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An Analysis of Empathy in Psychodrama

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

An Analysis of Empathy in Psychodrama

by

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Master of Arts in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor C. Jason Throop, Chair

Empathy is a serious issue for understanding how everyday communication happens, especially for anthropology since it is crucial to the quality of sound fieldwork. This thesis examines marked empathy in the clinical context of psychodrama by focusing on a specific case from a psychodrama group I oversaw. I argue that through six key strategies, a psychodramatist gradually perceives the protagonist's referential totality toward other subjects and the world, helping the psychodramatist better empathize with the total embodied situation of the protagonist (the client). The most fundamental of these techniques is role reversal, through which psychodramatists, protagonists, and group members rebuild the situation of a particular event, and its related subjectivities and intersubjectivity that a protagonist has embodied in the past. This thesis also discovers four basic positions for understanding the essential positions of understanding a particular event in psychodramatic context. Finally, this thesis discusses the difference between intimacy and closeness, which rely upon different bodily horizons and, thus different means of empathizing.

Keywords: empathy, psychodrama, role reverse, closeness, intimacy

The thesis of Siyat Ulon is approved.

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INTRODUCTION

In their article, *Whatever Happened to Empathy?* (2008:385), Douglas Hollan and C. Jason Throop point out that while empathy has recently emerged as an important area of study in many different disciplines, including psychology, neuroscience, psychiatry and other clinical practices of psychotherapy, anthropologists have paid surprisingly little attention to empathy in the context of their work. This disciplinary omission is particularly odd given that empathy is a crucial skill for helping anthropologists understand and make sense of the experience of others, specifically the way in which others perceive and react to the world. Studying empathy ethnographically may also help anthropologists better understand how everyday communication happens. Moreover, it might provide important insights into why conflicts do or do not occur in various communicative contexts. Studying empathy can also shed important light on the ways that people experience, attend to, and cope with suffering in their surrounding sociocultural context.

As Hollan and Throop (2008) note, whereas everyday engagements with empathy very often go unnoticed and thus remain largely "unmarked," in some communities and contexts, empathy may also be singled out and "marked" as a skill that particular groups, professions, or individuals either innately possess or actively cultivate. Psychodrama, a group psychotherapeutic approach, is a prime example of such a form of "marked empathy." Practitioners trained in psychodrama work to empathize with clients in a co-constructed intersubjective context. Generally speaking, psychodrama is defined as a type of group psychotherapy: a method of healing that uses action as a kind of intervention (Kellermann 1992:31). Action here is understood as the display of people's dynamic interactions—acted out on a stage and not just

described verbally. In psychodramatic context, a protagonist is asked to reenact ways of speaking, emotional reactions, physical and bodily gestures, and any other related expressions produced by themselves or others in the course of their lives. Whether acting as a client, patient, group member, or some other participant, in the act of demonstrating events in his or her personal life or dynamics in an interpersonal relationship, a person becomes the protagonist (Blatner 1996:2).

The aim of this thesis is to examine the anthropological relevance of the form of "marked" empathy at play in psychodramatic practice. Rather than focus on the therapeutic benefits of psychodrama, the thesis will explore how, in the context of psychodrama, psychodramatists develop empathic understanding of their clients through manipulation of six key strategies, the most important of which is role reversal. After a brief discussion of what psychodrama is, how it has developed, and what it seeks to achieve, I will outline these key strategies.

Jacob Levy Moreno developed psychodrama in the early twentieth century and claims to have invented the term group psychotherapy. He also created sociometrics, which, along with psychodrama has influenced psychotherapy and social psychology (Marineau 2013:ix). He was an early critic of Freud and did not agree that individual mental health could be improved without considering the interaction between individuals and the surrounding social world (Moreno 2014:146). Moreno (1972) defined psychodrama as a method to uncover the truth about what really happened in a protagonist's life. While it is doubtful that one could ever claim to be able to access "the truth" about a person's life, the information conveyed in role play allows the psychodramatist to better understand the protagonist's perception of a situation and his or her resultant reaction.

Psychodrama studies interpersonal relations in a specific social context, as oriented to, and represented by, a protagonist. Understanding a subject's situation is only a part of the

process of empathizing, however. Psychodrama allows the psychodramatist to vicariously approach the protagonist's first-person viewpoint of the social situations in which they find themselves engaged (Moreno 1920:108), thereby placing the psychodramatist in the protagonist's proverbial shoes. Accordingly, both inferential and perceptual orientations to the other's behavior in a specific context inform the psychodramatic approach to empathy. Perception orientation is what the protagonist perceives when in a specific context. Inferential orientation, by contrast, refers to those aspects of the context that the protagonist perceives as meaningful to him or her. The latter might have specific meaning that is recognizable and describable to a protagonist's consciousness while the former might create a kind of sensation that is perceived by the body and unconsciously induces a protagonist's physical or emotional reactions. Both inferential and perceptual orientations provide essential information regarding a protagonist's understanding of a specific context and situation. Gaining access to such orientations is essential for a psychodramatist to perceive what a protagonist perceives and to grasp the possible meanings of interpersonal interaction that the protagonist might remember and disclose. Through the psychodramatic techniques that I will describe in this thesis, a psychodramatist is able to better empathize with and get closer to the protagonist's world. Psychodramatists perceive people's everyday social lives as vivid living dramas in which one subject, as an actor, reacts to other subjects' self-displays and gaze. Psychodrama, then, discloses a problem in life as if it were a play (Moreno 1946). Five basic components are defined by psychodramatists and facilitate this recreation: (1) the protagonist (the client who shares his/her story as an initial script of psychodrama); (2) the auxiliary (the members who play the important characters in a protagonist's life); (3) the audience (the other members who are not selected as auxiliaries); (4) the psychodramatist (the group leader who conducts psychodrama); and (5) the

stage (where psychodrama takes place). These five terms are usually used in psychodramatic context rather than the terms client/patient, co-therapist, other clients/patients, psychotherapist, and therapeutic room. These five components contribute to setting a scene in which a protagonist is able to demonstrate how he or she usually responds to a particular interpersonal conflict.. With these basic components, a protagonist is able to recreate the dynamic interactions between his/her subjectivity and other people's subjectivities. In H. Arendt's words: "just as the actor depends upon stage, fellow-actors, and spectators, to make his entrance, every living thing depends upon a world that solidly appears as the location for its own appearance, on fellow-creatures to play with, and on spectators to acknowledge and recognize its existence (1981:21-22). Of course, the degree to which this demonstration accurately reveals the protagonist's actual behavior depends in large part on the protagonist's memory and on how willing he or she is to share information about his or her life. At a minimum, the psychodramatic stage offers protagonists the opportunity to reenact events from their lives and gain new insights into them.

METHODOLOGY

In writing this thesis, I draw upon nearly 10 years of experience studying and practicing psychotherapy and psychodrama. My interest in psychodrama began in 2006 when I was a second-year resident of psychiatry in Taiwan. Having attended various training programs in psychotherapy, psychodrama caught my attention as a result of how different it was from other kinds of talk psychotherapy. Psychodrama's focus on action as a method to help a protagonist perceive different viewpoints of a specific conflict and efficiently figure out possible resolutions was particularly compelling to me. I began training in psychodrama in 2006 and have been

certified as a practitioner by the American Board of Examiners in Psychodrama, Sociometry, and Group Psychotherapy since 2013. In recent years, I have observed more than thirty psychodramatists and their ways of practicing psychodrama. Most of these practitioners are American and Taiwanese, and each has developed different skills for the purpose of healing; however, I have observed that most psychodramatists apply similar methods for accessing information about a protagonist's perspective on the world.

The conclusions I draw here are thus the result of my own personal experience in the field and my direct observation of other psychodramatists. I do not, however, recompile here interview responses or group therapy observation notes from these other psychodramatists. Rather, the data I present comes directly from my own practice. Although the collection of data from interviews and observations of other practitioners might seem more objective, such an approach cannot easily reveal the first-person subjective ways in which a psychodramatist empathizes with a protagonist. By reflecting on my personal experience of conducting psychodrama and developing empathy for a protagonist, I wish to provide a first hand account that adds useful knowledge about this marked form of empathy. In future research, I will expand upon my findings through intensive observation and interviews with other psychodramatists and their groups.

A CASE STUDY OF PSYCHODRAMA

The case discussed in this thesis came from my experiences leading a 10 to 15-person, weekend psychodrama group in Taiwan in 2012. Most participants of this group, including the protagonist highlighted in my account had no previous experience with psychodrama. Rather than being transferred from local health centers, they joined my group to experience

psychodrama. Generally speaking, a psychodramatist uses a variety of activities to warm up group members and to encourage one of them to become a protagonist. Before conducting a psychodrama, a protagonist is typically asked to share a real event that happened in his/her life. The following narrative, which I will refer to and quote from at various points throughout this thesis, was recounted by a 35-year-old female protagonist experiencing relationship problems with her husband. In the context of this initial telling, the protagonist described her husband as an alcoholic and said that he often physically and verbally abused her. In this thesis, I will just describe the first part of the session and leave out the therapeutic part because I want to focus on the psychodramatic way of empathy rather than the way in which a psychodramatist provides therapeutic intervention. See the Appendix for a full list of all speaker codes used in this thesis and an explanation of how these codes should be interpreted.

The Narrative

PR = the protagonist
PDR = the psychodramatist
HUS*PR = the character of husband played by the protagonist
AUD*PR = an audience member played by the protagonist

Though terribly unhappy, the protagonist (hereafter, PR) couldn't leave her husband (HUS) because he refused to sign the divorce agreement. In her initial telling of the story, PR angrily described HUS as irresponsible. In portraying HUS as a terrible perpetrator, PR used exclusively negative terms and described herself as a penniless and vulnerable victim. The psychoanalyst (PDR) asked PR to enact a scene from her daily life and with PDR's help and guidance, PR found two group members to play the role of herself and her husband. PDR noted that PR had a well-paying job and supported her family, while HUS was unemployed and stayed at home. PR stated that when she came home, she always brought alcoholic drinks for her

husband and cooked for him. She often told her husband how well she performed at her job. After a while, HUS would start drinking, and PR would start to complain about HUS's unemployment and his drinking. And then her husband would often start yelling and beating her in response.

*At this moment, PDR asked the protagonist to role reverse to enact the role of her husband (when enacted by the protagonist, the husband is referred to as HUS*PR). PDR confronted HUS*PR, asking him how he felt, and why he abused PR, his wife. HUS*PR answered, "I feel so angry. She makes me think that I'm useless and lower than her. I feel ashamed because other friends and family members see me as a loser. You know, I have tried to quit drinking but she always buys me alcohol. If I don't eat and drink what she prepares, she will blame me and say that I don't love her anymore. After I am drunk, she always criticizes me and belittles me. I hate her (HUS*PR starts to cry)." After a short silence, PDR asked the protagonist to step out of the scene and to play the role of an audience (AUD*PR), watching as auxiliaries recreated the scenario and describing what she observed. When she played an outsider, she said "The woman is so afraid of losing her husband. She tries to tame her husband and keep him at home. The man is pitiful because he has lost his ability to earn a living. He has to depend on his wife and endure his wife's digs. By this way of interaction, they keep their relationship in a balance."*

Discussion of the Narrative

This case demonstrates the way in which the psychodramatist uncovers what would otherwise be hidden information about an individual's perspective on his or her relational world. In fact, the method of psychodrama helps a psychodramatist empathize with a protagonist through accessing the protagonist's empathic orientation to another person's subjectivity. In this

case, the wife enacted the role of her husband vividly. Through the psychodramatic technique of role reversal, the psychodramatist was able to collect what would have otherwise been undisclosed information about the protagonist's self-knowledge. This is accomplished by guiding the protagonist through an enactment of different first-person perspectives, such as the roles of husband and outsider, to which the wife is asked to empathically orient. At the same time, the psychodramatist was also made aware of different relevant aspects of the scene by attending to the protagonist's empathically grounded and emotionally charged enactments of another person's perspective through performing role reversals on the psychodramatic stage. In attuning to the empathically generative emotional enactments of the protagonist, the psychodramatist is therefore able to focus his or her own attention on aspects of the scene that they might not otherwise have noticed. Accordingly, as Throop explains,

> Empathy is a necessarily imaginative, cognitive, affective, and communicative process that 'involves discerning aspects of a [person's]…experiences that might otherwise go unnoticed' (Halpern 2001:94). It is, in other words, a process that is informed by the work of the emotions to focus attention to determine the saliency of particular events, images, and interactions (Throop 2010: 772)

When enacting the husband's role, the protagonist did not enact her husband's perspective only according to her understanding of him. Through embodying her husband's emotional responses to his situation, she was able to portray new information about her husband and her perceptions of him in a way that was not possible when focusing only upon her own perspective of the situation. For example, when acting as her husband, the wife (that is, HUS*PR) complained to the auxiliary[1] playing the role of the wife (PR*Aux1) about PR's annoying behaviors. In the process, PR had to convey her understanding of her husband's embodiment of the surrounding environment and emotions from a first-person perspective. Through role reversal,

[1] As a reminder, in psychodrama, people refer to actors who play significant roles of a protagonist's scene as "auxiliaries."

perhaps the most important method of psychodrama, she put herself in her husband's position and engaged his reference (or, more accurately, her conception of it) toward the surrounding context that they shared. In the process, she conveyed a modified understanding of her husband's subjectivity and the intersubjectivity that they co-created. Though her insight might be simplistic and even problematic, knowing how PR constructs her husband's first-person perspective provides PDR critical information with which to better understand the person who is not present (in this case, HUS) and PR's conceptions of him.

What does this case contribute to the anthropological concept of empathy? This case shows the way in which a psychodramatist uncovers the hidden information behind a protagonist's original storytelling by getting closer to the protagonist's way of embodying, feeling, gesturing, gazing, and experiencing her husband's experience. In other words, the wife played the empathizer of her story. This case points to an important question raised by Hollan (2008): Empathy from whose point of view? In psychodrama, a psychodramatist not only makes efforts to access the viewpoint of a protagonist but also the perspectives of others through the protagonist's role-playing. This is not just a kind of imagination but rather an embodied enactment of different roles. Therefore, through the enactment in psychodramatic context, a psychodramatist is able to trace possible aspects of others' perspectives rather than only relying upon the protagonist's first-person viewpoint. Through enactment in psychodramatic context, a protagonist is believed to reveal his or her conscious and unconscious orientations to her everyday lived predicaments, and in the process, provide valuable information for the psychodramatist's own empathic orientation to the client.

In this thesis, I will describe how empathy occurs in the dynamic intersubjective scene that unfolds on the psychodramatic stage. Although it is difficult to examine every dimension of

empathy relevant to psychodramatic therapeutic settings, I will focus specifically on the clinician's perspective for demonstrating the psychodramatic method of empathy. In particular, I will describe how I, as a psychodramatist, reconstruct a protagonist's empathy for the protagonist, for related subjects, and for the social context in which they act. I demonstrate the importance of six key strategies used by psychodramatists in developing empathy in their patients. As I have noted already, psychodrama creates a space for a protagonist to disclose his/her daily social life and then to discover the hidden message that is rarely noted—to make the protagonist's social life transparent in its demonstration. (In a clinical setting, clinicians or practitioners usually trust their clients' disclosed information. However, they might still have to examine whether what they hear is relevant and coherent.) But how, precisely, is this achieved? I argue that empathy plays a critical role in psychodramatists' emergent understandings of their social lives and that the development of empathy by psychodramatists and protagonists alike foments an environment in which psychodramatists are able to attune themselves to their protagonists because protagonists are more willing to disclose more information when they feel safe and being empathized.

The first and most basic strategy that a psychodramatist employs when developing empathy is making the protagonist's social context. This includes making the story, characters, and scene, salient in order to create a space in which a psychodramatist can engage himself or herself into the protagonist's context. The second strategy is to "gaze" upon the client. Gaze is not just a way of observation but a theater effect that reminds protagonists to behave according to their usual interactions to specific events because they want their display of daily lives on the psychodramatic stage to be relevant to what they want to convey to others. Being gazed upon creates a feeling of anxiety that makes the protagonist's reactions similar to how they behave in

public. They are aware of being observed and need to pay attention to what they really react to on the stage. The third strategy involves strategic use and analysis of language. Through key terms and phrases, for example, psychodramatists are able to check in with protagonists to ensure that the psychodramatist's developing empathic response is on target (see Hollan 2008). The fourth strategy, shifting viewpoint, requires that the psychodramatist as well as the protagonist role reverse to different characters in the scene. By doing so, both the protagonist and the psychodramatist take different viewpoints from other characters and perceive what other characters might perceive in one specific moment and situation. The fifth strategy is mirroring. Rather than take the viewpoint of any of the characters, the protagonist steps out of the scene, allowing an auxiliary to play his or her role to get insight into interpersonal conflict on stage. Importantly, the insights and interpretations expressed by the protagonist permit a psychodramatist to understand how the protagonist formulates the situation. The sixth and final strategy is the achievement of a more accurate (see Hollan 2008) and expansive experience of empathy for the individuals and the context. The psychodramatist achieves this by integrating the protagonist's way of empathy with different characters. Through the strategies mentioned above, the psychodramatist improves the client's ability to relate to and enact his or her social contexts from different perspectives. It provides a vivid scene in which the protagonist engages with other characters and for the psychodramatist to empathize with the protagonist. The protagonist's changes in perspective not only increase his/her ability to empathize with other people in his/her life but also provide the psychodramatist with the information needed to build a more complete understanding of his/her clients.

To begin, I will look at the problem of empathy as it has been studied in recent years in order to shed light on its functions in human relationships and its value for psychodramatists.

Following that, I will focus on what research has taught us about the role of context (including culture) in understanding how subjects relate to the world and to one another.

BACKGROUND

From my clinical experience, a well-trained psychiatrist attends not only to a client's verbal information (such as the content, the tone, and the way of speaking) but also to nonverbal information (such as emotional reaction, body movement, gesture, and any other kinds of physical expression) to empathize with a client. The information about a client's thinking, emotional reactions, and bodily demonstrations are important to clinicians in their efforts to cultivate empathy for their patients. Moreover, an experienced practitioner not only seeks to collect his/her protagonists' personal information, but also endeavors to both understand and influence protagonists' responses to the sociocultural contexts in which their everyday lives unfold.

However, the setting or context of a clinic is often not suitable for a client to efficiently explore non-verbal information and the influence of his/her sociocultural background. This is especially true when a client's psychopathology (eg., psychotic symptoms) obstructs the clinician's ability to empathize with a client. By contrast, the psychodramatic stage provides a context for overcoming the limitations on clinical empathy for further therapeutic intervention.

The Problem of Empathy

Empathy is a form of human social activity in which one subject is taken to be capable of approaching another subject's perceptions and reactions. There are different hypotheses about what constitutes the basic building blocks of empathy, however. One hypothesis posits "theory

of mind," a concept first proposed by Premack and Woodruff (1978), as a foundational cognitive capacity that enables empathy. Theory of mind entails the ability to infer what another subject's internal dispositions and mental states might be (Ochs et al. 2004). Theory of mind includes three basic functions: (1) to comprehend and explain; (2) to predict; and (3) to manipulate another subject's behavior (Michlmayr 2002). In anthropology, theory of mind has been related to the problem of intentionality, the way of understanding other subjects' motives and intentions (Hollan and Throop 2008:387). Tanya Marie Luhrmann points out that cultural variations influence people's interior intentions and perspectives and can be revealed through vision and speech (2011:12). In philosophy and cognitive science, there are two main competing theoretical perspectives on theory of mind that have emerged: "simulation theory" and "theory theory." Where simulation theory focuses on tying theory of mind to processes of simulating another subject's experience, theory theory emphasizes that folk-theoretical knowledge helps to cognitively process another subject's behavior (Kögler & Stuber 2000). The long-term debate between these two main theories evidences the complexity of the phenomenon of empathy.

Another influential approach focuses on intersubjectivity as a basic building block of empathy. Empathy, in this view, is an intersubjective phenomenon. Drawing upon Edmund Husserl's idea of intersubjectivity, Duranti reveals the concept of "trading places" or "place exchange." He says that "*if you were* in my place, you *would* see it the way I see it (2010:6)." His assumption indicates that empathy is not the ability to read another subject's mind but to perceive the relations between the subject and the surrounding world, and other people. Through simultaneously participating in another subject's actions and feeling, the empathizer might be able to expose himself or herself to the subject's primordial bodily experience of the surrounding objective world (ibid., 7). Moreover, the idea of a "shared natural world" explains that making

another subject's surrounding world perceptible and interpretable is important for empathy. The empathizer is able to realize the influence of sociocultural context and learn the empathizee's individual process of socialization through engaging another subject's understanding of his/her social context

Exploring differing approaches to empathy and intersubjectivity, Zahavi (2001) reviews different phenomenological analyses of intersubjectivity that show the close relationship among "self", "others", and "world". He argues that "intersubjectivity only exists and develops in the mutual interrelationship between subjects that are related to the world; and the world is only brought to articulation in the relation between subjects (ibid., 166)." Although we can assert that every subject has his or her individual relation to the world, the notion of intersubjectivity is a reminder of the interrelation of different subjects' relations to the world. In other words, intersubjectivity shows a dynamic phenomenon that depends on involved subjectivities and the context where the involved subjects are. He thinks that intersubjectivity must be analyzed from a first-person and a second-person perspective (ibid., 166). It seems that a good empathizer needs to discover the interrelationship between his or her relation to the world and an empathizee's relation to the world. It means that an empathizer needs to empathize with himself or herself and with an empathizee at the same time because self-empathizing influences one's ability to empathize others. For example, if an empathizer cannot realize the way in which the world influences his/her emotional reaction, cognitive understanding, and embodiment, it is difficult to get closer to the interaction between an empathizee and the world. In short, empathy is an intersubjective phenomenon that needs to be studied among the interrelations of subjects (including the empathizer and the empathizee) and the surrounding world.

Integrating concerns with theory of mind and intersubjectivity, Laurence J. Kirmayer explains that empathy reflects the willingness to meet, engage, and be moved by the other. In so doing, Kirmayer proposes four basic components of empathy: sensorimotor synchrony, vicarious emotion, perspective taking, and fantasy or imaginative elaboration. As empathy unfolds, Kirmayer maintains, there are complicated interactions among these different components (2008:458-459). Jodi Halpern, a physician and philosopher, defines empathy as the ability to understand a patient's emotional point of view (2001:17). She argues that "neither detached cognition nor sympathetic merging lead to an experiential understanding of another person's distinct emotional perspective, the goal of empathy (ibid.,68)". Halpern foregrounds the significance of imagination, dialogue, and emotions in experiences of empathy. Research has also shown how emotion reveals the connection between the body and the social world. Lyon and Barbalet assert that "emotion is an integral part of all human existence…emotion is precisely the experience of embodied sociality (1994:48)." Through emotion, the body is intercommunicative and active with its social context. From this perspective, empathy is not only about describable cognitive activities but also emotional and bodily processes of understanding other subjects. These different dimensions further contribute to the complexity of empathy.

The general anthropological concept of empathy foregrounds processes of empathic understanding as arising in specific cultural contexts (Hollan and Throop 2008:385-6). As a psychological anthropologist, Throop proposes an integrated perspective of empathy. He argues that empathy is a multimodal process, which "not only involves perception, intellection, affect, and imagination but also the bodily, sensory, and tactile aspects of lived experience (2012)." He points out the dynamism and complexity of empathic processes, the role that emotions, sentiments, and moods play in patterning attention in the context of acts of empathy, and the

importance of studying empathy from the perspectives of different ethnomedical and therapeutic contexts. The multiplicity and the complexity of empathy is certainly linked to the difficulty of studying empathy and empathy-like processes.

In the article, *Whatever Happened to Empathy?,* Hollan and Throop (2008:386) raise several interesting questions about empathy. These questions draw anthropologists' attention to the ways in which people gain intimate knowledge of others motives and intentions. Some of these include: What resources or capacities- neurobiological, psychological, sociocultural, developmental, experiential, or other mechanisms- enable people to understand and have empathy for others? Are there certain emotions or psychological states that are easier to empathize with than others? Can people empathize with "imagined" people and communities in the same way they do with those who are physically present, or are processes necessarily different in some way? And at the basis of all these questions are issues related to the various kinds of information implicated in empathy and empathy-like processes.

If an individual wants to understand something about another's perspective, some basic information is needed in order to determine how that particular person perceives and reacts to others and their surrounding world. However, it is impossible for people to know everything there is to know about another's experiences. Also, it is not always clear as to what kind of information is necessary for approximating the perspective of another. When discussing the concept of person-center ethnography, Hollan mentions three basic details that need to be discovered to understand the informant's subjective experience: 1.) What do people say about their experience? 2.) What do people do that shows their experience in action, and 3.) How do people embody experience —a question that is more difficult to study than the previous two (Hollan 2001:51). Generally speaking, if empathizers know more about the context of a

protagonist's situation as well as their typical ways of expression (such as audible speech patterns, facial expression, posture, body movement, sentimental reaction, and other possible reactions), it might be easier for them to have better empathy for empathizees. Moreover, an empathizer needs to have some access to information about the empathizee's (the subject with whom another person empathizes) particular sociocultural background. Such information allows the empathizer to better infer the possible reasons and assumptions motivating an empathizee's action. Although the empathizer may know much of the context informing the empathizee's perspective on a given situation, the empathizer and empathizee may not have the same embodied understanding of it. Because experiences of embodiments by others is tacit, visceral, and unspeakable, it is more difficult to study the relationship between the body and subjective experience than by the relationship between verbal expression and experience (ibid. 57). Empathy is not only about understanding the empathizee's observable and recordable words and actions, it is also about understanding the emotional reaction and embodiment of the empathizee. The complexity of empathy makes the intersubjective aspects of empathy difficult to discern. Hollan and Throop state that "intersubjectivity is often characterized as being oriented to another as another subject with experiences that affect and are affected by other such subjects (2008:386)." Through intersubjective encounters, the empathizer is capable of approximating and understanding the empathizee's first-person perspective on the world. However, how does this understanding happen in the intersubjective context within which empathy unfolds?

The social context in which an empathizee appears is important for anthropological understanding of empathy. The social context provides the basic models for people to develop their way of thinking (Rogoff 1990). According to Hollan and Throop "empathy must always be studied within the much broader context of the ways in which people gain knowledge of others

and reveal, allow, or conceal knowledge of themselves (2008:389)." Information about sociocultural context allows the empathizer to understand the behavior of various other empathizees. Anthropologists care not only about an informant's first-person viewpoint but also about the social context in which the informant appears. Both information sources provide the basis for theorizing about people's behavior. .

In his article, *Being there: On the Imaginative Aspects of Understanding Others and Being Understood*, Hollan (2008) argues for the importance of recognizing that empathy arises in the context of intersubjective and mutual encounters. He asserts that one cannot empathize with another until one's imaginings about the other's emotional states and perspectives can be confirmed or disconfirmed in ongoing interaction. (2008:476) Through this reciprocal interaction, an empathizer gains mutual recognition of understanding and being understood. Hollan also raises another question: "empathy from whose point of view?" His concept is helpful for simulating a first-person-like understanding of another's experience but additional dialogue is necessary to confirm whether the imaginative work is accurate. In other words, the accuracy of empathy is based upon cooperative work that takes into account the empathizee's adjustment, response, and confirmation.

In addition, Hollan has discussed the concept of complex empathy, which means the complexity of knowing and understanding why other people act in the way they do. "From an ethnographic perspective," Hollan argues, "complex empathy is never 'neutral,' but rather is always found embedded in a moral context…(2012:72)." He suggests that future research on empathy needs to be more context-specific, emphasizing those factors that might influence people's way of demonstrating empathy: values, moral contexts, and situational factors affecting and mediating expressed empathy (ibid., 74). In other words, the sociocultural or surrounding

context helps an empathizer understand or explain an empathizee's behavior. In the following section, I will describe six main strategies that are related to the way in which a psychodramatist empathizes with a protagonist from my personal first-person viewpoint when conducting psychodrama.

In this thesis, I will analyze the way in which a psychodramatist explores a protagonist's empathy with himself/herself, with the other subject, and for the shared context by shifting position from his original role to another. By doing so, a psychodramatist also shifts his/her position synchronously for grasping the protagonist's way of empathizing with other subjects and with the shared context that the protagonist belongs to. It provides the psychodramatist more information about the protagonist's words, behavior, and embodiment in different positions on the stage. In other words, psychodrama demonstrates another possible form of person-centered ethnography by engaging the empathizer (the researcher) into the empathizee's empathy for him or her, other subjects, and the intersubjective phenomenon.

In the following section, I describe the five main strategies that comprise a psychodramatist's approach to empathizing with a protagonist. I will begin with the first and most foundational strategy, making a client's context salient. As I will demonstrate, context is a critical component of human relations.

THE PSYCHODRAMATIC WAY OF EMPATHY

It is common to hear a psychodramatist tell a protagonist: "Show me, don't tell me." This is the chief principle that makes the psychodramatic approach to empathy different from other therapeutic perspectives. This approach to empathy helps a psychodramatist empathize with the scene, characters, and the frame of the context that a protagonist creates. A psychodramatist

empathizes not only with a protagonist but also with the scene that a protagonist creates. A psychodramatist tries to perceive the scene, attune to the embodiment that a protagonist might have, and then empathize with the protagonist.

From my years of observation, psychodramatists use several psychodramatic techniques to help themselves better empathize with their protagonists. These tools include such strategies as setting the scene, taking action, using gaze to create a performative "theater effect," provoking improvisation, role reversal, and mirroring. Each step provides different information that psychodramatists may use to attune their cognitive thinking, emotional reaction, and embodiment and is crucial for empathy towards their protagonists.

Strategy One: Making The Context Salient

Empathy, social context and intersubjective phenomena. The social context in which an empathizee appears is important for an anthropological understanding of empathy. Anthropologists care not only about an informant's first-person viewpoint but also about the social context in which the informant appears. In other words, information about sociocultural context helps the empathizer to understand another's behavior. In Rogoff's (1990) words, social context provides basic models for people to develop their way of thinking. As an anthropologist empathizing with the psychodramatist, not only must I consider the context in which psychodramatists operate, but I must also uncover how psychodramatists themselves work to make their clients' contexts available to scrutiny and, thus, available for empathic alignment (see Duranti 2010; Hollan 2008, 2013; Throop 2008, 2013).

Setting the scene on psychodramatic stage. One of the most fundamental ways that a psychodramatist makes a protagonist's context salient is the opening of a space referred to by psychodramatists as "the psychodramatic stage." Generally speaking, the psychodramatic stage

refers to any area where a psychodrama takes place (Blatner 2000:4; Leveton 2001:195). It is a space where a protagonist's embodiment of others and the perceived context of a particular event can be objectified and concretized on the psychodramatic stage. More pointedly, the psychodramatic stage provides a protagonist a chance to re-experience moments from their lives in situ through simulated role-playing that demonstrates real life with the support of a psychodramatist, auxiliaries, and audience (Dayton 2005:12-13). The stage, then, opens a space in which a protagonist can relive aspects of his or her life, and facilitates the confrontation with a protagonist's inner understanding (Marineau 1994:92). In other words, the stage is the place where a protagonist's inner world can be told, enacted, and gazed upon by others in the intersubjective field.

From the psychodramatist's perspective, the psychodramatic stage provides a space in which to draw out the connection between a client-protagonist's inner world and his/her surrounding social world. The scenes and roles that protagonists display on stage reflect what they have learned in their everyday social lives. In other words, the psychodramatic scene demonstrates a protagonist's embodiment of a particular social interaction. Well-trained psychodramatists always closely observe their protagonists' reactions to the scene. They might ask such questions as "What else is left in the scene?" or "Is that how you felt that time?" to make sure that the scene is similar to the way in which their protagonist perceived it. By doing so, psychodramatists are able to place themselves in the scene and perceive in a way that at least approximates how their protagonists perceive.

Setting the scene helps a protagonist disclose his/her frame of a specific situation or an interpersonal interaction. Goffman's concept of "frame" is "…built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective

involvement in them" (1974:10-11). Scene-setting includes telling a protagonist's background and a specific event, demonstrating the related space, placing meaningful objects, choosing specific persons, showing his/her internalized sociocultural values, and any other related information. These reveal the protagonist's frame of an event and tell the context that the protagonist perceived its unfolding. Different from direct observation of one's daily life, the scene that a protagonist rebuilds on the psychodramatic stage shows what he or she might perceive, embody, memorize, and understand in the moment that the event actually took place. Setting the scene helps the psychodramatist and other group members see what happened through the protagonist's eyes. It is important for empathy because the psychodramatist is able to grasp the crucial information demonstrated by the protagonist. The psychodramatist is also able to places himself or herself in the protagonist's embodiment. In other words, the scene on the psychodramatic stage allows psychodramatists to perceive the frames that a protagonist has internalized as well as the protagonist's habitus. The habitus is a demonstration of "the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them" (Wacquant 2005:316). In short, the scene that a protagonist sets and the way he or she behaves demonstrates the subjectivity that the protagonist has built from the social world.

Importantly, the psychodramatic stage is also a place for demonstrating the protagonist's way of pairing between each character's behavior and the social context. What a person performs on a stage helps other members identify what character that person plays in a particular social interaction from his or her perspective. The character is identifiable not only because of what acts a character performs but also because of the context that is shown on the stage. The relation between the context and the character shows the norm or model that a protagonist has

internalized from his or her world. By displaying a particular interaction of one's daily life, the protagonist tells the story in actions, in dialogues, in physical and emotional interactions, and any other forms of communication. The dramatic effect shown on a stage makes the character explicable from the protagonist's understanding of a specific context. If we take Goffman's concept of front stage and backstage into consideration (1959), a psychodramatist tries to bring backstage information to front stage and then to know more about the protagonists' own way of interlinking their behaviors and physical and emotional reactions and social meanings in their contexts. In other words, psychodramatists try to reframe the boundary between the front stage performance and backstage preparation of a protagonist's daily life and broaden the front stage information that may help psychodramatists better empathize with the protagonist.

Goffman argues that what a person performs on a stage helps other members identify what character that person plays. The character is identifiable not only because of what acts a character performs but also because of the context that is shown on the stage. The relation between the context and the character shows the norm or model that a protagonist internalized from his social world. The dramatic effect shown on a stage makes the character understandable in a specific context (1959).

Through setting a scene with a specific context, a performer makes his performance take on a specific social character. This is to say that the enactment on the psychodramatic stage demonstrates the internalized relation between the social behaviors and the surrounding social context. On the other hand, this enactment also helps other group members to understand the way in which the protagonist evaluates and interprets those behaviors in the protagonist's subjective context. Therefore, setting the scene makes the protagonist's context salient and helps

the psychodramatist perceive what the protagonist might perceive in the social world simultaneously.

Strategy Two: Being Gazed Upon

For psychodramatists, one of the important benefits of creating a psychodramatic stage is that it creates an environment in which to "gaze upon" the protagonist. Unlike individual psychotherapy in which a client is only observed by a therapist, a protagonist's enactment on the psychodramatic stage is witnessed by all group members. This is important if we consider what G. H. Mead says about the genesis of self. In Mead's words, "the process out of which the self arises is a social process which implies interaction of individuals in the group (1967:164)," and "each individual has to take also the attitude of the community, the generalized attitude. He has to be ready to act with reference to his own condition…" (ibid.,167). He points out the important process of socialization in which people learn how to behave and interact with others. What people have learned conditions their everyday lives. However, the diversity of society provides different social contexts for individuals to process their own socialization. This means that everyone has his or her background for developing his or her own subjectivity.

Being gazed upon has important consequences for behavior in one's daily life since individuals want to present a specific understanding of themselves to others. In Goffman's words:

> While in the presence of others, the individual typically infuses his activity with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure. For if the individual's activity is to become significant to others, he must mobilize his activity so that it will express during the interaction what he wishes to convey, In fact, the performer may be required not only to express his claimed capacities during the interaction but also to do so during a split second in the interaction (Goffman, 1959: 30)

In sum, being-gazed-upon stimulates individuals to consider the meanings that attach to their actions and to manage (or attempt to) the messages they transmit as they carry out their daily lives. That is, it encourages a protagonist to examine whether his/her behavior is morally accepted.

It is the psychodramatist's goal that through a protagonist's public performance on the psychodramatic stage, other members should be able to perceive the way in which a protagonist demonstrates his or her subjectivity in action. In psychodramatic context then protagonists are encouraged to act and speak as they usually do. Practitioners know, however, that at best, they must perceive a protagonist's behavior on the psychodramatic stage as a reinterpretation of their prior behavior. After all, on the psychodramatic stage, a protagonist must perform his or her daily life for a new set of eyes, meaning that the protagonist will likely "mobilize his (sic.) activities" in new ways that take into consideration this new audience and context. Keeping in mind that our goal in this short thesis is to shed light on psychodramatists' strategies for empathizing with their protagonists, there is not time to fully discuss psychodramatists' methods for checking that what they learn is reasonable or for making diagnoses for further evaluation. Suffice it to say that an important job of psychodramatists is to critically examine what they learn from their clients.

While a psychodramatist can never be certain that the information a protagonist provides is a faithful representation of reality, they can and must foment environments in which protagonists are less likely to intentionally misrepresent events from their daily lives. Their ability to empathize depends on it. As we will see, directing the gaze of an audience upon a protagonist, perhaps ironically, is critical to the way psychodramatists decrease anxiety and compel protagonists to deliver authentic performances. Authenticity here is understood in terms

of the degree to which a given performance resonates with the way people really behave in their normal daily lives. Being-gazed-upon in the psychodramatic context is a kind of psychological barrier that reminds people of the risk of self-disclosure. Recognizing this, psychodramatists usually conduct different activities for warming up group members. The purpose of warm-up is to create safety and confidentiality in the group and encourage group members to become the protagonist who will disclose his or her personal issue. After warm-up, some members may be more willing to overcome the anxiety of displaying their personal lives on the stage.

Overcoming the anxiety of being-gazed-upon then becomes a ritual that reminds people to face their problems. Those group members who are not ready to be the protagonist must stay in the audience and wait for another chance. By contrast, the person who has been warmed up and decides to become a protagonist shows his or her readiness to overcome the anxiety of being gazed upon and enact a story from his or her personal life. In short, overcoming the anxiety of being gazed upon encourages protagonists to constructively disclose their subjectivity—what they say, what they do, how they embody, and how they understand—all of which provide an abundant amount of information for processing empathy.

Strategy Three: Encouraging Improvisation

Improvisation is also important on the psychodramatic stage for its ability to reveal information about a protagonist's subjectivity and for the ability to process empathy. To reiterate, psychodramatic improvisation should not be confused as an attempt at copying or replicating what really happened in the past. To do so would be all but impossible. Instead, we must remember that what is important for empathy in psychodramatic context is to understand the way in which the protagonist *perceives* the past and then to open a space where the protagonist can recreate the scene of that perceived past subjectively and impromptu. Through their

improvisations of past events, protagonists reveal the essential aspects of a specific event that were most meaningful to them. The process of improvisation of a particular interpersonal conflict helps protagonists demonstrate an approximation of the ways they perceived, understood, felt, and embodied in the past. The information on the psychodramatic stage might be different from the real situation, but it is important and crucial for empathizing with the protagonist.

In psychodramatic terminology, improvisation is known as "spontaneity." Zerka Moreno defines spontaneity as "an adequate response to a new situation, or a new response to an old situation, or further qualified, a response of varying degrees of adequacy to a situation of varying degrees of novelty" (Z. Moreno 2006:124-125). Spontaneous improvisation exposes the protagonist's subjectivity, which, in turn, helps the psychodramatist empathize with the protagonist. The disclosed information about specific events and the expression of the protagonist's subjectivity helps the psychodramatist grasp the way in which the protagonist perceives, understands, feels, and embodies on the psychodramatic stage and then allows the psychodramatist to empathize with the protagonist at the here-and-now moment.

Strategy Four: Following the Protagonist

In the context of psychodramatic training, it is often said that a therapist should always: "follow the protagonist." This imperative is meant to remind a psychodramatist to closely observe the protagonist's behavior, speech, and any information disclosed by the protagonist. On the other hand, a protagonist is encouraged to spontaneously express his/her verbal and non-verbal reactions by enacting situations and events from their everyday lives. Language is a central aspect of such enactments. Therefore, the way that psychodramatists attend to language as enacted in a psychodramatic scene is critical to their efforts at empathy with their protagonists and needs to be discussed.

Language provides a fundamental part of communication, especially for any effort to achieve so-called "accurate empathy" (Hollan 2008). Language mediates different aspects of one's subjectivity, such as sensation, perception, intentionality, emotion, speaking, posture, and physical movement. Even when we closely observe another person, it is impossible for us to recognize all the details of that person's appearance. It is important for a researcher to be aware of the fact that there is always something that exceeds our always partial and limited understanding of another person. For example, a woman can wear dark make-up and a black leather jacket to perform one of her favorite personas in public. Some people might focus their attention on the woman's dark make-up and clothes, while missing other aspects of her appearance, such as her clean nails and the pleasant smell of her hair. This limited attentional focus might lead people to an incorrect understanding of the woman's subjectivity. With increased recognition of another person's ways of being, speaking, and acting in the world, people are able to have more accurate empathy for that person's subjectivity.

Language plays the intermediate role between different appearances of subjectivity. It helps an empathizer to confirm his/her empathy with an empathizee. For example, noticing an empathizee has tears in his eyes and is biting his bottom lip, an empathizer might say, "I feel your grief in this complicated situation." The empathizee might then respond by nodding and disclosing more information about his or her emotional reaction. Accordingly, language can be used to express an empathizer's understanding of the empathizee's perspective. If the empathizee reciprocally agrees with the empathizer's understanding of the situation, the empathizer would then know that his or her use of empathy is accurate. Through the process of reciprocal confirmation, the empathizer is able to garner more knowledge about the empathizee's subjectivity. Therefore, the empathizer is capable of improving his/her quality of empathy for the

empathizee. In an effort to better understand and empathize with the empatizee's perspective, an empathizer must therefore work to discover as many differing aspects and dimensions of the empathizee's perspective as possible.

From my participant observation, psychodramatists utilize language to broaden their understanding of their protagonists' perspectives on the world from one subjectivity to another. Integrating these perspectives creates a complex gestalt picture of the client's subjective stance toward any given relationship, event, and/or situation. The psychodramatic way of empathy is thus based upon collecting as much information as possible regarding different emanations of the protagonist's subjectivity until the psychodramatist is able to feel confident that his or her empathic alignment with the protagonist is "accurate enough." To demonstrate how psychodramatists use language to verify their empathic responses, I will turn again to the example described at the beginning of this thesis. Readers should focus on three different aspects of subjectivity (thought, emotion, and bodily response) evident in the drama as well as the ways in which the psychodramatist uses language to shift from one appearance to another.

Warming up: rehearsal before the real action. Before conducting a session of psychodrama, a psychodramatist has to help a protagonist select and train group members to play the characters in his or her life, and set the scene of the action. By doing this, a protagonist provides a general picture of his or her story for the other members, including helping the psychodramatist to grasp the protagonist's understanding of daily life and be able to empathize with him or her later. These preparations are called a "warm up" in psychodramatic terminology.

At the beginning of this particular case, the psychodramatist (PDR) asked the protagonist (PR) to choose two members from the group to play the role of the wife (WF) and the husband (HUS). PR looked around the group for a while. She picked a gentle male (Aux2) to play the role

of her husband (HUS*Aux2) and a shy female (Aux1) play herself (WF*Aux1). This shy female is a special auxiliary because she plays the role of the wife, the protagonist. Initially, I was concerned about whether Aux1 could play the role of the wife well, given her introversion—especially considering PR's relative extroversion. Once the actors were selected, PDR asked PR to set up her house by using stage props and to describe each part of the scene so that members could understand what the house looked like from her perspective. PR selected table cloths, tables, and chairs to recreate the living room, the kitchen, and the dinning room. She set a dining table and two dining chairs. She then used various pieces of cloth to represent food and alcoholic drinks (protagonists often have to be very creative in representing items from their personal life that are not at their immediate disposal).

After PR had set and described the stage, PDR asked her to describe what happened *in* it. When she tried to start the scene from the conflict in the dining room, the psychodramatist asked her to start before she came home. PR explained that before she got home, HUS was sitting on the sofa, reading the newspapers and then began to role-play. She brought food and beer with her when she arrived. She complained of how tired she was and derided her husband for staying at home all day. While she was cooking and setting the dining table, she showed off her success at work and implied that some successful males in her company admired her. She also mentioned that her family disapproved of her marriage to her husband. She spoke in an energetic tone with her head held high while her husband kept silent sitting on the sofa. Then she called her husband to have dinner and offered him a beer. She kept talking about her achievements while eating. After her husband became drunk, she started criticizing him. Finally, she said, her husband started yelling and beating her. Seeing tears in PR's eyes and feeling sadness, PDR proclaimed,"

It seems you're sad." The protagonist answered: "Yes, I feel sad and frustrated." The psychodramatist responded: "Yes, I have the same feeling, too." The following exchange ensued:

Transcript 1

WF = the character of the wife/PR
HUS = the character of the PR's husband
AUD = the audience
WF*PR = the character of wife played by the protagonist
WF*Aux1 = the character of wife played by Auxiliary #1
HUS*PR = the character of husband played by the protagonist
HUS*Aux2 = the character of husband played by auxiliary #2
(See Appendix for a complete list)

1. PDR: Role reverse to enact your husband.
2. PR: I don't know how to play my husband.
3. PDR: "Close your eyes and think about what he usually does when he is sitting on the sofa. When you're ready, just open your eyes and start to act."
4. PR: (Takes a deep breath, then opens her eyes and begins to play HUS.)
5. HUS*PR: (walks around the house anxiously, looking at the wall.)
6. PDR: "What are you looking at?"
7. HUS*PR: "The clock (pointing with her finger), because my wife is coming home."
8. HUS*PR: (Sits frowning on the sofa and reads the newspaper. He looks around and breathes heavily. He seems unable to sit still for long periods of time.)
9. PDR: "It seems you are anxious, what's happened?
10. HUS*PR: (speaking loudly with exasperation and her mouth twitching) "I am anxious because I have been unemployed for several months. It is not easy to get a job now. Many factories moved to China for cheaper labor. I lost my job because my company moved to China, too. Now, my family depends on my wife's salary. I just read the newspaper looking for a job. I don't have a college degree. I have tried several interviews but failed."
11. PDR: "It sounds stressful."
12. HUS*PR: (nods)
13. PDR: (gives a cue to Aux1 to start enacting WF.)
14. PDR: (Notes that when WF*Aux1 comes in, HUS*PR becomes more and more uneasy by looking at the newspaper repeatedly and quickly, and pursed her lips, especially when hearing WF*Aux1's complaints.)
15. WF*Aux1: "Why are you still sitting at home? I work so hard and you just do nothing? See! The living room is a mess. Why don't you clean up the newspapers? Am I your slave? I need to work. I need to prepare dinner. What do you do for this family? You are a man and you should take the responsibility to take care of this family. (She walks into the kitchen, grumbling incessantly)
16. HUS*PR: (shakes his hands and bites his lip)
17. PDR: "I note that you're shaking your hands. How do you feel now?"
18. HUS*PR: (silence)

19. PDR: (stands more closely by HUS*PR)“I feel angry, how dare she treat me this way!”
20. PDR: “If my words are correct, use your words to say it again. If what I said is incorrect, correct me and tell me how you feel.”
21. HUS*PR: “I feel angry. Why is this woman so mean? She makes me feel ashamed. My family and friends look down on me...I feel angry about that.”
22. PDR: (nodded) “Hmmm…tell me how do you feel now?”
23. HUS*PR: ”It seems she tries to enrage me. She makes me think that I’m useless and lower than her. I feel shamed because other friends and family members see me as a loser. She always criticizes me and belittles me. I hate her.”

At this point, PDR asked HUS*PR and WF*Aux1 to keep acting until HUS*PR couldn’t tolerate it anymore and started to threaten WF*Aux1. They yelled at each other using malicious words. Their bodies tensed, their volume increased, and their faces flushed. At that moment, PDR felt the whole situation was deeply sorrowful and stuck. After a short silence, PDR turned to PR and said “Step back and let’s see what happens.” PDR then asked Aux2 to play HUS and asked WF*Aux1 and HUS*Aux2 to repeat the interaction. After the two auxiliaries reenacted the scene, PDR turned to the protagonist to see if her perspective of the situation had changed.

Transcript 2

24. PDR: “What do you see from the couple’s interaction?”
25. AUD*PR: “The woman is so afraid of losing her husband. She tries to tame her husband and keep him at home. The man is pitiful because he has lost his ability to earn a living. He has to depend on his wife and endure his wife’s digs. By this way of interaction, they keep their relationship in a balance.”

Transcript 2 highlights the way in which PDR uses questions, clarifying statements, and verbal descriptions to confirm his empathy for the protagonist when enacting different roles. A well-trained psychodramatist not only focuses on one aspect or expression of subjectivity but also uses the information he or she has accrued about the protagonist to infer or further inquire into another aspect or expression of subjectivity. For example, in lines 5 and 7 of part A of the transcript, when PDR saw evidence of HUS*PR’s anxiety through observing the actor’s bodily

expressions of walking around and looking at the clock on the wall, PDR then asked questions to better understand what he thought and how he felt in that particular moment. Through asking these questions, PDR collected different information about the protagonist's embodiment of the husband's subjectivity and attained a better understanding of the husband's tension before the wife's return home. I will discuss more about the way of approaching accurate empathy in psychodramatic context later.

Strategy Five: Role Reversals

Role reversal is the most important and effective technique in psychodrama (Greenberg 1974:21; Gershoni 2003:112). Role reversal helps a protagonist to demonstrate his/her understanding of significant others deeply and explicitly on the stage (Moreno 1993:55). It also facilitates a protagonist to re-discover his or her ignorance of other people's possible reactions. Moreover, role reversal helps a protagonist shift from his or her original viewpoint to that of another. Generally, role reversal means that the protagonist moves out of his or her own role into a significant other's position and enacts that role (Moreno 1952:275). This technique not only provides information about the way in which a specific role appears and interacts with the protagonist in the past but also helps the protagonist get more insight into a specific role from a different perspective. Through role reversal, a protagonist is encouraged to show his or her empathy with related others. Therefore, observing the way in which a protagonist empathizes with significant others not only helps a psychodramatist learn more about those related characters but also helps a psychodramatist attune his way of empathy to the protagonist's.

Strategy Six: Mirroring

Different from role reversal, the technique of mirroring shifts the protagonist from his or her original role to the audience's place, to stand in the distance and discover the fixed interaction pattern or reveal the frame of the context (Blatner 2000:91). Mirroring provides a chance to disclose the way in which a protagonist articulates the interrelationship among the triad: his or her self, the other characters, and the world where he or she belongs. For the therapeutic purpose, mirroring helps a psychodramatist discover an unhealthy pattern in a given relationship or situation and identifies where the protagonist's suffering comes from. Moreover, mirroring shows the intersubjectivity, in which each subject coordinates with other subjects from the protagonist's viewpoint. In fact, an event might have different possible interpretations; mirroring shows the protagonist's manner of interpretation, which is crucial for the psychodramatist to empathize with. Only through this technique can the psychodramatist know the way in which the protagonist embodies his or her subjectivity, another subjectivities, and the intersubjectivity.

Through the six strategies described above, the psychodramatist gradually embodies the viewpoints of different characters through verbal and non-verbal expressions, interactions in the scene, the interpretation or the insight of the intersubjective context from the protagonist's disclosed embodiment of the past, and his or her here-and-now enactment on the psychodramatic stage. In other words, in psychodramatic context, empathy is an accumulating process of embodying the protagonist's empathy for his or her subjectivity, the other's subjectivity, and the intersubjective context. This triad provides a complete picture in which each one becomes understandable because of the other two components. In the following section, I will discuss the examination of the protagonist's language and behaviors, which helps a psychodramatist

evaluate the relevance and coherence among the protagonist's empathy for his or her self, the other subjects, and the related context.

Approaching Accurate Empathy in Psychodramatic Context

As already examined in some detail above, this case demonstrates how by placing the empathizer in the position of the empathizee, clinicians are better able to approximate the referential totality[2] of the empathizee's subjectivity. In this case, PR was asked to reverse roles with HUS, which provided her with an opportunity to perceive the situation in a way that resonated with her conscious and unconscious understanding of HUS's perspective. In psychodrama, role reversal helps an empathizer perceive the other's referential totality and then react in the other's way—always with the understanding that the protagonist can never fully embody others in their environments. There will always be gaps in the protagonists memory and understanding.

In lines 5, 7, 8, and 10, when PR role reversed to enact the role of her husband, HUS*PR demonstrated the kind of reaction HUS might have, thereby allowing her to experience the world in a different way and from a different perspective. HUS*PR's expression of walking around, looking at the clock, sitting, frowning, breathing heavily, and speaking loudly convey anxiety and offer insight into the way in which PR embodied her understanding of HUS's possible

[2] Referential totality is from Heidegger's concept of Dasein and relevance. Heidegger says: "*As that for which one lets beings be encountered in the kind of being of relevance, the wherein of self-referential understanding is the phenomenon of world* (2010:85)." Being of relevance means that every Dasein has its particular way of being relevant toward and from the surrounding environment. Referential totality means the bundle of relevance with which every subject has its own way of being in a particular situation. I borrow his concept to portray how an empathizee rebuilds his referential totality at a particular moment on the psychodramatic stage. Therefore, an empathizer is able to engage and embody the sphere of an empathizee's referential totality.

thoughts and reactions. Ideally, a protagonist's actions on the psychodramatic stage come from PR's experience of perceiving the way in which HUS demonstrated to her before. If that is the case in our example, when PR enacted HUS, she demonstrated what she perceived, remembered, and inferred about HUS's actions and how her husband might act at that particular moment. Thus, despite their unreliability as direct representations of an actor's behavior, psychodramatic reenactments encourage empathic thinking on the part of the protagonist and provide more information regarding protagonists' and his or her interacting subjects' subjectivities and intersubjective relations than the psychodramatist would receive through narrative retelling alone. For example, when HUS*PR was asked in line 8 about why HUS*PR looked anxious before WF came back, HUS*PR sat frowning on the sofa, looked around and breathed heavily. He seemed unable to sit still for long periods of time. It might be impossible for PR to know what HUS said or how HUS felt before she came home. However, it is probable that PR could learn those possible reactions from their everyday interaction. In her reenactment, she displayed what she had learned from her conscious and unconscious modes of understanding her husband. In this case, as in any therapeutic setting, it is not possible to directly observe the client/protagonist's actions in the lived moment. Therefore, the only person with enough data for empathizing with the husband is the protagonist.. Therefore, through the protagonist's role reversal, PDR and other members were able to learn more about PR's experience of HUS and then empathize with PR and possible interactions between the couple.

In addition to observing the action on a psychodramatic stage, a well-trained psychodramatist observes a protagonist's movements in and through space. This includes gestures, facial expressions, and other physical expressions that indicate a person's emotional reaction. When PR role reversed and became HUS*PR, PDR also shifted his position to stand

beside PR. In this way, PDR shifted his physical and visual vantage points from those of the wife to those of the husband. Through this physical shift, PDR not only gained information about how PR perceived the situation bodily, including the possible referential totality of HUS, but also synchronized with the protagonist's understanding of HUS's intention. In other words, a psychodramatist tries to learn the connections between the disclosed information that a protagonist perceives and the resultant reactions that he/she demonstrates. Through role reversal to the position where the protagonist stands, a psychodramatist learns the protagonist's way of linking the perceived information and the resultant reaction. The information is important for empathizing with the protagonist and for understanding the reference between the protagonist and other subjects in the surrounding world.

In fact, PDR keeps accumulating information about PR's ways of understanding her world. The accumulation not only helps PDR simulate PR's embodiment of others and her world but also gives him a better chance to empathize with PR more accurately. For example, from lines 14 to 17, when PR enacts the role of HUS, HUS*PR tolerated WF*Aux1's teasing but seemed to be annoyed, PDR stood aside and empathized with the role of the husband by saying, "I feel angry, how dare she treat me this way!" in line 19. PDR said that because he realized that Chinese men appreciate their face and often have a sense of superiority over women. If a Chinese man encounters his wife's calculated insult, he is likely to respond with anger. Even though PDR's empathy was correct, PDR still told the protagonist quickly: "if my words are correct, use your words to say it again. If what I said is incorrect, correct me and tell how you feel" in line 20. Then, in line 21, HUS*PR said: I feel angry…She makes me feel ashamed. My family and friends look down on me..." HUS*PR's answer showed confirmation of PDR's empathy. Moreover, PR disclosed more information about the possible reasons for HUS's

emotional reaction by saying that "I feel shamed because other friends and family members see me as a loser. She always criticizes me and belittles me" which was recorded in line 23. Even when a psychodramatist's efforts at empathic alignment fail, a protagonist is encouraged to correct and express his/her current feeling or current thought. In fact, false empathy motivates a protagonist to re-experience and to tell his/her understanding of the phenomenon. What I demonstrate here is the tactic of the psychodramatic way of empathizing for the protagonist. A psychodramatist might have his own interpretation or understanding of the phenomenon on the psychodramatic stage, however, in psychodramatic context, a psychodramatist learns the protagonist's way of empathizing with the others and the sociocultural context.

PDR not only observed the way in which PR empathized with her husband's subjectivity, he also imaginatively and empathically placed himself in both the roles of the wife and the husband by standing close to PR. By embedding himself into different roles in the interpersonal conflict, PDR attempts to gain different first-person-like perspectives on the situation rather than merely being an outside observer restricted to a third-person perspective in the encounter.

Understanding the Work of Role Reversal: The "Closeness" of Bodily Horizons in Psychodrama

On the psychodramatic stage, the proximity or "closeness" of the psychodramatist to the protagonist matters greatly to the unfolding of possibilities for empathic alignment between the clinician and the client. And yet, by "closeness" I do not mean physical or psychological distance. Instead, "closeness" refers to the distance between an empathizer and the total embodied situation of the empathizee, which is the distance between the empathizer's bodily horizon and the empathizee's bodily horizon. Building upon Husserl and Don Ihde's concepts of horizon and Merleau-Ponty's concept of body, Ahmed argues,

> The body horizon shows what bodies can reach toward by establishing a line beyond which they cannot reach; the horizon marks the edge of what can be reached by the body. The body becomes present as a body, with surfaces and boundaries, in showing the "limits" of what it can do. [Ahmed 2006:55]

Bodily horizon represents a phenomenological space of a subject's orientation toward other objects that he or she can reach by his or her perception and attention at a particular moment. These oriented objects constructed by one's bodily horizon are meaningful to the subject. Through scene-setting and role-playing, a protagonist is assisted in reconstructing his or her past experience, including the matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions. In other words, psychodramatic strategies help a protagonist rebuild his or her bodily horizon at a specific moment. Two types of bodily horizon are essential to empathy in the psychodramatic context. The first one is the character's bodily horizon. In the case study presented here, this bodily horizon is the wife's bodily horizon and the husband's played by the PR for each character. The second horizon includes the embodiment of all characters' bodily horizons on the psychodramatic stage through the mirroring. Both types of horizon contribute to the phenomenon of closeness, the phenomenon for conducting the psychodramatic method of empathy.

In fact, not only is a protagonist able to gain new insights into another's bodily horizon through role reversal, a psychodramatist also embodies the bodily horizon of different characters by standing closely to his or her clients. In other words, a psychodramatist also uses role reversal for engaging and broadening his or her understanding of the total embodied situation of a protagonist. In the case of the couple, PDR stood closely by PR to perceive what PR might perceive from the bodily horizon that PR recreated as she shifted from the role of the wife to the role of the husband and then to the role of an audience member. As a result, PDR embodied the bodily horizon not only of the wife, but also of the husband. In addition, PDR gained insight into the interpretation of the couple's interaction that PR developed during the mirroring activity.

Achieving the closeness that results when an empathizer attunes his bodily horizon with the empathizee's is crucial for the psychodramatic approach to empathy for protagonists. Thus, attending to the different bodily horizons created on the psychodramatic stage is an important part of a psychodramatist's job.

It is quite possible to argue that the information made available through enacting the role of the husband is only evidence of PR's understanding of her husband's perspective. And yet, from my observation of psychodrama, when protagonists reverse roles, they are often surprised by what is disclosed to them and others. This implies that there is information about a relation or situation that might not appear in the protagonists' consciousness until the moment in which they enact another role. Accordingly, some information may be restricted to a specific role and is unavailable to other roles. In other words, some information is saved and made available by engaging in different bodily horizons. Furthermore, it is not important here that the disclosed information about related subjects is really true in real lives. It shows the ways in which the protagonists consciously and unconsciously understand other subjects. This information is the material that psychodramatists use to process their own empathy for their protagonists.

The notion of bodily horizon is helpful in understanding the way in which a protagonist empathizes with other subjects in the shared horizon. Even though they may live in the shared horizon or sociocultural norm, people occupy different bodily horizons because of their different orientations toward other subjects and contexts. For example, in lines 14 and 20, both the wife and the husband are aware that men bear more responsibility for the financial care of families in Chinese culture. A man might fear losing face if his wife is better able to earn money and sustain the family's everyday needs. Through PR's role reversal and embodiment of HUS, PDR was able to discover how the conflict and PR's judgments were perceived by HUS.

Mirroring helps a psychodramatist understand the ways in which a protagonist embodies different bodily horizons on the psychodramatic stage and his or her interpretation of the interpersonal interaction. Different from the strategy of role reversal, mirroring invites protagonists to enact the perspectives of audience members who observe from outside the scene and describe what they learn. Mirroring, therefore, involves the protagonist in a third-person perspective. This encourages the protagonist to interpret the scene intersubjectively. Returning again to our case study, in line 24 to line 25, PR was asked to enact the role of an audience member and to speak about what she saw from the audience's viewpoint. She had learned the viewpoints of WF*Aux1 and HUS*Aux2 from previous practice of role reversal. She saw the couple's gestures and physical interaction, which she integrated with her first and second person perspectives to gain new insight into the phenomenon. At this moment, PR was closer to the whole embodied situation. This included not only WF's subjectivity but also HUS's, which she had come to know in both conscious and unconscious ways for a very long time. As a result PR developed more insight into the intersubjective dynamics between the two subjects. Following this, she was able to make a clear interpretation of the conflict between the couple. Through their manner of interacting, HUS and PR maintained a risky balance in their relationship. By placing herself off-stage, PR could empathize with the display of the ongoing intersubjective dynamic and gain another bodily horizon of the couple's interaction.

At the same time, PDR stood by PR in an effort to inhabit a similar bodily horizon as the couple on the psychodramatic stage. Though PDR might have a different interpretation, when practicing mirroring, the task for PDR is to learn PR's way of understanding or interpreting—not his own. Learning the protagonist's way of understanding his or her interpersonal interaction makes the story reasonable according to the protagonist's perspective. This is important for the

therapeutic enactment of empathy in psychodrama, which is essential to learning more about the protagonist's way of framing the situation.

In brief, closeness is an empathic orientation to the unfolding processes of empathy in the psychodramatic context. Closeness is achieved through efforts at empathic alignment with two types of embodiment of bodily horizon. First, there are efforts to empathize with each character's individual bodily horizon. Second, there is empathy for the embodiment of different individual bodily horizons on the psychodramatic stage. When engaging individual bodily horizons, the psychodramatist is able to access the perceptions, feelings, thoughts, and other forms of embodiment of a specific character. By learning the protagonist's way of understanding or interpreting an interpersonal interaction, the psychodramatist is better able to understand the meaning of that relationship from the protagonist's perspective when practicing mirroring. Each bodily horizon is closely related to others and contributes to the meaning of whole interpersonal interaction. These bodily horizons construct the phenomenon of closeness in which a psychodramatist is able to perceive what a protagonist embodies. In other words, the psychodramatist develops an understanding of a protagonist's empathy for different characters and the intersubjective interaction. A psychodramatist then places himself or herself in multiple bodily horizons that a protagonist demonstrates. Therefore, a psychodramatist is able to approximate an experience of the situation that resonates with the experience of a protagonist. This is a form of empathy that seeks to cultivate possibilities for empathizing with a protagonist in an accurate way.

FOUR BASIC POSITIONS OF THE PSYCHODRAMATIC WAY OF EMPATHY

The psychodramatic method of empathy is unique in that psychodramatists explicitly make efforts to empathize not only with the subject being empathized with but also with the whole embodied situation of the empathizee. Empathy for an individual's bodily horizon helps the psychodramatist accumulate intimate knowledge of each character's way of experiencing his or her situation. Additionally, empathy for the total embodied situation provides information for better understanding the interactions between the subjectivity of the various participants, the dynamic intersubjective relations between participants, and the broader sociocultural context within which they are embedded from the protagonist's point of view.

Take our case in question. When PR enacted the roles of the wife or the husband, PDR did not always stand by PR. PDR changed his position in order to perceive different perspectives from different positions. For example, PDR stood with WF*PR to learn what she bodily perceived, to experience how she felt, and to listen to what she said. PDR also changed his position and stood opposite WF*PR to perceive WF*PR's appearance and her way of expression. Sometimes, PDR sat next to other audience members to watch the way in which the couple interacted when PR was on the stage. Once in a while, PDR might stand in the corner to observe the interaction between the scene and the audience. In fact, different positions provide different perspectives of PR's social life. In the following discussion, I will describe four viewpoints by which a psychodramatist accumulates intimate knowledge of a protagonist's social life in psychodramatic contexts.

The First-Person and the Second-Person Viewpoint Displayed by Role Reversal

The first-person viewpoint represents the protagonist's own embodiment of the total embodied situation while the second-person viewpoint represents another character's

embodiment. As previously mentioned, it is common to hear psychodramatists say "show me, don't tell me." In other words, a psychodramatist learns from a protagonist's actions rather than by listening to what a protagonist says about those actions. So, in the beginning, a psychodramatist helps a protagonist rebuild the scene and the relevant roles embedded in it, in addition to helping the protagonist decide which roles to play first. After setting the scene and enacting the relevant roles, the auxiliary is then able to enact the other roles for the protagonist through observing and imitating the way in which the protagonist had enacted them. At this point, the protagonist is asked to return his/her original role to examine whether or not his or her renewed embodiment of that position is similar to his or her previous experience of it. The protagonist can make any adjustments necessary to make the embodiment close to what he or she experienced in everyday social life.

Usually, psychodramatists do not empathize with protagonists in the early stages of psychodramatic therapy even though protagonists might be eager to talk about their situations or suffering. Psychodramatists remain aware that through a protagonist's role-playing and role-reversals, meaningful information will be disclosed. In this case, through PR's empathy for the role of HUS, PDR had a chance to ask questions about the possible ways in which HUS thought and felt in that encounter. In line 9, PDR states "It seems you are anxious, what's happened? And in line 20, he tells PR, "If my words are correct, use your words to say it again." Through these types of questions, PDR was able to elicit confirmations and, or reformulations of the empathic understanding of the situation that he was building. PDR could also challenge HUS*PR in an effort to learn more about the reasons behind his physical abuse of his wife. For example, PDR might challenge HUS*PR by saying "Why do you think you have the right to beat your wife?" or "Do you feel inferior to your wife?" Such questions might disclose more

information about the sociocultural context that might contribute to the physical abuse from the protagonist's understanding of her world. In other words, PDR accessed the protagonist's embodiment of the husband through PR's performance of that role. This same performance also revealed aspects of the protagonist's own way of empathy for her husband's perspective.

Moreover, from PDR's perspective, PDR perceived what HUS*PR might perceive but be hidden behind the behavior. He vicariously felt the husband's way of experiencing, and he tried to figure out what was going on in this situation. PDR felt frustrated, anxious, agitated, and angry when he was empathizing with the role of the husband. Those possible emotions might come up in PDR's embodiment. In line 19, by saying "I feel angry, how dare she treat me this way!", PDR expressed his embodied emotions for requiring the protagonist's verbal confirmation or rejection. Through this kind of checking, PDR synchronized his embodiment with HUS*PR's bodily horizon.

Note here that this thesis is not concerned with the accuracy of the information that PR discloses about HUS. Rather, this thesis focuses on the way in which PR empathizes with her husband from the scene that she had created. Most of the times, enacting other roles is a whole new experience for a protagonist. Especially when a protagonist sees how the auxiliary enacts the protagonist's role, he or she perceives a new embodiment of what things look like from another's perspective. Role reversal gives the protagonist a chance to leave his or her original role and to embody another's embodiment from a different physical, psychological, and sociocultural position. In this case, when facing WF*Aux1's sarcastic ridicule that I described in line 15, such as "I work so hard and you just do nothing?" and "I need to work. I need to prepare dinner. What do you do for this family? You are a man and you should take the responsibility to take care of this family." PR embodied a new insight about how her husband might feel about

her behavior. Therefore, in line 23, HUS*PR said: “I feel angry. Why is this woman so mean? She makes me feel ashamed. My family and friends look down on me...I feel angry about that.” The protagonist not only empathized with her husband but also gained her husband’s possible perspective on their daily interaction and inferred what her husband might perceive, feel, think, and react on from her own experience of their interaction. So in line 23, HUS*PR said: ”It seems she tries to enrage me. She makes me think that I’m useless and lower than her. I feel ashamed because other friends and family members see me as a loser.” In other words, PR reflected their interaction in the shared sociocultural context from her husband’s perspective.

Sometimes, a psychodramatist is unable to access a protagonist’s sociocultural context. He or she then has to ask the protagonist to reveal more information about the sociocultural context. For example, in 2014, I conducted a psychodrama about pronoun usage with transgender people. In the beginning, I did not know why the protagonist was so concerned that the opposite role had used the wrong pronoun to refer to a transgender person, so I asked for a reason. The protagonist told me that they usually used the pronoun “they” to refer to transgender people rather than using “he” or “she.” I did not know that until my protagonist explained this. Knowing the reason, I was better able to empathize with my protagonist’s anger when hearing that someone did not respect their usual practice.

In sum, to process empathy in psychodramatic context, a psychodramatist has to access the protagonist’s sociocultural context and learn the relation between the context and the character’s behavior or reaction when placing himself or herself in the protagonist’s position. Having done this, a psychodramatist is therefore able to embody each character’s bodily horizon and influences from the environment.

The Third-Person Viewpoint Displayed by Mirroring

The third-person viewpoint indicates the viewpoint of an audience—an outsider who watches the psychodrama of the protagonist's social life. Psychodramatists typically ask protagonists to inhabit the third-person viewpoint by stepping outside of the psychodramatic stage to view the enactment of their personal narratives by auxiliaries. As discussed before, this is what psychodramatists refer to as "mirroring." In this case study, PR was asked to observe the way in which WF*Aux1 and HUS*Aux2 interacted with each other on the psychodramatic stage. After enacting the role of the wife and the husband, PR developed insight into each character's perspective on the situation. What she still lacked, however, was a perspective on the dynamics of the interaction itself. By observing other people enact these same roles, she was given a chance to observe the interaction. She was not merely an audience member but also an analyzer and an interpreter of their interaction.

The third-person viewpoint from the protagonist's perspective provides a deep embodiment of the way in which subjects interact in a shared and limited social context. Deep embodiment means to embody different subjects' bodily horizons and intersubjective interaction and to know the way in which people make their behavior and speech meaningful toward others in a particular sociocultural context. It is similar to Clifford Geertz's concept of "thick description"—reading meaning out of behavior in a specific social context (1973:9-10). However, in psychodramatic contexts, a psychodramatist reads not only the protagonist's behavior but also others' behavior at the same time. This deep embodiment helps a psychodramatist grasp a broader picture of the total situation that a protagonist had embodied in his or her daily life. In this case, if we just judge HUS's violent behavior but ignore his motives for that behavior in their sociocultural context, we might miss the unconscious conspiracy that helps to fuel the

tragedy. Importantly, I am not arguing that the husband's violent response is appropriate or acceptable. I simply wish to point out the ways that role reversal and mirroring help to make salient hidden understandings of conflicts as they occur in their specific sociocultural contexts. This information, in turn, is vital to helping clients recognize and resolve problematic patterns in their lives.

Although asking protagonists to inhabit the third person perspective is an effective way to bring the influence of sociocultural context to consciousness, the psychodramatist must be able to use questions and requests for clarification to effectively facilitate this process. PDR observed the way in which the wife increased the pressure on her husband. He felt the tension between the couple. He sensitively detected the dangerous dynamic interaction between the couple. However, he did not know the meaning of that interaction to PR. He had to ask questions to have better understanding and empathy. In lines 24 to 25, the protagonist asked, "What do you see from the couple's interaction?" The protagonist replied, "The woman is so afraid of losing her husband. She tries to tame her husband and keep him at home. The man is pitiful because he loses his ability to earn a living. He has to depend on his wife and endure his wife's digs. By this way of interaction, they keep their relationship in a balance." Therefore, by learning PR's way of empathy from the third-person viewpoint, PDR left his interpretation aside and synchronized his way of understanding with PR's. This helped PDR have empathy for the whole interaction between the wife and the husband according to PR's interpretation.

In sum, the psychodramatic technique of mirroring provides the third-person viewpoint from the protagonist's embodiment of the total situation in the protagonist's perspective of social context. This viewpoint helps to attach meaning to both the wife's and the husband's behavior. It

also helps the psychodramatist better understand the dynamic interaction and develop empathy for each character on the psychodramatic stage.

The Fourth-Person Viewpoint from a Psychodramatist's Clinical Perspective

The fourth-person viewpoint is an important viewpoint that leaves a space for a psychodramatist to analyze the interpersonal interaction in protagonist's social world and to consider other possible ways of empathizing with the total embodied situation. In this case, the first-person viewpoint provides information for empathizing with the role of PR. The second-person viewpoint provides information for empathizing with the role of HUS. The third-person viewpoint provides information for understanding the dynamic intersubjectivity among the couple. The fourth-person viewpoint, finally, takes the above three viewpoints into consideration for understanding the embodiment of different characters and the social meaning of the couple's interaction in the surrounding sociocultural context. Different from the third-person viewpoint, which reveals the protagonist's understanding of intersubjective interaction, the fourth-person viewpoint regards the protagonist's interpretation as one possible way of understanding the total embodied situation of the protagonist. In other words, PDR does not accept on face value everything that PR says to him. He keeps his attitude open to other possible ways of understanding. If this case happened in a society in which the wife had the duty of taking care of the family financially, the wife would not tease her husband and her husband would not feel ashamed. If the conflict still happened, the psychodramatist would have to find other ways of understanding and contextualizing the couple's interaction. This open attitude reduces the chance that a psychodramatist will be trapped by the protagonist's interpretation– especially when the protagonist's interpretation is linked to the cause of the conflict. In brief, the fourth-person viewpoint refers to the embodiment of the first-person, the second-person, and the

third-person viewpoints from the protagonist's embodiment at different physical and psychological positions. Its engagement also helps psychodramatists keep a distance to reflect other possible understanding of the total embodied situation of the protagonist.

The Four-Point Model: the Perceived Bodily Horizon

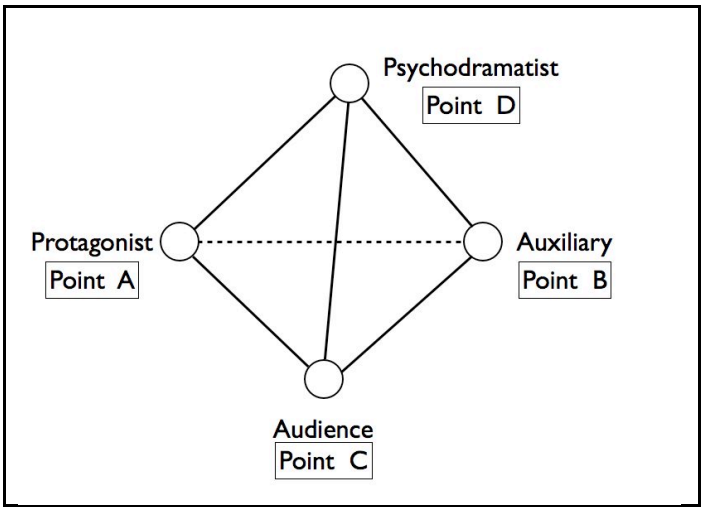

Figure 1. Four-point model in psychodrama

Let me use a diagram (see above) to summarize this section's discussion. This diagram shows the four points of a pyramid. Each point shows its linkages to other points. Point A represents the position of a protagonist, point B, the position of an auxiliary, point C, the position of audience, and the point D, the position of a psychodramatist. When protagonists operate at points A and B, positions they may take up whether or not they are in a psychodramatic context they are only able to perceive the opposite role. That is, when at point A or B, a protagonist needs only consider how to perceive, think about, and react to the encountered subject. By contrast, at point C, a protagonist embodies two characters' subjectivities, the wife's and the husband's, at the same time—they perceive the auxiliaries' enactments at points A and B

simultaneously. This means that the bodily horizon of point C is different from the bodily horizons of points A and B because, at point C, the protagonist's bodily horizon includes both subjects—the wife and the husband in our case. The model thus demonstrates the phenomenological difference between points A and B on one hand and point C on the other. From points A and B, only one encountered subject appears in a protagonist's bodily horizon. From point C, two subjects appear.

Point D represents the psychodramatist's efforts to bring all of these perspectives together and to assess them in light of his or her own viewpoint and bodily horizon. At point D the psychodramatist consciously and simultaneously perceives two subjectivities (at points A and B) and the intersubjective understanding of A and B's interaction (at point C) at the same time. The perspective at point D embodies the phenomenological awareness of different perspectives and embodiments from different positions.

The couple highlighted in this thesis provides a simple case for describing the four-point model and the strategies that psychodramatists employ in accessing the information and opportunities for empathy that each point contains. By simultaneously empathizing with a protagonist from points A, B and C, a psychodramatist not only perceives the referential totality of each point, but also embeds him or herself into the same field that a protagonist discloses. In a complicated psychodrama or in a real social interaction, there are more than two subjects and more possible interpretations appearing at the same time. The more subjects and more interpretations that appear at the same time, the more bodily horizons that need to be accounted for from the perspective of point D. In other words, point D demonstrates an ideal position for a psychodramatist (and arguably for an anthropologist as well) to make an accurate empathic judgment. A psychodramatist does not just analyze the referential totality of each point but also

makes efforts to embody every sensation, emotion, physical appearing, cognitive understanding and other possible embodiments of different characters and possible interpretations. The four-point model shows the phenomenon of closeness in which the psychodramatist shares a similar understanding of the protagonist's social life. With the concept of the psychodramatic method of empathy, the psychodramatist is capable of developing more accurate empathy for the protagonist than if he or she were limited to a single viewpoint.

In short, this section demonstrates how psychodramatists accumulate different bodily horizons by embedding themselves in different positions in psychodramatic context. A psychodramatist not only collects intimate knowledge of different subjectivities but also acquires understanding of the dynamic phenomenon of intersubjectivity. These different bodily horizons construct the phenomenon of closeness that helps the psychodramatist have accurate empathy.

DISCUSSION

In anthropology, empathy is important for ethnographic fieldwork. Ethnographers are faced with the challenge of making sense of their informants' sociocultural contexts—including the meanings, performances, beliefs, and values that arise in them—visible and available for scrutiny. It is hard enough to analyze and perceive such information in one's own society and personal life. An unfamiliar field site further complicates this task. The present study underscores the fact that empathy with a subject goes hand and hand with understanding the sociocultural context of that subject and his or her intersubjective relations. Not only does context influence people's everyday interactions, context helps ethnographers have better empathy for understanding embodiments, reactions, and meanings of people's everyday lives.

This thesis shows a retrospective way of rebuilding the embodied bodily horizon of the empathizee in the psychodramatic context. The way of psychodramatic empathy is to place and

embed the empathizer in the empathizee's total embodied situation. Through psychodramatic strategies of empathy, the protagonist (the empathizee) unfolds different bodily horizons that are partially overlapping to broadly construct and uncover the empathizee's embodied situation. This rebuilding bodily horizon shows the place where the empathizer has to engage and attune his or her embodiment with the empathizee's.

If ethnographers are able to empathize with their informants appropriately and correctly, they are able to build a close relationship that helps ethnographers collect their field data. From this research, I have described two different intimate relationships in the psychodramatic context, intimacy and closeness. Both phenomena are the result of empathy but have different meaning. In this thesis, I argue that the phenomenon of intimacy, is about empathy for one subject. The other, closeness, involves empathy for the total embodied situation of the empathizee and considers two or more subjects as well as understanding of the interpersonal interaction in a particular sociocultural context from the empathizee's understanding.

Intimacy of Individual Bodily Horizon

Intimacy requires the embodiment of a subject's bodily horizon and awareness of the empathizee's perceptions, feelings, thoughts, meanings of behavior, and other embodiments. Intimacy includes a shared bodily horizon as when the empathizer stands next to the empathizee and looks out at the world from a similar position. Intimacy contrasts with situations in which the empathizer only inquires about and collects data on the empathizee's understanding. In such a scenario, the empathizer simply digests and integrates this information in order to create a possible image using his or her imagination. They should examine the connections between perception, behavior, and the influence of context so that they might be able to develop empathy. In psychodrama, a psychodramatist (the empathizer) stands next to a protagonist (the empathizee)

to embody a character's bodily horizon, thus bringing intimacy into the empathic toolkit. This embodiment provides a psychodramatist direct experience of what things might look like to a protagonist in a particular position on the psychodramatic stage. He or she can then use other strategies discussed in this thesis to uncover hidden messages and to confirm, deny, or enhance their way of embodying such that their embodiments and perceptions are comparable to the protagonist's. If the empathizer shares a similar embodiment and has similar reactions, both empathizer and the empathizee will feel intimacy between each other. In my experience of conducting psychodrama, many protagonists have asked me how I was able to know their feelings and perceptions. Others have told me that they felt intimacy when aware that I was standing nearby. Empathy is not only about sharing intimate knowledge or locating the meaning of behavior in a sociocultural context; empathy entails the embodiment of the empathizee's bodily horizon in order to arrive at a similar feeling and meaning.

Intimacy, then, refers to an attuned relationship between the empathizer and the empathizee. It arises from accumulating knowledge of someone who shares a similar bodily horizon. It means that if the empathizer knows what the empathizee perceives, the empathizer is capable of having similar reactions to perceived information when the empathizer is also capable of accessing the empathizee's sociocultural context.

When the empathizee recognizes that the empathizer is able to arrive at similar results, the empathize feels understood by the empathizer. In fact, being understood intensifies the intimacy between the empathizer and the empathizee. In psychodrama, when a psychodramatist is able to accurately empathize with a protagonist, both have a sense of intimacy with each other. For example, in sharing their feelings about being a protagonist, two of my friends who are also trainees of psychodrama reported having an intimate feeling toward their psychodramatists. "It

seemed that my psychodramatist was able to know what I thought and how I felt," one told me. "I felt understood." The other reported, "When I felt anxious, I knew that my psychodramatist accompanied with me. I felt safer and more willing to face my issue." Their comments demonstrate the feeling of intimacy that they perceived when they knew their psychodramatists understood and accompanied them.

When I practice psychodrama, I often note that my personal feelings and thoughts are quite similar to what my protagonist discloses. For example, when one of my protagonists was saying goodbye to a significant other who was dying of terminal cancer, I encouraged my protagonist. I learned the importance of that significant other to my protagonist and embodied my protagonist's sorrow over the loss. My protagonist and I both shed tears when saying goodbye to the significant other. It reminded me of my own experience of losing significant others before. I also noted that the whole group was silent at that moment. It seemed that not only I, but also the other group members had similar feelings. This intuitive feeling was later confirmed when the group and I convened after the dramatization to discuss our thoughts and reactions.

The feeling of intimacy makes a protagonist feel safe and willing to recall more related information and to actively participate in the therapeutic process. In other words, intimacy is not just the result of having accurate empathy for the other but is also helpful for having a better quality of empathy during the whole process of empathy. In short, intimacy is the result of sharing the same bodily horizon in which the empathizer is able to embody the empathizee's embodiment in a particular situation. The more an empathizer is able to empathize, the more intimacy the empathizer and the empathizee will feel.

Closeness of Multiple Bodily Horizons

Though different from intimacy, closeness is a form of intimate relation between the empathizer and the empathizee's social world. Closeness means that the empathizer is able to understand the influence of the sociocultural context and to empathize with related subjectivities at the same time. In other words, closeness demonstrates the result of having empathy for intersubjectivity, while intimacy results from having empathy for a specific subject. In other words, in the phenomenon of closeness, the total embodied situation of the empathizee is the subject being empathized with rather than the empathizee alone.

Social psychologists Aron et al. (2004), who provide a useful review of close relationships, define closeness in the following way:

> The idea of including other in the self is certainly linked to notions of closeness and intimacy, so often used as descriptors of the degree of closeness found in a specific relationship…greater closeness means that the cognitive representations of the self and other are "nearer to" (more likely to mutually activate one another) or overlap more with (share more elements with) one another. [2004:36]

They point out the important phenomenon of "overlapping of selves" for understanding the concept of closeness. In this thesis, I use the concepts of bodily horizon, rather than "selves", when discussing the phenomenon of overlapping and its importance to the psychodramatic way of empathy. Nevertheless, the mentioned research on closeness and Aron et al.'s definition mainly focus on two-person relationships. Their perspective not only makes it difficult to differentiate the overlapping bodily horizons between two subjects, but it also makes it difficult to differentiate the broader overlapping of multiple bodily horizons in larger social-interpersonal networks, such as families, organizations, nations, and groups. The fourth-person viewpoint demonstrates a metaphorical idea of closeness that includes two or more subjectivities and the understanding of possible interpretations of interpersonal interaction. In closeness, an empathizer

is able to see how empathized subjects grasp different sociocultural elements in their accessible social world to construct the meaning of their behaviors and to influence their way of experiencing. Through engaging the closeness of an empathizee's world, an empathizer is able to discover that people are not just parrots that repeat what they have learned in a particular social context but are active participants who have their own habitus. This points out the heterogeneity of a society and reminds us that everyone is unique and has his or her own subjectivity.

What is the importance of differentiating the concept of intimacy and closeness to anthropologists? First of all, the difference reminds anthropologists to think about who the subject is that they are empathizing with. If anthropologists want to collect information about their informants' personal experiences or ways of embodiment, the psychodramatic strategy of role reversal and the concept of intimacy may help them to empathize with a particular subjectivity. On the other hand, if they want to know the social meaning of informants' behavior or the influence of sociocultural context on people's interactions, the strategy of mirroring, the fourth-person viewpoint, and the concept of closeness are helpful. Secondly, although this thesis studies marked empathy in psychodramatic contexts, the four-point model derived from psychodrama might be helpful for training new anthropologists or when doing supervision. For example, through practicing the psychodramatic way of empathy, new anthropologists are able to grasp the feeling of engaging the other's bodily horizon and to learn how to empathize. If new anthropologists have questions about their way of conducting their fieldwork, they can display their total embodied situation of the informants and the sociocultural context. And then senior anthropologists or advisors can understand what the situation looks like and provide their valuable opinions.

In short, from studying the marked empathy in psychodramatic context, the concept of intimacy and closeness reveal different ways of embodiment of those overlapping bodily horizons and the understandings of the total embodied situation of the empathizee. In fact, there is always information about a phenomenon that is missed, ignored, or not reported. An empathizer has to broaden the perspective of the total embodied situation of the protagonist as much as possible. This thesis shows another way of marked empathy and is helpful for understanding the phenomenon of empathy and for conducting ethnographic fieldwork.

CONCLUSION

Studying empathy, a complex intersubjective phenomenon, contributes to contemporary anthropology in clarifying theoretically and empirically the nature of relations between individuals and their historical and current sociocultural and material contexts (Levy and Hollan 2000:333). Psychodrama is an effective approach for understanding the complicated relations and interactions among subjects and the surrounding social world. This thesis demonstrates a psychodramatic approach to empathy in which an empathizer places himself or herself in the phenomenon of closeness, which contains the complicated and overlapping bodily horizons of the empathizee.

In participant observation, ethnographers observe and/or participate in the everyday activities of the people being studied (Dewalt et al, 2000:260) and have to find out the dynamic interactions between individuals and the society. It is not easy to define informants' orientations toward the world. However, in psychodramatic context, a protagonist, the subject being empathized with, demonstrates his or her way of being in the orientated social context and discloses the meanings of his or her behavior. A protagonist also enacts other subjects through

the psychodramatic technique of role reversal, which entails giving his or her original bodily horizon over to another. Moreover, a protagonist gives his or her interpretation of the interpersonal interaction when mirroring, another technique that helps a protagonist reflect on the meaning of the interaction in his or her particular social context. By embedding in the overlapping bodily horizons, a psychodramatist is able to attune his or her embodiment to the protagonist's. Subsequently, accumulating four basic bodily horizons of the protagonist's total embodied situation helps a psychodramatist to have accurate empathy for his or her client. In other words, the psychodramatic way of empathy is to embody a protagonist's empathy for his or her self, other selves, and the world.

In addition, this thesis also discusses two kinds of empathy in psychodramatic context, empathy for an individual subject and empathy for the intersubjectivity. These two kinds of empathy show different intimate relations, intimacy and closeness. Intimacy means that an empathizer shares a particular bodily horizon of an empathized person while closeness signifies that an empathizer holds multiple and overlapping bodily horizons of an empathizee's embodied situation. Clarifying these two concepts helps anthropologists to clearly understand the subjects with whom they empathize and to have a broader perspective of the complicated interactions among subjects and their oriented sociocultural environment.

This thesis barely touches some related issues about empathy. It still needs more research for answering the anthropologic question: "Whatever happened to empathy?" Nevertheless, the contribution of this thesis, especially regarding the embodiment of multiple overlapping bodily horizons, might help to answer questions about how people interact with others in a broad and complicated sociocultural context or explain the collective emotional reaction in a group of people. On the other hand, the psychodramatic way of healing, different from other therapeutic

approaches, is another interesting research topic. Finally, this thesis is helpful for reflecting on the problem of accurate empathy in ethnographic fieldwork, and it would be worthy to do more ethnographic research on psychodrama in the future.

APPENDIX: SPEAKER CODES

In this thesis, I refer to the protagonist as PR and her husband as HUS. I refer to myself, the psychodramatist as PDR. In order to clarify the distinction between a person and the role that he or she plays, I use special coding to refer to the interchangeable roles that are enacted. Where there is an asterisk (*), read "as interpreted by." For example, to make clear that the husband's voice is being interpreted and recreated by the protagonist on the psychodramatic stage, I use the code HUS*PR (that is, the husband as interpreted by the protagonist). The code "*aux" indicates that the role is being played by an auxiliary. That is, a member of the group who is neither the protagonist nor the psychodramatist. Below are the codes that I use to represent the actors in this case:

PR = the protagonist

PDR = the psychodramatist

* = as played by

Aux1 = a female group member asked to play the role of the wife by PR

Aux2 = a male group member asked to play the role of the husband by PR

WF = the character of the wife/PR

HUS = the character of the PR's husband

AUD = the audience

WF*PR = the character of wife played by the protagonist

WF*Aux1 = the character of wife played by Auxiliary #1

HUS*PR = the character of husband played by the protagonist

HUS*Aux2 = the character of husband played by auxiliary #2

AUD*PR = an audience member played by the protagonist

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