felt strangely exhilarated. I tried not to be so happy—it felt a bit wrong when the actors were so hot and uncomfortable—but when I watched the others, who obviously did not put any restrictions on their happiness, I let myself go into it. Afterwards I felt happy and relaxed. Later on some of the actors commented that it was a *"wonderful feeling"* to just watch the intense anger without any connection to something being really wrong—there was no context, just anger, and it made them exuberantly happy[81].

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[81] Scheff argues that the catharsis was related to unresolved embarrassment. When we were laughing, we were embarrassed by the actors' anger, but at the right aesthetic distance: "you identified with them enough to trigger your own unresolved embarrassment, but you also saw them from your point of view: you were both in and out of your own embarrassment, i.e. optimal (aesthetic) distance". For the catharsis to be about anger release it has to involve becoming hot (personal correspondence December 8, 2006). Whether or not the actors became hot because of the incident I do not know. Several of the actors took off their sweaters, but then the room was small and crowded, so it does not necessarily need to be connected to the experience of catharsis.

Another example came from an actor that played a victim of severe physical abuse:

> There were lengthy, extended scenes or monologues where only black poured out and stories about abuse that I had suffered. And I felt just fine, super! In my private life that is. I felt good, it was like a purification. It was so dark, so many heavy feelings, it was so… the audience was very much like this (shows a gesture of breathlessness). It was a good production. There was a large audience, an enormous intensity and people cried.

The citation above conveys an experience of being liberated from something horrifying by being protected "behind" the character. It goes without saying that there are numerous details, relating both to the individual actor and to the play that can affect the experience of being part of a demanding production. The last line in the citation above is probably significant: there was a large audience and they were deeply affected by the play. To act before a crowded theatre hall in front of an audience that is profoundly moved certainly added to the actor's well-being[82].

However, the aesthetic distance described by Scheff is important for the actor as well. If the emotional release on stage becomes privately connotated, and thereby underdistanced, both the performance on stage and the private dimension is jeopardized. The performance is at risk due to the blending of character performance and private emotional needs, and the private situation that gives rise to the emotions is not resolved due to the experience of expressing the concerned emotions in a professional setting—the problem still waits at home.

> The work lets you deal with your problems, although in another form, covered in something else. Like some kind of therapy where you get in touch with your feelings. And then, when you come home, it makes you feel as if you are catharized, almost as if you have solved your own problems. But you haven't…it's not like you have learned anything.

This type of emotional relief seems to be qualitatively different from a mere 'workout', for example engaging in physical activity in order to calm down to be able to better solve personal conflicts. In working with a play, the fictional relations and conflicts may be similar to the actor's private problems; resolving them on stage may thus convey to the actors the feeling of having solved their private situations, more than simply having calmed down.

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[82] Several actors testified that when acting in productions that were not that well received the climate of the group was even more important—when playing for half full auditoriums it could still feel meaningful if the actors could work well and have fun together, supporting previous research that has found that interaction between employees benefits well-being at work (Bulan, Erickson, & Wharton, 1997), although the stage actors stressed that it was not the interaction per se, but the quality of the interaction that was related to well-being.

Using Emotions as an Excuse

Emotional charges and expressions lay bare attitudes that violate conventional social behaviour, e.g. courtesy. Both in my earlier work as a director's assistant and during the observations in the present research I frequently witnessed how actors railed at supportive personnel, prompters, prop women and other technical staff. On the other hand, I have also seen actors behave aggressively while in character, and then, for instance, kindly ask their co-actor to change a blocking. Hence it is possible to cut off a negative emotional charge, but in an emotionally charged situation, it apparently does not seem to be as important to control oneself in interactions with lower status people, such as prompters, compared to high status co-actors or the director. In interviews with members of the technical staff I have been told that this kind of behaviour is not as common as it used to be. It is a generational matter; today's young actors are taught to regard everyone as equals and they restrain mean comments even when they are in an affected state; feelings of superiority have to be repressed in a democratic society (Wouters, 1991, 1992). Nevertheless, this is not an extinct phenomenon. As told by a female prompter:

> He hit the table and yelled at me. And then he started all over again. But at the same time he indicated that he needed prompting….it was just awful. But I thought he was ridiculous, so I wasn't that saddened. No one said anything then, it just went on, but afterwards the director and all kinds of staff told me: don't be sorry, he is just silly. He doesn't know what he is doing.

Even if outbursts of this kind are less common today because of a general societal development where we are expected to treat everyone respectfully, it seems conceivable that such rules of behaviour are put aside in places of work where there are figures that are thought to be particularly valuable—such as the eminent scientist in the academic world or the great actor in the theatre; these persons are considered to be so important that they are allotted greater "acting space"; moreover, the image of "the genius" or the extraordinary talented individual in itself includes transgression of socially accepted boundaries. *"He doesn't know what he is doing"*, as commented in the example above, does illustrate "the (male) genius", who has to be excused.

Play Specific Implications

The next time perspective deals with more long-term or recurring implications of actors' emotional work that may appear when they are engaged in the rehearsal of a specific production: a) an inability to detach themselves from work and a resistance to go into painful emotions, or b) more evident emotional consequences where the character's emotional sensitivity or vulnerability "infects" the actor in his/her private life.

Reluctance to Move in and Inability to Move out

On the one hand, actors said that they were more vulnerable when rehearsing a play than during the ensuing performance period. On the other hand, several actors said that the entire day before a performance was consumed by thoughts of that night's appearance on stage. They were unable to concentrate on anything else. As described in Chapter 3, actors have to prepare themselves: they have to eat, to concentrate, to go to the bathroom, and so forth—everything that is necessary to optimize that night's performance. Several actors followed a consistent personal procedure before they appeared at the theatre—for instance, arriving early to find the proper mood, or arriving late in order to get a boost into the stage. Some of the older actors voiced a distaste for these routines that they could not do without, but at the same time thought were a bit ridiculous: *"It is only theatre—it is not life, for God's sake! People die in war. Sometimes I get so tired with this theatre crap".* To have problems relaxing prior to performing is probably something that occurs in all professions that involve appearing on stage, among teachers, lecturers etc. However, actors face the specific challenge of having to embody a character, often harbouring distressing emotions that can be taxing to open up to night after night. When the emotions are particularly trying, like grief, which is rarely displayed ironically or with a distance, some actors tended to build up a resistance which some of them described as becoming more evident as they grew older. They just don't want to go into these painful emotions every night, however released they feel afterwards.

Furthermore, in contrast to the descriptions of relief when having experienced strong emotions, the resistance to going into specific emotions was often connected with thoughts and feelings that these emotions gave rise to and with the ways other characters related to their character. Plays where actors experienced humiliation and disgrace were seen as particularly demanding in this respect.

> Resistance to me is when I have to go into those feelings, on stage, in relation to the other characters, to embody someone who people think is disgusting, to be someone that people think is a real pain. Then I know that in the long run this work will affect me as a human being, very much […]. Over the years it has become easier though. I don't have to feel that total identification, but still I can feel, when you again and again stir up these feeling in yourself, that finally they are evoked so easily because you practice them. You practice this 'she is looking at me in a funny way feeling'.

The relational character of the emotions should be noted in that actors described an increased sensitivity to how people around them appeared to regard them. The actor excites or stirs up specific emotions during a quite extended period of time and thereby increases her/his sensitivity to those emotions as well as to the way other people react to them. They interpreted the

way other people reacted as indicating other people's criticism towards themselves.

To be Smitten (Possessed) by the Character

The actor's task is to inhabit a character "body and soul" and present it to an audience; thus experiencing emotions is a means rather than a goal. An actor has to try out different emotions for his/her own character and fine-tune them in relationship to the other characters on stage. The trying-out that is initiated and developed during rehearsals, where the actor has to open up emotionally in order to give life to a character, makes him/her vulnerable.

> Since we use so much of ourselves, you sometimes come home and feel quite loosened-up. All loosened-up, not knowing who you are, really. It is also because directing is a very personal thing, the director compares: I am like that character but you are not…she is the other way around, or she is that kind of a person and you are that kind. You talk very much in these terms, you gain very much, you really feel like being examined thoroughly as a human being.

Since the character's emotions are expressed by the actor, discussions about the actor's personal features, as compared to the character's personal features, may make the actor feel loosened-up for a period. This can be paralleled with Wharton's argument that people performing work that demands personal empathy can run a risk of not being able to separate emotional experience at work from the self, a phenomenon that in the long run increases risk for burnout (Wharton, 1999, pp. 162-163). However, according to the stage actors, these feelings of being "loosened-up" were associated with rehearsing. When the performance period had started, the characters were settled and stayed in the theatre to a larger extent, the actors retrieving their private selves outside of work. It seems plausible that when trying out different ways to handle new roles the association with the private sense of self is in closer proximity and thereby more vulnerable, whereas in the situation where an actor is playing a role for a longer period, both the growing experience and a settling in the demands of the role make the private actor less vulnerable.

The experience of being closely scrutinized can be trying, but also contains a dimension of development and increased self- knowledge that can be positive. Several actors, for instance, described how they discovered alternative ways of understanding events in their daily lives. When they rehearsed a play about a certain kind of person, perhaps a type of person they did not normally encounter, they took notice of such people in their private lives. In private situations, they would find themselves asking questions that would have occurred to their characters (although not to themselves). One of the actors described, for instance, how she started disputing luxury consumption

and pondered about welfare problems when her character wrestled with ethical issues. The actors were in their character's company between rehearsals:

> You can learn about a person and understand her intellectually, but you can't experience her until you have spent some time with her. It is the same thing with characters. I need to walk with her for a while, wondering what perfume she wears, look at the news with her.

Overall, several actors communicated that during the rehearsal period, they were self-absorbed and constantly concerned with how their character would relate to different situations. Several actors talked about how their character's frustrations or vulnerabilities could transmit to them in the rehearsal period: *"I did a character who was constantly angry. And I walked around and did not know if it was me or the character who…I was so terribly angry during the rehearsal period and I had such an immense self-contempt"*.

This actor recounted how she *"quarrels on the inside with herself"*. Other actors explained similar "quarrels" as a method of getting closer to the character, or the text, in different ways. They explored different ways of understanding the character's development and experiences in order not to be stuck in a one-sided cliché, but to accumulate several dimensions and nuances of the character.

Another way that the actors could be privately affected by playing in a certain production was that the theme of the play or the characters it involved could arouse feelings. Two experienced actors described how they unexpectedly became emotionally moved when they acted in a scene and thereby experienced feelings contrary to how their characters were supposed to react; they were moved as private persons when they suddenly observed the scene from the outside, even though they were on stage. One of them told me:

> I felt it there (points to her heart). It was hard to get rid of. It followed me like that for a day. I had to hug Lena (the co-actor) a lot. There was some kind of mixing, not of her and her character or me and my character, but still, it haunted me emotionally…I actually cried over that woman at home. It is not often that those boundaries are blurred. But sometimes.

Another actor related how she literally brought home her character's attraction to another character. When that assignment ended, the attraction turned out to be entirely work-related.

A difference between actors with less versus more experience is that the less experienced actors described more distinct private implications following their work with emotions on stage: *"I can feel that certain sides of me sort of leak out in my private life. Perhaps you become more aware of this the longer you have worked"*. This actor's expectations of being increasingly aware of private implications that emotion work may lead to, corresponded

with my material in that the most senior actors in a clear-cut manner decoupled emotions they portrayed in their characters from their private emotions. It is not clear whether this change was made through a conscious process; they tend to describe their early years in acting in rather broad terms: *"At first it was very anxiety-ridden. Before you understood, before you knew yourself"* and they talked about their ability to decouple professional from private emotions as something self-evident. However, when it came to long range implications, the experienced actors and veterans were the ones that had the most to share in interviews.

Long Range Implications

The long-term implications from working professionally with emotions that I found to be the most interesting came from actors' use of themselves as instruments. This led to a phenomenon wherein traits or abilities that they cultivated as actors could become part of their pattern of behaviour in private life. Another type of lasting impact derives from actors' cooperating as professionals playing characters who are involved in private, often very intimate relationships. Actors must be able to rapidly establish rapport with their co-actors, work closely together, and then split up to be members of new projects with new colleagues. This singular combination may have consequences for work relationships in general. Finally, the work with emotions in general and with double agency in particular, affect the way actors relate to what is considered private material, i.e. only shared within intimate relationships, versus personal material, i.e. shared in other social settings. However emotionally outspoken actors may be, moving easily in and out of emotions, some expressed a fear of loosing their spontaneity, due to an inability to not engage in double agency.

To Slip in and out of Emotions

> You have to turn it off when the performance is over. And that wears out your emotional life. It is so easy to turn on and off. It's part of your talent to be able to do that.

A consequence of the first type of impact mentioned above is an inclination, in one's private life, to dramatize communications in ways that are coloured by an ability to swiftly go in and out of emotions. This ability may be useful and amusing in social situations, but may confuse people who live in close relationships with actors:

> My son once told me: mom, you are so funny because you can laugh one second and cry in the next, it happens so fast. I don't understand anything. He thinks I'm just pretending because it's so fast. But I must be able to do that. Particularly when you work with movies or TV, because then everything has

to be fast. Just that with actors (laughs), pah, you identify them from far away: an actor, shit, can't they just take a Valium and sit down!

Another actor said that her husband sometimes felt abandoned when the two of them had been emotionally close and she, in the spur of a moment shifted focus and left him behind: *"…we get very close to each other for a while. And then he could feel it like pong, I am off, or inside other things. While he remains there and sort of…"*. The non-actors have difficulties keeping up with the actors' emotional volatility. However, this ability can also be used to turn off negative emotions that many people have a hard time putting to rest:

> Nowadays I'm not angry that often but sometimes when I get really mad…then I realize: now I have been angry just long enough, now I don't care any longer, then I simply cut it off. It's no problem. It's kind of a career damage (laughs).

In the same domain, but within the broader perspective of using emotions as tools in one's profession, is the observation that emotional experiences tend to be de-dramatized and regarded as less overwhelming; the actors in some ways developed an emotional maturity. In interviews, many actors communicated an acceptance of their own as well as others' emotions, and an awareness that emotions do not have to have as much significance as we often given them. Several actors expressed an acceptance of and reconciliation with negative emotions as part of the natural course of life. Some of them described that they dared to remain in negative emotions and to let them proceed naturally. They explained that if they stopped attempting to protect themselves against these negative emotions, they ultimately were not experienced as being as overwhelming as they would have been if they had attempted to resist them. If, on the other hand, all one's energy is used trying not be sad, for instance, it is harder to accept other, positive emotions; if sorrow is accepted, there is room for happiness as well. By and large, fear of experiencing and expressing emotions in private life seem to be more concerned with various effects of the emotions than with the emotions themselves. In my interviews, I learned that actors tend to peel off some of the effects that emotions may have, partly by expressing them under the protection of their characters and partly because they work with emotions continuously and thus get used to them and do not accentuate emotions or their effects as people generally do. This is clearly illustrated in the following example:

> This was on the first day of rehearsals. It happened when we tried out… he started crying. Tears flowed. And he held me and continued acting. And I became very moved. And then he just snapped out of it and said: 'no, perhaps that was not the right thing'. And then I thought... 'gosh it must be wonderful

to be able to be like that, just open up, and then: it is what it is. It is not: God I really felt so much!'

At the end of the quote above the actor describes how she wants to be able to experience and express emotions without much ado; that an emotion should not necessarily have large implications. To be able to look at an emotion for what it is, without a lot of connotations, is probably to some extent necessary and can be a relief to an actor. Emotions are often intensified by and mixed up with a sequellae of other emotions and thoughts that escalate and complicate our interpretation of them. Anger, for instance, may give rise to feelings of shame for how we expressed our anger and thoughts about having been rejected which, in turn leads to feelings of having been abandoned and more anger, etc. To be able to experience and above all, to express an emotion without all such ramifications naturally makes the actor's work more effective and less taxing as well. In the actors' private lives it may lead to less fearfulness of other people's emotional expressions, but also to an ability to notice and respond to them: *"You are used to work with feelings….to show your feelings and respond to feelings, it is not so for everyone out there"*. It should also be noted that, as compared to many other work places, the theatre has an emotionally permissive culture. To experience and (above all) to express emotions are such obvious aspects of performing that the presence of emotions is allowed and expected also outside of the rehearsing rooms and stages. The actors grow accustomed to their own emotional experiences and expressions in a culture that allows for and even encourages emotions both on and off the stage[83].

One might expect that the cultural permissiveness and expectations regarding emotions affects actors' perception of emotional expressions as every day phenomena (Butler et al., 2009). Nevertheless, to disassociate emotions both from an intimate sphere and from the subsequent emotions they give rise to breaks with the established way to appreciate emotions and may lead to clashes with other people's way to deal with emotions. The fact that actors experience and express especially strong emotions at work can impoverish their personal emotional register.

> It eats on one's personal expressions. If the person I love hears me on stage saying 'I love you' with the same tone of voice, or whatever we talk about, then it's a strange feeling that I may have used up something….And there this profession corrupts you in a way [...]. One corrupts one's own expressions, using the same expressions on stage as when you are in a private conflict or love affair or whatever.

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[83] An actor told me that she was often sent forth to represent the other actors in work related conflicts at the theatre. She thought that her way of expressing anger was useful in such situations—she became eloquent and relentless when becoming angry at things she perceived as wrong or unfair to the actors. This could be a sign of emotions consciously being used as tools off the stage as well.

This 'corruption' goes two ways: the people who live close to the actor may come to doubt the sincerity or uniqueness of their relationship to the actor, and the actor herself/himself can come to doubt her/his own emotional grounding. One example that the above actor mentioned was romances on stage where the actor *"checks out"* the feeling of being in love with a co-actor by observing and magnifying small impulses and perhaps experiencing a real crush during the rehearsal period *"protected by his character"*. These temporary, repeated emotions that are experienced in work can lead to an effect where the same emotions feel diluted in private situations.

Previous studies have argued that deep acting may result in self-alienation; that the repetitive change of authentic experiences into scripted ones may limit a person's ability to get in touch with her original feelings, to separate the real from the acted self (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 97; Hochschild, 1983, p. 132ff). According to Hochschild, this is a greater challenge for young workers with a less stable identity and for women who are expected to identify with men. In this study, the long term implications of emotion work were not associated with particular emotions or roles; the actors played multiple roles and thus experienced and expressed multiple emotions. As described above, the implications rather had to do with going in and out of emotions as such, implications that were associated with a long career rather than with inexperience[84]. These findings can be interpreted as affecting the actors' personal identity. As discussed in Chapter 1, a person's sense of identity is closely associated with emotions and with memories of emotional experiences. For people in general there is an important distinction between private and public aspects of self; an individual's private world, the thoughts and feelings we keep to ourselves, is often hidden and can be vastly different from our public presentation of self (Layder, 2004b, p. 17; Simmel, 1950, p. 312). Stage actors continuously work with their private emotions and thoughts, using them in a professional context where they become partly decoupled from their private origin. Fragmented aspects of their 'core' identity are used in temporary character presentations. The experiencing of emotions that originally were associated with their private identity become partly associated with a successively growing number of professional and thus public presentations, losing some of their private and 'core' qualities. Furthermore, the ability to swiftly move in and out of emotions emphasizes their situatedness, additionally decoupling the experiencing of emotions from a private sense of self. Actors, trained to ride on small impulses, easily slipping in and out of emotions can thus become uncertain if they "really feel the way they feel", to paraphrase a famous rock song[85].

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[84] My data is not sampled in a way that makes it possible to draw conclusions about gender differences. The long range implications were more thoroughly articulated by the men, but then all the veterans in my sample but one were men.
[85] "Walking in Memphis" by Marc Cohn, the lyrics go: "Do I really feel the way I feel".

To Be Intimate without Being Close

Expressing especially strong emotions towards another person is usually understood as coming close to that person; the emotional expression implies that one says something about oneself and in this way creates a relationship. In a profession where emotional expressions are part of one's daily chores, these expressions are not necessarily, or even only rarely, followed by private conversations. Emotions tend to be decoupled from the person to the exempt that they stand by themselves, in isolation; they do not, as in private relationships, results in some form of closeness between the individuals involved. A novice actor drew parallels to her years in acting school:

> It's like in acting school, sort of. There you knew everyone in your class. You knew exactly how everyone looked when they cried, when they were angry or when they were happy. You knew how they looked, almost, when they had sex I was about to say. But as a rule you didn't know anything about their parents, nothing about where they came from or….It is a weird boundary there, really. You sit close together and talk this close but you don't have any connection, most of the time. I'm like that myself but I try to counter it. Because I think that it's not good for you. I don't think it's good for you to come that close to another person and then just, like (shows a cut with her hand). I don't think that is how you are made. Perhaps you get a little peculiar at last by doing it [...]. That you in the end don't let anyone in. You have a role that you play for everyone. Because you can't cope with all the separations all the time.

Working together and expressing emotions without the private connotations that usually go with the emotions is described by the actors as problematic but is nevertheless a precondition for the work they do—a precondition that is made even more clear by the actual working procedures. Most actors work for shorter or longer periods in one theatre, and then move on to other projects in another theatre. Several of them described how in the beginning of their professional careers, they had difficulties coping with these departures and how they were hurt when relationships that they had thought of as being close ended abruptly with the close of one project and the initiation of the next project. With time and experience, however, they became skilled at protecting themselves from becoming too close. Thus, in the beginning of their careers, they attempting to stay in touch and for instance wrote postcards, but found that the other actors had moved on to the next project and didn't reply accordingly. After a while they developed a more *"unsentimental"* relationship to other actors. They learnt how to come close to their colleagues quite fast and at the same time be prepared for the approaching separation.

Friendships between actors that last for a long time do occur, of course. Because actors have to be able to be close to one another on stage, they have to open up, allowing for a certain intimacy, and there is room for one actor to

understand a relationship on stage as genuine whereas his co-actor is prepared to break it after the production is ended. A novice described how she understood that the veterans had learnt how to protect themselves not to risk being hurt:

> They have become skilled in doing that. They do not expose themselves. But when you meet those who have recently left acting school, they are like this (shows by gestures how she exposes herself totally). You become close friends at once, or that is how it feels.

The experienced actors could be personal, but they were not private, an issue that will be developed in the next section. Not one of the senior actors talked about this issue. Perhaps it has become a part of life that they take for granted and do not reflect upon. Another possibility is that they started their careers at a time when many theatres had large regular ensembles and so did not have to break up as is common today. The senior actors I interviewed had all, with some exceptions, been employed in the theatre where they still worked, although some of them were working as pensioners.

Double Agency in Private Life

A fundamental aspect of double agency that is captured by the scale that is used to measure self-management (Snyder, 1974, see Chapter 1), is that persons who score high on this scale also have a high degree of "social appropriateness", i.e. they don't want to stick out but strive to be like everyone else. The self-supervision that these persons apply aims at adjusting their behaviour so as to make it harmonious with those they interact with at the moment. On the other hand, a consistent observation in this study is that the supervisory ability that the actors build up certainly can be used to control their own expressions but doesn't necessarily aim at being like everyone else. The work with emotions in general and with double agency in particular rather affects the way actors relate to what is considered private, i.e. only shared within intimate relations, versus personal, i.e. shared in other social settings. The use of double agency thus seems to aim at not transgressing the boundary to that what is private in other social contexts. Actors, in their profession, are trained to express emotions and to relate to personal experiences to the extent that the boundary to what is private, as opposed to what is personal, rather refers to issues that are 'raw' or unsettled, that the actor is still wrestling with, than to what is "one's own". For many people the private and the personal may be more or less the same, whereas professionals who work with strong emotional experiences probably have less overlapping between these spheres. An example would be that members of a nursing staff who communicate the news of death to relatives do not see dialogues about death as private to the same extent as do people in general. Actors can express frustration about their skill in covering their expressions too much, using

self-monitoring, but it is more a matter of fear of losing one's spontaneity than being anxious not to be like everyone else.

However emotionally outspoken actors may be, easily moving in and out of emotions, some expressed a fear of losing their spontaneity, due to continuous and deliberate double agency. In the section "collecting emotions through double agency" it was shown how actors in private, emotionally laden situations both experience emotions and simultaneously register how they arise and are expressed. Actors can transfer this way of functioning and use their own emotional expressions and "trigger points" in their work with a character. However, observing one's emotional expressions as a professional tool can be difficult to give up in private situations.

> Privately you want to switch off that actress, you don't want her, but you have to have her, so you don't fall over the ramp. I think you have to. But on the other hand you have to see to it that she talks to you about the right things, that she doesn't start talking about…what colour I have when I say something, or how many degrees I want to be on. That she doesn't interfere too much…, it is a little schizo, but when you start comparing with other professions and others like that, then you realize that everyone is a little bit like that. You are aware and not aware at the same time.

The ability to be able to express emotions easily is generally considered to be spontaneous. But actors, who move in and out of emotions swiftly, do not necessarily regard the expression per se to be a spontaneous act. Spontaneity is related to authenticity and when both the experience and expression of emotion is trained to come swiftly the association with authenticity becomes ambiguous. In studies on effects of emotional labour the trained emotional responses are often limited to specific emotional expressions e.g. smiling (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1999), but for the actor who expresses a range of emotions it is the swiftness itself that can be regarded as problematic. The "changes in action readiness" (Frijda, 1986, p. 5) certainly provides a base for an analysis of emotional expressions as being spontaneous and sometimes even overwhelming. However, as we have seen, this notion needs to be modified. As the actor above describes, it's a rather common phenomenon in all types of acting to monitor both experienced and expressed emotions. Actors are probably more aware of this double agency function because they so clearly need it in their profession, the result being that emotions are partly depleted of their association with spontaneity.

Summing up

The first dimension of the professional – private interface that was investigated was the connections between private and professional emotions in the actors' work. These connections can be divided into two types: thematic and

open connections, which emanate from conversations within the ensemble; and, specific and secret connections, drawn upon by individual actors to give urgency to their actions and to instigate emotions. The thematic conversations support the creation of common references in the fictive world the actors and director are building, in turn establishing a group climate within this world as a common frame of reference. The specific and hidden connections are used to understand and inhabit the individual characters.

Furthermore, the actors use double agency in their private lives to collect emotional experiences and expressions that can be used in future character work. The interface between professional and private emotions is not clear when it comes to using private experiences to load specific emotional expressions. The reason for this professional grey zone can be related to the gradual professionalization of emotions that comes with more experience. The experienced actors, the older experienced and veterans in particular, had developed an ability to move in and out of emotions swiftly, and the need to use private experiences seemed to have faded; their paths to emotional experience were thoroughly ploughed and could be accessed with less strain, making the need to dig into private experiences seem less professional. However, those actors had worked for decades. The need to use private experiences or persons to load specific emotions was common among novices and young experienced actors. It would seem wrong to regard actors' work during the first twenty years or so as unprofessional.

The second dimension that was investigated was the professionalization of emotions. The actors who declare that they can cry or be angry without difficulty on stage, but not necessarily in their private lives, disclose a cultivation of emotions, which derives from the condition that a character by necessity cannot be as complicated and multifaceted as a real human being. In private life there are an array of limitations for how we are expected to experience and express emotions, with the effect that the ability to cry on demand, for instance, cannot be realized.

The professionalization of emotions emanating from the rehearsal process principally comprises two aspects: to be able to swiftly move in and out of emotions; and to be able to cultivate and make precise emotional expressions. It was found that the general technique for cultivating emotions and reaching emotional precision amounts to letting emotions run their course and giving space to the ensuing consequences. To be able to go into and out of emotions in a work-related situation, it is necessary that the emotions, or rather their outcomes, are cultivated. It is impossible to continuously feel ashamed because one has been angry if you have to turn anger on and off repeatedly during a rehearsal. The emotion is thus cultivated in a cognitive sense—one realizes that emotions are not that hazardous to experience and express. Furthermore, one allows the emotional sequellae to surface as well, without devoting energy to trying to cover them up. The actor giggles when the shame reaction following an emotion emerges, or blows her nose osten-

tatiously when a crying fit leaves her body after a tragic scene. Since these after effects are allowed to be shown, they eventually lose their significance and thus disappear; the work can continue.

The third dimension was the private implications of working with emotions. Actors' work with emotions evidently affects their private lives in different ways. During rehearsals, the continuous releases of emotion can become exhausting; leaving the actor drained and in need to distance herself from the work now and then. On the other hand, during the performance period, when the emotions are set and cultivated, the release of emotion rather results in feelings of euphoria after a performance. When emotions are experienced and expressed at a proper aesthetic distance, often in performance, but sometimes during rehearsals, they can result in a feeling of catharsis. However, if the actor has not decoupled the emotional experience from private connotations when performing on stage, the expression becomes underdistanced and thus fails, both as a performance on stage and as a cathartic experience. During rehearsals, but also in performances, the experiencing of emotions sometimes lays bare attitudes of superiority towards supporting personnel in particular, attitudes that are not in tune with modern conventional social behaviour and that are not expressed openly in less emotionally charged situations.

The play-specific implications nuance and limit the potential for cathartic experiences. Actors express a resistance to entering into painful emotions in general and emotions that evoke sensitivity in relationship to other people in particular. The sensitivity that comes with playing characters that experience humiliation or disgrace opens up an emotional sensitivity that infects, as it were, the actor's private life. Furthermore, the rehearsal period when the characters' and consequently the actors' emotions are explored, can result in feelings of being loosened up and also a fuzziness in the divide between the character's emotions, and the actor's private emotions. When working to inhabit an angry character, the actor can find herself becoming more angry in private as well.

The long range implications generated by the actors' use of themselves as instruments are mainly associated with the actors' ability to swiftly move in and out of emotions. This ability can be used to dramatize communications in private life, but also results in a less dramatic relationship to emotional experiences and expressions in general. However, this de-dramatization and decoupling of emotions from private connotations can cause problems in the actors' intimate relations. Members of the actor's family may notice an erosion of emotions, since they have to witness private expressions that normally are reserved for the private sphere shown on the stage. Another effect is actors' ability to catch minute emotional impulses and *"ride on them"*. They slip easily into emotions, because it is part of their professional training. If, for example, they act at being in love on stage and catch at small impulses of attraction to their co-actor, they can test being in love with

her/him, even if the incitement is too weak to last outside the stage. Or they can slip into feelings of anger or sorrow on quite weak stimulation because they are trained to do just that. The experience of an emotion may be strong in the moment, but its interpretation can be trivialized if it is often repeated. In our society strong emotions generally, and certain emotions in particular, are restricted to the private, intimate sphere. Actors express these emotions in professional contexts, which can result in their feeling that the emotions are worn out and lack intimacy or exclusivity for persons in their private lives.

Furthermore, actors' cooperating as professionals playing characters who are involved in intimate relationships affect their relationships at work. They need to learn to be intimate without being close; a singular combination that may affect their private – personal interface, narrowing what is perceived as private to issues that are not worked through. Furthermore, the continuous and deliberate use of double agency can lead to a fear of losing one's spontaneity. Emotional experiences and expressions in many ways become volatile and less associated with a sense of personal identity.

6. Discussion

The research and analysis that I have presented in this thesis clearly show that the rehearsing of roles for the stage is more difficult and painstaking than has been assumed in dramaturgical theories so far. The playing 'at' used by Goffman to differentiate everyday role players from stage actors limits the role simile in unnecessary ways. Moreover, the concepts of surface and deep acting, as described by Hochschild, do not fully capture the complex interplay between the experience and the expression of emotions. The findings show that by thoroughly scrutinizing the actual practice of stage acting it is possible to gain insights into everyday role playing in general and other professional role playing in particular.

The emotion work that permeates the process of rehearsing a new role for the stage, particularly in the initial part of the rehearsal process, revolves to a large extent around dealing with feelings of insecurity and shame. In the start up phase, the focus lies on creating a work climate, constituting a 'mental incubator', within which the actors and the director can work, protected from outside scrutiny. The emotional pain that permeates this phase is an indispensible part of the rehearsal process and does not fade with more experience. The actors' growing competence lies rather in their ability to accept and relate to the pain; they learn to observe their own feelings while they are experiencing them, letting these feelings have their time.

When the group is established, the climate becomes more relaxed and it becomes possible for private expressions to seep into the rehearsals. For the individual actors, relaxation is dependent on their having attained a basic level of emotional connection with the rehearsed character. A mismatch between actors with different level of connection to their respective characters can lead to feelings of intrusion into the other actors' private boundaries. This is because the actors often start 'playing around' with their characters in between the actual work on the floor. Before the actors have started to inhabit their characters, the playing around would involve the private actor and thus be too personal.

The rehearsal and repetition of emotional expressions presupposes a gradual decoupling of the original privately connoted emotional experiences that actors use to find their way into their characters. The private experiences are converted to professional emotional experiences and expressions that can be triggered from the situational cues in the play's staging. The process of professionalizing emotions revolves around the interplay between emotional

experience and expression and has been analyzed using the notions of "deep" and "surface". Depth implies an emotional expression that is rooted in a concomitant emotional experience, while surface indicates that an emotional expression is created through a deliberate change of body or facial expression, unaccompanied by a congruent emotional experience. In stage actors' work with inhabiting characters, both these modes of expression need to become habituated, i.e. attain a specific and stabilized form. This is achieved when the expressions are defined and settled physically in relationship to specific situations, which may include co-actors. Contrary to what one might expect, habituation paves the way for vitality since the actors can rely on their body memories for emotional expressions and thus keep their focus 'in the moment'. A 'deep' experience results in an 'action readiness' that guides the expression without manipulation; the expression becomes habituated without conscious management, although the actor needs to experience an emotion to express it. After the experience has been expressed, the physical manifestation can be repeated with a weaker base in a simultaneous experience, since the body remembers the expression. A surface expression is manipulated from the start and can be habituated without an origin in an emotional experience—surface acting not going deep, but becoming "second nature". In an actual performance, habituation of surface and deep acting are used in varying degrees, both independently and simultaneously. The different modes of expression may be supportive of each other or may contradict one another—an expression that is rooted in a concomitant emotional experience can be enhanced to prove a point, or partly hidden to present contradicting motives.

These findings indicate that surface and deep acting are in reality endpoints in the interplay between two processes. The first process accounts for the emotional expression and can vary from completely manipulated to fully habituated. The second process represents the experience of emotion, which can vary from being fully to not at all anchored. These processes can be more or less correlated at any given time.

The decoupling and professionalization of emotions facilitates their repetition and makes the transitions in and out of emotions less strenuous. It is important, though, that the emotional expression is not completely decoupled from a concomitant experience; when that happens, the expression loses its vitality. The decoupling can be described as a loop. When the distance from the experience has become too large, the body needs to recharge with new experience in order to maintain the habituated expression. Furthermore, since the decoupled emotion still rests on an emotional experience, there is a risk that it can backlash and generate privately connoted emotions, derived from personal vulnerabilities.

Another aspect of the staging of characters' emotions is that in order for emotions to be credible on stage, they must be cultivated. That is, they must be purer—more refined and less complex—than real life emotions. In real

life in general and in our private lives in particular, emotions are embedded in an array of complications and contradictions that would seem obscure and unintelligible if presented on stage. Another aspect of the cultivation of emotions is that the limitations and inhibitions that the actors may experience in their private lives in relationship to experiencing and expressing emotions may be surmounted in their professional work. Actors can cry or be angry without problems on stage, even if they have difficulty doing so in their private lives.

Research on emotional labour focuses to a large extent on the effect of emotions at work and on coping with emotions at work, with a particular interest in the interface between professional and private emotions. In stage actors' work, the professionalization of emotions that is developed over the course of a career principally comprises two aspects: the ability to move swiftly in and out of emotions; and, the ability to cultivate and deliver precise emotional expressions. The general technique for cultivating emotions and reaching emotional precision is to let emotions run their course in rehearsal and give space to the ensuing consequences. Since these after effects are allowed to be displayed, they eventually lose their significance and disappear and the rehearsal work can continue.

The private implications of working with emotions are of several kinds. When emotions are experienced and expressed at a proper aesthetic distance, often in performance, but sometimes during rehearsals, they can result in a feeling of catharsis. The rehearsal period, when the characters' and consequently the actors' emotions are explored, can result in feelings of being loosened up; this period can also create ambiguity in the interface between the characters' emotions and the actors' private emotions.

The long range implications generated by the actors' use of themselves as instruments are mainly associated with the actors' ability to swiftly move in and out of emotions. This ability can be used to dramatize communications in private life. It also clears the way for emotions to be allowed, expected, and not fussed over in everyday life. However, the de-dramatization and decoupling of emotions from private connotations can cause problems in the actors' intimate relationships. Actors slip easily into emotions, because it is part of their professional training. The experience of an emotion may be strong in the moment, but its interpretation may be trivialized if emotions that commonly are restricted to the private, intimate sphere are continuously expressed in professional contexts, leaving the emotions worn out and devoid of intimacy or exclusivity for persons in their private lives. Furthermore, the continuous and deliberate use of double agency can lead to a fear of losing one's spontaneity. Emotional experiences and expressions in many ways become volatile and less associated with a sense of personal identity.

Based on these concepts and ideas I will now discuss some implications that my findings may have for areas other than the theatre. Some of these implications are raised in a speculative vein.

Surface and Deep Acting

The most prominent focus in this thesis is the interplay between the experience and expression of emotions. I will therefore start with a review of some of the important concepts in this area.

The relationship between experience and expression can vary between actors, within a performance, or between performances. For example, actors vary in their proximity to different emotions. An actor may experience a certain emotion during only one of 20 performances; in the other nineteen performances, he expresses the emotion without a corresponding experience. However, his expression is based on earlier experiences and is partly brought to expression through body memory, i.e. a combination of a gesture, or a certain tone of voice and a bodily impulse that together create an illusion of an experienced emotion.

In most occupations, there is no written script to follow—at least not to the same extent that there is in the theatre—and therefore interactions are less predictable. Even so, in any profession that involves meeting with patients or customers, there are undoubtedly recurring patterns. The doctor who has had to deliver the news of a cancer diagnosis to many different patients probably finds that there are similarities in each conversation of that type. It seems likely that the doctor can also recognize different types of reactions and respond accordingly. Each such meeting is not altogether novel.

Moreover, there are plausible commonalities as between actors and other professionals in the work of expressing emotion. The experienced professional can use earlier experiences and deliver expressions that originate in those experiences, but are expressed in the moment and decoupled from those prior experiences. In several occupations there is an advantage or a requirement not to engage too much in one's experiences since they may hinder an optimal performance.

Another aspect of actors' work with inhabiting emotions that may be relevant to other occupations as well is the deliberate cultivation of emotional expressions in order to use them in a professional setting. A character on stage is by necessity less complex than a real human being. Actors therefore refine their characters to make them understandable and credible and to make the story move forward, unhampered by the contradictions that are common in real life. This cultivation also applies to the emotions that are expressed on the stage. Actors who describe how they can cry on stage but not in their private lives, show how the expression of emotions in our private lives is affected by inhibitions, social rules and habits that do not apply to the actor performing on stage. On stage, there is a need to find expressions that the audience can understand and the actors thus work with the basic emotional repertoire that is shared by all people in that culture (That statement does not deny the fact that expressions are to a great extent characterized by

culturally defined expressions.). This cultivation of expressions is probably present in other occupations as well, especially in our meetings with people outside our organizations. In order for strangers to understand us, we need to use a more refined emotional repertoire than we use in the private sphere, where there is more room for expressions of complex and individual emotional experiences than in our professional life.

Habituation is basic to all emotional expressions that are repeated. It is a fundamental aspect of the socialization of emotions and, on a more conscious level of awareness, a prerequisite for being able to repeat professional emotional expressions. As a consequence, habituation can take different forms. In studies on service work, the routinization of emotional expressions tended to result in "mindless" automaticity of behaviour. In the present study, the opposite was the case. Habituation was used to further the possibility of being 'in the moment' on stage, being able to respond to new actions or nuances in the behaviour of co-actors or the audience without going out of or losing the character. Habituation is a prerequisite for staying 'in the moment' without becoming overwhelmed by emotional experience. This type of habituation is therefore more likely to be found in professions that demand emotional presence and involve strong emotions. Even in routine interactions, people adjust in emotionally complex ways as encounters unfold (Layder, 2004a, p. 26). If encounters are charged with intense emotions, the professional worker needs to be prepared for those intense emotions in order to be able to handle both their experiential and expressive aspects. The nurse student that made efforts to suppress feelings of anxiety when dealing with a trauma patient could not perform a good job because her efforts to suppress those emotions interfered with her performing her duties (Smith, 1992, pp. 70-72). Similarly, a police officer who needs to deal with an anxiety ridden person, e.g. a suicidal person being driven to a psychiatric emergency ward, needs to handle both the sick person's and her/his own feelings in order to respond properly. Both the nurse and the police officer need to experience the emotions of these situations less strongly in order to do their jobs well. One can assume that a combination of decoupling and habituation is used in these situations. Early in their careers, the nurse and the police officer have not yet professionalized their emotions; their actions are based on private experiences of the evoked emotions. These privately ploughed tracks are over time turned into professional tracks decoupled from the originating private experiences. The professional way to express emotions becomes habituated and can be performed with less anchorage in experience. For instance, such a professional can take a scared person's hand when the situation calls for it while investing only a limited amount of experience in order to behave appropriately. However, if the emotions were to be completely decoupled from experience and performed mechanically and mindlessly, they would not serve their purpose. The nurse who puts her hand on a patient's shoulder without conveying a feeling of caring—but rather as if

following instructions from a manual to 'put your hand on the patient's shoulder'—does not reassure the patient, but indeed distresses her/him. Furthermore, when work that should be based in an emotional experience lacks that base, the work becomes less meaningful to the worker, who loses an important part of the motivation to keep on working.

For the emotional expression to be effective the experience needs to be recharged now and then. When nurses recount that 'some patients just get to you' it may be a sign of a recharge rather than a sign of a lack in professionalism. One could argue that the emotions cannot be totally decoupled from their private origin if they are to operate in arenas where the worker must be present in emotionally intense situations.

The complex relationship between the experience and the expression of emotions probably also colours our private lives. To begin with, people differ in their emotional expressiveness. Some people have a small range of expressions where the smallest expression is a sign of a strong experience. Others always enlarge their expressions, and express even the smallest experience with large gestures. What would be regarded as superficial and artificial in one person is natural and genuine in another.

However, large expressions also demand longer phases of moving in and out of emotions—a big expression of sadness with tears and crying cannot be turned off in an instant if it is to make a credible impression. When expressing large gestures they need to be allowed to run their course so as not to lose credibility, even though the experience might fade faster. It is harder to back away from large expressions, both due to the fact that the expression in itself can induce an emotional experience and because the break between the emotions becomes clearer when the expressions are large. For example, one can imagine needing to laugh at it all in the middle of a fight, or wanting to just stop being angry; still, if the expression of anger was large enough, one is rather obligated to keep up the spirit of anger, even if the underlying emotional experience has faded. In order for an emotional expression to be taken seriously, it is expected to follow certain tracks and not to simply stop somewhere along the way. If it does, the whole emotion can be interpreted as fake. It may be necessary to keep the expression of emotion going, even though the corresponding experience has faded or vanished, both to make sure that the original expression that actually was experienced, is taken seriously, and to avoid the risk of being dismissed as superficial.

Situational versus Memory-Based Emotions

In line with Tomkin's definition of emotions, our emotional experiences are tightly intertwined with our memories of previous experiences. These are continuously coassembled when we face new experiences and therefore, in the long run, affect our sense of self. During rehearsals of new roles these private connections come to the fore and the actors use their private experi-

ences in order to reach an understanding of their characters and to find a way into the characters' emotions. When the characters start to become more settled and the emotional expressions are set, the private connections in many ways lose their importance. The emotions on stage become more based in the here and now, scenic situations. In this way, strong emotions and emotions that initially are associated with the private sphere can be expressed in a professional setting without being directly connected to the actor's private emotional experiences. The emotions have become decoupled from their memory-based origin and the way they are expressed can be altered without affecting their private connotations. The character needs access or proximity to the actor's private experiences in order to come to life, but when the character is settled the work is to a large extent decoupled from private emotional experiences.

Hochschild argues that young and inexperienced workers, in particular, have difficulties juggling several attitudes and tend to be affected privately, that is, go through a transmutation of their private feelings (1983, p. 133). Handling the emotion work required in acting was indeed more difficult in the rehearsal phase, particularly for inexperienced actors. However, my study found two differences compared to Hochschild's contentions. First, actors rehearsing new roles had more difficulty separating from private emotions, due to the fact that private memories were needed to inhabit a new role. This private association can have transmutational effects, but it is nevertheless a prerequisite for role playing. Since the private connection is a predisposition it did not fade with seniority in itself, but rather with experience of a specific role—new roles required private connotation also for more experienced players.

The second difference was that when the character was settled, these transmutation effects disappeared to a great extent. At that point, the emotions used in the character performances had become decoupled from the actors' private experiences and could be performed with emotions based in the scenic situation. Even though an actor feels 'loosened up' and frail during the rehearsal phase, they can retrieve their sense of private boundaries in the performance period. This experience of temporary sensitivity is probably also applicable to other types of role playing, such as those performed by service workers or nurses. In contrast to Hochschild's description of delusion, the actors actually use their own experiences in order to inhabit roles. In that sense, they are more tightly tied to the characters during the rehearsal phase; during the performance phase, however, they are able to retract their private memories and replace them with situational cues, thereby attaining a proper space between their private and their professional emotions.

Nevertheless, since the character's emotions are originally based on private experiences, there are still threads back to these emotions; this implies that there are latent risks for private emotions to return to the fore. If the decoupling were to be total, then the actor would turn into a marionette, or

someone unable to interact in socially appropriate ways. In order to be able to 'be in the moment' these threads to the original emotional experiences need to remain intact even though that implies a risk of being overwhelmed or privately vulnerable. Even a trained nurse, for example, needs some foundation in private experience of what her/his patients are going through in order to act in appropriate ways, although these experiences to a great extent need to be 'parked out of the way' in order not to interfere with the tasks at hand. If the nurses', or the actors', emotional reactions are completely decoupled, they lose their ability to be 'in the moment' and tune in to what the situation demands. This would imply that the transmutation effect is not an ever present and continuously growing risk but is primarily associated with situations of special vulnerability.

Distance and Proximity

As we saw throughout the empirical chapters, stage rehearsals focus to a large extent on how the actors' bodies are situated in relationship to each other (blocking). The varying of distance and proximity are in themselves vital for the instigation and regulation of emotional experiences and expressions. These bodily actions were performed using surface acting, deep acting, and a combination of the two. The actors used distance and proximity to show differences in status to the audience and as experience openers, as for instance when two people who were attracted to each other avoided eye contact during the first half of a scene in order to set off an attraction rush when their eyes finally met. In an article about dramaturgical stress, Peter Freund argues that although studies in the sociology of emotion investigate social place, there is not enough focus on the "sociophysical" space, i.e. "the simultaneous symbolic *and* somatic management of self-other boundaries" (1998, p. 270). In many ways that is what rehearsals are about; for the characters to manage the 'sociophysical' space and for the director and actors to enhance the drama by making it difficult. In our everyday life we for example associate proximity with intimacy but the actors use the space between bodies in a whole range of ways to induce, regulate and move out of emotions both in themselves and in their co-characters. They also use the interaction between costume, i.e. status and power of the role, and distance.

One of the actors that I interviewed had been employed by the police academy to train police students how to act in 'real' situations. The most prominent emotion-eliciting factor had been the physical distance between the persons involved. If a person with power (for instance, a police officer in uniform) does not want to frighten a person without power, or with less power, then the powerful person must consciously keep a greater than normal distance from that person. The power associated with the uniform affects how closely the person who wears it can walk to others without frightening them; the uniform is more important than the person's other actions.

Actors work constantly with distance. Distance can set the ground rules for how to interpret a situation or how to act in it. Changes of distance can by themselves create emotions. The regulation of distance in interactions is an interesting aspect to consider in studies in other professional settings. As described in the sections about specific emotions, anger is associated with moving towards, and fear with moving away etc., but how is physical distance used in relation to emotions in actual interactions, and how is the expression related to the experience?

The Audience

The audience has not been in focus in this thesis, but I have nevertheless discussed some aspects of the audience's reception of the emotions that the actors present, as well as the audience's responses to those emotions. I have argued that it is by way of the process of rehearsal, where emotions initially emanate from actual experiences (and not clichéd interpretations thereof), that the presented emotions resemble private emotional expressions to the extent that the audience can understand and experience them. Yet there remains a space for the individual spectator to interpret the emotion from her/his individual frame of experiences, thus making it personal to him/her. The fact that the experience for the actor is not as strongly felt during performance as during the rehearsal period, along with the fact that the actor is more in control during the performance period, is probably a necessary precondition for the members of the audience to have a personal space for their experience. A strong private emotional experience presented by an actor does not communicate as well as an expression that is partly a physiological response and partly a conscious and deliberate expression. The audience needs a clearer, more unambiguous manifestation of emotions than we present in our private lives. It appears that the audience often cannot detect the difference between an experienced emotion and a habituated emotional expression that is not as anchored in a corresponding experience.

There are many factors that influence the reception of a play, and we do not have room to consider them here. However, from an emotional labour perspective, it is interesting that in order for the presentation of emotions to be effective in a professional setting, they have to be based on some form of experiential understanding and therefore to have a private connection; however, they do not have to be fully experienced when expressed. We have discussed how this is done from the actors' perspective by the use of habituation, decoupling and cultivation. For the audience (in the context of theatre) or for the client, customer, or patient (in the context of other professions), the presentation of emotions is potentially more effective when it is professionalized, i.e. distanced from its private, memory-based origin.

Scripted Roles

This section will discuss some aspects of role-playing that are related to stage actors working with a predefined script. In what ways does the presence of a script affect the acting, and what relevance may that have for other types of role playing?

Hastrup argues that a difference between acting in real life and acting on stage lies in our intentions. In real life, our intentions are mostly implicit, while on the stage they need to be externalized (Hastrup, 2004, p. 76). That is probably often true regarding everyday life, but when it comes to professional role playing the intentions are more often articulated. Both the flight attendant and the physician often have pronounced purposes for their interactions. The necessity to find a motivation to act in ways that are purposeful for the goal of the professional interaction are often expressed at courses and in the sales business it even has an aphorism: "are you hungry?" Compared to our private lives, professional role playing involves interactions with articulated goals and is therefore more purposeful. Interaction training is also common in many occupations and it is relevant to talk about these interactions as being framed by scripts.

Scripted Freedom

As described above, studies of occupations that have predefined interactional scripts that the workers must follow have often focused on the routinization of work (Leidner, 1993, 1999) and on the mindlessness that such work entails (Ashforth & Fried, 1988). The script simile from the theatre in many ways fits with these descriptions; the script outlines or defines the characters and what they say in the same way as the blocking decides the movements in detail. Based on a cursory look, the actors are merely marionettes that attend to detailed and predefined tasks. However, as we have seen, although the frames are tight and to a large extent predefined without the actors' ability to interfere, actors still experience freedom within the frames. In interviews, the actors often described the tightly scripted practice as a predisposition for creativity. The script opens up for an ability to search for new grounds. If the frames were too wide, the focus would get lost, and it would require a lot of courage to improvise without the frames of a script. This need for a scripted freedom can easily be transferred to other artistic professions. The dancer has an even more tightly defined script, the musician as well, etc. But can the presence of a predefined script also demand more than 'mindless' behavior in other, non-artistic professions?

The routinization of interactions looms large in several occupations where the scripted tasks are repeated without much room for alterations. The stage actors also have predefined and rigid scripts and they repeat their performances night after night. However, during rehearsals the focus is to find a

coherent track (curve) through the play that the character can follow and that fits with the actors' understanding of the role. Even the veterans, who can go in and out of emotions and have 'finely tuned instruments' to work with, essentially need to integrate the role with their own subjective understanding of it. For the performance to be convincing, the character and the actor have to fit and the progress (curve) through the script needs to be coherent.

To transfer this notion to other occupations, it seems that it is not the rigidity of the script in itself that results in 'mindless routinization' but rather the lack of some interpretative freedom within the frames. Interactions with customers, for example, can be rigidly scripted but need to have some space for interpretation in order not to become routinized. There needs to be a space between the role and the character so that the individual actor (sales person etc.) can find a fitting subjective approach. Additionally, there are other aspects that are important if the work is not to be mindless—for example employers' willingness to grant the workers some interpretative space, the level of management surveillance, and the workers' readiness to claim access to space even when not explicitly granted. Furthermore, the worker must be motivated to find a fit between role and character; if s/he instead works with a rigid role distance, then there is no potential for a character performance that goes beyond the role in the script.

The Reflective – Spontaneous Paradox

Another aspect of scripted emotional role playing is the ability to move in, perform, and move out of emotions. For the actors to manage these transitions, two seemingly opposing factors are vital: on the one hand, letting go of their guards, opening up for unregulated emotional experiences, and being 'in the moment'; and on the other hand, constantly monitoring their actions, holding on to the 'as if' in the situations they encounter. This is achieved through double agency, a highly reflective component of the actors' work implying that they simultaneously act and monitor their acting. This reflective - spontaneous paradox was nevertheless regarded as necessary for an emotionally vibrant, yet controlled and professional presentation. As described in Chapter 4, the actors developed a functional double agency during the rehearsing period. In the initial phase the monitoring aspects were indeed of a reflective kind, although they did not work simultaneously with the acting; they pondered, acted, stopped to value what they had done etc. As the rehearsals proceeded the monitoring became more of a 'split in two', acting and monitoring simultaneously. However, when these two components merged the monitoring aspects turned into a corrective rather than a reflective capacity. In the backs of their minds, the actors were constantly aware of what they did and how they acted but they did not invest a lot of engagement in it. If the monitoring aspects takes too much energy it interferes with the acting, but the actors need this function on a more advanced level of aware-

ness than in every day life as a constant reminder of the fictitiousness of the situation. The double agency turns into a habituated corrective, although probably more consciously used as an instrument than for people in general.

It would be interesting to study the development of double agency, as well as other aspects of the development of the interplay between experiences and expressions of emotions, during a long performance phase. During my interviews in this study several actors talked about the ups and downs of long performance periods and how they needed to recharge their experiences to keep up a vital performance. New private instigators can be used, but the interaction on stage per se, as well as interaction with the audience, seems to play a more central part in the continuous efforts to keep a performance 'alive'. This shift from using primarily yourself to using the interaction in itself and the audience/customer/patient as experience instigators would be interesting to study in more detail in different professional settings.

Private/Professional

In the stage actors' discussions during the rehearsals it became clear that what is considered private is less related to the subject of discussion, but rather to how it is discussed and under what forms. The theatre comes out as a place for conversations and part of the actors' professional knowledge is that of a skilled conversationalist regarding dramatic topics—to be able to talk about matters of life and death in a professional setting without distancing themselves from the emotional experiences that the topics induce. The skill of using private experiences in order to understand a professional situation is probably also found in occupations that deal with life and death situations 'for real', care, policing etc. with a varying degree of outspokenness about the source of understanding. In the stage acting profession these parallels to private experiences are needed to be able to express the emotions of the character. The experience and its expression are monitored and controlled to be of use on stage. Most studies on emotion regulation focus on "suppression of feelings"; for the stage actor it is rather a matter of using the emotions they induce and registering how they arise, for example how one increases the anger in an argument, how one displays one's love to someone, etc.—probably common in private life as well but in a less reflected variant.

Another intriguing topic is the relationship between emotions that are used in private and professional situations respectively. As described above, actors could make cultivated emotional expressions on stage but not necessarily in a private context. They also talked quite straightforwardly about emotions that they had a close proximity to, versus emotions that they needed more work to experience and express in professional settings, and they related that to inhibitions and norms in their private lives. The relationship between emotional experiences and expressions in private and profes-

sional settings respectively does not seem to be clear-cut and it would be interesting to compare and relate specific emotions in the two settings.

Private Implications

As discussed above the private implications of working with a specific role eventually attenuated when the character had settled and the actor to a great extent had decoupled the emotional experiences from their private origins. However, this continuous decoupling and habituation of emotional experiences and expressions per se affected the actors in the long run. Actors are trained to move swiftly in and out of emotions, but the swiftness can make the emotions volatile. This volatility works two ways; the actors can start to doubt their emotional experiences as being truly related to their sense of self, since they are so easily triggered: 'do I really feel the way I feel?', and the people in their surroundings can doubt their emotional sincerity if they change in their emotional expressions too swiftly: 'do they really feel what they express?' This emotional volatility has several implications. It clears the way for emotions to be allowed and expected and not needed to make such a big deal about in every day life. It can also affect a person's sense of self because when the experience of emotions is disassociated from previous memories and to a great extent is only situated in the current situation, they also lose their connection to a person's identity. Since our personal identities are linked to our emotions and our accumulating co-assembly of previous experiences when facing new emotional experiences, the continuous efforts to decouple experiences from their memory base can result in an uncertainty as to whether the emotional experiences are foremost connected to who we are, or merely instigated from the situation. One can speculate that people who work in occupations that involve handling strong emotions commonly decouple these emotions from their private connotations even when meeting them in a private sphere, e.g. the midwife that meets worried mothers-to-be in her private life or the therapist that receives anxiety dripping stories at a party who turn on their professional face and thus avoid the private associations.

We have discussed the way situationally based emotions can emerge and be used in a professional setting. However, there are also private arenas where emotions are expressed and interpreted as situational rather than connected to previous experiences.

In a study about tango dancing Maria Törnqvist found that the intimacy associated with the dance, the touching and strong emotions that were needed to perform it, were decoupled from the dancers' private sphere (2010, p. 40); the dancers found an instant intimacy, but decoupled from earlier private experiences—they did not know any private details about one another, and they changed partners frequently during a night of dancing. The expressed emotions were situated in the here and now without reminiscences

of earlier experiences or promises for future ones. These situational emotions can probably be found in other social arenas where people meet during shorter intervals but nevertheless express intense emotions, like role playing (for example, when people recreate historic events 'live' in large get-togethers), all sorts of dancing, demonstrations, sports supporters etc. One can expect that the novices' experiences of these events can be strong and exhilarating due to their decoupling from the 'ploughed paths' of every day life. However, in the long run, the emotional experiences related to these situational intimacies and strong emotional expressions probably also attenuate. Like the actor who uses emotional experiences and expressions commonly associated with a private sphere in a professional setting, the emotions can become worn out when repeated without an accumulated or coassembled memory base. Furthermore, the swift moving in and out of intense emotions per se also seems to make the experiences volatile. To find the intense experience anew the actor/dancer/demonstrator needs to become a novice again, finding a new role or a new arena.

Appendix 1

Creating a Role through the Principles of Stanislavski

The ideas of Constantin Stanislavski on the prerequisites of acting, known as "the system", were developed in the late 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century and have since then set the tone of acting pedagogic in the western theatre tradition[86].

The Stanislavski system consists of several principles that are explained with examples from the practical work in an acting school. His system, here presented with reference to the most significant principles, is originally presented in the eyes of an acting student and delivers real life examples on how to work to become a stage actor, but are at the same time grounded in theories of human behaviour such as intentionality, double agency, and our need to always interpret and trying to comprehend the situations we meet. Stanislavski wrote one of intended three books on pedagogy before his death in 1938. The other two were put together out of notes in his archives. The first, "An Actor Prepares" (1936), is focused on the inner work of the actor which is also the main theme here making this book the central source, his other works being used more sparsely.

Stanislavski's central maxim is *be truthful!* The actor shall not *play* but *be* on the stage. The characterization of the role does not only lie in the gestures and mimics but also engages the actor's inner person, especially her/his emotions. But where is the line drawn between the private person and the actor? What is the difference between being oneself and portraying a role? These questions are elaborated upon in the exposition of the Stanislavski system.

Since Stanislavski's death a lot has happened in the pedagogic of acting. Today, other forms of theatre such as physical and formalized expressions are often more or less integrated with the more psychologically grounded style represented by Stanislavski. However, the emotional work of the actor

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[86] For a thorough analysis of how emotions were perceived in acting theory since the 17th century until now and how the earlier theories pioneered the Stanislavski's system, see "The Player's Passion" (Roach, 1993).

which is in focus here is still, to a large extent, grounded in the central maxims of Stanislavski and will therefore be described in some detail.

"The System"

> It is only when an actor feels that his inner and outer life on the stage is flowing naturally and normally, in the circumstances that surround him, that the deeper sources of his subconscious gently open, and from them come feelings we cannot always analyse. For a shorter or longer space in time they take possession of us whenever some inner instinct bids them. Since we do not understand this governing power, and cannot study it, we actors call it simply nature (Stanislavski, 1961 [1936], p. 15).

In this quote the essence of the Stanislavski technique is expressed; the goal for the actor to strive for is the seemingly paradoxical task to simultaneously act and be natural. S/he should use her/his conscious and subconscious emotions. These emotions cannot be forced to the fore and are, according to Stanislavski, not accessible for rational analysis. Stanislavski's system thus aims to entice the emotions most appropriate for the character at hand.

Be truthful!

An actor is per definition someone who acts. Nevertheless Stanislavski's system is built upon the supposition that the actor shall be genuine or natural. What does this mean? No actor has in private experienced more than a fraction of the situations and emotions that are conveyed in the characters s/he can portray. But, as Stanislavski points out, there are a few basic emotions and basic motives that we all have experienced to a lesser or higher degree and thus potentially have access to. For example, if a character experiences a feeling of being totally abandoned and alone, the actor might not have had that feeling as an adult and thus cannot identify with these feelings when s/he first becomes acquainted with the role. But s/he might have had these feelings as a child, even though the situation, in an adult's perspective was not so dramatic. Many children have for example escaped from home maybe just for 20 minutes and a block away. Then, feelings of abandonment may have been strong. Three complex concepts are central here according to Stanislavski: the human nature, imagination/intuition and the subconscious. Human beings can with help from her/his imagination get access to and use her/his subconscious. Emotions and thoughts from earlier times are preserved even though the events that provoked them no longer carry the same meaning. With using her/his imagination the actor can lure out the emotion

without using the actual event as a trigger. The emotion can, with help from the imagination be remodelled and adapted to the needs of the character[87].

> Always and forever, when you are on the stage, you must play yourself. But it will be in an infinite variety of combinations and objectives, and given circumstances which you have prepared for your part, and which have been melted in the furnace of your emotion memory. This is the best and only true material for inner creativeness. Use it, and do not rely on drawing from other sources (ibid1961 [1936], p. 167).

The actor is truthful in the sense that s/he always acts her/himself; s/he uses her/his own feelings, which is not the same as being limited by her/his own private experiences. With the help of imagination and empathy s/he can portray other people's stories and experiences. There exist a limited number of basic feelings in the same way as there exist a limited number of basic tones in music. All imaginable nuances of rage, envy, love etc are combinations of these basic emotions with various intensity and depth in the same way that rock-'an'-roll and chamber music is built upon the same tones, though in different constellations, keys and tempi.

How is it possible to act and at the same time be truthful? There is a famous quote from the actor Salvini saying that "An actor lives, weeps, and laughs on the stage, and all the while he is watching his own tears and smiles. It is this double function, this balance between life and acting that makes his art" (in Stanislavski, 1961 [1936], p. 252). What Salvini describes resembles how dreams sometimes are perceived, something we have all experienced. Events and feelings are truthful, we really are happy or terrified and can wake up laughing or crying. At the same time we often experience that we are dreaming. But, and this is fundamental, we cannot analyze the dream while dreaming. In the same way the actor experiences the emotion s/he portrays, at the same time that she observes her/himself. S/he lives the role and thus cannot analyze it at the same time. S/he is however aware of the outer reality and can adapt to it.

The actor is on the stage to give life to character for the spectators to understand and engage in. If s/he is all involved in her/his own emotions the message will be blocked for the audience. In order for the actor to convey the character in a way meaningful to the audience s/he has to have control

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[87] In the United States in particular there has been a disagreement about how to use earlier feelings and thoughts. Two different schools have crystallized that both are based on Stanislavski's pedagogic: the Strasberg technique, known as "the method" and the other school represented by such influential teachers as Stella Adler, Robert Lewis and Sanford Meisner. Strasberg claims that specific events from the actor's childhood shall be actualized and used in its raw form, while the other school stresses that the use of the original, often tragic, event can hurt the actor and that the event no longer has the same meaning and thus is useless.

over the emotions that the character will go through. Then the audience is more emotionally involved than the actor her/himself.

> Our art seeks to achieve this very result and requires that an actor experiences the agony of his role, and weeps his heart out at home or in rehearsals, that he then calms himself, gets rid of every sentiment alien or obstructive to his part. He then comes out on the stage to convey to the audience in clear, pregnant, deeply felt, intelligible and eloquent terms what he has been through. At this point the spectator will be more affected than the actor, and he will conserve all his forces in order to direct them where he needs them most of all: in reproducing the inner life of the character he is portraying (ibid1978 [1949], p. 70).

Another aspect of being truthful that can seem to be contradictory is the request to be truthful without being clinical: "What we use…is truth transformed into a poetical equivalent by creative imagination" (ibid1961 [1936], p. 151). This refined realism is necessary for the spectators to be able to hold on to their empathy with the characters and not be taken out of the fiction by some ultra real detail. If Jean in "Miss Julie" would kill a real siskin on stage that would be sickening to the audience and turn its attention from the play itself. The disgust the spectator can feel when realizing that he has killed a bird is enough and keeps the deed within the limits of the play.

As If and Given Imaginary Circumstances

The actor shall act *as if* a certain situation arises, not try to believe that it actually does arise. This gives the actor a liberty not having to believe in something that really does not exist. Stanislavski uses the example of a scene where a madman is trying to break into a room on the stage. The actor shall, with help from her/his imagination, react to that predicament. The imagination is released on the basis of *as if* but is inhibited by the concrete reality. A suggestion to imagine a real lunatic would make the situation forced; there is no real madman behind the door. The use of *as if* gives the actor confidence; s/he can start working with her/his emotions: "Consequently, the secret of the effect of *as if* lies first of all in the fact that it does not use fear or force, or make the artist do anything. On the contrary, it reassures him through its honesty, and encourages him to have confidence in a supposed situation" (ibid1961 [1936], p. 44). The term *given imaginary circumstances* is closely related to *as if*. In order to imagine a situation the actor has to make the situation vivid. Both the factual circumstances: where does the scene take place? Who is the co-actor? What is the goal of the action?, and the meaning of these circumstances for the character have to be taken into account. Together they create a purposeful context for the imagination that can give the scene life and content: "*if* gives the push to dormant imagination, whereas the *given circumstances* build the basis for *if* itself" (ibid1961 [1936], p. 48). The actor builds, on the basis of the manuscript and her/his imagination a

web of prerequisites for her/his presence on the stage. Thereafter s/he uses *as if* to bring these prerequisites to life.

Action

Drama comes from the Greek word for action. Action is thus a key word in the theatre. The actor is constantly active, acts without breaks, on the stage. The action can take place on an inner or an outer level. Immobility often implies intense inner activity. According to Stanislavski there can be no breaks in the actor's work on the stage, s/he always expresses something, both on the outer and on the inner level.

> …the external immobility of a person sitting on the stage does not imply passiveness. You may sit without a motion and at the same time be in full action…Frequently physical immobility is the direct result of inner intensity, and it is these inner activities that are far more important artistically (ibid1961 [1936], p. 34).

Action, according to Stanislavski, has a special relationship with emotions: the activity always precedes the feeling. Stanislavski stresses that to feel never is a goal in itself. It is not in the actor's interest and is also often foredoomed to failure to try to arouse emotions – sadness, anger or joy, without a context. The actor shall primarily have a reason and a goal for being on the stage. The goal gives rises to actions and these in turn give birth to emotions. Emotions cannot be forced; they are the results of activities. If the actor, for example in an improvisation is in a hurry to catch a plane and cannot find the keys, the catching of the plane is the goal which evokes the activity of finding the keys. When the actor has begun the search the impatience, the stress and other emotions that are relevant in the situation arise.

Another important point considering action is that a specific behaviour can have a range of different meanings and thereby be executed differently even though it from a superficial point of view looks the same. The meaning of the action is essential; the physical appearance is of less importance. A person washes the blood off her hands in one way if she has just killed someone and in another way if she has cut herself slicing bread.

> With what is Lady Macbeth occupied at the culminating point of her tragedy? The simple physical act of washing a spot of blood off her hand…A small physical act acquires an enormous inner meaning: the great inner struggle seeks an outlet in such an external act (ibid1990 [1924], p. 8).

Be Specific!

Stanislavski's system implies that actors always shall strive to be natural. Human beings are intentional; our experience of the world and our behaviour is always directed towards something. We always perceive a cause of and a goal for our feelings. This should also apply on stage. A common mistake

acting students' do is trying to act *in general*, for example trying to be angry. The result becomes strained and unnatural. The emotion always has to be connected to a specific event or cause, otherwise it becomes impossible to portray credibly. The actor constantly has to focus on the reasons for acting the way s/he does, never loosing her/his attention: "On the stage do not run for the sake of running, or suffer for the sake of suffering. Don't act 'in general', for the sake of action; always act with a purpose" (ibid1961 [1936], p. 37).

To be specific can also imply the dividing of reasons and activities into smaller units; if the cause to be on stage is too general the *as if* can loose its credibility for the actor. Actors often have to work with imaginary tools, for example throwing imaginary apples because real ones would soil the stage. To make the action credible it is important that the actor divides the activity into small units that each contains the element involved in picking up, looking at, maybe dusting off, raising one's arm, sensing the weight of the apple, throwing and finally watching the effect. This splitting up of actions is used in the preparatory phase:

> …the division is temporary. The part and the play must not remain in fragments. A broken statue, or a slashed canvas, is not a work of art, no matter how beautiful its parts may be. It is only in the preparation of a role that we use small units. During its actual creation they fuse into large units. The larger and fewer divisions, the less you have to deal with, the easier it is for you to handle the whole role (ibid1961 [1936], pp. 108-109).

The Acting Partner

Communication is important off the stage, but ten times more important on the stage. If the actor looses contact with her/his partner the audience will be unable to understand the events taking place on the stage. In a conversation the actor always has to talk with her/his partner – listen and respond, never at her/his partner, just delivering a line and then wait for the next cue. The co-actor is the only reality on the stage. The stage design, the lighting, the manuscript are all representations of reality but the co-actor is real, and the only one the actor can rely on. The actor is constantly, together with the co-actor, creating his/her character. If one actor is insecure in her/his interpretation s/he can find support in another actor, because they all have the same task; to create life on stage. The stage design, on the other hand, gets its meaning through the acting on the stage but is dead by itself.

Communication between actors does not require lines. Silence can be just as expressive. Stanislavski gives the example of an engaged couple just having had a fight. During a dinner that follows the woman refuses to speak with the man; she tries to ignore him; which has the opposite effect; trying to ignore someone necessitates constant attention to the person in question. In Strindberg's "The Stronger" there are two roles; one without any lines. Nev-

ertheless, the silent part is a leading part and the contact between the two is intense.

Concentration of Attention

To be surrounded by many people leads to scattered attention. In the theatre, where the purpose of the audience is to look at the stage, the concentration of the actor is easily lost and drawn towards the audience. The actor therefore has to practice her/his ability to focus.

The dimension of private - public is also of importance for the ability to concentrate. A conversation on a bus takes place in a public place while a love scene is private and demands a more focused concentration of attention. *Public solitude* Stanislavski calls the situation on stage where the actor through concentration of attention can experience solitude on the stage. He gives the example of a maharaja that challenges the candidates for a minister post to walk around on the town wall with a brimming glass of milk. Many tries but only one succeeds despite the efforts of the spectators to distract him. When asked if he had not heard the screaming and shouting he answered: "*No. I was watching the milk*" (ibid 1961 [1936], p. 81).

Appendix 2

Word List of Theatre Terms Used in the Thesis

Blocking
Blocking is the movements on stage, from walking across the stage to the blinking of an eye. Furthermore, blocking does not only imply the movements in themselves, but predominantly their relation to the other characters. The blocking of one character affects the actions and emotions of another character.

Builders
People that build the set design in the work shops.

Canteen
The cafeteria in the theatre house for staff only.

Character
In this thesis character stands for the interpretation of a role.

Costume designer
The person that designs the costumes for a production. The costume designer is engaged early in the production and works in collaboration with the director and set designer.

Director
The artistic leader of a production who prepares the production with the artistic team of set designer, costume designer and light designer. The director is responsible for the blocking.

Dramaturge
An artistic adviser to the director and responsible for the script. Sometimes the dramaturge reworks the script for a specific production and is then often

active in the rehearsal process as well. The dramaturge is responsible for the content of the programme (play bill).

Dress rehearsal
Rehearsal with, set, light, make-up and costume.

Dresser
A person that is responsible to prepare the costume to be ready before performances and who assists the actors to change costumes during performances.

Dressing room
A room where the actors dress, prepare, put on make-up, relax etc. The dressing rooms are often shared by several actors and the proximity to the stage is a sign of status—the closer the room is to the stage area, the higher rank of the actor.

Ensemble
In the initial phase the ensemble is the group of actors that work with a production. Eventually other technical personnel that are involved in running the production are also part of the ensemble.

First reading
The first day of the rehearsal period of a play.

Greenroom
The back stage lobby where the actors and other staff can sit before, during, and after the performance.

Hogging the limelight
When actors steal focus from the other actors putting their character in front of the play and the teamwork.

Make-up artist
The person responsible for the make-up and wigs (hair) for the actors before and, if needed, during the performance.

Make-up designer
The person who creates the make-up and hair design for a production. The make-up designer sometimes manufactures the wigs and tries out the make-up/mask before or early in the performance period.

On the floor

The word for working with the staging of a play in a rehearsal room or on stage (in contrast to reading the script).

Opening night

The first public performance for a full paying audience.

Playwright

The person who has written the play.

Première

Synonymous with opening night.

Producer

The head of a production that is responsible for budget, time plan, work environment and all contacts between workshop, costume department, stage department, marketing department and the artistic team.

Prompter

The person who is responsible for having a latest update of the script (which is always changed during the rehearsal period), and who does text rehearsals with the actors. The prompter sits in front of the stage during rehearsals and performances and can help the actors if they loose their lines.

Property maker

The person who makes and buys props that are needed for the production. Sometimes a responsibility that is assigned to two different persons.

Props

Objects that are needed on stage e.g. glasses, books, bananas etc.

Prop-woman/man

The person that makes sure that all the props are present before rehearsals and who prepares the props before and during the performances.

Rehearsal room

A room where the actors and director rehearse in the first half of the rehearsal period.

Rehearsal schedule

A schedule distributed regularly with information about what scenes will be rehearsed, where and, when the actors are needed. It can also involve other

relevant information such as costume fits etc. At a big theatre house there are strict rules about when the schedule is due and it is being distributed to all the staff in the house.

Role

A person or other creature in the manuscript.

Run-through

A rehearsal of several scenes in a sequel.

Script

The manuscript. It can also imply the blocking.

Set designer

The person that creates the set design and supervises the manufacturing and building on the stage.

Spill light

Spotlight that has spread to places on the stage where it should not be.

Stage manager

In Sweden, the person responsible for the running of a performance. The stage manager is responsible for the sound cues in the performance and also calls (cues) the actors before they are supposed to make entrances etc.

Stage technician

A person that builds the set design before the performance and attends to changes in the set during the performance.

Theatre executive

The manager of the theatre.

Work shop

The place where the set design is manufactured.

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