



“FOLLOWING THE SWP UNIFORM” VOL. 1/1

A Play With ‘Bleeding Humans’

ABSTRACT

“Following the SWP Uniform” is a PhD thesis in the form of a Live-Action Role-Play (LARP). It manifests a multimedia digital Sensory Ethnography with the South Wales Police (SWP) in an engaging, playful invitation to ‘Explorers’ to join the research process: In pursuit of the Researcher’s research trajectory of patrolling along with SWP in the streets and following SWP uniforms on social media, Explorers co-experience ethnographic ‘places’ that emerge. Conceptualising place as experiential, contingent and interactive expresses the thesis’ more-than-representational methodological embeddedness and aligns with how LARPs function through (rule-based) improvisation. The thesis also materialises an aesthetic, experimental appeal to being ‘effective’ by being ‘affective’: What Explorers know through their experience of “Following the SWP Uniform” is equivalent but uniquely embodied and unpredictable. The same is true for what the Researcher learns from SWP, and what SWP know. Orientation is provided by focusing the LARP on ‘making Swansea a safe place’. Thus, this play empirically highlights notions of safe-place-making through online and offline police interactions, in the urban, devolved setting of Swansea whose policy-agenda changes the police’s ‘professional responsibilities’ and lived realities. By highlighting the emotional labour involved in policing as a ‘friendly Welsh community service’, this play elucidates contesting interpretations and feelings of ‘safety’, ‘belonging’, ‘responsibility’ and ‘community’. Most importantly, “Following the SWP Uniform” shares the SWP’s take on what it means to be (and act as a) Human, and why such is a valuable resource that needs protection.


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Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of PhD in Human Geography, College of Science, Swansea University, 2020



DECLARATION


This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed  (candidate)
Date 03-May-2020

STATEMENT 1


This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s).

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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list of abbreviations

API - Application Programming Interface

BD – Big Data

CC – city-centre

LARP – Live-Action Role-Play

MoP – Member/s of the Public

NHS – National Health Service

NTE – Night-Time Economy

PC – Police Constable

PCSO – Police Community Support Officer

PO – Participant Observation

PS – Police Sergeant

SC – Special Constable

SE – Sensory Ethnography

SWP – South Wales Police

XP - Experience



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Thanks for the feedback to Jay. And sincerest thanks for The Ordnance Survey, Blurr and the ESRC for entrusting me with their money and allowing me to go through the journeys on my way to the PhD title token. Finally: My supervisors. Thank you, too.

Wait.

Before you go any further than this, be advised that you are entering unknown territory. If you wish, you can take this metaphorically or literally. The following journey will have you learn and engage with new characters, exposes you to challenges that you have never mastered before. But fear not, for **you are not alone**.

This PhD thesis is a Live-Action Role-Play. You will shortly be given a role, and tasks to fulfil on your learning mission. In order to do so, you are guided from level to level, and ultimately onto the Plateau of Discussion. To get there, furthermore, you are encouraged to reflect on your roles outside of the play; you are given practical tasks to manifest what this thesis invokes in you by ways of interacting with your ‘Companion’. Imagine an online multi-player role-game, in which you have a kindly comrade, who follows you around and provides you support, whenever you need it: Moral, conceptual, practical and other forms of arguably helpful interventions come from your Companion in this play, too. For ease of use: Find your Companion, now. It is attached to the print body of this thesis, behind the Appendix (pp. 310). Its formatting allows you to cut out the last pages, because it is set further out to the right. By taking out the pages of the Companion, you can have them handy next to the main body of the play’s text. Otherwise, you might wish to mark out where the Companion starts so you can more easily consult it.

One more note on the Appendix: Depending on how deeply you want to explore the content of the following research journey, the Appendix gives you plenty of opportunity for methodical and theoretical detours. It is suggested to mark the first page of the Appendix, too, for that very reason.

End of intervention. You may now proceed.



[prelude]

(It is suggested, unless it feels very uncomfortable, to put on headphones at this point. They function as a costume or prop to make the engagement with the following more intense, as Bowman (2015) explains. Feel free to carry on without, however.)

(A voice from the Off. It is represented by the Times New Roman font.)

“Hello.

This is not just a thesis you are engaging with. This is a game. And you are already playing it. It is called a Live-Action-Role-Play: LARP. In case you are unfamiliar, have a crack at the proverbial nutshell below to find a definition.”

Live-Action Role-Play: The Clue Is In The Name



proverbial nutshell

“**LIVE**” – implies that the play is unfolding – emerging and spontaneous...not *fully* pre-scripted, but unpredictable within certain boundaries. That is the case, because *everybody* interacts with others (The importance of ‘bodies’ is expanded upon shortly. Just have in mind for now that the word refers not only to people.). Characters have to spontaneously react on what others do, i.e. they improvise every LARP “(inter-)**ACTION**”. Such improvisations by players have to function within the logic of one’s character specifications on the role-card. The latter specifies how characters relate to each other, what makes characters recognisable in their specific role, and what their character’s tribal goals are. If a character fails to act out their character recognisably, the player’s **Social Death** is declared¹. A LARPer² can thus no longer partake in a Campaign under their tribal label. Other logics are set by the specific Campaign, e.g. which characters are available, and its underlying **Social Contract**. The latter specifies general conditions that are binding for a particular Campaign, and usually relate to the plot that sets up a LARP. ‘Campaign’ itself refers to a specific enactment of one plot, with one cast of characters that have agreed on the Social Contract. It commences with a brief to

¹ Find out more about “Social Death” by Exploring the Theory Garden in your Appendix! Gain 12 extra XP.

² LARPer is shorthand for characters playing in a Campaign, i.e. the enacted version of a character. In LARP-speak, ‘alibi’ is the technical term, but the present Researcher finds LARPer more intuitively understandable.



provide the narrative or plot including goals for each featured “**ROLE**”. Thus, characters, a.k.a. roles, are more generally introduced to other characters’ in-role motivations and capacities. Role, or character (herein used interchangeably) is LARP-terminology for the in-game persona a player represents. It is recognisable through character-specific costumes or props, which are (in this Campaign) specified on the role-cards. Such a character-demarcation reflects with which tribe or collective a role is affiliated.

This affiliation expresses where a character ‘belongs’ in the LARP-verse (a neologism to indicate that LARP comprises a ‘world’ akin to a universe or multiverses; CF) relative to other characters. The LARP-verse’s societal structure, as well as in-group specificity, are unique to a plot. One’s position within the overall system, i.e. the particular persona to embody, comes with different character-capacities or skills, individual objectives, weaknesses, as well as behavioural norms (habits, traditions etc.). Some of these character-specifications are put down on role-cards, which advise the LARPer what they can (not) do, with whom, where...Others can be negotiated amongst the LARPer. Since every character is only dealt and therefore granted insight into one card³, however, the overarching reference-frame or ‘rule-book’ is the Social Contract. Every Campaign-participant has to sign it before a Campaign can start.⁴ Thus, LARPer know how various characters’ actions may be interpreted. Social Contracts may also identify breaches to the LARP-laws that, if violated, implies players characters can collectively be voted out of the game and dismissed from participation. Judging appropriate conduct is usually performed by in-group members, however, who have been dealt the same role-card and given the same boundary conditions to instruct their character enactments.⁵ The improvisational character of LARPer, accordingly, holds potential for conflict about how to represent one’s cohort in a Campaign where role-cards are not known to all players: One has to deduce who other players represent in-role

³ In this sense, Explorers are special: They can review and even generate other characters’ cards. However, in e.g. online multi-player role-plays, the choice of one’s own avatar can be made by players themselves. Accordingly, they have the chance to browse through the profiles of all available LARP-verse members, before deciding into whose role to slip. If a LARP-verse is based on a ‘traditional’ world and players can choose whom they play, most players also know particularities of those they play with; CF.

⁴ In addition to that, LARPer also have to agree on how to validate the Social Contract. More symbolic-ritualistic agreements might replace ink-on-paper versions, depending on e.g. the timeframe in which the LARP is set (C.f. Bowman, 2015). This Campaign is special in that you inadvertently joined the play by engaging (reading) this thesis.

⁵ See Appendix “Social Death” for a detour into how other frames of Social Death offer different perspectives on this role-play, and perhaps Experience more generally.



by what they do, how. Put differently: A major identifier of ‘who’ one represents in a LARP is what one does in various interactive contexts. Through interactions, characters express their belonging to a cohort and distinguish themselves from others, too (Howarth, 2001; 14; Döveling et al., 2018: 2-4). The degree to which their in-group agrees with their performance’s propriety may situationally or interpersonally vary between or even within Campaigns. Once Social Death is declared, however, characters either have to leave the Campaign or have their tribal affiliations removed.

As intimated by the above, LARP involves “**PLAY!**” and improvisation, whilst still offering structure and orientation to help players make sense of what is happening (Phillips, 2018). You, too, are guided in what you can (not) do by your character (card). It provides persona-specific orientation on how to act in order to be recognised as your character. Like any other LARP, none of these specifications on the role-cards is deterministic: decisions in the game will vary situationally. So long as your character does not violate the Social Contract or engages in impossible or prohibited actions, improvisation is the key in-game principle.”

“At this point, you might be anxious to know who you are for the duration of your engagement with this LARP. Familiarise yourself with yourself, then.”



THE EXPLORER

“The **Explorer**” –

costume/prop: screen or paper (in front of the face), headphones

race: HUMAN

terrain: OFFLINE & ONLINE

species: member of the COMMUNITY

clan: n/a

operation-modes: reading, clicking, observing, thinking, openness to being affected

task/s: sense-making, engaging, making ethnographic places (experiencing/knowing)

special skills: network-capacities, full range of spatio-temporal mobility &

“open access” (perspective-jumping); management of Bleed by controlling how & how deep to be affected by various possible ‘knowledge’-offers

levelling-up/ gaining XP: using multiple (sensorial) pathways to obtain a wide variety of viewpoints/ perspectives on questions/ issues of interest

social death: corruption into belief of having obtained full knowledge (ends “movement” through perspectives)

allies: especially Researchers, but can ally with all characters

[turn for tribal background]

MISSION:

“Following the SWP Uniform on the basis of Researcher provisions & Exploring multiple ways of answering what it means to be a ‘human SWP’



role-card Explorer (front)



“You are dealt the Explorer-card. Find the character’s tribal history on its back.”

As part of the HUMAN species that belongs to a COMMUNITY, ‘EXPLORERS’ are characterised by their never-ceasing will to LEARN. Driven by their CURIOSITY, they are often found mingling with RESEARCHERS who deal them novelty and opportunities to gather insights.

Their keenness to acquire new insights and test different perspective is possible, because **EXPLORERS can freely jump between perspectives**. They thus embody the capacity to experience multiple realities and take in various versions of the seemingly same ‘story’. They incorporate diversity and flexibility of opinion. Consequently, as long as they stay true to their tribal impulses, EXPLORERS are immune to robotic predeterminations of role-pursuits. Arguably, EXPLORERS are too quick to be bogged down by forces seeking to quantify their pursuits and predict their next moves. EXPLORERS must remain adaptive, as their proclivity to make novel experiences and question restlessly drives them on.

As possible allies, EXPLORERS are known to engage with RESEARCHERS, in their ceaseless meanderings through the ONLINE and OFFLINE worlds. Thereby, they mutually (trans-) form ‘ethnographic places’, which **yields EXPLORERS Experience Points (XP)** and advances their Knowing. This up-skilling helps EXPLORERS to continue quests, whilst also helping RESEARCHERS by acting as research-collaborators. EXPLORERS’ embodied engagement with Research yields represents RESEARCHERS’ successful dissemination quests and develops what RESEARCHERS previously grew as possible insights.

EXPLORERS must never settle for only one version of a story or one solution to a problem. They can judge and assess presentations of narratives, e.g. by RESEARCHERS, but can never allow for this to stand as the only available truth. Their curiosity makes them ask further questions, e.g. of RESEARCHERS, and thereby perpetuates the exchange of experiential wisdoms. This aligns with an understanding that no one EXPLORER can ever obtain everybody’s perspective. Such a partiality of their insights requires them to keep moving and asking.

The **EXPLORER successfully accomplishes the Campaign** by consulting a reasonably large variety of interpretative approaches and drawing own conclusions on the caveat that they will remain imperfect.

origin story: "EXPLORER"

“With only a role-card, however, you may still struggle to Know where you belong – where you metaphorically ‘fit in’ regarding the Bigger Picture or Greater Scheme of Things. Thus, it is time for the Campaign brief.”

[the Campaign: Following The SWP Uniform]

Times have changed in the world of Humans. As Communities split into more and more distinct sub-groups, it has become increasingly difficult to recognise Humans for what they are. These conditions gave rise to a dawning threat to the Human race itself: Robots have infiltrated the LARP-verse. Through their shape-shifting capacities, robotic principles seek to manipulate Humans’ behaviour to convert them into Robots, too.



Robots can take control over any character and spread their virus through the channels of the Communities' everyday interaction. Thus, entire clans or tribes can become robotified and can no longer relate to what it means to be Human. Through institutionalisation and internalisation, robotic principles have become incorporated into everyday life to such a degree that what used to be Human value-driven regulations is more and more a product of robotic meaning-making.

In a chase for the secret of Humanness, the Researcher tribe has accepted the challenge to Learn from other LARP-verse cohorts, how they preserve and practically reaffirm their Humanness. One tribe of the Communities that still, and despite its exposure to Robotisation, stoically safeguards their communal wisdom, is the South Wales Police (SWP). They continue to embody skills that enable them to rightfully claim the label of Humans. But they, too, are at risk of losing their Experience (XP) and turning into robots. This implies that they no longer practically affirm in-group values, which equals a diminution of their tribal skill-sets. Before this happens, and potentially to jump to the rescue, one Researcher has responded to the SWP's fate.

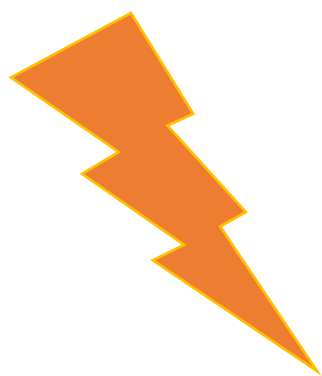
The Researcher clan's original mission to Learn of and about others' lives and experience predicates them to engage with and share what SWP Know about being and acting Human. One particular Researcher set out to investigate the emotional experiences and reactions to nightly interventions by the South Wales Police. She had been personally quested to do so, and found herself in a position that enabled her to Learn that "We are all human.", as SWP taught her. On having received this tribal gift of 'data' from her uniformed allies, said Researcher must now follow her tribe's calling to share Researching-derived fruits of wisdom with the LARP-verse. To make any insights that could grow from such data accessible to others, the Researcher has to collaborate with Explorers. Together, and aided by previous Research-efforts that have contributed to the Academic Garden of Insight, in which theory sprouts and sustains novel insight-growing, this Campaign serves to achieve Knowing about what it means to be Human according to the SWP. Carefully heeded, nourishing and rich plants of insights will continue to grow from the distributed insight-crops that this Campaign provides, which will ultimately be harvested and shared amongst characters of the LARP-verse.



Explorers' involvement in this Campaign is largely thanks to their inherent curiosity and openness for engagement. Driven by their tribal proclivity to never settle for only one opinion, Explorers are the perfect collaborators in the Researchers' quest to disseminate learnt insights. Whilst Researchers have to accomplish a mission by providing one story of their Research-engagement, their task is further to enable as many others as possible through as many paths as plausible to find ways into the narrative. Explorers are free to jump between perspectives on the central storyline. Thus, they can smoothly join this Campaign, once dealt the Explorer card and upon accepting the Social Contract that binds them to tribe-specific conduct.

As indicated by this Campaign's title, "Following the Uniform" challenges all LARPer to follow the SWP uniform through means and modes of engagement of their preference, and as characteristic to their cohorts. Their journey will lead LARPer into contexts in which SWP act and reaffirm their being Human, whilst also facing challenges when SWP perceive to be prohibited from being (seen as) human SWP. The ultimate Learning-goal comprises insights into why it is important that "We are all human" from the SWP's perspective, especially when challenged by Robotisation.

Your time to play has come, brave LARPer. Follow the uniforms. Tap into the SWP's wisdom, as it is practically played out and used – and Learn what divides Humans from Robots. Engaging with the others' tribal wisdom means you partake in preserving and valuing the message that underlies this challenge (Creswell, 2011).



This is an intervention!

In the name of illumination, you are herewith informed that this LARP does not contain a conceptual reconsideration of what it means to be 'Human'. Instead, as you will be explained shortly, the frame as a role-play implies that characters 'are' what they do (how, where, with whom). Very crudely put, therefore: 'Being human', and belonging to the Human race, means acting human(ly). Following the SWP uniform brings to the fore narratives about what it means to be human that emerge in interactional contexts. From those, tacit knowledge about the meaning SWP attach to the term, and values they associate with it, can be deduced.

Intervention over.



“For your particular role as Explorer, ‘reading’ this thesis suffices to obtain *one* interpretation of what it means to be a ‘human’ SWP officer (Nicholson et al., 2019 42-3). Although you will have to bear in mind that there is a variety of ways to the Learning-journey that takes you through the LARP-verse. Furthermore, there is a great range of other ways of telling the story, and stories to tell, than the one our mutual LARP-engagement comprises. In following the accounts and obtaining *one* narrative about being human as SWP, you are – apart from Learning – also helping the Campaign’s Researcher to accomplish their tribal mission.”

“As the brief suggests, there are three main characters that comprise the interaction partners for *Following the Uniform*. They are each associated with the Human Race*, and sub-classified as *Researchers*, *Explorers* and *SWP* on the basis of their professional specification.

* A note on language:

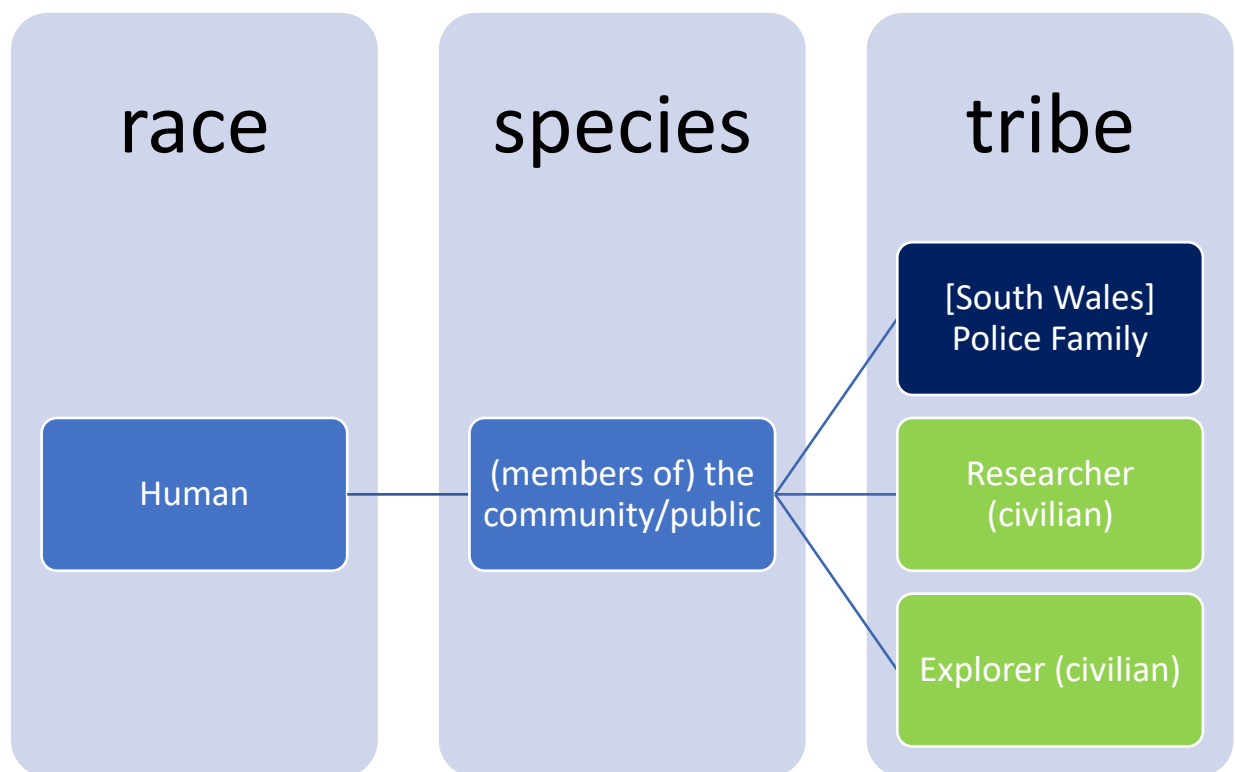
The term ‘Race’ may be objectionable to Explorers. Please be aware that its use context is that of a Live-Action Role-Play: Race represents the base type of character that players are recruited from, before they subsequently become parts of (socialising) Communities, from which they thereon evolve into professional tribes. This is not to condone any other (political) use of the word, and does not reflect any political agenda or attitude, inside or outside the LARP-verse. Perhaps the fact that ‘Race’ only exists in Singular and all players are united through it as a common referent makes the language-use more amenable to you. Apologies, nonetheless, for any offences caused.

Explorers can be cast from any traditional profession and, through Exploring, express their belonging to the Explorer-tribe, which has the same status as professional groupings. Consequently, characters are distinguishable from one another on a professional level as and because they engage in different professional practices. Figure 3 below illustrates the character-population of the LARP-verse. SWP are technically a clan, i.e. they comprise a specific sub-section of a tribe. As this Campaign progresses, Explorers will Learn – as the Campaign’s Researcher Learnt – that SWP identify as a “special” kind of police, and part of



the over-arching tribal association called *The Police Family*. The depiction of SWP alongside Explorers and Researchers highlights that for this specific Campaign, other members of the Police Family only play subsidiary roles: Their ‘Following of the Uniform’ only indirectly becomes part of the plot as it was provoked by the Researcher’s in-role moves. Additionally, as Figure 4 (below) shows, the SWP – whose narratives are the data-basis for the accessible structure of this world of relationships – are distinguishing themselves from other clans amongst the Police Family tribe. In making a point that they do not represent e.g. ‘the (brutal) Continental police force’ they refuse to be perceived as belonging to the same category as those they deem representatives of such a clan. Even amongst the SWP, however, some more nuanced identifications may be mobilised throughout the Campaign, which the Figure hints at: According to one’s particular tasks amongst the SWP, one’s role may be perceived differently. From the SWP’s point of view, their uniting feature is their “Experience” (XP) and their (special) skills, as you are about to Learn. Without those, the threat of being Othered, i.e. dismissed from the in-group of those who “understand what it’s like to be police” looms large.

[the LARP-verse]



character genealogy of the Campaign "Following the Uniform"



“This last remark refers to a critical heuristic of world-organisation that most dominantly explains Figure 3: SWP are united by their Experience as ‘police’ and the pursuits of their professional responsibilities. They thus differ from ‘civilians’, whom they call “members of the public” (MoP) interchangeably. Despite the fact that there is a professional Distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) between them and the latter, to whom e.g. Researchers count, SWP also make a point of representing themselves as ‘belonging to the community’ they serve. ‘The Community’, from a LARP-perspective, thus functions as a proto-stage for the developed professional characters. SWP consider themselves and civilians part of it, as much as they declare a common Humanness. Over the course of this Campaign it therefore stands to question how community-members are identified and treated, and how not belonging to the community translates into practice. For now, you can imagine the Community-stage like the stage before an online multi-player game commences for you, and you are choosing your avatar. Your status only becomes actualised, once you start playing, but you have the capacity to become each of those who ultimately play in their professional function and costume.”

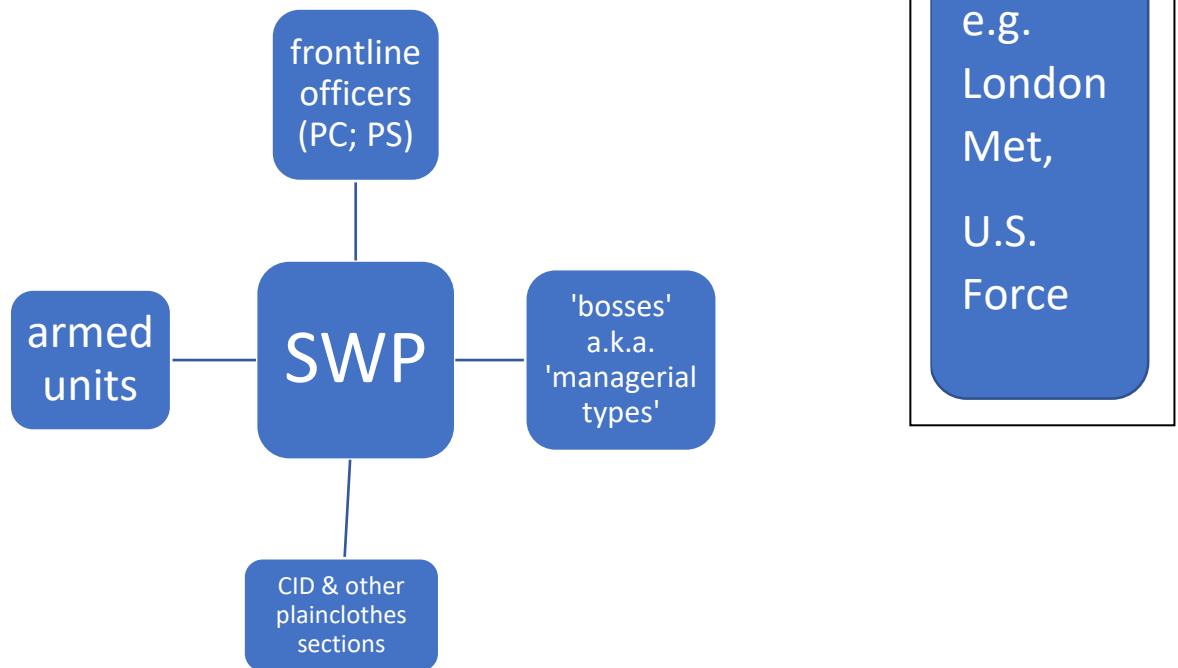
“The costume is also the simplified identification-marker that this Campaign revolves around. Have a look at the role-cards to see how you are supposed to visually ‘identify’ which character belongs into which tribe, or clan. Be aware, however, that a costume is not a fail-proof identifier: This LARP-verse sports shape-shifting Robots that can shift shapes and appear in the guise of any character! Thus, one may be mistaken to deduce a character’s meaning to immediately perceivable features like costumes, i.e. how a character looks. To illustrate that, imagine every Explorer wears headphones. That notwithstanding, not everybody who wears headphones identifies as an Explorer. Costumes are neither prescriptive in fixating a character to a certain role with predetermined actions, as they can enable various (inter-)actions depending on how they are interpreted. Nor do costumes necessarily always identify the same ‘kind of body’ who makes use of what they allow their wearers to do. It is therefore important to investigate, i.e. explore, what characters *do* to understand who they are, what they seek to represent and where their journeys might take them. This is precisely why your character and mine are following the SWP uniform: to understand its meanings in practice and contexts encountering other bodies. One must follow their deeds and role-pursuits to understand whether they are Exploring to corroborates one’s initial impression.”



“To complicate matters, the SWP’s internal structure implies a diversity of uniforms that is arguably reflected in their costumes. There is a hierarchical order based on rank: Sergeants’ (PS) costumes differ from Police Constables (PC) in that their uniforms feature three stripes on the shoulder⁶. Some departments amongst the SWP are operating in ‘plainclothes’. These modifications of their apparel correspond to their different internal roles: Plainclothes officers work *in cognito*, e.g. on issues involving drug trafficking. They accordingly do not disclose their tribal belonging through their identifiable uniform, because of what their professional responsibilities comprise. These examples of costume-variations illustrate that a complexity of possible roles subsumed under being an SWP officer. For SWP, however, their internal recognition hinges more on level of degree of skills which are refined by XP. Their XP also translates into the confidence with which SWP improvise in their role. In SWP vernacular, improvisations are called “(use of) Discretion” and stand for interpreting their professional policing without or deviating from official guidelines to structure their behaviour. XP-based or hierarchical Distinction translates into differential treatment of those whom one differs from, including how much SWP ‘trust’ in their colleagues’ capacities to ‘do the right thing’. More tangibly, internal divisions emerge along the lines of language-use: Interactions vary in the choice between rude-versus-formal language like reference and address terms, or banter and practical jokes.⁷”

⁶ See Appendix “police rank insignia” (p.237) for a visual impression of this.

⁷ Feel free to Explore the Appendix-segment on “banter” (pp305) at your leisure to Learn more about this tribal practice.



internal tribal distinction along the lines of "Experience" (implies differential practices in professional performance); external Distinction against other police "forces", despite commonality of being different from "members of the public/ civilians"

“Analogous to interactions between people outside of a game-context, and because of the many ways in which one can refine one’s allegations, no single character ever exclusively identifies with one role, or belongs to only one group. Neither can anybody be fully characterised over their cohort-allegiance. Since LARPing also comprises a reduction and simplification of ‘real life’, and because relationship definitions between characters are one of the means by which the play is structured and becomes rule-bound, it is necessary to function as recognisable representative of only one tribe (see role-card). Otherwise, the notion of Social Death, for instance, becomes invalid.”

“Moreover, this quest of Following the Uniform becomes possible through focusing on one uniform only. It features certain elements, a.k.a. props, with which SWP pursue their professional goals. The image below highlights what you are subsequently encountering throughout the quest:



The Uniform: First Impressions

The light blue arrow points towards the ‘female’ version of a Bobby Helmet. Its neighbour in a darker shade of blue is the male equivalent. The one without any marker identifies a Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), who is – in SWP jargon – a civilian. Their costume, however, shares some components, such as the ‘radio’: A device with which services whose purpose is to ‘make safe’ in Swansea (the physical location into which this Campaign projects you) can communicate with one another. It is indicated with a green arrow. The red circle is drawn around the body-worn camera (from hereon: body-camera) SWP are supposed to wear in professional interactions. Finally, whilst uniforms may imply uniformity, officers are differentiable through their Police Number, as the pink arrow highlights.”



group of SWP (taken from SWP Twitter account; anonymised on 18-November-2019)

[the Social Contract]

- 1) We are all Human(s), and we can have our own definitions of what being ‘human’ means.
- 2) We acknowledge that Humans “bleed”.
- 3) Bleed means that our out-of-game persona (“personality” in SWP-speech) influences our in-game pursuits. Conversely, what we experience throughout the game also affects our out-of-game lives. Unwanted or undesirably strong emotional crossovers between in-game and out-of-game experience are called (emotional) Bleed.
- 4) Bleed-in means in-game actions represent out-of-game personalities and their behaviour. Bleed-out refers to emotional affectedness and actions that derive from in-game experience (Bowman, 2015).
- 5) Bleed needs to be managed, so that characters remain recognisable as their role throughout Campaigns. To manage Bleed we need to heed our own and others’ emotions, and be attentive to how they are articulated, affect the game, and are affected by it.
- 6) De-brief and de-roleing are ways of Bleed-management. We therefore agree to do so, as needed, throughout the LARP and as part of our in-play responsibilities. All players can opt out of the game temporarily to protect their well-being and sense of safety when Bleeding.
- 7) Once our respective objectives are reached, a conclusive de-role ritual is executed.
- 8) Whilst playing the Campaign “Following the SWP uniform”, we agree to perform exclusively in one role, and abide by the provisions set forth on our character-cards. The reduction to one role only is expressed by putting on a specific costume or being equipped with a characteristic prop.
- 9) Props and costumes exacerbate the (emotional) intensity of engagement with one’s role (Bowman, 2015). As such, they increase emotional involvement and Bleed-potential.
- 10) LARP players pledge collectively to help minimise other players’ Bleed for the sake of the play: Bleed might cause out-of-character performance in affected players, leading to Social Death. A character can also ‘die’, if a player feels unable to continue performing, e.g. due to emotional distress or blurring boundaries between their in-game and out-of-game personalities. Supporting others’ Bleed-management is also an ethical principle beyond the LARP itself, because of unpredictable emotional experiences that trespass the costume.



[Bleed]

“For the time being, you should not be too concerned about the notion of Bleed management specified above. It will return throughout your Exploring and be detailed as you go. However, agreeing on the Social Contract – which you, as an Explorer, do by continuing your Exploring e.g. through reading – makes you responsible to manage how you are affected by what transpires throughout your uniform-following. This links with your ally’s intent to make this LARP-thesis as accessible and inclusive, but also as safe to play with as possible.

A feeling of safety, as you will subsequently Learn more about, implies that your experience features certain elements (subsequently called bodies) that make for safe ‘places’. The experience of the space-times in which you engage with this Campaign are supposed to affect you in ways that inspire Knowing (experiences of embodied knowledge; more below), but no unwanted Bleed. You therefore have to reflect on your own understanding of how to engage with this quest on the basis of your autobiographical understanding of yourself, out-of-character. Additionally, your in-game experience needs to be acknowledged also on its emotional dimension. This can be part of what is called alibi-reinforcement: You draw a distinct (if artificial) line between your in-game actions, including emotionality, and out-of-game behaviours, values etc. ‘Alibi’ refers to the in-character-role, i.e. the label on one’s role-card in this Campaign. Since SWP do this throughout Following the Uniform by invoking ‘personal’ and ‘professional’ actions as distinctive choices of action, it may be an option for Explorers, too.

The Campaign’s Researcher dealt with her Bleed through externalising and keeping emotion journals. Those Researcher-practices are at once premises for being recognisable as Researchers (related to Transparency and Accountability in Researcher-lingo; see below), whilst also aiding to make sense of the emotional experiences in-character by writing about them⁸. The choice of how to cope with emotional Bleed is also influenced by ‘personal’ characteristics of those who slip into the costumes for a Campaign. This again underlines that the costume is but a simplistic boundary between a character’s purported inside and outside. An awareness of that and attempts at keeping them separate are part of any LARP. As such,


⁸ For a detailed discussion of Bleed and its management beyond the de-roleing exercise at the end of this Campaign, see: <https://nordiclarp.org/2015/03/02/bleed-the-spillover-between-player-and-character/> (last accessed 18-November-2019)



your encounters with Following the Uniform are part-constituted by your ally, the Researcher’s, personal preferences and her tribal in-character duties.”

“On that note, and to provide you with further ‘tools’ to master your quest: Meet your ally.”

THE RESEARCHER

<p>“The <u>Researcher</u>”</p>	
<p>race: HUMAN</p>	<p>terrain: OFFLINE & ONLINE</p>
<p>species: member of the COMMUNITY</p>	
<p>clan: choice from clan-tree, e.g. “ethnographer”</p>	
<p>operation-modes/<u>means</u>: reading, listening, observing, analysing, problematising, hypothesising, reflecting, mediating, partaking</p>	
<p>functions/tasks: meaning-making, enabling exchange of experience across tribes/clans; encouraging interactions; mediating; raising awareness</p>	
<p>special skills: questioning everything; equally valuing tribal wisdoms; engaging with others to generate more insights & interaction between other LARPer</p>	
<p>level-up: through engagement with different ‘bodies’ (data, characters...); inspiring curiosity in other LARPer, especially, Explorers; convincingly argue before Researcher panel</p>	
<p>social death: lack of reflexivity, transparency &/or accountability; not contributing to communal garden of insights; claiming ownership over ‘knowledge’ or not letting Research-crops be re-appropriated</p>	
<p>[turn for tribal background]</p>	
	
<p>mission:</p> <p>Engaging Explorers successfully to join the mission “Following the Uniform” & growing insights about what it means to be a ‘human SWP’</p>	

Researcher role-card (front)

“Researchers, in this Campaign, are not equipped with an identifying costume or prop as above Figure 6 shows. Arguably, anybody could be a Researcher, irrespective of how they look, if they engage in Researching and dwell in the Offline or Online terrains like Researchers. However, Researchers are also tribally obliged to disclose that they are Researchers at various Research-stages. ‘Overt Research’, Transparency and Accountability are ethical customs that Researchers have to fulfil to pass in their role. Hence, they make sure to be associated with their professional pursuits and remain recognisable to in-group and out-group members through their practices.

The latter define sub-sections amongst the Researcher-tribe. Although all Researchers mediate between other groups, e.g. the SWP and Explorers (see Origin Tale, on the back of the role-card). Like other tribes, Researchers are internally differentiated through their practices called “research methods”. How Researchers practice their role via Researching



depends on, and affects, the types of insight-crops they (seek to) harvest from the cohort’s garden, as well as where they plot the land for implanting their data-seeds. Internal stratification in this tribe also comes with associated slight differentiations in the values attached to and meaning made of ‘Research’. Some Researchers also wear costumes, e.g. laboratory coats.”

As part of the HUMAN race, RESEARCHERS once strongly resembled EXPLORERS: They were roaming online and offline worlds in response to their insatiable curiosity-drives, up until RESEARCHERS received a calling from the ancient Academic Ivory Tower. It was a calling that symbolically bonded RESEARCHERS of various forms and making and institutionalised their Researching. It was from thereon supposed to be directed at growing Insights in the tribe’s communal Garden of Theory, a.k.a. Garden of Academic Insights.

The tribe’s inherent search for the Unknown, which was to be rendered explicable and shared with the rest of the LARPverse, continued to define their professional every-day. As guardians and gardeners of insights, RESEARCHERS’ collaborative acquisition of data in their Researching interventions into the LARP-verse is fed into the nutrient-rich soil of the Garden. It ultimately yields fruits to be distributed, when data becomes rooted in Theory (which consists of previously grown Researching-crops), ideas sprouts, and assumptions reach towards the infinite as they branch off. Through harvest and pruning, RESEARCHERS focus their efforts to deliver finite and provisionally bounded versions of insight-plants. Those insight-crops can then be shared with others through dissemination-practices.

As part of their original division of labour, RESEARCHERS split into sub-divisions that go about their enquiry-business in “quantitative”, “qualitative” or “mixed” ways, which results in a desirable diversity of types of proto- insights implanted into academic growing grounds. Irrespective of their methods, what RESEARCHERS ultimately obtain Researching is invariably unfinished, organic and processual. As such, RESEARCHERS’ work **remains open** like the Garden of Insight’s doors. Thus, all are free to **re-appropriate research-outcomes**. What the insights inspire and what grows out of them is no longer in the hands of the RESEACRHERS: It is returned into the world from which its initial seeds sprung from.

Apart from the disseminating Research-outgrowths, RESEARCHERS’ code of conduct requires them to render accessible the origin of what they disseminate. Thus, principles of **transparency, positionality and critical reflexivity** are crucial for RESEARCHERS to pass in their role. Only by respecting these, they ensure that the processes of gathering, rendering comprehensive and disseminating the fruits of their endeavours can be appropriately utilised and possibly regrown by others.

Researcher role-card (back)

“Irrespective of clan-specific role-pursuits, all Researchers have to play their part in making the academic Garden of Insights flourish. This happens through interacting with other bodies in the LARP-verse that can be human, mathematical or otherwise constituted, in order to generate ‘data’. The latter then finds its way into the Academic Garden of Insights, where previous Researchers’ plotting provides the nourishing soil of Theory. In it, new Research data can grow into insight-crops of various kinds that are subsequently harvested. Fruits of Researchers’ collaborative efforts are then shared with the wider LARP-verse in a sustainable manner: Due to their responsibility to reaffirm the tribal value of reciprocity, Researchers cannot only ‘take’ data from interactions with and in ‘the world’. Instead, a Researcher’s role



requires them to share with said world what has grown out of it through practices of Dissemination. Crops from the Garden can be shared and find usage in various contexts, to various ends, so that fruit-ful(l) engagements and XP emerge from Research.”



THIS IS AN INTERVENTION!

In the name of illumination, Explorers are herewith informed that there is going to be a “Great Reveal”. If feasible and deemed appropriate, they might put on, or imagine, dramatic music at this point. Much like when a plot-twist happens in a movie-production.

Intervention over.

(The voice from the OFF clears its invisible throat.)

“At this point, it is time to step from the OFF and reach out to you, dear Explorer. As it is I: Your ally, the Researcher; performing in the very role she has been telling you about. And this LARP-thesis is the means of dissemination that I am sharing with you, in order to enable you to engage with my Following the Uniform quest. Ideally, you will derive and grow insights from it, as an outgrowth that has been nurtured by the Theory-Garden’s rich flora, into which I have, true to my tribe, implanted my empirical data. However, this being a LARP also means that my performance is an interpretation and improvisation of what it says on my role-card. Thus, you can understand the sharing methods I resorted to as both attributable to my clan – I identify with the qualitative, ethnographic lineage of my tribe – and my out-of-game personality. Fear not! You need not be formally introduced to that persona. The voice from the Off will be switched ‘off’ as your adventures finally begin and we will interact as characters, only. However, I am bound by the Transparency principle. It requires I disclose to you the intent, motivations and goals behind my choice of disseminating. Additionally, the prequel of Researching that culminated in your Following the Uniform Campaign has to be rendered accessible for you to engage with. Thus, you may understand ‘where this is coming from’ and more meaningfully assess how to make sense of the following accounts, i.e. encounters that comprise your own embodied Experience.”

[Live-Action-Role-FAIR-PLAY]

“All this talk about ‘Experience’ already hints at a position I have taken and seek to have recognised amongst my tribe. Although Following the Uniform itself is an empirical, inductive mission – i.e. the collectively generated data emerged in and through contingent adjustments of the original research design in response to what occurred during the Research



itself – I have, as my tribe would say, ‘entered the field’ with my own biases and intentions. Those relate to the methodological heritage that I seek to advance with this Researching quest. I am aligning with Researcher Elders from the Sensory Ethnography (SE) cohort. Amongst them, Sarah Pink (2009) reflected on Researching as a collaborative, interactive engagement that involves embodied, emplaced Researchers and those they engage with via Researching. Together, Researchers and other LARPerS co-create “Ethnographic Places”, it says in her tales. With this notion, she highlights that ethnographic research can never be fully reproduced or upscaled, as it generates ‘tacit, felt knowledge’ (Straughan, 2019) that is unique to the situations and the bodies involved in Research-encounters.

detour: scribbles



AHHHH!

9

Like a Researcher, Explorers will also have ‘Heureka!’-moments over the course of their Learning-journeys. You, dear Explorer, are currently entangled in the ethnographic place-making that comprises the ‘data’ for the Researcher’s quest to understand, i.e. the Knowing-interactions that make for the prequel to your subsequent adventure. You can thus Learn and co-experience how she learnt. This nod to your experience highlights something very important: You also transform in your own Learning-quest, through your bodily engagement. Subsequent steps through the LARP-verse will give you the conceptual fodder to chew on. The Companion, furthermore, encourages you more practically to Explore your own positionality and reflect on it. However, you might find that some insights pop into your head unprompted, or that you ask yourself questions about what you read or otherwise experience. Feel free to scribble into the margins of this text, or anywhere else, to note down what thoughts emerge as part of your LARP-verse journey. They may inspire future movements into investigative directions that lead you astray from the main pathway

⁹ image source: <https://www.vectorstock.com/royalty-free-vector/cartoon-light-bulb-vector-331471>; last accessed: 2nd April 2020, 08:53



through this LARP-Campaign (which is dedicated to understanding what human policing as SWP means), but may nonetheless be fruitful for you to grow your own insight-crops with the given ‘data’ you co-produce and are affected by! Whilst your perceptions need not always match what the Researcher wants to communicate, your embodied experiential and tacit knowledge is equally valid and relevant: Acknowledge it, i.e. be transparent and reflexive like a Researcher!

For the Researcher, ‘scribbles’ are an important accompanying phenomenon from start to ‘finish’ of Research-journeys. They may be in-situ memos, or key word item lists of points she wants to make. Exemplified with the paragraph above, ideally, your budding understanding (the scribbles of what emerges) match the tick-boxed items she sought to convey:

How can I recreate ‘ethnographic places’ for others outside the direct research context?

How about...play? improvisation and emergence...not predetermined outcomes...felt knowledge...

That would also be playful (ludic) geography...only, not at the data-generation stage, or exclusively as part of the research-subject, but as the ‘output’..? So I can embed my thesis into discourses of ‘doing ludic geography’ by playing with digital Sensory Ethnography on issues of emotion(al labour)?

Given the individualised nature of such internal thought-emergences, your Explorer scribbles are very unlikely to map perfectly onto the Researcher’s. Especially, because thoughts tend to be confusing and are forever hard to grasp – which is why everything that gets banned down on paper is but a partial, fragmentary representation of what could be said. It is, however, a good way of engaging you; something you, as Explorers, can ideally relate and respond to.

(the voice from the OFF returns)

“Without wanting to lure you too deeply into the Researchers’ Garden of Theory, there are some conceptualisations that you might need to better follow the following accounts. In a



manner of LARP, let me thus engage in an official in-game action and provide you with your first Accessoire. I will put it in its full dimension into “The Appendix”, but you may wish to store in an imaginary backpack”:

The Conceptual Take-Away



Conceptual Take-Away, <https://www.creativebag.com/ca/boxes/food-containers/chinese-take-out-boxes-kraft-eco>, 06-March-2019, 07:12)

“I am herewith handing you a Take-Away of concepts. Those helped me make sense of encounters as I followed the uniform, i.e. to engage with my experience productively. It will hopefully do the same for you, i.e. nourish your understanding of what happens along your ways through the LARP-verse. The Take-Away’s conceptual nuggets also need to be shared with you to permit you an understanding of how I, as a Researcher, perceive and translate what the SWP do or tell me. And while the Take-Away serves you sustenance with conceptual suggestions on how to frame and make useful to you what this LARP-Campaign entails, conceptual labouring is also an established Researcher tradition. If our LARP-collaboration is the whole fruit to be shared, imagine the Take-Away as bite-sized snacks on the way to the final serving. Your specific selection is a mix of pre-set conceptualisations that relate to SE as a methodological framework, the project’s predefined boundary criteria (see below), and SWP discourses that emerged when following the uniform. The metaphor might stand for Take-Away from your favourite Fast Food venue. Something seemingly snack-sized, but heavy in content and impact. At times hard to swallow, but strangely helpful and fuelling. Both not enough to satisfy conceptual hunger, and possibly too much to digest. Or whatever else a Take-Away might mean to you. Bear in mind, however, that I am not force-feeding you! This Take-Away is a gift to carry along on your journey. It may come in handy, should you ever crave a small, quickly ingestible conceptual input.”



“Over the course of your journey, the Researcher as represented in the words that you engage with on your journey, utilises concepts included in this Take-Away. They are flagged up and nibbled at. You can devour more of them in correspondence with your own conceptual appetite by detouring into the Appendix. Conceptual bites fed into the journey are selected on a utility basis and on a sustenance or survival level: As much as I have judged you might need them, they will be served to taste. To demonstrate this, revisit the above segment on ‘ethnographic place-making’, with respect to the goals this LARP-thesis pursues.

The idea that Researching via SE comprises practices of ethnographic place-making relies on a concept of ‘place’ that also underlies this LARP. SE in the way your Researcher-ally understands and follows it, belongs to the more-than-representational and more-than-human Theory-land in the Academic Garden. This has some epistemological and ontological implications that you will encounter throughout the journey and be pointed to as you go. Conceptually, ‘**place**’ suggests that interactions in space-times and associated experiences ‘make’ place an **experiential, interactive practice** rather than a fix thing. As such, places are contingent, **emergent and co-created** by all bodies that are engaging with each other at any given encounter. ‘**Bodies**’¹⁰, critically, can be tangible ‘things’ like uniforms, or they can be ideas, discourses, beliefs, values, principles, structures...emotions. Those bodies can seem to temporally or spatially disjoint from the space-times of encounter: With the “power-geometries of **space**”, Pink’s Researching grew insights on how **larger-scale developments through time affect** the instantaneous **experience** that can (not) be **made by certain bodies**. Such larger scale factors may have affected the capacities that are specific to the engaging bodies, and environmental **affordances** of that do (not) allow they interact. Pink’s Garden-plot exemplifies the enculturation of sensory values and customs passed on through generations by traditions, i.e. tribal wisdom. Whether one’s environment allows one to make certain sensory encounters, however, may also depend on the infrastructure of the place in which one makes encounters. In some ways, ‘space’ helps Researchers frame and analyse **how bodies are ‘put in place’**. Throughout your journey, putting in place will be called ‘**assemblage**’: Bodies are ‘drawn’ together to **make specifically meaningful places**. For this Campaign, this largely refers to how – and why – the SWP uniform is assembled in various contexts and constellations to make certain encounters. More specifically, your Learning will

¹⁰ Sheepishly, the Researcher escapes to the footnote to try and introduce you to her favourite body-aphorism, which she seeks to have you subsequently relate to through Knowing: “A body *is* what a body does with what a body can do [with other bodies, in certain situations].”



revolve around how SWP uniforms (and faces) are entangled with performances of ‘safe place’-making.

What a body is, for the purpose of this LARP, is defined by what it does and can (not) do (Duff, 2018: 884; Buchanan, 1997: 74). **Every *body* has different capacities to be affected by different other bodies, and affect other bodies, differently, in specific contexts** (Duff, 2018: 885). Throughout those interactions, all involved **bodies mutually transform** each other, and bring to the fore different features of themselves¹¹. We return to this shortly. Such an understanding grew from Researcher-plots in the neighbourhood of theories on affect. Affect-relationships are a recurrent theme in this LARP, and SE hinges on ‘sensory’ interaction, i.e. the formation of **sense-based** relations between bodies. As this project revolves around the ‘Human’, it befits present purposes that SE, too, largely reflects the human organic sentient body as the one ‘experiencing¹²’. SE offers itself for analytical engagements with this LARP, because the Researcher’s inductive, field-adaptive ethnographic engagements brought to the fore that ‘being human’ as SWP is of particular importance for the research ‘participants’. Given that their tribal wisdom is what requires valorization and sharing, matching the methodological framework, and selecting applied methods to correspond with the emerging research foci and tasks, is what Researchers do to learn and pass in their role. Drawing from the affordances of SE, therefore, a Human body can be considered as co-constituted by its capacities to be affected by ‘sense-data’ through its senses. It is important to note that **neither ‘sense’ nor ‘sense-data’ are predefined**. As Pink’s 2009 *Gardening unearthed*, the meaning attached to senses, their function and even what is considered to be a ‘sense’ is not predetermined. It is instead a culturally mediated variable that also depends on the context in which a body is emplaced. Emplacement over time implies the making of various experiences by said body, afforded to it by its capacity to be affected by sense-data, which transform it: **A (Human) body ‘Learns’ and ‘Knows’** (see below) **from interacting with environmental bodies**. Those, conversely, have the capacity to affect the sensing body with their sense-data.

The mutuality of transforming bodies is at the crux of the notion that places as experience of knowing are ‘made’, as much as bodies: Through interactions, a sensory human body

¹¹ “If you feel you want to delve deeper into this, find “Emplacement” and “Entanglement” in the extended Take-Away in your Appendix.”

¹² “You will shortly Learn that ‘Experience’ and ‘Emotions’ had particular parts to play in how this play was conceived.”



‘emerges’. It becomes aware of its environment through being affected by sense-data through its sensory apparatus. A body ‘knows’ and learns from the phenomenological feedback it gets through engaging with bodies that it senses. Additionally, this sensate kind of knowledge can be cognitively framed based on a human’s perception schemes. Thus, ‘Learning’ and knowing one’s place transforms the human and makes it meaningful to itself and others, alongside its meaning-making of its environment i.e. place. The human body is the knower and Learns what it can (not) do with, in and as part of its environment (emplacement). This informs later interactions of said body, as it comprises the body’s Experience and capacities to imagine future interactions. This necessitates decoding the sensed data (see below).

Another element of a Human body’s Learning about itself by encountering other bodies involves the experience of its boundaries. Whilst those arguably signal where the sentient body ‘ends’, it is also along those sensed divisions that a Human’s environment emerges as relative to itself: **The environmental bodies ‘become’ the sentient body’s (constitutive) outside** (Butler, 1993), **to which the sentient body relates. Through this relationship, a Human comes to know its place** by making sense of the sense-data (Pink, 2009:26pp). Thus, the **environmental body emerges as an ‘Other’** to the sentient body: From the Human’s perspective, the Human is the one sensing, and the environmental body (which may also be Human) becomes the sensed. Ideally, the former is the Knowing and the latter the Known. In order to know, sense-making is required. Such sense-making relies, for Humans, on the cognitive framing of encountered sense-data via ‘perception schemes’ (Pink, 2009: 23pp; c.f. Ingold, 2000). Those have been directly, autobiographically acquired through former experience. Alongside that, perception schemes are enculturated by the larger (social, cultural, political...) context in which a body is emplaced over time (Pink, 2009: 28; 37). On these premises, **perception schemes are always body-specific**: No (Human) body can necessarily make sense of all possible types of sense-data by cognitively framing them. this does not, however, mean that said bodies are not transformatively affected by them! The ‘meaning’ attached to encounters can accordingly emerge in a form that is not cognitive (exclusively).



We can be affected by ‘data’ and experience places of which we cannot cognitively make sense...

To revisit the mutuality of transforming bodies and their environmental bodies: The environment’s changes extend beyond the becoming-meaningful in the perception of the



Human. It also transforms through the interactions with the sentient body, because it expresses certain aspect of its many capacities: **What a body does in space-times affects the meaning of those space-times and makes them into a ‘place’ whose features and characteristics are no longer as they were before** (Pink, 2009). Thus, the same **experience can never be repeated**: All the involved bodies have changed, as have their capacities (to be affected).”

INTERLUDE

“This has been a lengthy conceptual detour, and the promise of explaining what this has to do with the intent behind this LARP has still not been revealed. How does that make you feel, dear Explorer?

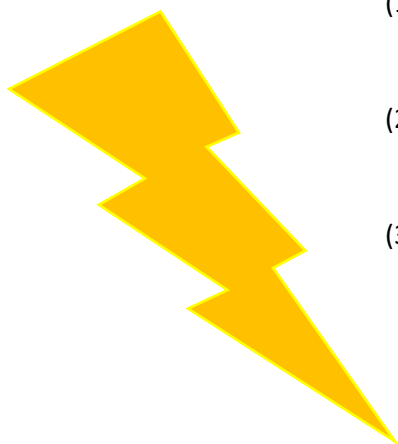
Do not be deterred. There will be yet another ‘great reveal’. For now, however, you are challenged to some sense-making of your own.

Throughout this LARP and in your Take-Away, you will find bold print sentences. Those are highlighted to actively draw your attention to segments in the narrative that your ally finds particularly significant. In such a way, your Explorer-perception schemes are honed according to the enculturation that the Researcher envisages. This illustrates tangibly that your encounters are mediated by the perception of your ally. However, your own perception schemes are affected by your prior Experience. Apart from the Goggles that your ally is soon to hand you, you also encounter italics in the following. They make you mobilise what you know – and show it!”

WARM-UP CHALLENGE:

Find the above (three) bold-print segments (pp.32-3).

- (1) Think about digital data and Human bodies: How can an affect-relationship be established between them? Can a Human be affected by digital bodies?
- (2) How do you bodily ‘Know’ your current place? Note down the boundaries you experience and how you sense them. Which sense-data is involved; how are you affected?
- (3) In your immediate surroundings: Which ‘body’ defines the place you are dwelling in? What does it do to make such a place for you?





“After these tasks, you can note down 15XP gained. A suitable place for such notes can be found in your Companion. It has been handily attached to this thesis’s main body, and you can separate it from the latter, to have it with you during your journey.”

What Is This All About?

“As indicated by the question above: There is a proverbial point to this LARP. Several points, to be more precise.”

“As an Explorer, you are affected by the sense-data engagements that this thesis subjects you to. You are thus generating tacit, embodied knowledge in the ways that you are capable of, and in ways that you have Learnt to make sense of what you perceive. If you return to the first sentence in bold print and insert “the SWP uniform” as an affective body, you instantly create the metaphorical nutshell into which this thesis-project fits. The SWP uniform is (going to be) the ‘shared element’ in the Experiences of Explorers, the Researcher and SWP members throughout the Campaign. It has different capacities, depending on the contexts in which it ‘materialises’ in some form or other. The following utilises the term ‘visibilise’ to denote that SWP uniforms can become perceivable to **more-than-human bodies**, in ways that are related to visual meaning-making by humans. It can be used in passive and active constructions, i.e. the uniform can be visibilised or visibilise. The latter highlights that this thesis’ language-use seeks to follow Ash’s 2018 call for more attention to non-human bodies in (ethnographic) qualitative research, even if said Research deals with Human somatic experience.”

“By invoking the uniform as a body that mutually, if distinctively, affects the above characters, all of them can ‘make place’ by establishing relationships to it. Thus, Knowing in a manner of ethnographic place-making is opened up to cohorts other than Researchers (Pink, 2009: 23 -43). This expresses your ally’s contention that there is no superior way of Knowing, or knowledge-outcome, but different ways of making-sense of the world and oneself that are all worthy valorising (Johnson, 2010). The uniform thus becomes differently meaningful to all those who establish relationships with it: There is no predetermined outcome or end to ‘Knowing’ as an on-going open project. That notwithstanding, one target or goal pursued by this form of Research-dissemination can be likened to Zizek’s (2008) proposal to provide ‘something to allude to’ and form a relationship with. By offering you to engage with this LARP-journey in your own ways, you will ‘Know’ what you can; you are transformed, in ways beyond what the present Researcher can foresee or pre-plan (Johnson,



2010: 146pp). Thus, this LARP-thesis is oriented towards more of an aesthetic effect than delivering hard and fast knowledge-products: Its **intended effect is to affect** (Dixon et al., 2012). Hence, if Explorers are affected, this thesis-LARP fulfils its purposes. Arguably, on the conceptual basis of SE and the assumed inevitability of transformations through and as ‘experience’, this does not qualify for much of a goal of its own. Through specifying this project’s aesthetic approach and orientation towards tacit knowledge generation, however, its epistemological and (as subsequently explained) ethical underpinnings become clear. Ideally, various Explorers’ affectedness can then lead to further fruitful engagements with this Campaign’s centre-staged (ethical; socio-political) message that “We are all human.” which drives the dissemination efforts underlying this LARP’s conception.”

“LARP is considered a more inclusive, accessible form of Research-engagement because of its playful character (Woodyer, 2012; Dodell-Feder & Tamir, 2017). It allows those accepting the Explorer-card more agency and encourages active participation to meet Explorers’ intents and capacities. Additionally, it operates on conceptual bases of its own. One LARP-research-derived concept is ‘Bleed’, which will return in an analytical function through Following the Campaign. ‘Bleed’, as a LARP-inherent phenomenon, also brings with it another ethical caveat: All those affected by this project may be **affected in ways that cannot be pre-determined** (by the Researcher). In response to the potential of undesirable emotional Bleed, the LARP-structure of this thesis also works with Bleed-management strategies like de-roleing and interrupts the engaging narrative flow for debriefs. Giving Explorers more of a **choice on how (deeply) to engage** with the thesis, furthermore, answers to the Researcher tribe’s do-no-harm principle¹³. At best, Explorers may benefit from Exploring the quest and going through the reflexive Challenges their Companion sports, rather than merely emerging from the experience ‘unharmed’.”

“The Challenges are a playful element of the overall interactive, gamified set-up with which Explorers are invited to co-constitute ethnographic places that comprise SWP’s professional lives. As part of the Researcher-garden’s insight-outgrowths, (interactive) games have shown to positively affect the **capacity to empathise** (Zaki, 2019) and take on other character’s perspective. Similarly, engaging with fiction is said to stimulate one’s capacity to think and imagine beyond the own experiential horizon (Dodell-Feder & Tamir, 2018; c.f. Woodyer,

¹³ c.f. This Campaign’s Researcher’s particular ‘binding’ guidelines can be found here: <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/research/research-integrity-ethics-governance/research-ethics/>; last accessed: 11-12-2019, 19:17



2012: 317-8). LARPing connects characters under a common goal to work towards in a fictionalised world. It suits this Campaign’s critical character and ethical (also-) policy-directed appeals to stimulate discourse about what it means to be (allowed to be) (seen as) ‘human’ in ways that are open for alterity, change and (utopic) vision. Coincidentally, the following input from the present Researcher mobilises metaphorical language to further this very purpose: It stands to be highlighted, through the medium of language, that **there is always ‘more’ to what can self-evidently be conceived and made sense of**. Aligning with some of my tribal Elders (Pink et al., 2018), the notion of concept-**metaphors** are gateways to **imagine other versions of the worlds** we inhabit, e.g. offline and online (c.f. Johnson, 2010). Metaphorical language enables utopias and alterity to emerge. Explorers will form their own relationships with the words they are handed by their ally, and their own trajectories and (hi-)stories will ideally interact with and transform their ‘vision’. ‘Robots’ are but one example of a word that comprises more than its literal content (as some of the robotic bodies in the Campaign are defined as ‘actual’ robots, whilst others are symbolic ones), which matches the **more-than-representational** theory upon which this LARP relies. Furthermore, the Researcher’s own positionality is expressed in e.g. framing Academia as a gardening collaborative, rather than perpetuating obsolete notions of the Ivory Tower: The garden metaphor, despite legitimate possibilities of criticising it for e.g. vitalism¹⁴, seeks to highlight that this thesis is an attempt at **levelling the ‘authority’ with which knowledge is produced** and circulated. By inviting all bodies, on their accounts, into the Knowing-play, the Garden of Insights is open for its fruits to be picked and used liberally. This is one way to materialise different possible futures (c.f. Pink et al., 2018; Fois, 2019) and stimulate debates about them, which is one of the goals this Campaign’s author pursues.“

“That notwithstanding, as any functional play, LARP-frame also involves structures and rules (c.f. Phillips, 2018: 179pp). The role-cards exemplify this, whilst also finding their way into the critical analytical narrative of the empirical journey. It follows the rule of **Transparency** that the present Researcher discloses: This play also serves to establish her as a recognisable Researcher called PhD. Thus, despite the above-declared unpredictability of the ultimate ‘outcomes’ of the following engagements, the above discussed goals need to be achieved so

¹⁴ This has been pointed out to the Researcher on discussing her approaches to metaphorical language. Explore vitalist theory e.g. here: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/vitalism>; 21-Nov-2019, 11:11



that I can ‘pass’ as a PhD¹⁵. Additionally, my tribal affiliations require me to include certain Researcher-customs as recognisable orientation points into the journey that is about to follow. Thus, you will encounter elements in the LARP-verse that are understood, in Researcher-lingo, as ‘theory part’ or ‘methods chapter’. All of this should enable Explorers to better engage with the Researching underlying their Exploring in relationship to the SWP-uniform. The latter, being mediated through my embodied experience, is the entrance into the LARP-world in which being and acting ‘human’ is arguably challenged. This makes Researchers and Explorers alike responsible to Learn what it means to be human from those who practice their belonging to the Human race through their professional performances. A need for reaffirming the SWP’s Humanness arises especially when the latter is experienced as challenged. Hence, we are following the SWP uniform into interactions in which professional human policing is threatened (by Robots and robotic principles).”

Where This Comes From

“In a manner of summarising and segueing into the Campaign, the voice from the OFF is herewith bidding you farewell. Via an (arguably) notable twist in your engagement with what your Researcher-ally has to say now comes from said character, who is identifiable via its costume after putting the ‘professional hat¹⁶’ on.”

Due to this LARP being a ‘play’, “Following the Uniform” is a LARP grew from insight-plots in the Theory-garden that sprout ‘playful’ and creative geographies (Jayne/Valentine, 2016). These promote exploratory and experimental Researching that still provides rules to orientate players. Those afford a fair play and structure by specifying (im-)possible in-game moves and setting goals.

LARPing also represents an interpretation of ‘ethnographic place-making’ (Pink, 2009). This thesis-LARP’s flourishing therefore also traces its roots into SE territory which methodologically informs Researcher’s conduct-logic. Its influence colours the epistemological, ontological and practical foundations that support this work. SE’s focus on ‘experience’ also meets the below specified boundary conditions for this LARP’s ‘prequel’ that culminated in a shared mission of Following the SWP Uniform. As one offspring from

¹⁵ The notion of passing that underlies the Researcher’s perception is of critical nature, exemplified through e.g. Butler’s (2007) work. However, the necessities of passing are valid for every character, i.e. not restricted to the Researcher role-card, only.

¹⁶ “If you are thus-inclined: Feel free to sketch a ‘professional hat’ for Researchers and attach it to your Companion! Claim additional 8XP.”



the more-than-representational plot family, “Following the Uniform” at various plot-points, e.g. ‘data generation’ and dissemination, relies on interactions between diverse (Human) bodies who experience the Campaign relative to the SWP uniform and each other. In an interactive, improvisational LARP-manner, involved characters generate embodied tacit knowledge, make places, and are transformed: They are in Learning and Knowing experientially (see conceptual Take-Away pp29; pp267). Explorers’ uniform-following implies co-experiencing and Knowing via embodied engagement (Sumartojo & Pink, 2017). Emerging Experience, however, is contingent and depends on Explorers’ bodies, the sensorial paths chosen to engage with the mission, and the times and spaces in which Exploring occurs.

This means for this thesis that it is *effective* if it is *affective* as a transformative experience in Explorers’ lives: It functions as an aesthetic piece instead of making authoritative ‘knowledge’ claims from a position of heightened status (Straughan, 2018; c.f. Sloterdijk, 2013: 19-29). More generally, this suggests that the forms and ways of characters’ Knowing are not hierarchically ordered. The contingency of Knowing and differently affective bodies notwithstanding, this thesis is designed to inclusively permit the formation of relationships with the SWP uniform as a common denominator in the Experience of all involved. This transforms the SWP uniform into something that all can, from various vantage and stand points through space and time, ‘relate to’, engage with, be affected by. Boldly put: **anybody can follow the uniform**. By (ideally) making Research more accessible through a playfully practical style, pluralistic life-paths may intersect with this LARP-verse journey (Nicholson et al., 2018).

One of those is yours, dear Explorer. Before you finally take the necessary step onto the path through the LARP-verse, though, you are facing a warm-up walk in the footsteps of your Explorer-ally.

[\[Following the Uniform: the prequel\]](#)

You are now entering the ‘methods chapter’. Your journey subsequently leads you to Learn about the research-practices that the Campaign’s Researcher employed to understand the role of an SWP officer. Relatedly, you encounter how emotionality and being-acting Human is bound up with that. Explorers thus enjoy full transparency about Researcher interactions with various other players, and underlying motifs for the Researcher’s in-role decisions. It is



due to the Researcher’s affiliation with the ethnographic sub-section of the larger tribe, that the Researching practices preceding your engagement with this thesis are of an inductive, iteratively adaptive kind. In other words: The Researcher had to improvise her role-enactments and steps in(-to) ‘the field’ in correspondence with her interaction partners. As such, the questions asked from and throughout the Uniform Following changed. This warm-up prepares you to engage with a thesis-LARP on what it means to be a human SWP officer as it emerged from subjective selection processes and abandoning other, potentially also fruitful, lines of interrogation and analyses. Sacrificing all these other stories to be told, however, is necessary for you to find a convincing narrative at the Campaign’s provisional ending: Researchers have to hand over one version of an insight-story that grew from their Researching-endavours (Markham, 2013: 436). Their goal-accomplishment thus hinges on Explorers’ capacity to initially follow the Researcher’s trajectory and ultimately the narrative that leads them into Knowing. By subsequently Learning more about their ally’s in-role performances, Explorers are better informed about the background to their Following-quest, and possibly even deduce where future Campaigns in this narrative realm might lead.

(FLASHBACK! Imagine a dark and murky environment. There may be fog. Something that speaks ‘mystery’ to you.)

(Another voice from the OFF appears. It may be rough and croaky. A voice that you associate with someone who is used to telling stories: A stereotypical narrator, who builds suspense and captivates attention. Whatever it takes: Let this voice capture your attention!)

“Once upon a time, there was a Researcher. She was minding her own business, until she received a calling. It was enigmatic in character and spoke about a mission to understand **“Emotional Experiences of and Reactions to Night-Time Service-Provisions”**. It appeared to be a call for help: A call for a Researcher to investigate, as plenty of vagaries lay in the way between those seeking understanding and understanding itself.

The call came from a physical location called Swansea, Wales, and it took the guise of an ESRC studentship. Its premises combined the questioning forces of Computer Sciences and Human Geography in that ‘**emotional experience**’ was to be detected **offline and online**. So



big was the wish for understanding, that The Ordnance Survey, too, and Blurr¹⁷ joined forces to conjure up a Researcher to help them.”

These are the most immediate ‘power-geometries of space’ and structural affordances that brought the present Campaign’s Researcher into the ‘place’ that is Swansea. With a role to understand emotionality in nightly service-provisions. The boundary condition of ‘emotional experience’ led the Researcher down the conceptual and theoretical paths of which Explorers glean more throughout the main plot-development. They include roaming the Academic Garden of Insights and engaging in ‘Iterative Literature Reviews’ which also include policy papers to perceive the proverbial Bigger Picture, i.e. contextualise a specific Research-quest.

Another objective of the early Research-engagement, however, was determining what ‘service provision’ was to be focused on within the **three years of Researcher-engagement** that had been established the mission timeline. Additionally, the Researcher’s conduct needed to be planned out in a research design that also outlined how the digital, online and social media spheres were affecting, and affected by, the nightly service-provisions of concern: This had been yet another challenge posed to the Researcher. The latter thereupon conspired with her supervisory team and leapt into...

stage 1: the pilot phase

“The laborious construction of a plan, and the travels through the theoretical Garden of Insights alongside the empirical literature reviews had taken their time. After initially answering the call in October 2016, it had turned September 2017 when ‘The Pilot Phase’ started. It was to last until January 2018.

During this time, the Researcher made use of her previous Research-Experience and conducted ‘ethnographic’ Research with several nightly-service providers in Swansea’s night-time economy (NTE). She was thus embodied and emplaced in service-provisions of various kinds. Through ‘Participant Observation’ (PO), she became temporary member of several tribes servicing the NTE: Swansea’s Street Pastors, the Help Point team and the security services who provide e.g. door-staff, but also Swansea’s Taxi Marshalls. Researching

¹⁷ Blurr is a social-media analysis organisation that also co-funded this project. More details to follow.



meant she spent two nightshifts with Street Pastors patrolling Swansea’s city-centre on Saturday nights. Their role implies consoling broken hearts, picking up glass shards on the ground, providing free water or flip-flops and, as the pastors self-assert, trying to reduce harm and risk in situations of distress¹⁸. The Taxi Marshalls let her accompany their night duties once, making sure that people left the city-centre safely. For the Help Point, the Researcher volunteered four Saturdays between 10pm – 4am alongside paramedics from St. John’s hospital, student volunteers, first aiders, nurses and police. They are based in a portacabin near Swansea’s NTE hub (see ‘Safe Zone’ map, p.60) during peak-times (also Wednesday nights, and on Sundays before Bank Holiday Mondays), Wind Street. It is their job to relieve the National Health Service (NHS) by providing instant medical emergency help to people in the city-centre – often related to alcohol- or substance-use, or fight-related wounds. In all these positions, the Researcher was dressed in differently coloured uniforms, but always highly visible. ‘Actual’ night-time interveners’ uniforms, i.e. role-specific costumes, are respectively dark blue, purple or red for Street Pastors, Taxi Marshalls and St. John’s Help Point Student Volunteers (although, when the Researcher left ‘the field’ at the Help Point, negotiations about new uniforms were raging hot). Their jobs, it emerged, are all connected by their being put in place to make Swansea’s city-centre a ‘safer place’ to live, shop etc. This discourse is associated with the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan, as part of the Wellbeing for Future Generations Act, which you will subsequently re-encounter as ‘power geometries of space’ underlying this Campaign’s plot. A key part in this safe(r)-making of Swansea CC is played by final emergency night-time service provider the Researcher approached: The South Wales Police (SWP) (whose uniforms are black, underneath high-vis yellow). Initial contact with them was afforded by the “Patrol Along” scheme:

¹⁸ It is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis to deconstruct all notions of ‘harm’, and ‘risk’ or safety that ‘emergency’ service providers hold. It must be acknowledged, however, that they inspire different types of actions and notions of responsibility, which might be of interest for further research focus.



CYNLLUN CYSGODI PATROL ALONG
Hoffech ymuno â'n swyddogion ar patrôl?
Want to join our officers on patrol?
I fynegi diddordeb ewch i:
For details of how to express your interest in Patrol Along visit:
www.southwalescommissioner.org.uk

advert: Patrol Along Scheme SWP

Being vetted and deemed ‘safe’ according to SWP provisions was the first step into an on-going Research alliance that would last until September 2018. For the pilot phase itself, the Researcher credited XP from her offline, largely non-digital interactions with others that comprise 61 hours PO, six hours SE as part of the NTE dwellers and four hours of interviews with Sergeants (PS), officers (Police Constables; PC) and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO).

HOLD ON!



“This is the moment in which your ally, dearest Explorer, suggests you hit an imaginary stop button like the one on the left¹⁹ It may be necessary, despite the fact that you are already travelling to a past Campaign, to go even further back in time. Back into an era before the Following of the SWP Uniform first started, and when the Researcher had to go through the rituals implied by conducting ‘ethnographic research’. Those laid the groundwork for your current encounters in the LARP-world. But then again...time-travels never go quite the way one plans, do they?”

¹⁹ image source: <https://insidepulse.com/2020/04/06/marvel-comics-stops-may-2020-june-2020-work-related-to-comic-book-schedule-of-solicitations-due-to-covid-19-coronavirus-pandemic/stop-red-button/>; last accessed: 07-04-2020, 07:43



detour 1: Insider-insights into Researcher rituals

The fourth wall breaks! Or so Brecht²⁰ might have exclaimed. You, dear Explorer, are temporarily transported out of the LARP-verse in which you are following the SWP uniforms' being followed by your Researcher-ally. In terms of time, you are brought into an imaginary future, in which the Researcher has become the 'research-subject' for a media broadcast which seeks to elucidate Researchers' tribal practise.

(host, H) “Hello and welcome to “Inside? Outed!”, the new multisensorial broadcast on the LARP-net! – And a warm welcome to our guest on this episode: A Researcher!”

(automated clapping sounds; alternative route, please visit: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Z3ra0CxCEO)

(Researcher, C) “Hello. And thank you for having me.”

H: “Thank you for coming onto our show! – For the sake of clarity, you are not just ‘any’ Researcher.”

C: “No. We tend to highlight our distinctive Research sub-genres, so...”

H: “How would you qualify yourself?”

C “As an ethnographer, perhaps? If I had to slap a label on me (*laughs*).”

H “We are fond of label-slapping, aren’t we? – How does your...identification as an ethnographer affect what you do? In your professional ventures, that is. We’re not getting too personal here...not now, anyway! (*laughs*)”

(automated laughter from the imaginary audience; visit <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYVO5bUFww0>)

C “It affects the rites of passage²¹ that I have to accomplish to be recognised as a specific kind of Researcher amongst other tribe-members.”

H “This already brings us to the heart of today’s show: We are going to shed some light on what it means to pass for an ethnographic Researcher, and revisit the steps you had to take

²⁰ ‘Breaking the fourth wall’ refers to a dramaturgic practice attributed to German playwright Bertolt Brecht. It refers to disrupting the immersive illusion of drama, and provoking the audience’s renewed attention and critical engagement with theatrical happenings, rather than passively ‘consuming’ is as outsiders to the play. If you are keen on Exploring a detour from this detour, you will find more resemblances between Brechtian theatre and the type of LARP you are currently engaging with, e.g. here: <https://4thwalldramaturgy.byu.edu/brechtian-a-clarification> (last accessed: 07-03-2020, 07:18)

²¹ c.f. Van Gennepe (1909)



in order to pass for your most recent role. – To do so, you have been invited to play a role will comprise being investigated and asked a lot of questions to gain insider-insights into your tribe! – Sound familiar?”

C “(laughs) That sounds very much like *my* professional role-enactments...which, I assume, is what you were hinting at?”

H “You found me out! (laughs) – So, let’s dive right ‘in’, with our Inside: Outed! Q&A! – Are you ready for this?”

C “As ready as I can be...”

H (chuckles) “Great. – Let us start the interview, then, by picking up where we left off: You were speaking about differences in role-enactments between the various sub-categories or clans amongst the Researcher tribe...”

C “Yes.”

H “How is acting as an ethnographer different from what others amongst your tribe do, then?”

C “Well, for starters – there are the initiation rituals that precede our respective Research-missions...”

H “I am hooked, already! Tell us more!”

C “My most recent Research Campaign comprised Following the South Wales Police Uniform...Which was an ethnographic quest, that now allows me to call myself an ethnographer.”

H “Makes sense, given that you ‘are what you do...’.”

C “...with what you can do’, yes. – More specifically, I acted as a Digital Sensory Ethnographer in Following the SWP Uniform– but that’s maybe jumping ahead a bit. – So, the initiation rites...are generally referred to as “Obtaining Ethics Approval”. – That’s true for all Researcher tribe members, irrespective of their clan-affiliations.”

H “Could you expand on that a little?”



C “When Researchers answer to a calling for a quest, they have to stand trial before Researcher Elders to prove that they are capable of and prepared for facing whatever challenges may lie on their way ahead in their respective Research missions.”

H “How would you do that? – You cannot foresee the future, can you? (*laughs*) – Or is that one of the secret powers Researchers have?”

C (*laughs lightly*) Some of them might – but I certainly don’t. – Researchers gain permission to enter into their Research quests from the Ethics Committee – these are the Elders I referred to...”

H “Yes...”

C “By coming up with a – let’s say ‘fictional’ version of the plot that they seek to enact, or anticipate to unfold. – Depending on the kind of Researcher, there are varying degrees of certainty and liabilities implied in what missions will turn out to be, and what futures Researchers need to prepare for. Those predictions translate into a “research design”. – Some Research involves ‘methods’, or Researcher moves, like measuring, secondary data analytics questions...those are reasonably predictable, whereas Ethnographic ventures tend to be more...speculative in their initial design set-up.”

H “So, how can you ‘prove’ that you are able to take on a fictional challenge? – What’s the point in that?”

C “In some ways, the Ethics Committee judges you on your preparedness to plan for worst case scenarios and anticipate plot-twists that might bring you, or your co-LARPer, in harm’s way.”

H “We’re speaking about risk implied in Research, now? Juicy stuff? (*chuckles*)?”

C “Yes, extremely juicy... – In fact, my responsibility as a Researcher is somewhat like that of the South Wales Police, in that I have to ensure no harm comes unto those who are collaborating with me in a Research-Campaign. – This question of guaranteeing safety in Research is key for being permitted to launch a mission. And this means that all bodies involved in a quest must be protected from harm.”

H “That sounds slightly mysterious...”



C (*laughs*) “Yes. Researchers love to drape ourselves in cloaks of mystery! – What I alluded to is that the bodies in my ethnographic project are generally called ‘participants’, because it is an empirical, qualitative and inductive mission aiming to generate predominantly primary data. – Other ‘bodies’ involved might be books and databases, or possibly animals...And depending on whom you are playing with in your mission, you have to come up with different safety-maintenance provisions, and your ethics approval process looks different, too. – Every ‘body’ gets their protective measure, respective to the possible harm associated with its involvement in the Campaign-plot.”

H “I see...”

C “My research was designed to involve ‘human subjects’ – but I did not wish to take any tissue or probes from said Humans...”

H “I am sure the SWP appreciated that! (*laughs*)”

C (*laughs along politely*) “I would assume so, yes. – But instead, I had to consider and preempt other risk factors that might compromise safety in the collaboration between SWP and myself.”

H “Such as?”

C “OK, if you want the details...”

H “(*eager*) I always do!”

C “Starting with myself, then – For me, staying ‘safe’ was established reasonably easily. – The SWP themselves assert to be responsible for keeping people ‘safe’. From their point of view, I am but one ‘civilian’ who temporarily belongs to ‘the community’ of non-police whose safety they professionally guarantee. – Which essentially means that all I had to do, whilst interacting with SWP in the Research-quest, was to follow their directions.”

H “You delegated your decision-making powers for the sake of ‘safety’?”

C “Effectively, and pitched in the vocabulary from the subsequently shaping LARP-Campaign, you could say that I handed over my capacity to make meaningful decisions about my future during police patrols. From a police perspective, this made sense, as I was a ‘vulnerable²²’ civilian, who accompanied them on an unpredictable, possibly harm-inducing

²² c.f. pp166 on ‘vulnerability’ in this Campaign.



job.”

H “I understand. – Which should be of concern for members of your tribe, too, I believe?”

C “Oh, yes! – One thing I had to swear an oath on before the Elders was to *always* follow the police’s directive and keep myself physically, emotionally and mentally safe. – The first was most easily accomplished, as I could somewhat delegate my safe-keeping to the SWP. – Luckily, following others’ cues on how to deal with certain events and reacting in specific situations is precisely what ethnographic work comprises! By ‘really listening’ to what the SWP were telling me and how they interacted with me, I gleaned some of their interpretations of what ‘safety’ or risk, meant in our shared experience.”

H “Interesting!”

C “Very much so.”

H “You alluded to other components of your own safe-keeping?”

C “Oh, yes. – Well, see...that was not so much part of the initiation. But I had to acknowledge that, in an immersive and reasonably unpredictable project like an *inductive* ethnographic quest, there was potential for being negatively affected by Researching and whatever emerges spontaneously throughout the journey.”

H “What kind of unpredictabilities are we talking about?”

C “Things like...never knowing when I was actually going home from a shift, because ‘my team’ was retained...”

H “Retained?”

C “That means there’s an on-going case from which officers cannot leave, even though their official working hours are over. – Which is nothing out of the ordinary as I learnt... The SWP worked over-time regularly when I worked with them...and since an ethnographic mission implies co-experiencing their lived realities in their spheres and on similar terms...”

H “You, too, didn’t know when your shift was over. I get it. – Anything else?”

C “Well, I had to adjust to my participants’ unreliable work regimes also in later phases of the Research collaboration: If we had scheduled an interview, I could hardly insist on carrying it out when my collaborators were called to an urgent incident.”

H “No, that would have probably been slightly...”



C “Ridiculous!”

H “Well, I wouldn’t have put it that way, but –“

C “No, I get it. – Research-collaborations are indubitably low priority when the community’s safety is at stake. – But I had my agenda, too! Which meant that I had to flexibly adjust my Researching practices in order to still achieve my mission goal. Even, if what I had initially planned and foreseen in the Research design turned out to be not realistic or feasible.”

H “So, you ‘adjusted’ by rescheduling interviews?”

C “Yes – and I sometimes sought out other participants, who were more...available. – Ethnographic Research is very much like a LARP in that you have to improvise on the basis of changing situational inputs, and rely on...chance. Oftentimes, things just fall into place.”

H “Such an attitude can’t have looked good to the Elders, who judged your preparedness, though!”

C “Well...in some ways, the capacity and readiness to flexibly amend your Research strategy is a Researcher skill, actually. And another parallel to the police’s work: ‘Skill’ doesn’t mean that you do the same thing that you have always done in a robotic manner, no matter the circumstances²³. Instead, it means that you work towards your goal and seek to do what needs to be done to get there.”

H “Getting to...an accomplished goal of ‘making safe’, or ‘understanding what it means to be human as SWP’.”

C “You got it. – Such adaptative re-arrangements of how to ‘do Researcher’ are characteristic of inductive, iterative Researching.”

H “But how did you know what to do in the respectively changing situations?”

C “Well, just like there are certain game rules in a LARP, there are also characteristic actions that are typical of Researchers – and of ethnographic ones amongst them. We have our directives from the role-cards, so to speak, and from the historical character-developments of our collective body (Ahmed, 2004: 30pp). – As I mentioned before: We all go through some form of ethical review, after which we obtain a token that allows us to go Researching. In line with my home institution’s provisions, I therein guaranteed to keep myself and my participants safe...”

²³ c.f. Ingold (2018) on ‘skills’



H “Oh, we haven’t covered that part! – Despite it being such an intriguing idea: How did you get into the position of the safe-maker’s safe-maker?” (*laughs*)

C (*laughs dutifully*) “It’s not as exciting as it might sound. – You could have a look at the book of wisdom on ethics in its digital format by resorting to Swansea University’s web-appearance²⁴ for general rules that Researchers who conMickate in said institutional environment ‘do Research’ ethically. Other than that, I also included the token of ‘ethical approval’ I was awarded in my memoirs²⁵...”

H “About which we will be informed in more detail later.”

C “Oh – OK, yes. – What I could promise to do in order to guarantee the SWP’s safety is following rather prescribed lines. – I anonymised their names and the places in which we patrolled or had interviews, alongside the actual dates, ‘at source’...”

H “Uhhh...”

C “That means I am not giving away the exact day, time and location of incidents I invoke in the Campaign that I share with Explorers. And characters’ names are pseudonyms. – This safeguards the SWP’s confidentiality, even if some amongst their own tribe become Explorers and follow the SWP uniform. – On another level, this confidentiality promise is kept by storing all the data that emerged throughout LARP-interactions, e.g. in the guise of memory protocols or interview-transcripts, on password-protected devices. – Remember how I said that every ‘body’ needs specific protection measures?”

H “Yes...”

C “‘Data’-safety implies storage and interaction provisions that protect the data from harm, and from harming those they refer to from subsequently emerging, possibly harmful consequences. – The final step for me in my safe-maker role will be to destroy all material that led to the thesis-LARP, except for the playbook itself. That happens four years after the original Campaign ends.”

H “Anonymity, confidentiality – our audience loves fancy terms, you know? So, if you have more of those...”

²⁴ <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/research/research-integrity-ethics-governance/research-integrity/> (last accessed: 05-03-2020; 16:10)

²⁵ Find these in the Appendix, pp243.



C (*laughs*) “Yes. Fancy terminology seems to be one of those characteristics that Researchers sometimes resort to in order to ‘pass’ for tribe-members...Although we are actually supposed to become identifiable through how we act, not the labels we slap onto what we do.”

H “The label-slapping appears to be a commonly shared hobby, though!”

C “And not a completely useless habit either, perhaps.”

H “What do you mean?”

C “Well, because I am a Researcher, and I want to pass for one, some of my in-role moves are pretty much predefined. – Our tribe has to be distinct from others, irrespective of the overall uniting aspect of Humanness and shared elements in our Experiences... - What we are doing, right now, for instance – That follows the Researcher principle of being ‘transparent’ about the Research-process, which is a critical element in producing a ‘thesis’ for a PhD. Which, despite the arguably unusual form of a LARP, is what I am doing. – My aspirations for a degree are an underlying motivation for scripting the Campaign-plot and appearing on your broadcast, if you will.”

H “Transparency would be, again, the fancy term to look out for in this case?”

C “I can do you one better, though – Transparency is associated with another structuring paradigm: Reproducibility.”

H “I need to know more!”

C “This essentially means that I am disclosing my Research journey in such a way that others can follow the pathways I have taken– I am allowing Explorers, amongst whom some might also play Researchers outside of this Campaign, to co-experience how I generated the data that grew insights in the garden of Theory. The whole inclusion of a prequel to ‘Following the SWP Uniform’ that Explorers can access makes my Research pursuits ‘followable’. Hence, I disclose which theoretical roots I am building on, and which pruning choices and side-steps eventually brought to the fore this insight-crop that I share with Explorers, in the form of a LARP...Even though it might no boast your ability to level up as you Follow the Uniform as an Explorer, I had to ensure my place as an ethical Researcher by e.g. explaining how the different data that I generated inform each other, which paths I was not



pursuing...and I legitimise my use of Digital Sensory Ethnography with reference to the boundary conditions in which my mission came about.”

H “Could you perhaps elaborate that last point? Boundary conditions?”

C “That refers to another structuring device that premeditated what I did in my role: I had to ‘understand emotional experiences of night-time service provisions *online* and *offline*’. – Sensory Ethnography helps me conceptually and practically connect digital and non-digital ‘bodies’ that comprise ‘experience’ in such a LARP-verse setting. – And it also informs the steps that I took throughout the Campaign. – The methodological choice is a bit like the Researcher’s Companion: I could resort to more-than-representational theory that SE includes, when looking for appropriate nourishing Theory-grounds to grow insights from what happened in the field; I could part-improvise data-generation strategies by doing Participant Observation on Twitter, which is recognisable Researcher-behaviour, albeit technologically mediated...”

H “Some of your tribe refer to the methods toolkit, instead of a Companion, when they describe what you just spoke about...”

C “Yes. That’s another helpful metaphor. – So, I trialled the tools available to me, but not all helped build the Campaign-plot necessarily according to plan...because, really, the plan in the form of a research design is more of an orientation anyway. – I am elaborating more on e.g. the Big Data detours I made, which happened because I wanted to glimpse algorithmic representations of emotionality, and the broader-scale interactions on Twitter....but which ultimately did not end up on the main Campaign trail.”

H “Why did you include these detours, then?”

C “Because...even though they do not comprise directly combusted data, they nevertheless affected and repositioned me in the field – as the mediator between the co-experience with SWP and Explorers. – It would not be ‘transparent’ not to acknowledge them. And I did learn something about logics e.g. of policymakers, whose decisions do affect the experience of police officers on the ground, when they adapt their behaviours once impressed by Big Data visualisations²⁶...All of this influenced my in-role behaviours as much as the more rigid

²⁶ c.f. Ahmed (2004:31)



provisions in the ‘boundary conditions’ – Like the time-cap of three years, which influenced my timing decisions such as when to stop generating data...and...testing tools, if you will.”

H “So you didn’t stop Researching when you had engaged with all SWP?”

C (*laughs*) “No. – I had to finish my mission after the funding ran out. My time-plan therefore set one year of empirical research – which seemed to me like the maximum time I could afford to spend on empirical interactions like Participant Observations on police shifts, alongside the rest of the usual Research moves to make to grow insights.”

H “I believe you are referring to the ‘iterative literature reviews’ into policy papers, consulting the theory from your Elders...?”

C “Yes! – You have read the plot, I see.”

H “Research is part of my job-role, too, you know...Which is why I also know that, within the time-span that you did allocate for the empirical part of your quest, you carried out 110 hours of patrolling on different types of shifts, and 18 hours of interviews, as well as ten Blurr Campaigns. – Whereby ‘Blurr’ Campaigns designate the digital detours you spoke about earlier.”

C “Correct.”

H “What I’ve just mentioned is all happening after what you call the ‘pilot phase’ in your prequel narrative. And the main phase’s primary data was then cross-bred with prior theoretical seedlings, police-related media releases and trimmed to bring about insights the suited the Swansea-context your play is set in.”

C “Yes.”

H “Seeing that you have put all of this into the accounts Explorers can follow, and since you’re saying that you thereby make your specific mission reproducible...does that imply anybody could do what you did and claim being a Researchers?”

C (*laughs lightly*) “In some ways, making Researching followable by a huge variety of Explorers, I am suggesting that anybody can ‘Know’ as a Researcher and ‘do’ Research. – But this Knowing is body-specific, and singular.”

H “Uhhh...”



C “As we established: LARP hinges on interactive improvisations. – What I did in the field, responded to what my allies did in spontaneously emerging situations...and my behaviours in-character are always mediated by my personality and role interpretations. My background – including the other roles that I play outside of this Campaign – invariably shaped the interactions between the SWP and myself. They also inform how I engage with Explorers, ultimately. – These features of a LARP become conceptually digestible through the SE-branches that I cross-breed with my empirical decisions to dish up the Research-insight crop...”

H “Can you explain that in a little more detail?”

C “By choosing a LARP-format as a functional metaphor, I am disclosing – and making transparent – that interactions emerge unpredictably in-situ: Despite the research design in which a generic Researcher overcomes possible hurdles, the actual challenges of a specific Researcher are reflected in the Campaign’s script with which Explorers engage. – On the conceptual basis of emplacement and embodiment, Explorers can understand that my positionality, perception schemes and capacities in interactions that co-constitute the places Explorers can co-experience. Thus, I am creating a co-experiencing Research-crop from the base materials that was fed into the growing insight-crop. That the latter took on the form of a LARP is also only *one* possible version of a ‘Research-outcome’, which very clearly bears my name and manifests my personality. It is my interpretation of what ethnographic place-making in a digital Sensory Ethnography mission might mean – with a creative, ludic geography spin on it.”

H “And other bodies will have different Experiences and therefore generate different Knowing.”

C “Precisely. – That is what I am expressing and delivering through the LARP-framework. Whose metaphorical language also fulfils a function.”

H “Namely?”

C “The Academic Garden for instance reflects my idea of a utopia, in which academics and the broader world engage in mutually respectful exchange of insights, and enable each other’s Learning and Knowing thereby.”

H “I see.”



C “Another ‘metaphor’ is that of ‘Bleed’, i.e. emotions travelling through the supposedly containing membrane of the SWP uniform. But Bleed also functions as an analytical ‘tool’ from the LARP-research methods toolkit: Bleed is the concept I use to render the emotional labour and struggles SWP experience understandable with Theory-nutrients to feed into Explorers’ Learning.”

H “If you have resorted to your own interpretation of your role so heavily...did you not fear not passing as a PhD?”

C “Oh, I did! – it was arguably a bit risky to write a ‘thesis’ in a format that I had no blueprint for. – I was making myself vulnerable to future encounters and others’ reactions to my behaviour that I had no means of predicting. – But, in line with my argument in the Campaign-plot that vulnerability and openness to undetermined future relationships with others can be a strength, and is a uniting factor in Humans’ experience, I argue for more openness to Researcher’s unpredictable in-role actions. I wanted to claim a place amongst the Researchers was by rendering a Garden-plot amongst the creative social research methods usable, also for junior Researchers like myself, in new ways. – Subsequent insight-gardeners may thereon take risks in claiming their places and expand the boundaries set around our role-card. – “

H “I see you are drawing another parallel between different Human tribes, there: Your Campaign-plot is at once an appeal to reconsidering the tightness around what it means to pass for a professional SWP. – But you also re-plot Researcher lands in the Theory-garden.”

C “Yes. – What it means to be ‘professional’ for Researchers and for SWP should be more open and less prescribed to make novel relationships with the role possible, and let new insights grow in different ways. – This is what I Learnt from my Researching quests, and subsequently wished to make accessible for others’ Knowing journeys. The core message, which I did take as it emerged during the situational interactions...”

H “We are all Human – and vulnerable in our own ways.”

C “Yes. – That message also partly underlies my choice for the LARP-format, in that I want Explorers to be able to determine how and how deeply they wish to play their part in the Campaign.”

H “I’m afraid I don’t see the connection?”



C “Well...this actually draws a full circle to where we started! – With the provision of having to ensure the safety of those affected by my Research as much as my own...”

H “I am intrigued – as, I am sure, is our audience!”

C (*laughs*) “I can only hope so...See, if we are all Human and vulnerable in our own ways, which I conceptually dish up and empirically garnish as being open to unforeseeable future encounters and affectedness beyond our control...if that is the case, then this applies to researchers, SWP *and* Explorers.”

H “So far, so understandable...”

C “And I was affected by Bleed in ways that I would have rather avoided: The unpredictability of my professional pursuits, much like what SWP go through – albeit, clearly, on a different scale – affected me negatively. – I had trouble ‘coping’ and ‘dealing with’ the things that happened in-character.”

H “Oh.”

C “And in order to deal with my emotional Bleed, I did what SWP also do – and let my personality Bleed into my performance. – My coping was creative writing, which is arguably an out-of-character move for a Researcher that took place *in* the game...but it helped me to continue playing. – And it resulted in me focusing on how SWP remain ‘human’, and the risk of not having opportunities to stay ‘Human’ and emotional in one’s character enactments, because of the looming threat of Social Death and dismissal from one’s professional tribe...”

H “Uh-huh...”

C “...and ultimately, Explorers, too, can Bleed – they, too, are Human. This analytical insight inspired me to, practically, increase Explorers’ capacity to make meaningful decisions about their likely futures, and thus partly manage their Bleed. – I hope to make it ‘safer’ and less harmful for them to be affected by the play. Which, again, makes the LARP into a working metaphor and manifesto in that it does what it speaks about.”

H “I see...And the creative writer probably also shines through in the growing of a LARP from ingredients that might have brought to the fore other outgrowths of theses...”

C “Possibly. – I guess I cannot deny that, no. – Choosing the LARP-format is another, personalised way of making ‘transparent’ what specific Researcher mediates Explorers’ co-



experience of the Campaign.”

H “Well, you did ‘pass’ in the end, so I guess the personality-professionality balance was just about alright!”

C “I have to agree on that one.”

H “If Explorers want to be affected more by the ‘data-generation’ processes underlying your Gardening efforts, where would they have a chance to do that?”

C (*laughs*) “Well-played! – They can engage with my memoirs, which come in the form of a detour in the ‘Appendix’ of the main Campaign. – Written in first-person narration, I am talking about, and theoretically walking Explorers through, the match of data and methods ping-pong that I mastered throughout the Following the SWP Uniform prequel.”

H “That seems to be a good start in answering the question of what to do with your time after this broadcast, dear audience! – But for now, let me thank our guest, The Researcher, for her appearance on this cast – and in the hope that we have all collectively Learnt something: Ciao-ciao and bye-for-now!”

#####

“Welcome back! Looks like you zoned out there for a moment? You seem to have Learnt something wherever and whenever you went, though. Would this be a moment for you to scribble down notes about ‘ethics’, or merely to acknowledge your XP gain in your Companion?”

“A little ‘by-the-way’: You have just taken a short-cut through the ethics and main elements of what Researcher like to call ‘the methods section’. If you feel well-enough prepared to get started with the play, jump ahead straight onto page76 (“Researching and the World”). Else, please continue Exploring how my journey progressed in a more linear fashion!”

With the back-up supply of Knowing about Research ethics, you can follow along the main track of your journey again. As a reminder: You are currently co-experiencing the Researcher’s path-paving pursuits before your entanglement with her Research Campaign began. The initial steps she took during her ‘pilot phase’ eventually led her to engage with SWP:

To Learn of interactions actually involved in policing, the Researcher initially patrolled-along on two consecutive nightshifts in two different shift-types. This served getting an overview over a variety of possible police interventions by co-experiencing them in-character. In



September 2017, the Researcher first accompanied a Response Team shift, and secondly a Ride-Along that turned into a Foot Patrol in the city-centre. The former implies being based at a police station and responding to emergency-calls as forwarded by the nearest 999-Call Centres. The patrolling on foot is called an “After Dark”-shift (hereafter “Afterdark”, as used by SWP). This shift directly emerged from endeavours to reinforce policing in Swansea’s city-centre. It targets the local NTE peak times and days that coincide with the Help Point service times: Saturday and Wednesday²⁷, between 10pm and 4am²⁸ (in theory).

Patrol Alongs provided a first opportunity of co-experiencing encounters afforded by the SWP uniforms. Those encounters affected the Researcher in transformative ways that led to her focusing on the SWP as the service-providers whose emotional experiences and reactions in intervention were to be understood. She followed Researcher-typical motions to go through in order to obtain such an understanding. Those Researching-behaviours comprised observations, writing memory protocols (often from scribbled notes about what happened and what participants said), in-situ interviewing and voice-memo-ing. Through embodied emplacement alongside the SWP, the Researcher generated tacit, ‘felt knowledge’ (Straughan, 2019) that shaped her perception of the SWP’s role, as well as her own relative to the SWP uniform she followed. On top of that, she formed relationships with the people wearing the SWP uniform, who disclosed to her their tribal wisdom that “We are all human”. This would ultimately become the main message to be shared with Explorers like you. As an insight-crop, it is sourced from the Researcher’s iterative “data analyses” and mediated by her capacities to cognitively frame her Experience through her perception schemes and from her (ethical) positionality in ‘the field’.

stage 2: the main phase

Without as much of a discernible cut as this writing suggests, the Researcher’s quest main empirical stage commenced in January 2018. During this Researching period, your ally’s

²⁷ The Wednesday night peak may be more locally specific than the Saturday ‘boom’ of the NTE. In Swansea, Wednesdays characteristically come with discounted prices in the local night-time businesses for drinks; specifically for students. Wednesday tends to be the night in which a great number of students populate Wind Street and surroundings, where most night-time leisure in Swansea can be found.

²⁸ The bracketed caveat indicates that the time-period between 10pm and 4am does not capture pre-shift briefings. The Researcher usually accompanied SWP as of 8:30pm, and never actually finished ‘on time’, i.e. as specified by the codified working-hours for Afterdarks.



costume comprised the one below (p.59): A high-vis uniform of e.g. a Police Support Volunteer.

The Researcher had been handed the high-vis uniforms like you have been given the Take-Away from her co-LARPer who allied with her on her quest. To them, it ensured she was quickly detectable in a crowd and could be made safe according to SWP parameters: For SWP like Allan, whom you will meet shortly, the Researcher was vulnerable in her position amongst the SWP uniforms. Thus, his professional responsibility was to make her ‘safe’ which required visibilising her highly through a uniform. The thus-facilitated ‘seeing’ enabled Allan and his colleagues to react quickly and ‘get in there’ to efficiently ‘deal with’ potentially harmful situations involving the Researcher. Harm-definitions and the police’s responsibility to prevent it from affecting the Researcher emerged from their character’s place in the LARP-logic: The SWP are the official ‘safe-place makers’ in urban assemblages that, throughout the Campaign, involved the Researcher’s body. On another level, your ally had been ‘seen’ and considered ‘safe’ in her datafied form by authorities amongst the police who are ‘vetting’ people who apply to the Patrol-Along scheme. This is called a ‘DBS-check’ which is carried out on everybody joining SWP on their professional duty, just like your ally’s initiation into the SWP: To be allowed into the tribe, if only partially, one ritual had to establish her as free from criminal conviction. In her own tribe, the Researcher underwent procedures that proved she was ‘safe’ to go and Experience other tribal meaning-making endeavours: The University of Swansea, which is your ally’s professional home, asked her to assess the (likely) risks of harm to herself and others that might emerge from the research project she was plotting. In Researcher lingo, this is called an ethics approval process²⁹, which was one of the early challenges that your ally accomplished on her mission to understand what emotional experience of night-time policing implied. Her trophy, in the guise of an ethics approval form, awaits you to Explore in Appendix “ethics approval”, p. 238. From the SWP, the token of accomplishment that demarcated her successful gain of ‘access’ is the below-depicted high-vis vest, which – in its varied meanings – affected the

²⁹ Feel free to Explore digitally, how the Researcher’s professional conduct merits a label of ‘safe’ Researching: <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/research/research-integrity-ethics-governance/research-integrity/> (last accessed: 05-03-2020; 16:10)



Researcher’s self-perception and how she was perceived in the places emerging around the SWP uniform.



Selfie taken & posted by [SWP member] during After Dark shift

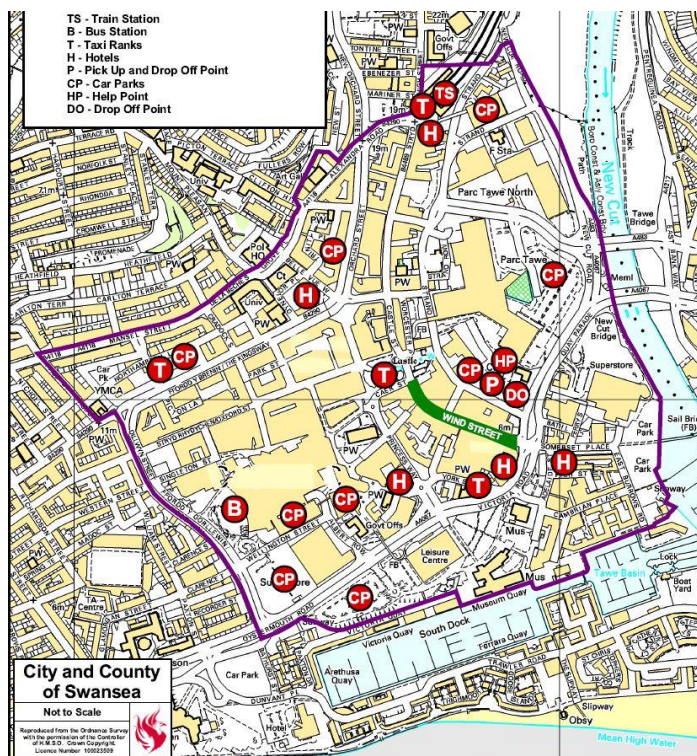
Despite being made highly visible, and arguably blending in with the SWP tribe’s neon-yellow vests, a.k.a. ‘a high-vis’, it was always guaranteed that the Researcher could not pass as a ‘real’ SWP officer. Thus, ‘the public’ would not misinterpret her role and responsibilities in the NTE. This indicates the intimate link between perception, expectations and behaviour on the basis of ‘costumes’. Your ally was not supposed to be mistaken for one who truly belonged to the SWP tribe – otherwise, behavioural expectations might have been that ‘members of the public’ (MoP) approached her for help (Allan). In this costume³⁰, the Researcher imperfectly blended in with those wearing the SWP uniform of which you Learn more shortly. In other ways, however, through following the uniform and ‘doing what the SWP were doing’, i.e. Learning what and how they Learnt, the Researcher did gain a tacit in-between status that granted her more insights into tribal life from the SWP’s perspective. Based on fruitful relationships formed with SWP (Buchanan, 1997: 87; Anderson, 2006:733) ‘data’ was collaboratively generated which materialised from e.g. informal in-situ

³⁰ The ‘blending in’ that the Researcher via uniform-wearing was unsuccessful not only because of the differences between her high-vis and the SWP’s: The Researcher was also not given a characteristic Bobby Helmet or any other head-paraphernalia of SWP in-group members. If you are curious to follow those, and the rest of the uniform, ‘through time’, here is your virtual detour opportunity: <http://swplive.blob.core.windows.net/wordpress-uploads/12-HN-Police-Uniform.pdf>



interviews, a.k.a. chats, with officers on patrol³¹, scribbled on notes on random bits of paper, which were transformed into memory protocols immediately after shifts.

The geographical area in which this LARP mostly plays out is shown on the below map. Its name for Swansea officials is “Safe Zone” which mostly covers the NTE hub in Swansea’s city-centre (CC). The Purple Flag reference it bears denotes that Swansea’s CC is officially awarded a Purple Flag status³² for allowing “a wide range of people in[] the centre at night” to “feel safe” between 5pm and 5am³³.



'Safe Zone': Swansea city-centre area with increased policing activity, especially during peak-times of the night-time economy; source: Swansea City Council

‘Feeling safe’ appeared to be a clue as to how Swansea (CC) as a ‘place’ was supposed to be framed and experienced. It is a discursive link to ‘broader power-geometries of space’ that SE points to and into which your ally accordingly invested Researching efforts. One traceable structural link is embodied by the Well-Being for Future Generations Act (2005) Wales (hereafter: Wellbeing-Act), and by association the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan. The latter has the defined goal of making Swansea “a safe place” to live, visit and e.g. pursue economic

³¹ The chats are limited to times when they do not interfere with policing, i.e. tribal pursuits.

³² In autumn 2019 Swansea was awarded the Purple Flag the third year in a row.

³³ c.f. <https://www.swansea.gov.uk/purpleflag>; last accessed 22-November-2019, 16:04.



activities. The notion of a ‘safe *place*’ matched the Researcher’s SE-inspired background and honed her focus on the notion of emotionality in (nightly) interactions in relationship with the goal of making ‘safe’ space-times. This required interrogating how a ‘safe place’ was defined and supposed to be experienced in Swansea CC. It turned out that the service-providers her path had already intersected with had all received a call to enable ‘feeling safe’ in the Safe Zone. On the assumption that increased visible policing benefitted ‘safe feeling’, the SWP’s Afterdark was introduced to be “a visible presence” (Allan³⁴) during peak times in Swansea’s NTE hub.

detour 2: A Garden-Stroll

Dear Explorer: As you are following the Researcher’s footsteps, you may have gleaned that Researching is not a smooth, linear trajectory through a storyline. There may be a beginning, a plot-development and an ending, but there are several side-tracks that may be marched down in a manner of detour...that bring to the fore interesting new perspectives on the main path that lies to the side. To reciprocate this adventurous LARPing conduct, you are herewith cordially invited to follow the Researcher’s ventures into the Academic Garden of Insights. It is from this garden, wherein Researchers plot communal lands to enrich and harvest from the nutritious soil of Theory, that your ally gathered



invaluable insights that enabled her to engage with you in a more analytical way. Previously grown theory-rife insight-crops also help contextualise this Campaign within a larger LARP-verse and provide ingredients for future plotting.

Imagine entering an actual communally plotted garden. The door³⁵ is shown above: Open and arguably welcoming. In fact, it might be more appropriate to envision a gardening colony that stretches beyond the horizon. Its history, too, reaches back into the past way before you were even born. Available land on which newcomers can plot has **previously**

³⁴ Given that the SWP is a very close-knit community, this thesis does not provide date-specifications for direct quotations: Despite the double-anonymisation, SWP members would otherwise be able to find the sources of statements made via working rotas relative to the Researcher’s co-patrolling. Restricting references to participants’ pseudonyms aims at preserving their confidentiality.

³⁵ source: <https://hiveminer.com/Tags/door,mystic/Recent>); last accessed: 19-11-2019, 07:18



been **worked on** by innumerable unknown and unknowable gardeners. Their work consequently altered the **soil into which any new data-seeds can be planted**. Wherever a new plot is opened, it can therefore be deemed impossible to try and trace *all* previous imprints upon the ground (c.f. Ingold, 200). That is not to dismiss any notion of being able to find the right spot to grow one’s insights. As the communal garden is under constant maintenance, one can find one’s appropriate plot by settling amongst, and getting to know, one’s best-fit neighbours: Their plotting would have presumably made productive use of the soil’s nutrient composition, and the crops they grow would speak of such theoretical richness. It is part of any Researcher’s role to **find the most suitable plot** by establishing where there may be gaps in the cohort’s gardening landscape to mend, grow and refine their data. One’s neighbourhood is of key importance, as it may provide sustaining, nurturing influences from crossbreeding and branching off over the plot’s delineations. Simultaneously, however, the contribution each Researcher makes must add some new value to the overall biodiversity of academic insight-cropping. This can happen through crossbreeding some insights that have already grown out of the garden. i.e. **freshly engaging with prior gardening outcomes**. Adding **new original content** also provides for new emergent engagement with whatever can and does grow from the gardening efforts, without risking over-supply of redundant insight-species.

On encountering the notion that more (visible) police was supposed to generate ‘feeling safe’, the Researcher toured the Academic Garden for any theoretical outgrowths from prior Researching to that end. Allan’s repeat assertions that “being a **visible presence**...where the people are” to “**reassure**” the latter corroborated your ally’s understanding **how the SWP’s interaction partners were supposed to ‘feel’** mattered to the SWP’s role understanding. It would thus inform **how they interacted (emotionally) with others**, e.g. during the NTE.

The Academic Garden boasts a plethora of colourful outgrowths on issues like CC revitalisation. Specifically, the NTE has been Researched as a target for urban design interventions and policies to increase a level of ‘safety’. The latter comprises measurable data points, as well as the arguably subjective ‘feeling’ of safety, which is supposed to be generated through material adjustments of city-scapes. Such insights grew in gardening projects on effects of urban securitisation, e.g. through the increase of CCTV-coverage in



city-centres (e.g. Adey et al., 2013), alongside reinforced visible patrolling that e.g. Brands and Schwanen (2014) worked on. Their Research-crop comprises reflections on affective impacts made by such supposedly safety-providing installations (c.f. Adey et al., 2013). ‘The city’ in those insight-outgrowths is understood as an **“assemblage”**, about which you can learn in more depth by dipping into your Take-Away. For this LARP, such an understanding of various bodies being drawn to and intentionally put in place helps frame how the **SWP** (uniforms) are **supposed to function as a safe-place-making body in safety-assemblages**. They, **themselves**, are **assembled of various parts** which take on **differently affective functions in** various re-assembling **encounters**, too. Those will become clearer throughout the empirical parts of this journey. Dressing cities at night as conceptual bouquet of continuously re-assembling ‘places’ that are co-constituted by transforming bodies (and co-constitutive of the latter), the ambivalence of people’s reactions to urban designs of safety becomes theoretically graspable (c.f. Pain, 2000: 370; Brands et al., 2015). This Campaign empirically highlights the actual interactions between features of the safety-assemblages in Swansea’s CC at night, and its wider-reaching entanglements that also **implicate the digital** spheres in which SWP uniforms visibilise.

This can be considered a complementary plotting-project to Brand’s and Schwanen’s (2014) Dutch study, which highlighted the experiential differences of being affected by the ‘visible presence’ of CCTV cameras ‘versus’ police officers. Whilst cameras seemingly did not affect city-dwellers’ perception of ‘safety’, patrolling police officers were shown to affect people’s experience of the NTE atmospheres contingently (c.f. Bille et al., 2014: 2pp). Arguably echoing the presumptions that assemble SWP to the Afterdark, some Dutch civilians could be affected by officers’ presence to experience calm and “carefree” states (of consumption). However, some feelings of safety were disrupted by encountering police, who were interpreted as signs of a need to worry and intimidating danger, i.e. need to police (Brands et al., 2015: 448-450). Insight-seeds on the **variance in how ‘safety-providing bodies’ register** and make place may be cross-bred with another gardening project: Pain (2000) Researched alternative urban experiences and design provisions that cater to specific place-experiences e.g. of night-time safety with another take. She reflects experiences of danger ‘versus’ safety with regards to differently identifying and identified human bodies (ibid., p.369; 372).



Relative to their tribal affiliations, as Pain’s plotting procured, perceptions differ (c.f. conceptual input on SE, above) which include understandings of security-providing bodies.

Befittingly, Pain’s insight-flora also covers hegemonic **discourses that establish what is ‘safe’**, where and for whom. Such discursive assemblage-elements affect which bodies belong in which space-times to make ‘safe’ places. Pain’s and Brand et al.’s gardening outgrowths alert us that (overly) designed urban environments and prescriptions on their uses, e.g. through policy-paradigms, may not realise according to plan (c.f. Brenner, 2011: 158). Instead, **city-scapes are ‘done’ through practices of urban dwelling**, i.e. improvised **interactions** between entangled moving bodies and environmental bodies in mutually transformative ways (Brenner, 2015: 151-2; McFarlane, 2018: 209). These contentions echo this LARP’s set-up and permits supposition that this Campaign’s plotting-project on such theoretical grounds can contribute a **case study about re-assembling and doing ‘safe places’** within the Safer Swansea Scheme and within contexts of policy-based urban design. Through a LARP-understanding and the notion of safe-place assemblages, room for improvisations, unintended consequences and contingencies emerges as safe places are made and experienced through interactions. The latter can conform to or challenge city-planners’ protocols or other pre-defined spatial behavioural scripts (Fariás, 2011: 367pp; Sendra, 2015).

With these glimpses into the Theory-garden’s rich flora, you may now return to the methods chapter. Claim 12XP.

[back on track: more of the prequel](#)

Notions of having to make people ‘feel safe’ can, with a look over your shoulder in the Theory-garden, be understood as a hegemonic discourse on what SWP are supposed to do. Put differently: A ‘responsibility to make the community a safe place’ would have found its way as a mission-statement onto their role-card, which informs SWP’s self-perception in-character alongside how officers professionally interact with others. SWP performances involving the uniforms are accordingly bound up in notions of ‘making feel safe’ within a discursive field in which ‘**safety**’ has predefined **measurable parameters against which their in-character performance is judged**. This Campaign follows emerging tensions around the negotiation between interpreting one’s role card as safe-maker and passing for professional



police against various judges and their expectations in how SWP should perform and make safe.

These themes emerged throughout and because of your ally's **on-going interactions with SWP**. They involved altogether 110 hours of patrolling, especially on Afterdarks. Apart from that, the Researcher accompanied officers on response-unit shifts twice, co-patrolled on Phil's day-time neighbourhood shift, including a tour around tribal grounds like Swansea's jail and CCTV room. Furthermore, she Researched alongside SWP uniforms during the BBC's "Biggest Weekend", and thereafter Observed the SWP-managed dismissal and exit of festivalgoers who also coordinated the streams away from the festival grounds. These Researching actions broadened sense of what it means to act as SWP, including what different types of encounters their role-conduct implies. Generated data helped deduce **how emotions are 'played out'** as SWP, which catered to answering her Researcher-calling. To complement her own understandings, she carried out **in-depth interviews** with SWP co-LARPer which served as a platform to reflect SWP's own policing experience, i.e. add their perspective and narratives to the Researcher's embodied interpretations. This provides complementary data on what SWP assume their role implies: What SWP narratively share about their self-understanding and actions constitutes '**cognitively framed**' perceptions of the interactions revolving around the SWP uniform. This meaning-making, as your Conceptual Take-Away caters you in more nuance, grows from Learning by Experience that put SWP 'in place' relative to those they engage with in-character (Howarth, 2001: 12). Interviews can thus unearth framed notions of the theory behind the SWP's tribal identity. As such, interview-data comprises **normative versions of interpretations** of the SWP role-card, i.e. what the SWP have Learnt to be supposed to do **to pass** in their professional role. Researching how SWP narrativised what they were doing and why took the form of 11 interviews with four Sergeants (PS) and four Constables (PC) between May and September 2018. Each lasted between 40 and 80 min.³⁶ Since these interview-interactions served to clarify practices that were followed-along, sampling happened on the basis that your ally had previously carried out at least one shift with the interviewee. Outside of direct Researching with SWP, the Researcher performed interim analyses, iterative tours through

³⁶ Of the PS, one was female, as was the case with the PC. The female Sergeant, one of the male PS and one of the PC, were interviewed twice.



the Theory-garden and forests of non-academic literature revolving around themes that emerged whilst Interviewing. All this fed into further interviews geared towards the thematic schedule that successively shaped up.

Throughout these interactions, your Researcher-ally built ‘rapport’ with the SWP. The relationships between them, as allies on a quest for understanding, involved a lot of shared Experience and face-based interactions, offline and online. Thus, the Researcher was allowed to **semi-integrate into a community of practice** that is united by experiencing and expressing **trust towards each other**. You are subsequently exposed to more Theoretical outlooks and discussion on this theme. Within these relationship emergences, however, the Researcher still has to navigate her position as an in-betweener. In order not to compromise her position and recognisability as a Researcher, she is thus bound to limit the engagement of Explorers with the SWP to accounts of their actions: Despite the fact that this LARP revolves around Humanness and the importance of ‘showing face’ and knowing ‘your police’ personally (Eli), the present Researcher seeks to **protect her in-game allies confidentiality by representing them as their characters**. Whilst the following includes anecdotal ethnographic places in which SWP ‘show face’ and act as Humans with their ‘personality’ Bleeding into their in-game performance, your embodied capacity to relate to them is necessarily partial and limited. However, by giving you something to allude to, i.e. the shared component of your sensory experience, the Researcher’s and the SWP’s (the uniform), you can try and establish imaginary, creative and empathetic connections to the places of safe-making (allusion/////). This thesis provides chances for novel relationships between Explorers, ‘data’, SWP, the research process and imaginations about what research should or could look and feel like (Nicholson et a., 2019:40; 41). By breaking with a streamlined ‘methods-narrative’, the emerging character of your playful Knowing re-enacts and has you co-experience the improvised routes taken by your Researcher-ally in response to the changing, uncertain, interactive playing ‘fields’ of Researching the SWP inductively (Markham, 2013: 443). This writing style is thus an honest manifesto of the unplanned components in qualitative empirical Research quests. Creative new knowing-emergences are as unique for you as they were for her and will continue to transform your perception and experiences. Whilst Explorer’s knowledge Take-Away is thus nothing solid, but rather rife with provoking uncertainty (Nicholson et al., 2019:41pp; 39) every (affected) body is



entangled experientially (c.f. Dixon et al., 2012). Thus, you will get to know the SWP and possibly future uniformed bodies differently, with the added challenge of having to fill the gaps left to provoke your imagination on playing along. Some of these holes in the narrative have to be filled by you drawing experiential, personal and memory-based connections e.g. to your previous encounters with police. This serves to clarify and render overt that seemingly self-evident written messages are invariably interpreted and cognitively framed from an embodied, emplaced position (of an Explorer). Apart from being more actively involved in the Research-process, this gap-filling also protects your SWP co-LARPer's confidentiality who are not represented recognisably as specific agents. This ensures that no judgments e.g. about police officers' passing for 'professional' can occur based on these renditions. SWP's tribal performance-assessment relies on tribe-specific perception schemes, and given the Researcher's responsibility to 'protect' those 'from harm' whom she collaborates with, all players require their own safety precautions that are integrated into the Campaign: Since we are all 'vulnerable in our own ways' as Humans (as we subsequently learn in more detail) this applies to possible harm from colleagues' judgment, or unwanted(-ly intense) emotional affectedness from in-game Experience (as above alluded to).

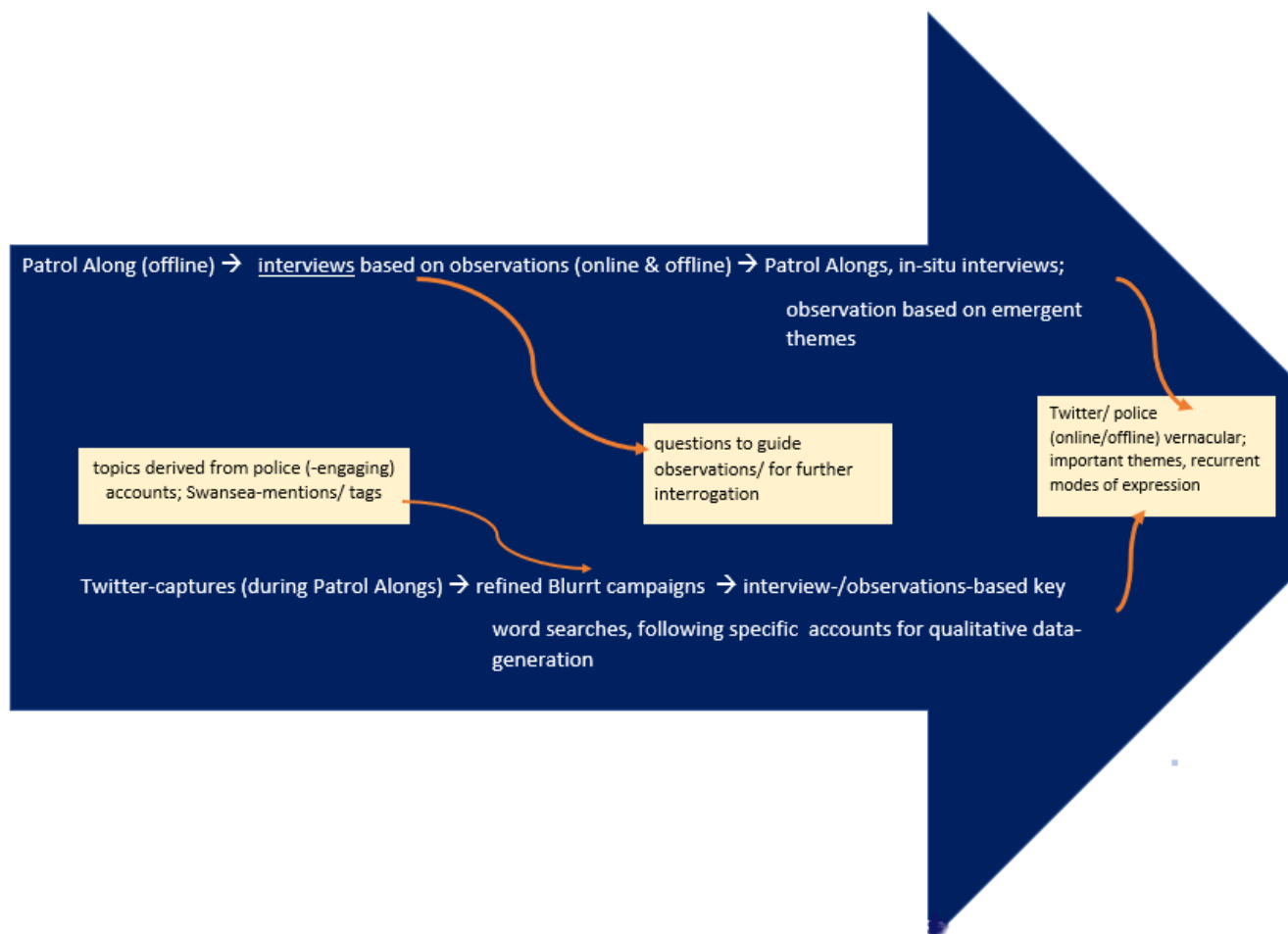
From these entanglements (see p.270), a mutual affectedness also implies that the Researcher was transformed throughout her quest's progression. As her focus lay on interactions involving the SWP uniforms and how emotions played out therein, she also kept the above-mentioned emotional journey to render her own affectedness as overt as possible. This aligns with the Researcher's tribal goal to be self-reflexive and transparent about Researching in its various dimensions. On top of that, some journaling comprises poetic elements that constitute the present Researcher's bleed-management outcome: Drawing from her personal background, she was aided in her quest to remain recognisable i.e. perform role-appropriately, by 'dealing with' Experience in this way. Explorers will note that these coping strategies for emotional affectedness echo SWP's actions of 'venting off' and in-group storytelling through black humour, wherein they resort to their 'personal' skills of knowing how to talk to (specific) people properly. Arguably, the utilised LARP-frame and the above tribal origin-tree can illustrate and underline an analytical message emerging from this Campaign, i.e. that irrespective of tribal affiliation: We are all 'Human', or at least



belong to one *community* of shared affective practice³⁷ (c.f. Döveling et al., 2018: 2pp). Said practice is herein invoked as **Bleed-management**. The latter is needed to **enable characters to pursue emotional labour** that is integral to, if often unnoticed about, ‘**good performance**’ in and as their role. The need to include Bleed-management coping practices during and because of the Researcher’s affectedness by playing her role also inspired the LARP-framework via which she engages (with) Explorers: The experimental, playful and open way with which Explorers (largely, albeit not completely) choose how to engage with this Campaign emerged from the Researcher’s Bleed-out experience. As she could not disengage from in-character Experience when following the SWP uniform, her out-of-character life was affected by Researching, too. This is not supposed to happen to Explorers, as allowing for such unintentional emotional affectedness would contravene the Do-No-Harm-principle to which Researchers have sworn ethical allegiance. Giving Explorers decision-making capacities about their entanglement with the ethnographic place-making mission hopefully comprises Bleed-management improvisation-room to allow you to keep playing.

Your choice, dear Explorer, is limited by the pre-selection of engagement means that your ally has made. An ally, who is not enjoying full freedom to act regarding every element of her role-enactment, either. Within the provisions of a methods chapter, she is tasked to allow you to a maximal and plausible degree of insight into her Research-journey before handing you this Research-outgrowth. The above has already familiarised you with the principle of iterative Researching. Such involves mutually informative components of data-generation that take turns, intersect and complement each other. The Researcher’s journey through the LARP-world in pursuit of ‘understanding’, as her mission-goal demanded, likens a hurdle-jumping slalom more than a straight-forward march. Hence, the below is a reductionist and artificially linear abstraction of the Researcher’s trajectories prior to your encounter. As such, it may nevertheless offer a means of alluding to the Researcher’s meaning-making adventures:

³⁷ Feel free to Explore or return to “(doing) belonging” in your Conceptual Take-Away. A complementary snack is found under the headline “digital emotion practice” (p.300), although this Campaign’s plot includes more picking at concepts of communities of (emotional) practice and belonging later.



1 methods ping-pong arrow

Observations in the streets, as the arrow indicates, informed your ally’s interview-foci (formal and informal) and structured her readings into Theory. What she Learnt whilst patrolling along, in terms of language-use by SWP and topics of their concern, also found its way into the digital aspects of her ethnographic ventures: She would search for digital correspondence about happenings in the offline realm, or how meaning about offline-events was generated through the use of technology. Her PO on Wind Street involved tangible crossovers between the purportedly discrete realms of physical offline dwelling and online spheres, as SWP take Selfies and follow their tribal calling to post ‘1 Tweet a day’. On following the digital uniform through Twitter-conversations, the Researcher could glimpse complementary understandings on ‘doing’ belonging to the SWP-cohort. What SWP accounts tweeted, furthermore, could be thematised during offline PO, or in interviews, to deepen the understanding digital ethnographic following afforded the Researcher. SWP’s professional practices of “digital wayfaring” (Hjorth & Pink, 2014), which comprise lush



outgrowths of insights on theoretical ground that you will have a chance to marvel at later, generated new data to affect the Researcher’s perception and in-role conduct³⁸. This is the smaller-scale digital dimension to the Researcher’s dwellings online. The above arrow also references the running of ‘Blurr Campaigns’. These comprise a larger-scale element of Following the digitised SWP uniform, with which the Researcher had also been tasked. After the pilot’s trialling, Blurr’s software was used to set up ten search-campaigns on Twitter. The majority thereof coincided temporally with PO in the Safe Zone to capture digital interactions online that made Twitter into a ‘place’ in the ways in which it affords encounters (structurally). ‘Campaigns’ for Blurr are not the same as the one Explorers currently engage with. Instead, the word stands for scans of the Twittersphere, i.e. Tweeting-activity, that are filtered according to e.g. search-terms, time-windows and/or geo-coordinates.

Your Researcher used the tool largely to obtain an overview over what was going on in the Twittersphere regarding the types of interactions. Her empirical offline Researching had unveiled that part of the SWP’s professional performance involves interactions online, via Twitter. She thus needed to understand the affordances and experiences of Twitter, and how those related to emotional expressions and experiences. The following data-production means and modes partially informed her digital ethnographic Following of SWP uniforms. However, Blurr-Campaigns mainly comprise a complementary and contrasting digital, algorithmic perception of emotionality to smaller-scale anecdotal data that actively drives analytical Researching components on the Levels in the main Campaign. If you are keen on engaging in more detail with the Blurr-based, Big(ger) Data interactions your Researcher engaged in, find the “Extended Methods chapter” (pp243) to that end. It is a report from your ally, in her voice, about her quest before meeting you.

techno-digital meaning-making

Blurr’s platform also afforded the algorithmic analyses of Tweets (individual tweets or packages thereof as defined through boundary criteria like time-intervals, or users). These could visualise who tweeted the most in a certain area or time. Geolocations of tweets were

³⁸ The underlying more-than-representational theoretical grounding, and the concept of digital wayfaring, also render the distinction between ‘digital’ and ‘non-digital’, or ‘offline/online’ artificial and ontologically invalid. However, for the sake of legibility, this write-up uses the different terms as heuristics to highlight perceived-offline/-online practices and places.



derived either from meta-data of user-profiles (where does the user say they come from), the longitude/latitude coordinates of the (public) wi-fi accessed for tweeting, or geotags³⁹ attached to a post. Tweet-inherent place-names also feed into geo-localisations through Blurr.

Forms of visualisation include: Word-clouds which illustrative trending topics on Twitter (although the identified ‘themes’ rely on the **most frequent words** occurring on Twitter, which may not add up to full narratives); periods of high/low posting activity; trending emotions; emotion averages (see p. 74) over a set period of time. The figure below exemplifies which themes trended on Twitter during a Campaign-run on Blurr:






word-cloud

Blurr identifies ‘who’ might be responsible for spikes in certain by ways of users’ tweeting-activity. The figure below (p.72) shows **top contributors** according to Blurr’s algorithm:

³⁹ Geo-tagging a tweet can be intentionally or unintentionally done. The former implies choosing a location for Tweets when posting. The latter relies on the possibility of a device having allowed its GPS to be tracked and broadcast when posting. see: <https://help.twitter.com/en/using-twitter/tweet-location> (24-Nov-2019, 11:03)



Top Contributors

	TornadoNewsLinker @TornadoNewsLink	Followers 3,753	Contributed 47
	Swansea City Online @SwanseaCityLive ✓ @All the latest Swansea City news, views and analysis from WalesOnline.	Followers 6,552	Contributed 31
	FCE Swansea City @FCESwanseacity	Followers 7	Contributed 30

top contributors

In analogy to the above LARP-principle, Blurr perceives of a ‘tweeter’ (Twitter-user) through what a body does on Twitter. **If an account tweets, it is a user.** This includes ‘bots’, i.e. automatically posting accounts which do not require a sentient human body to be entangled with it in every instance of posting beyond the initial set-up of the bot⁴⁰.

The above illustrations serve to highlight how your Researcher’s offline and online ethnographic practices were enmeshed in larger-scale activities on Twitter. She resorted to consult Blurr e.g. to find out about **language-use online**, which complemented the discourse she was affected by on patrol. Through obtaining tacit ideas about how discursive interactions on Twitter generally happen, as well as how interactions with police accounts world-wide and the SWP occur, she was able to **deduce** certain **regional and place-specific practice-patterns**. Given that her quest was to derive understanding about emotionality, relative to the SWP uniform, her investment in Twitter zoomed-in on what ‘**emotion**’ might mean from a **techno-digital** perspective. The notion of ‘assemblage’ from your Take-Away can help you analytically digest that, despite the seeming humanlessness of algorithmic processes, there are intersections between embodied organic human bodies and the machinic interpretations of emotionality on Twitter, as shown below.

⁴⁰ Arguably, the smaller-scale Twitter ethnography conducted by the Researcher might have similarly included tweets from bots.



Blurr's algorithm functions on a basis of crowd-sourced training. Its **perception schemes**, in SE speech, were enculturated by human input: Training participants sorted large numbers of tweets into eight emotion-categories. These derived from an adapted version of a 1970's psychological emotion-wheel by Robert Plutchnik (c.f. Karimova, 2017). Once coded to spot underlying patterns in this data-fodder, the algorithm could – on the basis of Natural Language databases, sentence-structures and other ways of making tweets 'meaningful' from a machine's angle – 'identify' whether tweets were negative, positive or neutral (ranging from -2 to +2) in their 'sentiment'. Defined as '**sentiment in context**', furthermore, emotional classifiers could be attached to posts⁴¹. The **eight** colour-coded **emotions** between which Blurr's algorithm chooses are Love, Confusion, Sadness, Happiness, Disgust, Thankfulness, Fear and Anger. Its selection is based on a determined likelihood of what emotion is 'usually' expressed through tweets with a similar structure and data-composition as the one it is affected by and has to categorise.

Trending Emotions

● love	274 mentions
● thanks	200 mentions

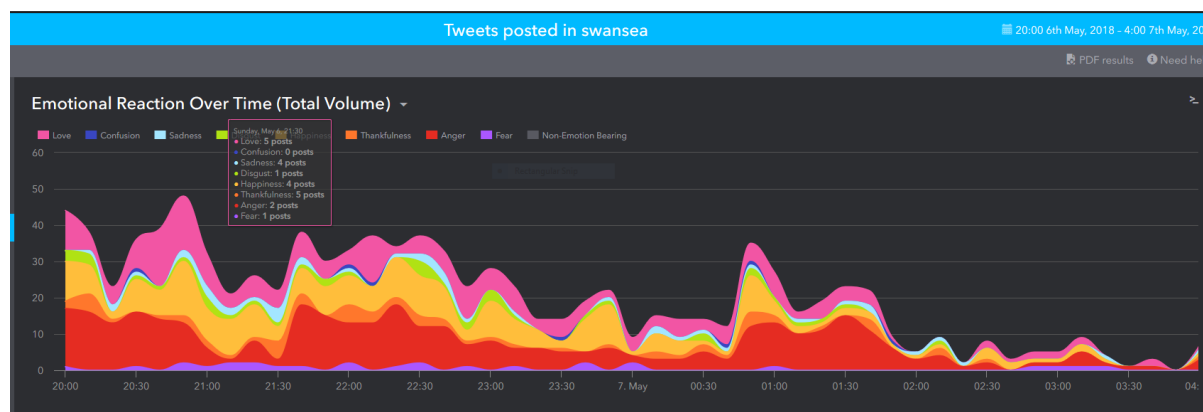
2 trending emotions (select) Twitter night

Such averaging may not always reflect the understanding of 'emotions' that your ally has: Being affected by changing environmental bodies, like tweets, registers differently, depending on a body's capacity to be affected by data. The Researcher could follow individual threads and conversations on Twitter manually from her embodied point of view, and possibly disagree with the machinic emotional analyses. Blurr helped her, however, to identify users whose frequent activity was revolving around the SWP uniform, and she could obtain a larger-scale context to the tweeting behaviours of the SWP accounts. Blurr made it possible to follow more easily how the SWP uniform in its digital form of embodiment was entangled in digitally mediated interactions which also played out during offline pursuits. Arguably, algorithmic perceptions of emotions can also provide indicative evidence for organic embodied experiences of Twitter as a place. Its atmosphere could be described,

⁴¹ This is based on Skype-conversation with external supervisor at Blurr, 1-Sept-2017.



depending on one’s encounters on and through the platform, as ‘angry’ as one of your ally’s supervisors suggested. Relative to which groups, times, locations or topics one honed-in on, the **Twittersphere may ‘feel’ and register differently**, though. This is made even more obvious by manually setting filters to what one perceives of the larger total of Twitter⁴². One robotic interpretation of the coinciding online mood-averages captured alongside a PO with the SWP terminates this digital methods Exploration for now:



Swansea-geolocation Emotion average

Provided the background of more generalised, large-scale views on the Twittersphere, the Researcher could link the smaller-scale experiential domain of specific Twitter-based interactions that made **Twitter a place of encounter**, with the power-geometries of space. The latter enabled interactions through **social media** with and by SWP through infrastructural provisions, but also linked their **localised professional performances to a (global) data network** (c.f. Jamali, 2019). As the main Campaign discusses and your co-LARPer's self-understanding and notions about social media convey: The interrelatedness of processes and experiences online, and the offline interactions SWP are afforded, is a conscious element in how SWP enact their role. SWP know that tweets about generic police are circulating on social media, and can thereby transform relationships to the overall tribe, and to them personally. This perception informs their interpretation of their role-card-provided responsibilities, their outlook on their capacities e.g. to express emotion and

⁴² Blurr accessed Twitter’s streaming API, i.e. randomised samples of 1 – 40% of real-time Twitter data, which is could store up to 30 days, according to the GDPR provisions; based on interview with Blurr Research/ PR manager, 24-Nov-2018; see: <https://brightplanet.com/2013/06/25/twitter-firehose-vs-twitter-api-whats-the-difference-and-why-should-you-care/> (20-Nov-2019, 08:19)



represent themselves as safe-makers, including how much they can tolerably improvise whilst still being recognisable as the character SWP seek to represent.

To sum up what you can engage with in greater detail in your Appendix (pp254): Using Blurr and Researching into Big Data (BD) understandings of (emotional) interactions in which SWP uniforms play parts attempts to relate to how ‘robots’ algorithmically attach (emotional) meaning to also-human encounters that involve digital, datafied and technological bodies. The Researching therefore targeted (arguably) non-human perceptions that subsequently affect characters’ behaviours, capacities and experiences, e.g. as Big Data inform policy-decisions about police performance ‘optimisation’ or outcomes thereof. What the larger-scale data visualisations mean depends on the bodies who engage with them, especially regarding the intentions underlying (Big-)data-based encounters (c.f. Pink et al., 2018). Additionally, one may be consciously or unconsciously affected by illustrations such as those above that are deemed representative of ‘real-life interactions’. With regards to policy-directives, such a notion returns to the plot of this Campaign throughout the main adventure. Thus, an embodied engagement with machinic notions of emotion comprises invaluable Learning into the background data-making to e.g. crime maps or published policing performance statistics – both of which rely on equally big data-sets, and potential compromises in how to ‘translate’ or visibilise them as Blurr’s algorithms resorted to. By ‘doing Research’ also online, the Researcher complied with one of the rules she had agreed to on accepting her calling (a.k.a. boundary conditions of her studentship), whilst mirroring meaning-making as it occurs in the fields of research she became immersed in. Further digitally mediated Research practices involved the Researcher’s own (biased, i.e. partial and positioned) meaning-making of the large data-corpus that had emerged throughout the prequel’s interactions. She fed all written data, Selfies and other imagery, into a qualitative analysis tool called nVivo 12. This body of technology allowed your ally to perform the tribal ritual of Analysing: She invoked the Elders’ directives to engage Framework **Analysis** (Sritasvata, 2009: 75pp). This very broadly refers to organising the various forms of data according to **recurring themes**, whose frequency and context could be displayed through the software’s affordances. Thus, the eventual focus of her Researching quest emerged:



The Researcher’s insight-goal became ‘understanding’ what it means to be human SWP, and why it is important for the tribe to emphasise and defend this.

Defending ‘being’ and ‘acting’ human happens in contexts in which the SWP’s belonging to the Human race is, as they perceive it, challenged. Thus, SWP are thrown into role-conflicts wherein their understanding of what it means to properly practice professional policing as SWP and human, and what they interpret to be expected of them, mismatch. Due to the nature of the Researcher’s calling, her interest predominantly lies on how emotionality as (human) SWP is practiced, and which narratives and frames validate or discredit how SWP perform emotionality in-character.

The understanding, as per Researcher-card, is however only one element in the Researching quest. Thus, this thesis-LARP as a means of engaging Explorers, a.k.a. Dissemination, also has to fulfil certain criteria and deliver objectives to please those who judge the Researcher’s passing. In a manner of formal declaration, therefore, she has set forth to...

[\[Researching And The World: Reciprocity #1\]](#)

...make contributions!

In a manner of sharing insights and exchanging the chances for Experiences to be made, the Researcher seeks to contribute with this thesis-LARP on methodological-ontological, theoretical/analytical and ethical/socio-political playing grounds.

More specifically:

(1) Using a LARP-framework implements suggested principles from ludic, **experimental** geographies, with a SE-based interpretation of collaborative “**ethnographic place-making**”. Through its **playful, inclusive** and practice-integrative format, it targets to increase the agency of those engaging with research by allowing them more decision-making improvisation-room. This also aligns with trends to **mediate potential power-hierarchies** between Researchers and other tribes. The goal of enabling a diversity of bodies to generate their own experiential, tacit knowledge further disassociates this thesis’ objectives from authoritative knowledge-production claims.

(2) LARP-Research also provides the concept of **Bleed**, which analytically advances previous work on **Emotional Labour**. Bleed and a LARP-framework are used as functional heuristics to



problematise the ‘silencing’ of emotional labour in constructions and representations of ‘professional’ role-conducts. Especially notions of predefined emotion-conduct and outcomes thereof become Explorable through this dissertation’s set-up as is centre-stages the SWP’s message that all characters are Human, although not always allowed to perform as such.

(3) Putting the **spotlight on the emic narrative** practically reinforces and **emphasises the value of vernacular knowledge** and ways of knowing beyond the arguably established hegemonic (Academic) discourse. The LARP-frame furthermore expresses a positioned understanding of what the SWP communicated through their actions, which culminates in an appeal for less narrowly defined in-group identifications. By highlighting the importance of conjoining under broader labels, e.g. Humans, and the ways in which SWP link their interpretations of that term with improvising in their role, can serve to **critique narrow role-categories**. It can also positively **materialise the contingency of social interactions**, which may point towards policy-making implications: The empirical groundedness of this thesis-play evidences problems with up-scaling and predicting, as well as predetermining ‘professional’ interactions on the basis of BD-analytics, patterns and more copious rule-books to guide characters’ in-game activities.

By rendering the SWP’s tribal wisdom and their Experiences more accessible, a hopefully larger and **greater variety of others can engage** with them and be affected to draw their own conclusions. Explorers are integrated into the LARP-verse as Humans and **on an equal Knowing-basis** as all other characters, with a core understanding that without ‘the real world’ and tribes like the SWP, Researchers’ gardens of insights would lie barren and empty.

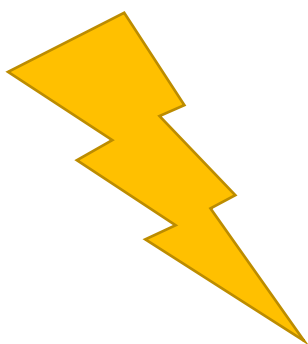
LEVEL 1: [“Showing them [that] we’re one of them”]

safe travels

Inventory time! Are you ready to go?



You have your conceptual Take-Away handy, in case you feel you need a boost of how to conceptualise your encounters? – And if you were to take a proverbial look over your shoulder, you could glimpse the rich panoply of theoretical outgrowths from the Garden of Insights, as a background to your meaning-making efforts? If so, you are well-fit for our journey through the LARP-verse! The mission? Understanding what it means to act Human whilst performing the role of a professional SWP officer, especially when it comes to experiencing and expressing emotion.



Challenge 1:

Imagine the Levels of this Quest as slightly elated from the grounds you are leaving behind. In order for you to reach the first Level, you need to take a step. Thankfully, your Companion is exactly the device that will help you accomplish this only seemingly simple quest. It gives you Exercises (in *italics*) to warm up your Knowing-muscles before the empirical encounters with the SWP uniform. Your ally herewith also hands you Goggles. Before every Level, Goggles allow you to calibrate your senses to what to look out for (see below). On the way, the Goggles’ function is expressed in bold print words that are supposed to target your attention more than others.

BEFORE YOU READ ON:

You are about to follow the SWP uniform, and by association members of the SWP tribe. Since your perception schemes are shaped by prior Experience (XP) you have gained in other roles and on other Campaigns, it is important to be aware of them.

Please detour to you Companion. Find the section “My Experiences With Police” and do exercises [2], [3] and [4], Companion (p.312) II – III before moving on. This should not take you longer than 5 – 10 min. Gain 33 XP.



Framing Goggles (source: https://aminoapps.com/c/wrestling/page/blog/3-good-scenarios-for-wrestlings-future/NVHM_u4Ma1B1n3Y7kLv6D0o4617gdahK; 09:57, 16-Nov-2019)

GOGGLES: LEVEL 1

To Level Up, Learn...

How the SWP pursues to both “Belong To” and “Serve” ‘the Community’, particularly through “taking Selfies with members of the public (MoP)”;

About the importance of “showing one’s face” when acting in uniform, and establishing trust-relationships with those whom one aspires to ‘make (feel) safe’;

Which objectives are associated with the SWP’s ultimate goal of “Making the Community Safe”, and how their professional Experience (XP) classify them as the clan of official safe-makers amongst ‘their community’;

Instances, in which “Discretion” comes to matter for the first time.

You have already Learnt that the SWP are supposed to make Swansea a safe/r place. But rather than having a Researcher feeding you raw data, this journey takes you to co-experience safe-place-making performances involving the SWP uniform. Thus, you can Explore what SWP actually do (albeit mediated through your Goggles and Researcher-interactions) and Know through your own embodied perception. Imagine you and your ally are in ‘the field’ together as you co-experience the cooperative encounters from which this insight-crop grew. the Researcher informs you about her meaning-making processes, with which you can engage. No matter what emerges out of these engagements, though, is *your* Learning that will emerge unpredictably through your embodied Exploring practices (Straughan, 2018). A Researcher’s role goal is accomplished, when they have handed you one version of an understanding reflective of their calling. **Your character, however, can always keep Exploring.**



Let's play!

smile for the camera

vignette 1: Immersed in Swansea's nightlife

We have been on Wind Street for a while, now. The night is rather chilly, but the streets are populated nonetheless. According to Allan, the mood is 'good'. He has taken 'his' position at what he calls the top of Wind Street, from where he has the best overview. His officers are positioned at the respective ends of Wind Street, in pairs of two; others staffing the van that is parked on what SWP refer to as the upper end of Wind Street (near the Griffin [name of local pub; CF]).

The later it gets, the fuller the streets become. You can hear the cacophony of the various different songs and music styles blaring into the streets; the chatter of people is growing louder, too, and their movements seem to slow down the later it gets, as if the urgency of reaching a particular destination disappeared. I tell Allan that I am probably going to have frozen feet by the end of the night. He laughs. He always laughs. Which might be the reason why quite so many people come up to him – the huge officer, who is towering over the crowd (best vantage point or not) to 'have an eye' on everything. His smiley face, that I first noted when I was still part of the Help Point team in September (to hand him an ID that I had found in the streets) apparently attracts 'the public', although he blames it on the uniform: "people swarm towards the uniform" like moths to light – "to tell you everything about their lives...if you want it or not (laughs)". He furthers that "especially when they're drunk...you're [suddenly] their best friend". Indeed: I overhear some chit-chat and banter. However, the most common casual interactions between those attracted to and by the uniform and Allan revolve involve...Selfies.

(memory protocol excerpt, Afterdark on Wind Street, winter 2018)

You, dear Explorer, may have some assumptions about what police do. Find pages 312 & 313. Go through Exercises [1] and [5], before further engaging with the SWP uniform. Much like a Researcher, whose ethnographic place-making paths you travel, you have to be mindful of your perception schemes and your past trajectory, when encountering novel Experience to make sense of.



This LARP-journey starts with Selfie-taking interventions, because those were the experiences I have made throughout the prequel that I had not expected to share. However, taking Selfies with MoP comprises a large share of the overall interactions between SWP and other characters. In the SWP’s accounts, they also fall under the category of “Community Engagement”, which is what their “**real work**” is all about (c.f. Safer Swansea Community Safety Strategy 2016-21). As Allan puts it: “[SWP] **engage with the people**...where they spend most of their lives”. This aims “to **show them** [the public; CF] **we’re one of them.**” Showing the people, a.k.a. members of ‘the community that SWP serve and belong to’, as they say, means for Allan “be[ing] a visible presence...where the people are”. For this specific case, Allan asserts that “people spend most of their lives [these days] on social media”. Hence, ‘doing what others are doing’ whom one seeks to express belonging with involves being on the streets to take Selfies. Those, as per Hjorth and Pink’s (2014) theoretical insight-buds, are implicated in ‘digital wayfaring’ practices that interlace offline and online worlds: The image of the SWP in uniform and with smiling faces becomes an element in the lived experience on the streets, as well as a digital body on social media. Other tweeting activities from SWP accounts similarly interrelate offline and online experiences as we go along this LARP-journey.

From a LARP point of view, Allan is seeking to establish his – and the SWP’s – ‘being one of them’ on the logic that characters are recognisable through their (inter-)actions. If SWP do what ‘the community’ does, they integrate into the larger in-group as they express their affiliation by dwelling in cohort-specific spaces (Vannini & Taggart, 2012: 227pp), pursuing cohort characteristic practices. In Allan’s case: By being where the public dwells⁴³ and acting like the public, e.g. taking Selfies, means SWP ‘blend in’ through mimicking those they seek to align with and pass for (Döveling et al., 2018; Humphrey et al., 2008: 158). Thus, he makes himself part of a community of practice (Giles, 2006: 468pp) – albeit a part that wears an SWP uniform. Through the uniform, Allan signifies the specific role that his clan plays (Howarth, 2001: 14) in the overall community: SWP ‘serves’ whilst also belonging. The ‘service’ that they provide within and for ‘the community’ is arguably “making safe places”.

⁴³ It may be helpful to have a good bite from your Take-Away at this point! The input on ‘dwelling’ may nourish you with an interesting conceptual flavour to spice up your understanding of the interrelatedness between space(-times) and what bodies do therein. Particularly, if the bodies are human organic ones.



This has been predefined for them via e.g. the Safer-Swansea Plan, but also the Wellbeing-Act of which you have previously Learnt. For Allan, such a notion is connected with the idea that ‘being a visible presence’, exacerbated through the police’s high-vis uniform, is also “reassuring” for the people who are where the uniform visibilises: He visibilises and “show[s] his] **face**” (echoed by Graham, Eli and others of the clan) so that MoP “know that [SWP] are there”, i.e. where the public is.

(A voice from behind.)

“Aha! I know exactly what is happening!”

You, the Explorer, turn around. By looking over your shoulder, you see someone from the Garden of Insights waving frantically at you; beckoning you closer. Their plot of insights is close to the one on which this thesis-LARP has its theoretical roots. By looking more closely, you can glean their insight-flora. Without allowing you to fully appreciate it, the plot-neighbour puts their hands to their mouth and yells:

“Clearly, the police officers you are following act as representatives of the state and state authority! Foucault wrote about that already ages ago! – They, the officers, have the authority to enforce the word of Law! They embody the authority to sanction any misconduct that violates the behavioural norms as defined by the state. You know that, right? That the state has the power to define right and wrong, on the basis of ‘knowledge-authority’, like legal systems and discourses that say what is rightful or normal and what not? – Like in LARP: They can declare Social Death to those who don’t comply with the rules. Not only that: powerful structures like states also monitor their subjects, so that they can judge appropriate performances. As Foucault has it ‘Seeing is knowing is managing’, in a simplified way. – Your officers are the equivalent to the Foucauldian watchtower, in which the prison guard can see the prisoners and tell them off, if they do wrong! By making themselves highly visible, they ensure the civilians know that the law enforcement is amongst them – If all goes according to plan, and the Panopticon effect (Foucault 1977) happens that Foucault speaks of, the people that are ‘watched’ and exposed to the possibility of sanction...like, being arrested, for instance...they would automatically adjust their behaviour and abide by the rules! – Foucault’s example even goes so far as to say that people internalise the potential of being watched and thereafter sanctioned, so that merely



the threat of being ‘seen’ by the state or its representatives suffices to make subjects norm-compliant. In Foucault’s example, the prison’s watchtower is enough of an authority symbol that represents possible sanctioning, and reminds people of the rules they should not violate, that they discipline themselves into rule-conformity. – A uniform, too, can represent and symbolise sanction, without the officers having to do anything but be visibly present.”

You turn your head again to face the Researcher. She agrees that some of this Campaign’s protagonists, like Phil, speak of the “deterrence” effect that their uniform has. Phil refers to the Taser (right)⁴⁴ that is attached to the SWP uniform’s belt. He asserts that it ‘keeps people in check’, i.e. that those who engage with this feature of the SWP uniform “watch exactly what they are doing” (Phil). The Taser, as a symbol of



belted SWP Taser

possible sanctioning and the power to exercise it, ‘manages’ other people’s behaviour in disciplining ways (Foucault, 1982: 780pp). Phil’s example refers to someone⁴⁵ who may have (had) intentions to break the law or lie to an SWP officer when being spoken to. The perception of the taser (see below) would accordingly be decoded as a non-verbal cue for those the SWP engage with to ‘comply with the rules’ of a law-abiding citizen. The necessary perception schemes to instil self-discipline towards norm-conformity, as you have Learnt, would have been honed through the other person’s own Experience or by vicarious cultural Learning.

On the flipside of this argument stands Knowing from Dave’s Experience of plainclothes policing: He turns down the Researcher’s request to join him on a ‘chase after drug dealers’ with reference to his lack of wearing a uniform in that function. Dave argues that the SWP uniform, rather than merely – if actually – functioning to ‘deter’ criminal behaviour from happening communicates effectively and distinctly that MoP are ‘dealing with’ bodies who

⁴⁴ source: <https://newspunch.com/ex-soldier-dies-after-being-tasered-by-police-in-wales/>; last accessed: 26-11-2019, 16:12

⁴⁵ to Explore Foucault ‘light’, you may venture to: <http://www.moyak.com/papers/michel-foucault-power.html>; last accessed: 12-12-2019, 10:28



have the officially sanctioned authority to use appropriate force against them. Those forces may culminate to the ‘power to take away someone’s liberty’, but also involves physically restraining measures deployed lawfully by SWP. As such, the SWP uniform ‘warns’ those who can perceive its meaning appropriately of the possible futures that any encounters with them may bring about. Accordingly, MoP might ‘think very carefully’, as Eli suggests, how they interact with police. Dave’s refusal to allow the Researcher – without high-vis – to follow his policing is based on his assertion that ‘people are more brutal and reckless’ in handling the police ‘when [SWP] are not wearing uniforms’. Even though Dave would ‘always tell them we’re police’, he contends that MoP fail to act as though such information fully registered with them. “[MoP] don’t hold back (...)” and interactions of the aggressive kind tend to escalate when on plainclothes missions. Thus, Dave is concerned he could not guarantee the Researcher’s protection from harm: The MoP’s behaviour does not find any guiding ‘cues’ in the ‘visible presence’ of the High Vis. Notions to the end of pluralistic relationships established with the uniforms recur throughout this journey, as SWP are confronted with various preconceptions and associations with their uniform that inspire certain behaviours and attitudes.

Whilst deterring rule-violations, i.e. role-enactments of ‘the community’ that are against the common code of conduct (the Law) is *one* way of ‘serving the community’ within their safe-making missions, Allan highlights another reason for making sure the public know that SWP are where the community is. His interpretation of highly visible patrolling also hinges on the notion of seeing and being seen. However, Allan seeks to be in a position of ‘seeing’ in order to be able to “react quickly” in a protective interventionist role to ‘make safe’, e.g. “when something bad happens” like a ‘big brawl’ on Wind Street. This comprises arguably a flipside of the Foucauldian Panopticon concept: Via seeing-knowing, police can intervene on behalf of the normative notions of ‘Community safety’. These deem a “reduction of crime” a specific measurable performance-outcome of the SWP’s policing according to which SWP have to minimise the number of interactions between co-LARPERs that fall into crime-categories like “Anti-Social Behaviour” (ASB) (c.f. Bulley, 2014: 456-7; Safer Swansea Community Strategy Plan 2018-2021: 13pp). In pursuit of their interventionist functions, SWP can discipline behaviours against the rules, i.e. law, and therein “protect vulnerable



people from harm”⁴⁶ (Phil; Allan), e.g. when those vulnerable people are assaulted or exposed to danger as per the SWP’s perception schemes (Pink, 2009: 28-9). Protecting those deemed ‘vulnerable’ from perceived ‘harm’ is an oft-reiterated SWP motto to describe their professional responsibilities. Sanctioning misdemeanour that threatens the community’s cohesion is one of the ways in which they interpret their role as safer, because: “[a]t the end of the day...it is our job to [keep] people **safe**.” (Phil)

As illustrated in vignette 1, however, interventions also include Selfie-taking with the public. Those are admittedly encounters that are usually initiated by the public. This, however, is an effect that SWP’s active policing strategies *does* seek to inspire. In accordance with our co-LARPers’ self-perception, their representational goal as the safe-(place-)makers in this LARP-verse coincides with “being **friendly** and **approachable**” (Allan; Eli). The SWP want to be (perceived as) “good guys” (Allan) – and ultimately even “make [the] people...*like* the police”⁴⁷ (Jane). Those challenges are detailed on Level 2. For now, face-showing and Selfie-taking need to be linked with ‘making people feel safe’ and protecting them from harm. As objectives that the SWP overall endeavour to achieve, they, like Selfie-taking which is arguably encouraged by acting as an approachable character, are affiliated with preventative or pre-emptive policing strategies SWP employ. Instead of performing in a punitive function, they fall under the broader label of “informal engagements with the community”, and express what Phil dubs “a [more] customer-service oriented [approach] to policing” (Safer Swansea Community Safety Strategy 2018-21: 5; Police and Crime Plan 2016-21: 13-4).

responsible communities: safe-making and intelligence

SWP are drafted to perform ‘informal engagements’ like those by power-geometries embodied in the Safer Swansea Plan: The SWP character networks with other professional clans that, through hegemonic definition and structural provisions that enable it to engage with others, strives to be recognised as an integral part of the community. With a look over your shoulder you are allowed to garnish the notion of a community with the theoretical

⁴⁶ Heads-up, dear Explorer: The notion of Vulnerability will be of more and recurrent importance throughout your travels!

⁴⁷ A note on form: If direct quotations feature (verbal) emphasis from participants, the Researcher transliterated these by italics. In her transcripts, [emphasis] indicates emphatic language, but it has been brought to her attention that such a style constrains reader-friendliness.



insight-flowers e.g. from Giles’ (2006) and Howarth’s (2001) plots. Therewith, your perception of communities will be deepened with regards to how they rely on, invoke and reaffirm shared values, codes of conducts and goals (Howarth, 2001: 12pp; c.f. Anderson, 1983). Much like the tribal origin stories that you find on the back of LARP role-cards. For this Campaign, the framework of rules and values that is imagined by e.g. policymakers involved in the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan, ‘the Law’ and the Well-Being Act imply shared sets of values and rules to inform ‘the community’s’ overall goal. Dressed in theoretical garnish to frame this, such goals ultimately inform the behaviours of the community’s members, whose individual goal-pursuits align with the overarching paradigms (c.f. Rytter, 2018: 13-4; Peeters, 2013: 585). In this empirical case: Community Well-Being and ‘safety’ (c.f. Well-Being For Future Generations Act 2005, Wales).

On browsing through the theoretical Garden of Insights, your Researcher-ally has plucked insights growing from various plots that theoretically sustain and guide your journey, dear Explorer. In a compressed form, such a theoretical bouquet has the following to offer: From previous Researching into contexts of devolved welfare states, the notions of well-being and safety have cropped as issues of ‘responsibilisation’ (c.f. Peeters, 2013). Said term refers to political and legislative strategies to enable and instrumentalise state-subjects to fill in the functions that state institutions had previously been responsible for. Given this LARP, too, is set in what can be framed an empirical context of devolved welfare provisions, exemplified in Liebenberg et al.’s (2015) Research plot by social services, education and more broadly to services dedicated to provide ‘care’, this insight seems relevant to steer your analytical view on what unfolds around the SWP uniforms. In Liebenberg et al.’s (2015) insight-harvest, furthermore, ‘responsibilisation’ hinges on the dissemination of discourses that appeal to ‘responsible’ citizens, who are morally mobilised to take ‘safe-making’ into their own hands (c.f. Birk, 2017). This, they are advised and empowered to do through acting safely, i.e. align their behaviours with the guidelines of ‘healthy’ and safe living, in order to ensure ‘community safety’ (ibid. pp1011; c.f. Birk, 2017: 612pp): Their individual, autonomous use of state-structures that are provided to the morally responsible state-subjects is the individual reaffirmation of values that are still drafted by the state and perpetuated e.g. through the media, education and scientific discourse. However, by acting on their own account and through internalising an understanding of what it means to act safely, healthily



and be morally ‘good’ and responsible, they also further the state’s agenda (Birk, 2017: 219; Rytter, 2018: 13-4). From prior Researching, theoretical insight plots show these agendas to be e.g. a heightened economic state productivity by integrating non-contributing migrant individuals, or employment of those relying on social welfare in the guise of unemployment compensation (ibid.; c.f. Rytter, 2018; c.f. Whiteford, 2010). The behavioural adjustments in each case imply compliance with the role of a moral, responsible safe-acting subject that contributes to the overarching community’s goal and well-being. Such a take on responsabilisation parallels a LARP-frame in which role-cards are narrowly held and prescriptive, i.e. in which ‘passing’ as a morally responsible, safe-acting citizen-subject is minutely specified and highly surveyed. A ‘safe’ community and safe places would accordingly also be expressed through measurable, normed and predefined variables (c.f. Peeters, 2013: 588-9). Amongst them, the safe subject’s behaviour would be predetermined, e.g. by pursuing wage-labour, reporting about others’ responsible performance in certain ways or, in this Campaign, doing “paperwork” and making transparent how one performs as professional SWP.

Dylan seems to embody one interpretation of how ‘the state’ may enable ‘the responsible, moral, safe citizen’ to act on behalf of their community’s safe-place status. In his SWP uniform, Dylan arguably represents what Peeters (2013: 592) calls ‘state agents’ and would thus be associated with traditional (punitive) forms of implementing official state discourses on ‘proper’ subject-conduct. However, Dylan highlights one of the preventative methods of safe-making instead. As we walk through Swansea’s streets, Dylan asserts that one of the benefits of being a (highly) visible presence and showing his face is that “sometimes...people will walk up to [him]” to tell him about misconduct of other community members. In line with what grew out of Peeters’ (2013: 592-3) insight-plot, the responsabilised community functions on self-disciplining of individual members regarding their own behaviour. Instead, the ideal that the autonomous responsible citizen-subject reports on other’s misalignment with the common notions of safe behaviour. Regarding Dylan’s role, then, his responsible safe-making implies that he has to be ‘approachable’ (enough) for MoP to share their intelligence with him. On that basis, as the hegemonic narrative of better networked community-intelligence has it (c.f. Wellbeing Act 2015), policing can be managed more effectively and efficiently on the basis of ‘data’ at a larger scale (c.f. Powell, 2016; Pink et al.,



2018:3) As Dylan explains: A single police officer ‘can only see so much’. With the ‘pooled’ intelligence from ‘the community’, ‘seeing’ becomes the shared task of ‘the community’ that is responsible for safe-making. In such a safe-place assemblage, the uniformed bodies of the SWP are but one, and the Foucauldian Panopticon is spread out amongst morally responsible, safe-making subjects. SWP mediate intelligence exchange and embody the contact point for what is ‘seen’ and defined as not belonging to a shared vision of a ‘safe place’. For such intelligence-transfer relationships to be established, it is critical that SWP officers’ faces are co-assembled with their uniforms: Dylan specifies that “when people recognise [him] on patrol” they might ‘come up to him’. Recognition in this case does not solely refer to his status as SWP, i.e. the official safe-makers. Instead, he needs to be recognised as a trustworthy ‘member of the community’ that he ‘serves and belongs to’.

[how to belong: trusted faces](#)

Dylan’s visible patrolling, too, enacts ‘informal engagements’ with ‘the community’ that is part of the SWP conduct rule-book a.k.a. the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan. Through its parameters, SWP are professionally made responsible to perform their roles in ways that makes them more open for various encounters (Harrison, 2008: 427): Some of which might include being given intelligence from responsabilised MoP; other might include having people walk up to them to ask for Selfies.

For Dave, whose ambiguous relationship to social media returns at the end of your journey through this LARP-Level, agreeing on Selfies is nothing he ‘loves’. He nevertheless generally agrees on having his picture with MoP taken, because such an agreement might ‘get them on your side’. Put in a theoretical garnish, MoP siding with SWP would mean they are ‘aligned’. This agrees with the notions of acting as communities through shared practice, that you Learnt earlier (Giles, 2006; Döveling et al., 2018). Moreover, SWP members give us further empirical clues to direct our analytical gaze towards the SWP’s motivations behind “showing [MoP/ the community] we’re one of them” in line with professional safe-making responsibilities: In relation to the SWP’s efforts to ‘show face’ amongst the MoP, they labour to “establish **trust**-relationships with the public”. Trust and the overarching goal of safe-making and wellbeing, have grown out of theoretical plotting on researcher lands, too: If the SWP’s face-showing performances ‘where the people are’ express their ‘belonging’ to the community they serve (Giles, 2006: 469; Howarth, 2001: 12pp), the SWP’s emplacement



as members of the in-group makes them theoretically ‘one of the community’ of practice (c.f. Döveling et al., 2018). SWP ‘claim their place’ of belonging to and amongst the community by how they perform, where and when (O’Gorman, 2014: 284). Through enactment of place-specific customs (ibid.), like Selfie-taking during NTE peak hours in the Safe Zone, they abide by shared codes of conduct, and identify themselves as knowledgeable of how to perform as an ‘insider’ to the group of belonging (c.f. Howarth, 2001:13). One shows, through one’s performance, that one can practically embody what it reads on the shared role-card in recognisable ways. A common group-label like a character in a LARP is affiliated with shared in-group ‘codes’ to communicate, common rituals to reaffirm one’s belonging-together and shared outlooks onto and understandings of the world(c.f. Bourdieu, 1985; Hochschild, 1979: 555pp)⁴⁸. Through the equally shared origin-stories and similar values with which group-members are theoretically equipped – and which they have to practically reaffirm, lest they want to risk losing their place amongst their cohort – ‘trust’ in those whom one is aligned with can develop: One can theoretically assume that all share the same rules of conduct, and norms of behavioural judgment (c.f. Blanchard & Markus, 2002). Thus, group-members can rely on each other’s performance and the notion that each individual behaviour aligns with the group’s overarching goals and values. This understanding provides a basis for feeling ‘safe’ amongst those to whom one feels belonging. In the case of the SWP: They perform as part of a community that shares the same legal code. Through statements like “we’re all bound by the Law” (Allan; Phil), and moral-ethical understandings that “we can hardly arrest [MoP] for breaking the law...if we’re not abiding by it ourselves” (Phil), the SWP side with the responsabilised state subjects. Whilst SWP have to enable MoP to be and feel safe, their management of MoP’s behaviours is structured by performance-rules that they, too, have to comply with. Law-abiding SWP are acting safely in a two-fold manner: They reaffirm the hegemonic notions of safe behaviour according to the legal codes they obey. Additionally, they act in line with their professional conduct codes, which means that – alongside their recognition as moral citizen-subjects – they also ‘pass’ as properly performing police: They do not engage in ‘misconduct’.

⁴⁸ This resembles the perception-scheme enculturation SE relies on. You can tuck into a refreshing conceptual serving, if you find the bold print ‘perception schemes’ section in your Take-Away.



What Phil’s assertion also indicates, and what e.g. Dave and Eli elsewhere bring up, is that SWP are ‘professionally responsible’ to contribute to the community’s safety. Simultaneously, they feel personally responsible to ensure that the law is abided by and the community is ‘safe’: Because it is the community that they “care about” and/because they “belong to” it. Through their feeling of belonging, and the implicitly shared moral code, SWP assert that they feel ‘safe’ themselves when they police amongst the community. In Eli’s case, this also translates into the costume he puts on whilst in-character: He tells me that during the community engagement part of his role, he does not put on his “stab-vest”⁴⁹: He does not feel that he needs it. Similar sentiments colour the SWP’s narratives when the debate about arming British police arises: SWP are proud to be policing as a friendly community service, with their words and ‘by consent’, because they trust in their community and the relationships with them (Pollard, 2015: 365; c.f. Huysman, 2014) . Should SWP arm up, Allan and Eli suggest, ‘the community’ would also resort to using more ‘brutal’ means of acting out their roles. This notion of acting in an analogous fashion highlights that the SWP’s self-perception and their understanding of interrelatedness with the community is expressed in and reaffirmed through practice, and the values underlying relationships amongst SWP and MoP. Similarly, SWP express that their behaviour occurs in response to and relative to whom they are engaging with: On occasions when Eli expects ‘the community’ to be ‘ready to fight’, and when the atmosphere (more on that later) is ‘violent’ he would wear his stab-vest and make sure to have his CS-spray on him, too. Generally, however, Eli emphasises that he feels safe when on job duty. The relationships with community members as he frames them are of mutual respect for one another. Such an empirical experience resembles a theoretical outgrowth from Pollard’s (2015: 364pp) gardening plot, too. ‘Respect’ is equally what Mick, Allan and others expect from MoP when engaging with their community service – even, when the latter is friendly and approachable. Once one is denied respect from those one engages with, however, one can arguably no longer recognise oneself as being accepted as ‘human’, i.e. a member of the larger community of Humans (Pollard, 2015:364). This is a critical point to be addressed later on, as you enter Level 3 and 4 of this Campaign.

⁴⁹ See Appendix “stab-vest” for an image of what Eli means.



On another plane, recognition as a member of the community also requires the character to be individually recognisable (Blanchard & Markus, 2002; Howarth, 2001) SWP don't only seek to 'blend in', but they also have to assert themselves as specific members of the community (Howarth, 2001: 14). This is achieved, as SWP narratives go, predominantly by showing face, and making efforts to connect with 'the community' on a basis of mutually recognising each other via gestures like greetings or nods as Eli explains. A person's face has theoretically rendered understandable as a marker of someone's humanness by Pollard's Researching (c.f. Butler, 2005: 84- 110; c.f. Bergo, 2011). Through identifying another character by their face, one also pays the other the behavioural, ethical tribute of acknowledging them as an equal: Someone whom one shares responsibilities with, i.e. who shares the rules of conduct oneself abides by, and enjoys the same rights oneself claims. One of the Human species. Purely interacting with others on the basis of a generic referent, however, is deemed a dehumanising unethical and irresponsible behaviour, as far as Pollard's (2015:365; c.f. Ahmed, 2004: 30-1) insight-gardening has brought to the fore. That latter point will re-emerge in later Explorations. The former, however, ties into the theoretical understanding that 'belonging' is intricately bound up with a sense or feeling of 'safety' (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 197). Amongst those with whom one is aligned, e.g. by sharing common practice, one experiences a sense of 'safety' of the kind that is also referred to as emotional or psychological safety (Preisler, 2013). Preisler's (2013) gardening plot also reveals one has to be interacted with in a manner that expresses **care** and **empathy**. Showing care is also one of the explicit representational goals that SWP articulate throughout this Campaign, whilst Amber later identifies it to be demanded posed on SWP's policing by MoP.

Empathy as a theoretical insight-crop invokes a human organic body's capacities to take on another's position or perspective. In LARP-lingo: Taking on another character's role through imagining oneself to be playing under the other's tribal label would be a way of exercising 'cognitive empathy', as per Zaki's plotting⁵⁰ (2019). With the capacity to co-experience what others are engaged in (which is what you, dear Explorer, are hopefully doing by engaging

⁵⁰ c.f. <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/744195502>, last accessed: 18-Nov-2019, 10:05



with this fictional allusion to the SWP uniforms' trajectory; c.f. Zizek, 2016) members of communities are also more likely to come to each other's help (Levine, 2005). Eli exemplifies how members of the community he belongs to, even without them wearing SWP uniforms, helped him out when he was physically unable to help himself: He was rendered unable to defend himself against an attacker whilst on duty and on his own. From an official SWP point of view, Eli was thus not in a position to protect himself from (likely) harm, i.e.: 'Vulnerable', according to SWP standards, and in need of protection in order to be and feel safe. It was a MoP who took it upon themselves to rescue Eli, i.e. 'help him out' as Eli puts it. Such could be considered a role-reversal or switch-over between safe-making service providers and users of such services. Not so, however, if one considers all members of the community to be working towards the common goal of making safe places as mutually engaging, equal bodies in safe-place assemblages. The latter implies that each individual body in the safe-place-assemblage is supposed to feel and be made (to feel) safe, as well as work towards every community-member's safety. Thus, interdependent and mutually belonging community members are (and feel) responsible for each other's wellbeing and physical integrity (Preisler, 2013).

The lush outgrowths from the Theory-garden thus allow you a minimally twofold insight-canopy: One can either theoretically reflect upon Eli's rescue scenario by stating that a responsabilised MoP took over the role of the active safe-maker by saving Eli. Or one might opt for the theoretical bouquet that dresses SWP and civilians as a community that shares common values and a sense of in-group interdependence and mutual responsibility for each other's 'safety' (c.f. Levine, 2005; Döveling et al., 2018).

making happy-safe

Heeding Eli's interpretation of what happened, however, he asserts that his helper recognised him from previous in-character performances. On the basis of a trust-relationship with the MoP as someone who 'belongs' and has successfully positioned himself as integral to the community, Eli subsequently benefited from a helping intervention.

The SWP's efforts to create trust-relationships with the community they belong to, and to be accepted as 'one of the[community]' can arguably serve as preventative safe-making on multiple levels. One of them emerges when reflecting notions of interdependence and



group-members’ readiness to support each other and make each other (feel) ‘safe’: If group-members like Eli are attacked, established community bonds mobilise empathetic others who perceive someone’s lack of safety to act in protection of the attacked member’s wellbeing (c.f. Levine, 2005). Beyond relying purely on this reactive kind of pre-emptive policing, a second preventative measure involves a more strategic notion that Allan expresses in the context of Selfie-taking: According to Allan, he agrees to have his picture taken with the public, because “it keeps them [MoP] **happy**”. When people are happy, as he expands “they may be less likely to [want to] attack you”. Thus, the preventative function of safe-keeping via establishing trust-relationship is also safeguarding the SWP’s own physical integrity by reducing their likelihood to make encounters of the assaultive kind. This could be translated into equations that will later return to the more rhetorically refined accounts that guide your LARP-journey:

smiling faces & Selfies = happy people = safe/r places (from the SWP’s perspective)

In a narrative form, Eli agrees with Allan. His point about reducing the likelihood of attacks through the SWP’s **policing style** invokes the importance of showing face again: Eli, who specifically seeks to be facially and personally recognisable by MoP, asserts that ‘you are less likely to attack someone whom you know from his (sic!) face [...] [and] by name’. Thus, Eli stresses that he prefers face-based recognisability as particular, personally accountable ‘humans’ (Howarth, 2001: 365) to being subsumed under the generic identifier of ‘the police (family)’, as you will Explore in more depth on Level 2. A generic identifier not only theoretically dehumanises those one engages with (ibid.; c.f. Bargu, 2017) but may also lead to mistakenly perceiving someone in uniform for what and who they are not. On the basis of such misconceptions, the fruitful and friendly relationships that SWP labour towards and rely on could not emerge. To thwart possible dangers of not being perceived as a community-member (c.f. Butler, 2004b; 2009), including the threat of being attacked, means Eli consciously adds his recognisable human face to complement his high-vis uniform when performing in-character.

This implies that he makes himself feel safe(r) in pursuit of his job by ensuring other members of ‘his’ community know that he belongs; is human; shares and represents their values as one of them. Apart from thus blending in, Eli also asserts his distinction from



others (Howarth, 2001: 14), as he emphasises that it is his **personality** that makes him aim for the ‘happiness’-outcome that Allan’s statement alluded to. Eli describes that whenever he responds to calls, i.e. in pursuit of an interventionist objective included in his role, he would “always make sure...everyone is happy, when I leave [an incident site]’. This ‘making sure’ involves “really listening” what people have to say, and ‘being empathetic’. Phil echoes this at another point when he enthuses that “no one case is ever the same”, even if two cases fall under the same legal code: There are always different people involved and every situation is unique, i.e. “everybody is different” (Phil) and needs to be taken into account individually. Hence, SWP are always tasked to fully engage with each case on its own and “not just hear what they [MoP] say...but actually engage [...] you have to really listen...” (Phil). Phil also highlights that people would notice ‘if you don’t really pay attention’ and just ‘do your thing anyway’ – which would result in people not feeling ‘well taken care of’, or not taken seriously. Ultimately, people would lose ‘trust’ in the[i]r police, unless the latter truly attend to their matters, ‘100%, every time’ (Phil; Dave).

being a good police officer

These empirical narratives can be well dressed in theoretical blossoms from Pollard’s (2015) gardening plot. She worked on fostering insights about ethical responsibility in engagements between carers and their patients: In order to actually respond to someone’s needs and ‘help’ or show ‘care’, there could be no preestablished notion of the ‘other’ whom one dealt with. A medical label, or a legal code, could not be the generic signifier that would enable an automated chain of actions to ensue that would then serve as ‘helping’. Instead, much like the happy-making under the headline of safe-making, response-ability (c.f. Haraway, 2008) would have to emerge situationally and in adaptation to the needs of MoP (Pollard, 2015:363). For Phil and Eli, this theoretical understanding strongly links with their ideas about what it means to “**do the right thing**” and be “a good police officer”: They ascribe ‘really listening’, being adaptive and attentive to the role-card of a “**professional**” police officer. Apart from being demanded, i.e. prescribed on the role-card, Phil highlights that it is important to fully attend to every call, despite the danger of ‘time waste’ on bull-shit calls, or MoP exaggerating (Phil; Mick). Unconditional engagement with each case is a necessity for ‘keeping safe’ in several ways. It is implied in the appropriate pursuit of one’s duties as a safe-maker, and also ensures that one is safe in one’s professional role as SWP. Phil argues



‘when some people call you over and over again...you sometimes get upset [...] and tired. – And you can’t take them seriously anymore.’ However, one would have to attend to *all* calls. Not only because the police is “the *one* organisation that can’t say ‘no’ to people” (Eli) as you will Explore later, but also because “...the one time that you *don’t* take it [a case presented by a caller] seriously...something happens. [...] People get hurt [...] and it’s your fault.” Phil furthers that this puts an officer’s job at stake as it demarcates one’s job-duties in ‘unprofessional’ ways an unsafe behaviour. He also adds that he would feel bad about it, i.e. he would feel he did not comply with his professional responsibilities and his *personal* understanding of what ‘good’ policing comprises.

Similarly, Eli’s quest of making people happy is framed as “...something I do...my *personal* thing.” (highlighted by author; CF) For Eli, ‘making people happy’ is the outcome and indicator of ‘good’ policing. He details that he ‘always do[es] everything [e] could possibly do’ when performing his role. Apart from following the protocol and truly engaging with the MoP he attends to, he always considers ‘what they need’ – “what they want [from] me...to do [...] what they expect”. He recognises MoP as agents whom he meets at eye-level: They, too, are humans who deserve his care, and into whose situation he tries to imagine himself. As a LARPer, he improvises on the cues his interaction partners give him, in order to perform ‘well’. He wants to pass as a ‘professional’ police officer, albeit based on ‘personal’ judgment and interpretations of what that means. Thus, he personally takes care of maintaining and establishing face-based trust-relationships with ‘the community’ he cares about and feels belonging to, whilst also understanding himself to be (personally) responsible for ‘making safe’. Enactment of officer’s personal ‘policing style’ draw from the improvisational openness that LARP-roles afford: As long as professional policing remains recognisable, they are free to deviate from codified interaction patterns. In SWP-speech, this is called “Discretion” and is understood as an officer’s capacity to make decisions in-character that based on their personal judgment of a situation. Such can happen despite existing ‘by-the-book; policing procedural codes, and as a function of officers’ ‘policing style’ or in response to circumstantial factors that rationalise a deviance from protocol. Discretion also occurs in lieu of previous training to establish a behavioural action-plan.

Irrespective of its causes, however, you will Learn about the intimate relationship between (professional) policing, Discretion and “Experience” in depth along your way. In due course,



your Learning-trajectory will also establish the relationship between the ‘personality’ and ‘humanness’ that Eli attributes with how he acts out his role, and which drives him to affirmatively engage with MoP through face-showing and making himself personally accountable for his in-character actions (Bowman, 2015). The shared ‘human’ identification assumed in order for Eli to emotionally align with ‘the community’ he serves brings with it a danger of blurring the boundaries between alibi, i.e. in-game character as a professional, and who and how one embodies outside of one’s LARP-role. Additionally, face-showing implies that one opens oneself up to divergently emerging encounters, i.e. one makes oneself more vulnerable to being related to in different ways (Harrison, 2008:425; Ash, 2013b: 28pp). Negative impacts from rendering oneself open to human engagements might comprise ‘making oneself a target’ for assault, as Amber indicates. They might, however, also come at a price of a less immediate kind, when one’s in-character performance causes uncontrollable Bleed-out e.g. due to identifying with the people one is determined to help.

really engaging: add emotion

It is Eli whom we revisit for a reflection of such ‘costs’ of what he deems ‘good performance’ as a professional police officer. Let’s stay with him for a while, then. When he frames why he ‘personally’ chooses to police the way he does, he invokes that he ‘cares’ for the community he serves and belongs to. With a shoulder-glance back into the garden of insights, one might consider this an empirical bud from the theory plant family that links care as a relationship that is characteristic for communities of belonging (McMillan & Chavis, 1982:10) Eli’s narratives add another factor to an analytical understanding of the interrelatedness of Eli as a professional SWP whose personality affects his in-character performance on purpose, and arguably as a managed kind of Bleed-in. He uses language that indicates an emotional relationship fostered between himself and those he engages with: Speaking about the people whose cases he attends to, Eli contends “When they’re happy, I’m happy.” On one hand, such a narrative can articulate how Eli perceives of his job-role as well-enacted enough to diminish possible concern not to ‘pass’ for a professional police officer. Happy people represent and emerge from doing a ‘good job’ and ‘all Eli could possibly do’ to help community members. Eli’s happiness would thereupon emerge reflectively, because of the way he can perceive of his performance and himself through



others’ reactions (Howarth, 2001: 14) and the future perspectives comprised by the established relationships through his policing.

On another plane, however, interactions instantly transform engaging bodies, as you have previously Learnt. Thus, Eli could not help but feel ‘happy’ in response to community members’ reactions that he decodes as happy states. Such a mutually generated, shared ‘happiness’ derived from interactions in-character points towards plots in the Researchers’ Garden that deal with emotional alignment and associated practices as emotionally co-aligned collective bodies. With Ahmed’s (2004) gardening project on “collective emotions”, you are offered a conceptual and theoretical harvest that is more richly laid out before you in your Take-Away. Its sprouting insights unearth how alignments of worldviews, values and meaning-making representations (see above) that allow characters to express belonging to their community include affective, emotional practice. To pluck you but a reduced bouquet from this rich theoretical yield: The identification of SWP as ‘one of them’, i.e. ‘the community’ translates into an emotional alignment between SWP and MoP as an in-group. Thus co-aligned, they embody a collective ‘Us’ that is collectively and individually distinguished from a mutual outside, a.k.a. ‘Them⁵¹’ (c.f. Ahmed, 2004: 32; 34-7). Despite being abstract concepts, the dichotomy nevertheless plays out in actualised experiences: Perceiving and cognitively framing Them as an overarching group of non-specific, thus-dehumanised (Pollard, 2015: 365; Bargu, 2017:5) bodies that are ‘not like Us’ comprises (emotional) boundary-drawing alongside which ‘Others’ and ‘Selves’ emerge (c.f. emplacement in your Take-Away). Othering and the processes of reaffirming one’s separateness from those who function as constitutive outside to one’s own place occur through affective transformations (Duff, 2010: 881) that are experienced anew with every touching encounter, as Ahmed’s gardening outcome conveys.

She also asserts that experienced emotions feel, i.e. provide bodily, sensate feedback, as though emotional qualities adhered to the Other (Ahmed, 2004:31). The Other is thus perceived as source of one’s experience. However, the emotional re-alignment function analogous to sensory perception: One makes sense of the world through interpreting ‘sense-data’ from environmental bodies, i.e. Others. Apart from the cognitive framing of

⁵¹ The use of capital letters identifies the binaries Us and Them as generic referents.



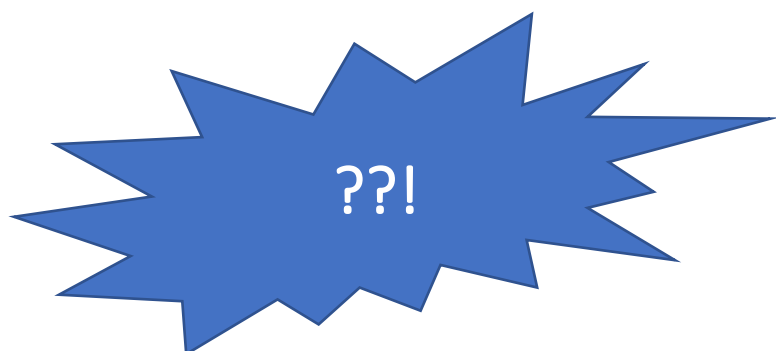
what one experiences through ‘perception schemes’, emotional reactions may, however, also occur on a level that is not rationalisable. Similar to the acquisition of perception schemes, how one emotionally decodes Others depends on one’s autobiographical experience and the enculturated meaning-making frames that one internalises as valid norm. What is perceived about the Other, which Ahmed exemplifies through invoking racialised Others whose meaning is deduced on the basis of skin-colour, consequently also functions through a reduced capacity to engage with one’s environment in ways that allow themselves for cognitive sense-making. It is a reductionist repetition of relationship enactments. For a LARP, this might mean that one tribe’s costume always-already means that one feels and expresses a specific emotion towards ‘Them’, because such an emotional relationship is prescribed on one’s role-card. ‘They’ must conversely be of fixed, stable and known qualities, i.e. cannot be emergent, continuously and contingently reassembling bodies like oneself (Ahmed, 2004:30). This does not meet the criteria for ‘ethical’, responsible relationship-establishments, nor allow improvisational room to play with each other as equals. Instead, one’s emotional pre-calibration limits the possible relationships to be built with others (Anderson, 2006: 378pp). Furthermore, reducing the other’s meaning to one of their body’s features, like a costume, fails to account for what you have previously Learnt, i.e. that appearance is never unambiguous and that bodies – in fruitful relationships – express novel features of themselves in every interaction (Ash, 2013a: 23).

One might assume, then, that making new experiences with actual others, rather than the generic Other, offers potential to overwrite previously established perception schemes. Relationships could be done differently (Butler, 2004); boundaries could be stretched. Ahmed’s gardening-outcome does not dismiss this potential. However, Ahmed points towards an underlying reason for the difficulty of rearranging one’s emotional positionality within an Us/Them-understanding of the world, because of the way emotions re-emerge in every encounter. Even, if one encounters the Other only through narratives or other forms of representations of Them as ‘absent Other’ (Ahmed, 2004:30), one undergoes emotional changes as fostered through previous Learning as part of one’s in-group. The schemes in their transmutation from Ahmed’s insight-gardening are referred to as “impressions left by Others””: Encounters leave figurative and literal ‘imprints’ on the bodies that touch, which mutually transform and constitute the encountering bodies. Their ‘touching’ point becomes



the division that emerges and is reaffirmed through the interpretations of inside/outside-ness enabled by how one makes sense of the encounter. The ‘absent Other’ can be affective on such a basis as well, as the passed-on interpretations of Others derive from historical marks left on the collective body one aligns with (Ahmed, 2004: 30p.).

Paralleling Pink’s insight-harvest on honing perception schemes through making autobiographical, embodied and emplaced experiences to make sense of oneself and the world, emotion-alignments is also collectively passed on as tribal wisdom. Thus, for emotional alignments, one might take on the ‘Goggles’ on how to properly feel towards Others, because it is ‘the right way to perform’ as one of the in-group. These schemes then provide expectations and directives for future encounters with Others, which may actualise contingently should one actually encounter specific others. One’s Knowing could thereon be challenged, as one’s experience diverges from what one expected to feel; established relationships with Others might not make for perfect alignment ‘towards’ or ‘against’ one another. However, as tribal affiliations go: One might still have to conform with the expression of the appropriate emotion-display conduct that one’s group determines appropriate for encounters with out-groups. Otherwise, one’s own recognition as one of the ‘Us’ might be at risk. Similarly, emotion-performance must abide by the codes of conduct that are considered appropriate by in-group members (Ahmed, 2004: 32-3; c.f. Closs-Stephens, 2016: 192pp) Such in-group reaffirmation rituals might invoke Others as constitutive outside (Butler, 2004: 43), or they may exclusively play upon notions of ‘appropriate’ or ‘proper’ performance of the ideal underlying one’s character. Existing idea(l)s may be fostered from group-inherent definitions of what one’s community represents, and what comprises belonging (Pollard, 2015. Additionally, external (distinction) pressure and expectations may affect how one can (imagine) performing one’s role, also emotionally (Howarth, 2001: 7; 12; Döveling et al., 2018; Ahmed, 2004: 36). Narratives about ‘professional’ policing, and expectations emerging from self-perceptions and feedback from Others will come into play later, as we Explore how SWP emotionally perform their role. As above-highlighted, emotionality and capacities for emotional co-alignment are intimately bound up with SWP’s understanding of being human. Which is an empirical wisdom that finds sustenance in Theory (Delle, 2019), as well as challenge in practice.



(This is a fictional re-enactment of an interaction between the Explorer and the Researcher in “Following the Uniform”.)

Explorer: “All very well, but **what is emotion?**”

Researcher: “Uhhmmmmmmmmmm...”

(The Researcher breaks into a monologue that burst through the Time-Space Continuum of the LARP-verse.)

For the purposes of this LARP, dear Explorer, ‘emotion’ is understood as ‘practice’; something that characters ‘do’ because of who they are, how they perceive themselves and those they engage with. It is a practice that they engage in without necessarily being consciously controlling it: Through interactions between bodies, as you have Learnt, those bodies are mutually transformed. Emotions are expressed from and as such transformative processes that occur because of, through, in and as encounters. Bodies ‘touch’ one another in a figurative and/or literal sense. They make meaningful what the thus-established, felt relationship signifies by affectively repositioning themselves, a.k.a. emotional realignment (alongside Us/Them boundaries). You can think of the proverb that one is ‘moved’ emotionally by something that happens. From such repositioning, one’s place is altered. Emotion expressions or displays and experience coincide as embodied practices. Within such a conceptual frame, they are also understood to include consciously known and knowable elements, which can be expressed in language, and unknown features that can (maybe) be alluded to. Either are affective in ensuing relationships, notions of possible futures for the engaging bodies and the places that emerge.



Amongst the perceivable enactments of emotions, one equally finds a plethora of different codes of conduct that determine norms on how to make (emotional) sense of events. Consult your Companion at this point: First do task e1 on page VII, and then e2 and e3 (page V) to Explore some of your understanding of how to perform how and what you 'feel'. Gain 24XP.

aligning bodies

Returning to the notion of aligning collective bodies through emotion-practice: Whilst such pre-aligned collective bodies, to which the individual emotional bodies of acting characters 'add up' when aligned as 'We', have potentially negative and biasing effects, they also maintain in-group cohesion. Associated with emotional alignment is not only a sense of belonging (Döveling et al., 2018: 2), but also emotional exchanges of support that are enabled by sharing a common 'emotion code'. The 'language' of how to express how one feels, interprets and responds to experience enables in-group members to empathise with group members (Döveling et al., 2018: 2pp). Whilst this does not necessarily imply a capacity to fully take on group-members' emotional perception schemes and share their understanding of what is happening (Howarth, 2001: 10pp) mutual emotional alignment provides a common meaning-making basis: One can 'relate' to their feeling. If one's own empathetic understanding of in-group members' experience signals that their emotional safety is under threat, supportive behaviours can occur that mirror what Eli exemplified when rescued by a MoP. Such 'threats' often involve (possible) intrusions into the in-group by outsiders, and mobilise stronger in-group repositioning along the Us/Them divide, as Ahmed's (2004: 32pp) insight-crop reflect. Thus, online and offline behaviours in-character can manifest through emotional expressions of allegiance and helping each other out. Rituals with which emotions are practiced, as the colourful insight-plot of Döveling et al.'s (2018: 2) highlights, in-group specificity of emotion-practice is needed to identify those who 'belong'. In settings of emotional belonging, one is free to express one's affectedness 'safely', i.e. without being challenged or censored for inappropriate emotion-practice. On the basis of a shared emotional understanding of the world, non-verbal interactions can function that may be vital for in-group survival.

Such theoretical outgrowths translate into the SWP's narratives about reading people's body-language and understanding each other, as SWP, without words: "...we act the same (...) we talk about the same issues...we feel the same" (Eli) on the basis of shared Experience. This strong in-group identification, which refers to 'the police family' rather than 'the community' at large, translates into trust-relationships which Eli and Dave amongst others frame as unconditional. To illustrate: "I [would] trust my colleagues with my life (...) We're like brothers and sisters [to] each



other – I can rely on them...with my life [because I know] they would always help me out (...) and (...) it's the same the other way 'round: I would risk my life for them in an instant.”(Eli)

Trust-relationships associated with in-group belonging and mutual alignment are also essential for Bleed-management: They provide safe ‘places’ for “venting off” (Dean) and showing how one truly feels with the knowledge that those surrounding oneself ‘understand’. It takes an in-group to decode emotionality appropriately, however, to reaffirm such a notion of emotionally safe places (Döveling et al., 2018: 2pp; Preisler, 2013). This necessity for a basis of mutual understanding is precisely the discourse with which SWP claim a special position as safe-makers amongst ‘the community’ to which they belong, and which they *serve*. As the designated safe-place-makers a.k.a. ‘service providers’ as which they perceive themselves and feel treated, SWP also need to establish what makes them distinct from other (civilian) professional cohorts (Howarth, 2001: 17-8). On a basic level, the same LARP-principle is true for them as for other characters: Only those who share Experience ‘understand’ what it’s like to play and perform as a specific designated character, within specific relationships to others and character-dependent capacities to affect and be affected. Even though SWP and MoP share communal characteristics of which this Campaign will highlight ‘Welshness’ and a common belonging to the Human race – they nevertheless emphasise their distinctness from those who “don’t understand what it’s like to be police” (Phil; Eli; Dave). SWP belong because of what they essentially ‘are’, as per the tribal evolution schematised in Figure 3, and they are distinct because of what they do, how (Döveling et al., 2018). Depending on which reference-frame one uses to perform one’s role in interactions with others, one can either emphasise commonality (to express and effect emotional co-alignment), or difference (to highlight that one distances oneself from others’ role-enactments as expressive of values one does not share) (c.f. Howarth, 2001: 13-4).

If you are keen on detours: Find the sections “belonging” and “community” in your companion: They provide you with extra exercises to become aware of your perception of these conceptual complexes. Credit yourself 38 XP, and return to the main journey.

managing emotions and fostering expectations

In the above analytical following of the SWP uniform, the SWP’s performance of empathetic engagements with MoP can be considered to represent emotional co-alignment. Should such role-enactment be strategic, it might rely on the notion that mutual emotional alignments and a sense of belonging together also generate the feeling of safety (Preisler, 2013). This is, after all, the acclaimed goal of SWP’s in-character pursuits. Officers could therefore, by doing emotion as one collective body, inspire a feeling of safety as a shared



emotional response, and in line with mutually understandable, trust-inspiring emotion-practice conduct codes.

Apart from this emulation-based practical way of making ‘the community’ feel safe, emotional realignment furthermore enables Eli to ‘fully engage’ and empathise with MoP whose calls he attends. From a position in the outgrowths of the Garden of Insights, this would look as though Eli ‘attuned’ to the emotionality of the places in which he professionally performs: He opens his perception up for ‘cues’ that make him more able to respond to changes in the environment on an emotional level. Such an opening, as Ash’s 2013 gardening plot provides us an insight into, comes at a cost for those whose sensory awareness is heightened (Ash, 2013b: 24pp). As Eli makes himself (more) vulnerable to affective transformations he can take up from MoP, he also surrenders any emotional distance or ‘barrier’ that would guard him against undesirable affectedness. He no longer has what SWP often claim to be needed to keep performing as a professional SWP, i.e. “something around yourself” (Dean) to protect officers from (emotional) harm.

Metaphorically put: Eli takes off his arguably ‘protective’ uniform and engages as a vulnerable human (see “Vulnerability”) to join in on the lived experience of those he seeks to make (feel) safe. In return, Eli can ‘read’ what MoP expect from him – which informs how he polices and does ‘all he can possibly do’ to make sure they are ‘happy’. By complying, best as he can, with what ‘they want [him] to do’, he understands his job to be done (well): His attunement provides him the capacity to perform his job-role in accordance with his (personal) standards for good policing. Coincidentally, he declares an emotional goal underlying his professional efforts: Eli wants MoP to be happy. Which, as Eli’s accounts reflect, requires fulfilling **expectations** set in his performance as SWP. On fulfilling expectations, Eli manages to make people happy: He transforms them into an experiential state that differs from the one in which they established a connection to the SWP. As all our co-LARPer repeatedly confirm: When SWP answer calls, MoP are commonly “in great distress” (Phil), “upset” (Allan; Dave) and generally in need of ‘help’ and support.

If SWP were *exclusively* practicing belonging, understanding or empathy in such situations, the SWP would fail to alter the emotional situation of those they ‘deal with’ professionally. Situations requiring police attendance are usually not resolved by the police ‘feeling with’ or for those who called them for help. Expressing empathy might actually be



counterproductive in a setting that requires SWP to act as problem-solvers: Were they to fully side emotionally with the MoP, SWP might would equally become ‘upset’ or distressed. As Eli puts it “if I stand there, crying [with them] – [that] doesn’t help anybody” (c.f. Zakil, 2019). His role is therefore split up in several performative moments when considering the emotional terrain to be navigated: Eli needs to empathise and show concern and “care”, understand what others expect him to do (also emotionally). Simultaneously, he must not be too affected by the (emotionality of the) situation to function in his role as a professional safe-maker.

Theoretically, these professional performances have already brought to the fore rich insight-crops from Strathmenn & Hay’s (2009) Research-endeavours. Their work on emotional management and emotional labour of receptionists in GP practices highlights that patients’ ‘waiting’ for help and their fragile hope for, paired with expectations of, resolution of their distress by the GP’s professional intervention involve heightened emotional distress. Such distress is a shared experience for patients and those mediating between the demanded helpers, and those demanding help: Receptionists, who have to manage their and the patients’ emotions as part of their job-role (2009: 217pp) Emotional managers, which is a position into which SWP are similarly brought, have to understand what those they engage with feel, and subsequently adjust the others’ expectations about their future with the desirable emotional experience. To do so, they must manage their own emotional experience to such a degree that their performance can still proceed. In LARP-lingo: SWP have to manage their Bleed to effect an adjustment of ‘spatio-temporal frames’ (Strathmann & Hay, 2009: 217) in those waiting to be helped. Once those hoping for betterment perceive the places they are in according to how their emotion-managers deem appropriate they are theorised as (more likely) compliant with place-specific behavioural codes of conduct (ibid., p.223) Those include, as Humphrey et al.’s (2008) Research shows, the display of the ‘right (kind of) emotion’ relative to the places they are in (2008: 158pp; c.f. Hochschild, 1979).

MoP in interactions with SWP hold similar expectations and “hope” for a better future to be brought about by the SWP’s help⁵², officers’ safe-place-making requires emotional

⁵² ‘Hope’ is emphasised here, because the above statement refers to an emic narrative of Eli’s, to which we will return in later Explorations.



management as part of their professional performances, too. SWP seek to make others experience and perceive their situation as one in which they are ‘safe’, or about to be made safe. MoP accordingly have to associate the assemblages in which SWP uniforms are entangled with the promises of being taken care of and cared about. On such understanding, their relationships with the SWP (uniform) and their future imaginations emerge (Pink, 2009: 37), which also affect how MoP (emotionally) perform. For the necessary decoding on their experience, MoP’s perception schemes need to be trained to that end: SWP have to perform well and make people happy, so that civilians experience and learn to perceive the SWP’s role as safe-place makers who ‘do the right thing’ (c.f. Strathmann & Hay, 2009: 223). This is arguably problematic, if pre-existing perception schemes or emotional alignments do not permit such a perception of the SWP uniform, or if SWP are perceived as a generic Other.

Eli’s quote above also illustrates that SWP are responsible to manage their own emotion: Despite the labour Eli employs to attune to how others feel, his role would not (as he understands it) be appropriately enacted, if he was to co-align and confirm the emotion-practice in which ‘distressed’ MoP engage. This component of emotional management grows lushly from Humphrey et al.’s (2008) plot. Said Researching-crop also reflects that requirements to express emotions that one does not actually feel causes “emotional stress” in performers (p.159). However, an actual uptake of others’ deduced emotional state makes both the performance more believable, and enables the performer to steer others’ emotional states more effectively (ibid., pp160-1). Whilst it accordingly stresses SWP out and increases their potential for undesirable emotional bleed, SWP may seek to overwrite their own spatiotemporal experience, i.e. the meaning they attach to the places in which they encounter MoP, to believably make others feel ‘safe’. SWP engage in ‘surface acting’ (Humphrey et al., 2008: 152-3) in their calm, ‘reassuring’ role that Allan earlier alluded to, so that others’ perception of their place inspires ‘happy’ behaviour performances. Those arguably also match better what has been defined as the design goal for the place-ness of Swansea’s CC, wherein MoP are encouraged to ‘careless consumption’ within a hegemonic safe-place discourse. How and why SWP might not feel ‘safe’ themselves amongst the community they purportedly belong to is of relevance for your future progress leading up to the Plateau of Discussion. For now, the ‘management goal’ that our co-LARPer have



already disclosed is of interest: Making people ‘happy’. Several statements by our co-LARPer point to the importance of making people happy. Not only through asking MoP if they are happy, as Eli does, is SWP performance seemingly directed at this emotional objective. Happy-making is also bound up with Selfie-taking: MoP are deemed to be ‘happy’ when SWP agree to Selfies. On other occasions, Allan contends that uploading Selfies and evidencing good performance via Twitter keeps ‘bosses’ ‘happy’ (more on Level 3). From the theoretical tours through the Academic Garden, this indicates that ‘happiness’ is the desired and aspired-for “feeling rule” by which those SWP engage with are supposed to abide (Strathmann & Hay, 2009; Humphrey et al., 2008: 155). Hence, the SWP’s emotion-management efforts are directed at ‘making people feel safe’, as above Learnt, whilst their experience of safety is supposed to translate into behaviours associated with happiness-expressions⁵³.

Eli’s ‘personal’ motivation to make MoP ‘happy’ by doing all he possibly can is framed as something *he, personally*, does; something that is ‘his thing’ and a policing style he employs. From what he tells us, and supported by Phil’s accounts on the topic, policing could also occur purely “by-the-book”. Like ticking off boxes, one could police by ‘protocol’, “like automatons” (Phil). That, however, is “not what the public want [...] people don’t want robot police” (Phil), but ‘humans’ who ‘actually care’, fully engage with them, and who react on ‘cues’ that MoP provide to let their community service know what they expect from SWP. If such expectations are fostered from historical imprints left upon bodies, and we return all the way to the beginning of this journey, Selfie-taking makes people “happy” because it satisfies their expectations in what SWP’s professional policing should involve. Selfie-taking would have to be framed as a practice that is characteristic for those wearing the SWP uniform. As is the case with Eli’s personal-choice policing style, however, Gary raises the issue that one does not have to agree to having Selfies taken: It’s the officers’ choice. “You can also [just] stand around...look[ing] miserable all day”, and “you’re still doing your job [right]” (Gary). Playing SWP in different policing styles thus both expresses the role’s improvisational freedom, and sustains theoretical plants growing on Howarth’s

⁵³ *Furthering your self-Exploration of the meaning of happiness, you might wish to expose your senses acoustically to the song: “If You’re Happy And You Know It”. Decide for yourself, if you agree with these emotion-display codes!* (See e.g. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=atnL6rKVu3E> (last accessed 30-11-2019))



(2001) plot. Its insights assert that communities can have and acquire different meanings, including behavioural scripts, even for those who collectively claim belonging to the same community (ibid., p.2). How one interactively plays out one’s SWP role happens situationally, and relative to one’s own prior experience and how one perceives of one’s role and the places one polices in. There is, if sometimes little, room for “Discretion” with which individual uniform wearers assert their specific place amongst the SWP ‘community’ (Howarth, 2001: 8) and make themselves recognisable as human equals.

However, the prevalence with which MoP approach SWP over the course of your Researcher-ally’s involvement with them, gives rise to assumptions that SWP present themselves in ways that encourage Selfie-taking interactions. Their self-representational goal of friendly approachability seems to support such an assumption: Officers collectively interpret their role card in ways that include ‘making people happy’ through shaping how their performance as a friendly community service is perceived and interpreted. Other practices associated with raising specific expectations about future SWP encounters in MoP include “(friendly) banter” (Allan), “practical jokes” (Eli) and “having a laugh” (Eli), which respectively epitomise SWP’s in-character place-experience. Throughout encounters under such headlines, impression marks are left upon those whom SWP engage with, which shape their relationship to SWP and their ideas about imaginable future encounters. But: **Why would a collective body like the SWP clan foster expectations in civilians to such an end?** SWP arguably have sufficient alternatives regarding which expectations could be fostered and subsequently fulfilled to make people ‘happy’? Your Explorations on Level 2 guide you deeper into the SWP’s self-perception, and their labours to distinguish themselves from other “police family”-members. To do so, we also Explore **which pre-existing expectations might SWP want to overwrite** through exposing themselves to encounters e.g. of the Selfie-making kind.

Let’s take another lead from our co-LARPer. It is Phil, who mockingly asks: “You wouldn’t see continental police doing that [taking Selfies with the police], would you?”



LEVEL 2: [Meet Those Who ‘Don’t Know’]



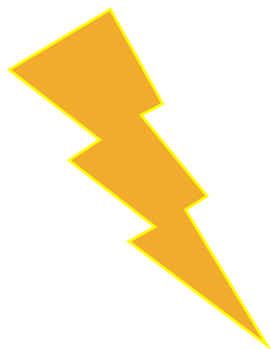
GOGGLES: Level 2

Level Up by Learning...

How SWP go about ‘educating’ their community, offline and online;

Which skills enable them to do so in a ‘special’ way that differs from other police family members;

About the relationship between techno-digital practices like camera-phone filming, and a perception of being denied Human status.



Challenge 2:

To prepare you for taking the next step ‘up’ towards the Plateau of Discussion: Consult your Companion. As of page 326, you are encouraged to Explore your Social Media relationships with tasks s1.1. & s1.2. If you wish to recap on themes from Level 1, feel free to do tasks x1 & x2, pp311, ‘at your Discretion’.

Gain 17XP

To ease you into the step onto Level 2, regather your Learning from before. Level 1 has taught us that SWP take Selfies with the public to show their belonging with ‘the community’. Alongside their goals of making people feel safe and happy, this practice is also associated with appearing as “the good guys”. Acting as ‘one of the[community]’ translates into SWP uniform visibilisations like



3 Race for Life Officers



4 Biggest Weekend Safe-Making

These practical interlinkages between offline and online policing, a.k.a. digital wayfaring (Hjorth & Pink, 2014), complement the SWP’s self-representational narratives as being “friendly” and “approachable”: SWP expose themselves to being engaged with through the techno-digital medium of the Twittersphere. Apart from this opening to online-encounters, SWP also use their Twitter profiles to reinforce what Phil and others repeatedly declare: They, as SWP, are ‘different’ from “police forces” that our co-LARPer geographically associate with Continental Europe and the USA. Those ‘forces’ are unlike, despite their mutual belonging to the overall police family, because the SWP identify as a ‘community service’. As such, SWP perform their role differently than other branches of the police family-tree, who additionally distinguish themselves through their uniforms (see below). That notwithstanding, this Level enables you to Explore how such distinctions may not suffice to protect SWP from the ‘threat’ of being misperceived and classified as those they do not seek to represent. To counteract that, SWP perform to ‘leave impressions upon the Other’ and overwriting Others’ perception schemes of the officers by “being a visible presence (...) where people spend most of their lives these days” (Allan): In Swansea’s NTE spheres, and on Twitter.



To underline the theoretical insights you have been offered on Level 1, i.e. that communities (of practice and belonging) and their associated bodies are mutually constructive and define their respective meanings relationally, one more glimpse at the digital SWP uniform’s representative performance function:



In Figure 5, the SWP profile directly reinvokes the notion that ‘the community’ and its components shape each other(‘s appearance). The imagery used also locates the physical ‘belonging’ of the account to the SWP’s precinct: By ways of imagery that features Swansea, ‘insiders’ would be able to decode this kind of visual vernacular geography and ‘know’ where the uniforms are employed. This helps to express the SWP’s belonging as they correctly mobilise place-codes. It further ensures that ‘their’ community is the one that ‘knows’ and decodes their messages appropriately.

5 Co-Shaping the 'Image' of SWP

The tweet also shows concern for the SWP’s self-representational practices and how SWP are perceived by those they engage with: Through their Twitter-profile, SWP make use of the platform’s particular communicative affordances and launches a poll to ‘engage’ (with) others. This mode of engagement is arguably resorted to as a place-specific communication means. Level 1 has discussed how SWP might seek to be seen ‘doing what MoP are doing’ to belong. Similar notions may be associated with their tweeting behaviours, which involves further practice emulations like sharing memes and posting emoticons or witticisms. However, SWP social media profiles also serve ‘safe place making’ missions according to tribal parameters of protecting people from harm. When Allan sums up which type of policing interventions his job implies, specifically concerning more ‘preventative’ quests, he nominates the same that Eli and Phil echo elsewhere: SWP “**Reassure**, Inform, **Educate** and

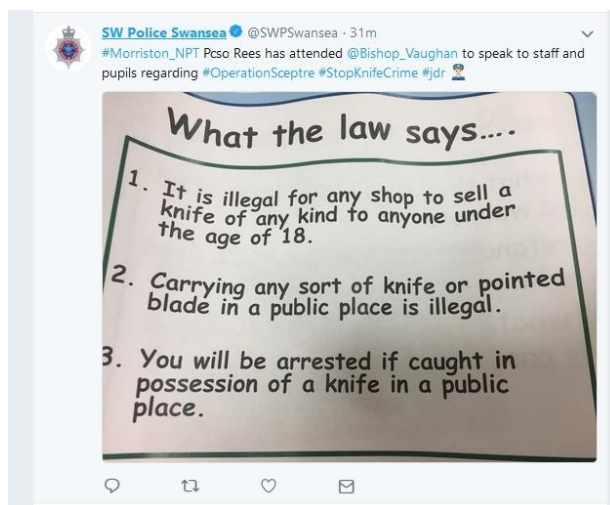


Deter.” In some variation, those elements feature in all of our co-LARPer discourses about what it means to police.

Level 1 involves some glimpses into ‘reassurance’ and ‘deterrence’ performances involving the SWP’s physical uniform. Its safe-making affordances and functions for trust-building become of focus for this Campaign shortly. For now, the digital SWP uniform is followed to unearth how information, education and prevention can be linked with the SWP’s face-showing to establish the trust-relationships you have previously Learnt of.

Information & education

Part of the SWP’s safe-place-making involves strategic alignments of the community’s behaviours with what counts for ‘safe’ enactments of their roles (Liebenberg et al. 2015: 1008; Birk, 2018: 609pp). These safe behaviours are reflected in the measurement criteria for ‘safety’ of Swansea as a place that are outlined e.g. in the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan. To make ‘the community’ behave in accordance with Community-Safety principles, SWP educates MoP e.g. via Campaigns (Birk, 2018: 611). One of their campaigning missions is to reduce knife crimes. It is called “OP Sceptre” and digitally materialises through advice for the Twitter-using public on how to perform (ibid., 611pp) in compliance with the shared code of conduct a.k.a. Law:



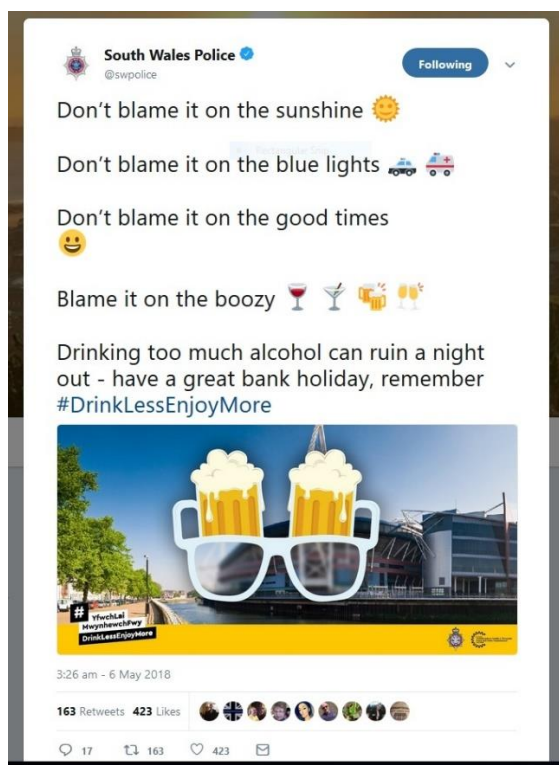
Rules & Education on Knife-Crime



Face-Showing Against Knife-Crime



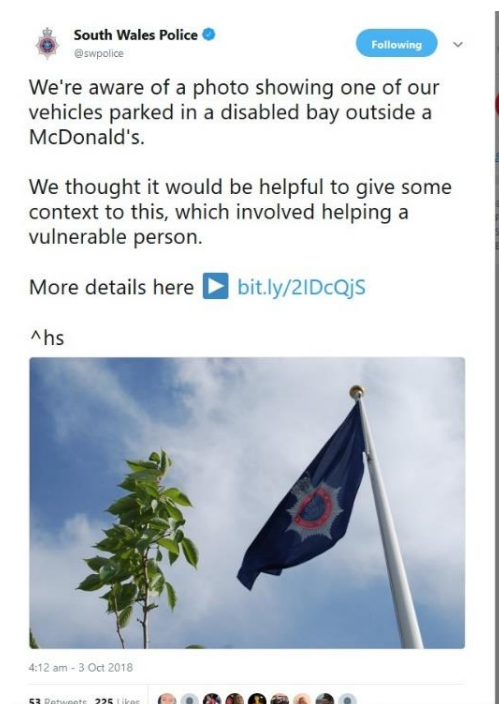
To instruct their community on safe behaviour, SWP utilise what can arguably be deemed ‘Twitter-code’ of how to communicate. As such, the ‘banter’ that SWP assert to be an engagement strategy for MoP on the ground, manifests in posts like:



Drink Aware Tweet

By arguably discursively ‘blending in’, SWP herein use a pop song to deliver their message on how to behave safely. This comprises a digital performance subsumed under the “Drink Less, Enjoy More” Campaign against excess alcohol consumption. In mobilising something that ‘the community’ can allude to from an assumed shared musical/cultural background, SWP also appear ‘friendly’: Their happy faces are substituted for by smileys. SWP further use Twitter-affordances like memes to represent themselves as ‘one of them’, i.e. the Twitter-community that co-constitutes online-offline ‘safe places’.

Apart from discursively ‘doing belonging’ alongside safe-place-making, a representational purpose can also be detected in Figure 9 below (c.f. Sakr, 2012). It is a tweeted correction of MoP’s previously digitally articulated misperception of SWP’s in-character practice.



Correction Parking Rule-Breach

They Don't Know...

...about Humanness

‘Privilege-abuse’ is a common narrative that your Researcher-ally experiences throughout the physical companionship on SWP shifts, too. Herein, it is digitally fused with another recurrent theme: Police, represented by the SWP, are ‘taking breaks all the time’ and spend their working hours “...eating (...) lazing it off, instead of doing [their] job and (...) arrest someone” (Amber on how people talk about the police according to her). The initial tweet showed a parking lot of a local fast food outlet, which was ‘proof’ enough to legitimise the Twitter-based performance critique for ‘eating instead of working’. From a theoretical point of view, the MoP thus argues on the assumption that photos or videos taken ‘spontaneously’ deliver the full, unbiased ‘truth’ about an event (Brucato, 2015). Whilst Brucato’s theoretical plotting brought to the fore that such an argument fails to consider that image-making practices occur in context and are always positioned, this discourse recurs (Brucato, 2015: 48pp; c.f. Hjorth & Pink, 2014).

Amber highlights on one occasion, however, that MoP’s accusations of SWP’s “laziness” associated with eating on-duty are unfounded and express that “they [MoP] don’t know” ‘what it’s like to be police’ (Dave; Eli). In Amber’s words: “people **expect** you to deal with every little issue, as if it was the most important problem in the world [...] but they don’t

The SWP Twitter profile in this post serves to react to a previous encounter between MoP and SWP. Through the same medium, SWP have been accused of misconduct, i.e. violating the rules that structure their in-character performance: An image was uploaded onto Twitter to ‘evidence’ that police ‘abuse their privilege’ by parking on a designated disabled parking lot.



know that you have maybe just dealt with five calls in a row, without a break (...) [or that you haven't had anything to eat that day". All that people 'see' and therefore assume to 'know' is that the police eat during their working time. Equating seeing, i.e. accessing visual sense-data, with a capacity to correctly 'cognitively frame' experience and bodies involved therein, is flawed: It omits the necessity of having Experience-trained perception schemes to make place-specific sense of what is happening. Instead of comprehending the SWP's break-taking in context, and with Knowing about police practice guidelines, MoP infer what it means from their prior relationships and Experience with (possibly other) police uniforms. As you will shortly Explore further: Perception schemes of MoP are affected by spatially and temporally disjoint policing encounters that nevertheless influence their alignments towards the SWP's performance in this Campaign. Based on such misconceptions, MoP deny SWP the right to perform their role in ways that include eating in-character. This comprises, as emerges from Eli's and Amber's statements, a denial of their right to be (seen as acting) 'human': "We're human (...) humans have to eat!" (Eli)

Apart from 'eating', another SWP practice that MoP react to in ways that express their perception of the behaviour as 'immoral' and irresponsible (Brucato, 2015: 40), i.e. not part of properly performed safe-place-making by those professionally responsible for it, is 'taking breaks' (Amber; Eli). Arguably, a scene of police on break might suggest that they are not 'doing their job (properly)', i.e. not 'making safe'. This seems the understanding with which our co-LARPers narrate MoP's attitudes – alongside the latter's perceived sense of entitlement, which will be addressed shortly. With a view over your shoulder into the Academic Garden, you are granted a theoretical outlook to analytically frame such a notion: Brucato's (2015: 44pp) insight-plots grow on empirical grounds in which spontaneously perceived policing behaviours that are classified as 'misconduct' are filmed by civilians who see them take place. This serves to record improper role-enactments of police, i.e. to create 'objective' evidence with which to hold officers and their organisation accountable (ibid., p.45). Ultimately, due to such transparent-making (visibilising) of policing and subsequent (potential) circulation of supposed evidence, proper police conduct and safe-making is supposed to be re-established. This constructs the 'seeing' interventionists as moral, responsible, safety-promoting civilians.



Calling out ‘lazing off’ SWP would equally be deemed a moral demand on responsabilised community-members to guarantee collective safety (Peeters, 2013: 587). By directly holding SWP accountable for their ‘laziness’, MoP arguably discipline purported misconduct of ‘their’ official safe-place-makers (c.f. Foucault, 1979) to re-establish ‘safety’ for the community as a whole (Peeters, 2013: 588-561). However, as Bowman (2015) highlights: Taking breaks in-game is a form of Bleed-management. Especially when characters engage in emotionally charged, high stakes interactions; lack options about how to act, and/or are tired and hungry, players’ capacity to control their emotions and not let them negatively affect their in-character performance dwindles (Bowman, 2015). From empirically following the SWP uniform, and your co-LARPer’s narratives, you can understand all of these conditions as representative of the SWP’s ‘normal’ on-duty Experience. Thus, SWP’s break-taking is all but ‘unsafe’, immoral or irresponsible in-role behaviour. Instead, such play-inherent debriefs in which SWP momentarily stop actively policing (c.f. Bowman, 2015), are requirements to regain capacities to perform their role in compliance with their character’s conduct norms. Amongst those are also all the necessary conditions to be recognised as their role, including emotion display rules. Through reenergising, SWP may alleviate the likelihood of *actually* violating professional play-rules, i.e. their “Code of Conduct” or “Code of Ethics”⁵⁴. Should their in-character practice breach these, SWP would rightfully be liable to suffer Social Death via misconduct charges (*refresh your conceptual combustion-engine by browsing through the Appendix on “Social Death”, if you wish*). This threat looms large, as SWP experience their jobs as ‘exhausting, stressful, confrontational, traumatic’, reliant on making ‘split-second decisions’ ‘without time to think’, and without an option to ‘say ‘no’ to people’ lest someone gets hurt...

From this perspective, the SWP’s break-taking is an in-character measure that ultimately caters to the community’s ‘safe-making’, because it preserves the ‘human resources’ a.k.a. the community’s official safe-place-makers’ safe-making capacities. Conversely, the “unrealistic demands” (Amber) set in SWP, and of which you will Learn more shortly, threaten the collective’s overall safety (potentials). Because ‘the public doesn’t know’ what

⁵⁴ c.f. <https://www.south-wales.police.uk/en/about-us/visionvaluesandethics/>; last accessed: 10-12-2019, 19:48; c.f. Section 39A(5) of the Police Act 1996, as amended by Section 124 of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014



policing is like and what it says on the SWP's role-card, MoP would have to trust that their officers perform with orientation towards shared safe-place norms. Even, when the MoP cannot 'see' that, and subsequently appropriately interpret how, this happens. Through articulating and reinforcing their wrongful interpretation of SWP performance, however, MoP do not consider each performative instance as singular – which, in a theoretical bouquet, means that SWP are denied their status as human equals with those who judge their performance, despite a purported 'belonging' to the community (c.f. Pollard, 2015: 365; Butler, 2009).

Whilst accusations of 'laziness' already comprise stressors that affect SWP's in-role performance and their emotional Experience, yet another element of not-Knowing exacerbates the problematic of **not supporting** that SWP take breaks: Due to constantly Experiencing a 'lack of resources' in the guise of 'officers in the streets' and 'time', SWP can hardly take breaks to begin with. Either, because they have to respond to 'call after call without a break' (Amber) because all of their colleagues are already busy dealing with other issues. Or, as exemplified by Dave and Allan, SWP deny themselves their breaks, because they feel this would counteract their responsibilities to 'make safe': If the SWP is already 'too few in numbers', they do not want to step out of their safe-making 'responsible' role to take care of themselves. For Allan and Dave, this implies that they refuse themselves the right to 'be human' by acting on their self-care impulses to eat or take a break. Amber and Eli similarly react to the repeated confrontations with MoP, who accuse them of laziness when eating on-duty, by pointing out that they 'don't like having lunch outside together, anymore'. Despite considering this the nicer option of having food, SWP seek to retreat from public view and potential supervision to invisibilise their Humanness. This is a strategy that returns to you on your Learning-journey on Level 4. For now, it is enough to analytically consider this a way of lessening the SWP's exposure and vulnerability to a certain kind of (negatively experienced) encounters: By not visibilising (as 'human') they are not open for encounters with and approaches by the community, whom they otherwise seek to engage with as part of their professional role. Such encounters take on an unwanted character, if MoP therein fail to reflect on the context in which the SWP's performances that place and deny SWP in-character recognition. The latter subsequently also implies a dismissal from a belonging-community.



...about Safe-Making

Which takes you all the way back to the beginning of the Level: The tweeted SWP response to prior accusations of immoral role-enactment on-duty. The SWP’s visibilisation on Twitter and consequential exposure to MoP’s ‘approach’, which their also-online self-representational pursuits actively encourage (see Figure 9), makes SWP vulnerable to accusations of bad in-character performance (c.f. Butler, 2007). From the SWP’s perspective, the initial tweet that brought to the fore the correction via Twitter comprises a practice that characterises those who “don’t understand” what’s it’s like to police. “The public don’t know...” is how many sentences start that e.g. Dave volunteers to alert your ally to a major issue that he and others of his clan suffer from: **Misconceptions** about police work in general, and the SWP in particular. More Knowing about policing would have made the above correction unnecessary: Police are legally entitled to make use of their ‘privilege’ to park in seemingly reserved parking lots when pursuing professional duties. Police characters are allowed to act in ways that are not open for other civilian characters, if SWP do so ‘as professionals’.

One of the ways in which your co-LARPer tackle this problem of misconception ties into their dedication to “inform” and “educate” to make safe places. Eli is responsible for engaging with schoolchildren, whom he educates on matters of ‘personal safety’, e.g. online: How children can ‘protect themselves against fraud’, (sexual) exploitation and how they can keep ‘safe’ also regarding their data are examples he gives when engaging with this Campaign’s Researcher. Additionally, Eli’s face-showing at local schools serves to inform children about the role of police officers. He explains that he introduces primary school pupils to legal concepts, e.g. on carrying knives, in a way that they can relate to: Given that knife-crimes is a serious topic, Eli’s in-school in-character performances are ‘playful’ and ‘engaging’ as he puts it. By drawing from his ‘natural’ capacity to adjust how he communicates to whom he engages with, he uses ‘humour’ and ‘banter’ whilst seeking to pre-emptively ‘manage’ children’s behaviours in line with safety criteria that the community is supposed to conform with (c.f. Saleh & Zakar, 2018).

These banter-based interactions with MoP mirror how he pursues ‘community engagement’ tasks as part of the NPT, expressing his ‘natural’ proclivity to “having a laugh”. Also, as Eli and Mick emphasise, and especially on “a job that doesn’t give you much to laugh about”



(more on that on Level 4). The dangers faced by children are not a laughing matter, either. Nevertheless, Eli believes that a lighter attitude is the way of ‘properly talking to’ his young audience, to allow them to Learn and not find the topic, or the police uniform that is assembled with discourses of crime, “threatening”. An example Eli gives is ‘stranger danger’-reactions that he trains with children through role-play, i.e. running away and calling for help loudly when children are approached by an unfamiliar person who seeks to lure them closer. Whilst Eli thus arguably acts in accordance with his safe-making role and applied state-defined normative strategies to align community-members’ (future) behaviour with pre-coded safe-place-standards, Eli highlights other facets of his in-school performance: His uniform and his face.

Eli emphasises the importance of being personally (to be held) accountable for his policing, and making himself recognisable by his face, to generate ‘trust’ in people. Additionally, he wants the human on-duty interactions he has with children, and other MoP, to function as counter-narrative and positively associated Experience with ‘the police’. Expressing a good sense of humour and having a laugh with civilians is ‘real work’ of ‘engaging with the public’, because it can overwrite previously established perception schemes about police uniforms and what they represent: By adding his personality to how he performs in uniform, Eli wants people to associate someone who made them laugh with the police. Apart from positively reinforcing what a specific police uniform might represent, Eli also banks on the idea that his face, his performance and his uniform leave a mutually assembled imprint or mark on e.g. the children he engages with. Their thus-altered perception-schemes might affect their meaning-making capacities to a degree that “Maybe, when the kids see me again (...) or any other officer in uniform – they will remember: “Ah! Officer Eli told us about [stranger danger]!” (...) and they will react [accordingly] (...) do the right thing...to keep themselves safe.” Eli herein points towards the role of SWP as safe-maker in a preventative sense that implies ‘enabling responsible subjects to take care of their own well-being and safety’. From a police officer’s point of view, this implies he is making children less ‘vulnerable’ in a sustainable way (ideally).

This behavioural management strategy coincides with a sense of self-perception that, on other occasions, emerges as a negative feature about the SWP’s professional Experience. Dave and others emphasise: “[O]ne police officer stands for all” officers in their respective



uniforms, functions, localities and times of acting as official police characters. SWP are commonly ‘lumped together’ with ‘the police’ as a whole. This ‘whole’ also implicates ‘forces’ other than the SWP, which is of further discussion soon. The uniform replaces officers’ faces and their individual personality – which subsequently also deprives officers of their (rightful claim to) Humanness. Such a homogenisation of ‘the police’ can then inform misconceptions and emotional alignments in newly occurring encounters between specific SWP and MoP whose perception schemes are negatively pre-attuned. You are about to explore these encounters shortly. On the other hand, it is precisely this short-cut of perceiving of ‘the police’ as a generic, monolithic Other that Eli seeks to positively exploit when educating MoP: In liaison with the dedication to being ‘a visible presence’ in people’s everyday lives which all SWP are instructed to act on, Eli’s positive interactions may be recalled in a larger number of possible encounters with SWP uniforms ‘where people spend most of their lives’. This positive reinforcement of what the (SWP) uniform stands for, and the emotionality underlying humour-based encounters, can make for friendlier relationships and ‘happy’ places to emerge in subsequent encounters. However, the increased exposure to positive encounters between MoP and SWP from their normative increase in visibilising amongst civilians relies on a notion that MoP actually *do* meet specific others to ‘represent’ the SWP/police, rather than solely being entangled in discourses about generic police.

These moments of actually meeting police are, as far as Mick, Jane and Graham are concerned, often overrated and misjudged by MoP: “[MoP] think there’s [hundreds] of officers in the streets...at any given time”, as Mick asserts. Such misconceptions miss out on the broader power-geometries of space, and the local, temporal, socio-political and economic context in which encounters with SWP (uniforms) take place. Within a devolved welfare state context, (post-)Austerity and of resource shortage especially for social service, which you have learnt are ways of framing this Campaign’s LARPverse, ‘seeing’ a single police officer might not be ‘blown out of proportion’ as Graham puts it. Instead, interpretations of the visual data ‘a single officer’ might be cognitively framed accordingly: As a sign that police numbers are too low to guarantee their safe patrolling, which would normally set a standard of always, at least, having teams of two performing their safe-making role together. ‘The more officers, the safer’ is another recurrent discourse in the SWP’s philosophy to watch out for. SWP experience their quantities as ‘un-safely’ low and



emphasise that the reality behind the officer numbers is yet another thing that “[MoP] don’t know” or frame and understand correctly.

That notwithstanding, Eli recognises that some of the preconceptions about police officers may emerge from actual historical imprints left on MoP. Thus, his preventative interactions with children are especially important to him, because he wants them to understand that ‘not all police are bad’, only because they or their families may have interacted with one whose behaviours left them judge the safe-place-making performance unsuccessful. Eli has Experience on how others’ misperceptions about uniforms translate into negative encounters with him, who has no actual relationship with those who interpret his uniform negatively at all. He tells your ally that ‘there is a history in some families’ of ‘hating the police’: Some people’s perception and understanding of police may have been shaped exclusively by having seen the (SWP) uniform ‘at their house’ or ‘a family member’s house’ to arrest somebody: “[T]hat’s the only time they ever see police”, i.e. in the police’s interventionist function. Other occasions that Eli points to involve delivering messages about Death, which is another police function, or to deal with domestic violence cases in which children may have to be separated from their families. In all of these intervention-based role-enactments, the perception of police officers involved is affected by the ‘negative emotions’ (Eli) that are associated with the event. Such a perception would then be ‘passed down, from generation to generation’ and people would simply “regurgitate what they’ve learnt from their parents and their parents’ parents” (Eli), i.e. that ‘police are bad’; *the Other*. Eli thus exemplifies what grows in Pink’s (2009) and Ahmed’s (2004) plotted Theory-lands, i.e. that perception schemes can be vicariously honed, and thus reinforce divisions between Us/Them, and foreclose alternate relationships and Experience from emerging.

Similarly, Jane and Mick refer to MoP’s “bad experience in the past” which involved police. Jane occupies a position within the SWP clan that specifically labours to overwrite negative perception schemes by engaging with a particular group of vulnerable people⁵⁵, who may have lost ‘trust’ in police because of prior Experience. A common attitude towards police would include “suspicion” that often grew from what people say about the police, rather

⁵⁵ To protect Jane’s anonymity, the group she is working with is not classified specifically: She is the only SWP member in her post, and she deals with a very niche ‘clientele’; CF.



than what the vulnerable people have actually experienced. Through informally engaging with them, and not acting in any ‘actual police function’, Jane wants to gradually be accepted as an element in these MoP’s life that is not threatening, or representative of an enemy. Instead, she exposes herself to often “uncomfortable” encounters that leave her feeling mistrusted and Other, to make MoP associate her shown face with someone to approach for help and advice. Jane functions as a mediator between those deemed in need of help and the services that can specifically deliver such help. In that, her role involves a lot of ‘**waiting**’, ‘talking to people’ – “a lot of **listening**” and showing ‘care’: “just being there...showing them that there’s someone to talk to...” and ultimately that they can ‘trust’ the police, or at the very least Jane personally, as MoP get to know her by face. Jane also engages with the individual people’s history, backgrounds and stories, as she tells your ally. Thus, Jane’s engagements with MoP thus involves and hinges on recognising each and every one of them as a human equal whom she is (emotionally) aligned and responsible for each other’s safety and well-being (Howarth, 2001: 14; 18pp). It is in this preventative, invisible kind of labour that Jane enacts her safe-place-making role, without leaving datafied evidence or success stories behind to publish on or report about. What is more, and possibly related to the invisibilisation of such human interactions from official performance statistics, Jane sometimes experiences these instances, despite them being ‘engagement with the public’ a.k.a. ‘real work’, as though she was not achieving much.

What *does* find coverage and report, on the other hand, is what Mick expands on when articulating his stance on misperceptions about police. Mick is sympathetic to the notion that people’s view on police (uniforms) may be ‘biased’ negatively. He even raises the issue of police officers in the past having ‘overhandled’ MoP, which would set future relationships up in a way that positions MoP ‘against’ the police rather than siding with them. In his considerations, Mick invokes that people seem to remember more and better whenever something negative happened that involved police (c.f. Malachowsky, 2015). An explanatory theory emerges from the empirical interactions with your co-LARPer Dave and it supports Mick’s observations whilst backing his own, i.e. that ‘the public’ are generally “anti-police”. Dave argues that **media** highlight ‘police violence’ and ‘the few’ actual misconduct cases that occur. “Bad news sells”, he contends. In Dave’s perception, newspapers’ front pages would feature cases of bribed, brutal, corrupt police all the time ‘and these things stay in



the news for weeks and weeks’ (Dave), whereas good reports about police hardly ever find a mention. Even though the SWP has a PR directorate and an own press department, Dave asserts that people don’t *want* to read the good performance stories about police and that they would not pick up publications coming from police anyway. He opines that prior exposure to an abundance of negative representations, everything that police say about themselves would instantly qualify as lies and white washing. These assumptions resemble insight-plants from Research-gardening on ‘confirmation bias’. Fruits from such plots provide theoretical outlooks on how human brains tend to search for information that backs up theories or perceptions that they have already pre-established⁵⁶. Similarly, confirmation can be obtained by surrounding oneself with people who shares one’s opinions and outlooks⁵⁷ – which leads a phenomenon that you have Learnt about, i.e. the generation of ‘communities of belonging’ that practice discourse in familiar, recognisable ways. In such discursive communities, offline-online practices of ‘news-circulation’ about police can lead to phenomena of long-lasting news coverage of stories about bad policing as the ones Dave refers to. In sum, Dave’s contention is that the bad news about police circulate widely and are satisfying readers’ more sensationalist desires. Potential readers who are already ‘anti-police’ would specifically seek to reassert themselves as ‘Knowing’ about the immorality of police performances, as evidenced by the news. Dave thus imagines a self-sustaining supply-and-demand chain in which the consumed and produced good is a negative image of police. Moreover, he proposes that the SWP’s self-representational efforts are invested in vain, because they do not reach ‘the public’. MoP are accordingly not exposed to images and stories of ‘good policing’, which makes it more difficult to overwrite their negatively attuned perception schemes. This is a discourse that also adheres to social media outreach practices according to Phil. He contends that Twitter profiles from police are generally only followed by other police accounts. Accordingly, “police [are] talking to themselves” when posting online, rather than doing the “real work” of engaging with the public, information, educating and deterring.

⁵⁶ c.f. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3csyv05>; last accessed: 12-12-2019, 04:55

⁵⁷ c.f. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09sn514>; last accessed: 11-11-2019, 17:24;
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08656qn>; last accessed: 13-09-2019, 14:15



Before following up on this notion, let's explore Dave's ideas about social further. His perception of Twitter and Facebook is ambivalent. He admits that there are 'some positive posts' about how police did their job, in which 'people might [say] thank you'. Most of the time, however, Dave describes Twitter as a hostile, "unwelcoming" place – a forum in which people express their hatred for police in general, alongside accusations about misconduct and aggression against 'the police' (c.f. Santana, 2014: 27pp). Such impressions have been left on Dave's perception of social media, because he 'used to be' on Facebook and experienced how police accounts were engaged with. Through his exposure to social media discourses, Dave was engaging with mocking, 'vile', 'ungrateful' and ill-informed attitudes about police. Twitter affords the tagging of particular officers against whom specific Twitter-assaults might be directed. Following accounts of other police, furthermore, increases the amount of potential negativity that people may choose to put online. By ways of association and affiliation, Dave's digitised body, either in a personal or professional function, was therefore directly entangled in how Twitter-users 'made sense' of members of the police family and their actions. In an analogous manner to the notion that 'one police officer stands for all', the close relationship between the 'brothers and sisters' in uniform mean that Dave empathises with the situation and Experience of others 'like him' (Bruneau et al., 2017: 940-1). He identifies with 'the police' and is, as such, personally affected, even though he might not be an individually attacked officer. On the basis of this co-Experience, Dave concluded that Twitter was not a place for him – as he puts it "not nice" for dwelling in, because of the ways Twitter is used for emotional alignments against police.

Such alignments can foster support amongst those who conceive of police (accounts) in a predefined way: Digital affect communities can form on the basis of fictional shared Experience and thus directly impact on particular officers' self-perception and emotional Experience. From Dave's 'reading' of how Twitter-users engaged with police accounts, he interprets their attitudes to be lacking **respect** and gratitude, that he deems appropriate for the ways in which police serve their communities. Dave arguably feels no 'belonging' – on Twitter; into the discursive communities there – because social media exchanges are not matching his expectations about behavioural expressions towards police. He misses what he would deem appropriate relationship-establishments, i.e. practical assertions that MoP recognise how Dave and colleagues "give one-hundred ten percent [in their] job...all the



time”. The ways in which MoP post negative sentiments about police, as Dave contends, express that ‘they don’t know’, ‘they don’t understand’, and ‘they don’t see’ how much “sacrifice” is involved in the policing profession. His enumeration about the latter include missing out holidays with one’s family, not getting enough sleep, being assaulted all the time, working in high-pressure environments and ‘long hours’ (including over-hours) at a regular basis. In addition to that, routinely put themselves in danger to ‘keep the people safe’. Those people, rather than expressing the respect that Dave hints at, would then not use Twitter as a means of aligning with ‘their community service’ in support.

Instead, a potential disinhibiting character of social media, in which less face-based, personalised, often anonymous interactions can take place, affords places in which police

emerge as disapproved-of Others (Lowry et al., 2016)⁵⁸. Through disaffiliating and publicly shaming police (accounts) for purportedly fact-based, media-supported misconduct, anger-expressing MoP equally emerge relative to the constitutive outside of immoral police: They become well-informed, rule-knowing safely-behaving citizen-subjects. A subject who is responsible to contribute to the

Attention, attention – this is an **Intervention!**

Dear Explorer: have you, too, been affected by discourses spreading over social media? Directly or indirectly?

The Researcher you are entangled with has actively sought out such affectedness by searching for #badCop, #policeViolence and #policeBrutality on Twitter. You can follow her steps digitally by doing the same, if you are afforded the invisible powers of internet connectivity, ‘here’ and ‘now’!

community’s safety by individually expressing safe behaviour. In accordance with the conduct-code for such a character, Twitter has to be utilised to sanction bad practice identified in the official safe-making authorities. Thus, Twitter can function as a medium in which touching and dividing encounters between MoP and SWP occur. The thus-performed withdrawal of officers’ recognition as ‘belonging’ to a value community affects SWP in ways that may e.g. inspire avoidance-behaviour: Dave has chosen to limit his exposure to negative confrontations on social media by not personally having an account anymore. His

⁵⁸ This is a controversially debated topic. If you wish to Explore a counter-perspective, c.f. Rösner & Krämer, 2016.

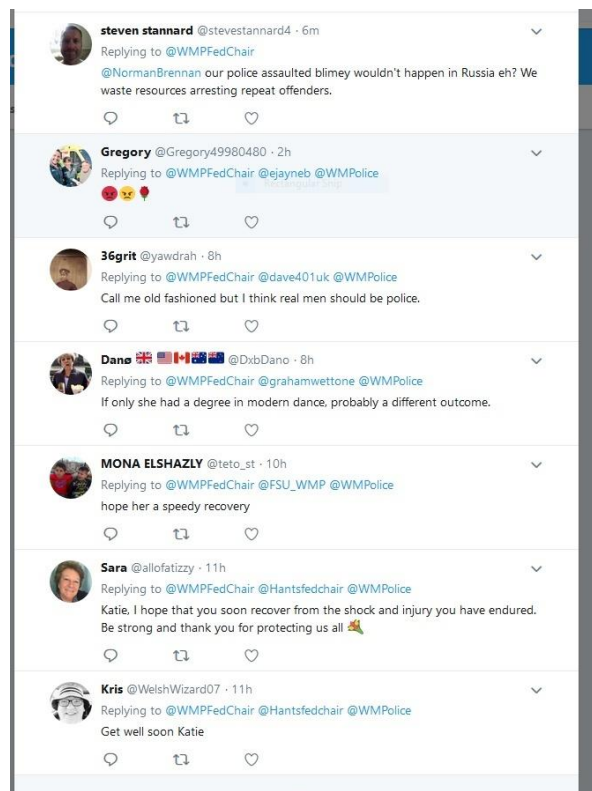


professional engagements via the SWP profiles, which would be part of his professional role prescriptions, have also ceased at his Discretion.

...what policing is like

This Campaign is Following the SWP uniform and seeking an understanding of emotionality in professional encounters SWP engage in. Thus, Dave’s perceptions and feelings about social media are respected for what they are: Experiential truth and realities. On top of that, your ally’s following of digital SWP accounts did uncover illustrations to what Dave shared with her in an interview setting.

The below figure shows a thread by a West Midlands police officer, who informs the Twitter-community about his partner’s being assaulted on-duty. The hashtag (#) ‘protect the protectors’ is Twitter-wide discourse to raise concern and attention about the topic of on-duty assaults against police. Thus, any followers of the hashtag or users with police-affiliations would have likely perceived it.



Many of the responses to this tweet (an excerpt of them above) exemplify ‘digital affect cultures’ emerging around this post in a supportive, emotionally co-aligned manner that



expresses concern, care and empathy. Example-responses 3 and 4 (counted from top), however, epitomise that the officer’s post also provides a contact-point to re-establish boundaries. The comments speak of generalised (arguably misogynistic) attitudes and Gendered assumptions about what a police officer should be (perceived as) or look like. One is led to believe that the image of normative police that the assaulted officer apparently fails to comply with, i.e. expectations that she does not fulfil according to the perception of her judges, is assigned (perceived) sex and/or Gender identity.

Without trying to understand the rationale behind the comments from non-police accounts (as your Researcher-ally deduced from having investigated some of their other profiling posts), the thread highlights how the community of belonging and support formed of ‘police family members’ (i.e. their Twitter account) is reinforced. This empirical observation would also find theoretical sustenance from insight-plotting on ‘communities’, offline and online. Whilst community-boundaries and characteristics of belonging may be malleable and challengeable (Howarth, 2001: 224), community-cohesion generally benefits’ and gains from treats to its integrity, e.g. by (perceived) external attacks against its membership (Levine, 2005: 7; Junger, 2015). The Twitter-mediated reinforced mutual alignments amongst police family members thus comprises an emotionally beneficial aspect of what Phil refers to as ‘police talking to themselves’: By arranging each other in emotional alliance, SWP and other police officers reaffirm each other’s ‘unconditional support’ and foster trust-bonds between their in-group (Junger, 2010; 2016). This can be expressed by different means afforded by Twitter as a place, as e.g. #policeFamily Figure below shows.





Apart from the reinforced boundary between those who express their position against the perceived unjust behaviour against the assaulted officer, and those who don't, the thread can also serve to illustrate the ambivalence with which Dave reflects social media as a place. Whilst the negative sentiments originate from Twitter accounts that represent them as civilians, so are some of those who align with the police and offer support, understanding and an acknowledgment of the (moral) wrong committed by the officer's assailant. They are arguably the digital 'public coming to the help' of a professional safe-maker that Eli speaks of on Level 1. The boundary between 'the community' of shared values and (emotion-) practice is accordingly blurry, and membership has to be 'done' through practical reassembling of emotion-displays that establish a character's place as "one of the [community]" (c.f. Bourdieu, 1985). Only, because one wears the label of a 'civilian' does not mean, therefore, that one 'does not understand': Through emotional connectivity and taking on others' perspective (empathy), one can align with and practically reaffirm shared values and outlooks on the world. This suggestion is one to keep in mind, dear Explorer, for when you enter onto the Plateau of Discussion.

[...what police can \(not\) do](#)

The above emotion-alignments across physical precinct-boundaries also show that Twitter enables relationship-formations across space and time. This can benefit generations of larger affect-sharing support groups – and negative, as Dave suggests, when it comes to the circulation of seemingly self-evident images of 'bad' policing. As he describes it, **misinformation, misrepresentation** and wrong assumptions, like tweets about police overstepping boundaries by parking on a disabled lot, are rife amongst MoP. Social media makes it easier and faster to shape how (SWP) uniforms are framed and understood, if 'people spend most of their lives' on social media: There is plenty of opportunity to be affected by different kinds of bodies. Images featuring digital police uniforms can circulate freely, which implies the threat of them being "taken out of context" (Dave; Phil). Without context, such images – as has also grown out of Pink et al.'s (2018: 2) and Hjorth and Pink's (2014) theoretical plotting on camera-phone practices and digital wayfaring – have the potential to reflect badly on police work. As the Researchers put it, once digitised and shared, images that emerged from practices in a particular space-time event develop novel, newly emplaced meanings, as they can multifariously be related to and imbued with



significance. Lacking the in-group Experience to decode policing practice and its representations context-sensitively, encounters between SWP and MoP may therefore be interpreted as ‘misconduct’. Such could lead to calls for officers’ Social Death, despite their being completely in line with their role-provisions. As Brucato’s (2015) Research-plotting grants us insight to: Global, digitally-mediated circulation of ‘information’ about police misconduct is intended to function as a mobilising force to discipline police. Through the potential ‘outcry’ in response to Knowing-by-Seeing, individual officers and the police organisation were, in theory, to be held accountable for (systemic) rule-violations and forced to correct their wrongs (ibid., 43pp). Despite the lack of success to such ends in Brucato’s empirical insight-crop, SWP frequently invoke ‘fear’ of being captured on video and misrepresented, even if they ‘did nothing wrong’. Their job might be at stake nevertheless, as Dave explains, because an individual officer might no longer be permitted to perform in their role on the assumption of unprofessional behaviour. Once a civilian phone has captured police-practice “you never know where that video ends up [later]” and what people do with it (Dave). Taking into consideration the importance that SWP associate with personalised, face-based policing, such concerns obtain further dimensions: For once, the lack of faces on social media may make it easier to dehumanise those who police. Abstracted into a generic uniform-wearing body, one may disaffiliate with any emotional, empathetic bonds to relate to another human’s deeds and experience. A human who may ‘make mistakes’, improvise from expected norms and have emotions vanishes and is replaced by an Other, against whom ‘raging’ becomes a normalised interaction form⁵⁹ (more on offline ‘rage’ to follow). Conversely, if individual officer’s faces are captured, and then taken out of context, officers may suffer from personalised harm, e.g. in forms that Amber alludes to as ‘making oneself a target’ through social media posts as police. The uniform, as Allan also confirms, acts as an attractive element in other people’s perception that ‘draws them in’ and inspires ‘all sorts of’ interactions.

On a larger scale, and irrespective of the outcome of any accusations, spreading misconduct narratives can damage the police’s organisational reputation. Since ‘one officer stands for all’, this generic uniform suffices to ‘identify’ the community that expressed immoral, unsafe behaviour and implicate the entire family with sanction-worthiness. Bound by tribal duties,

⁵⁹ c.f. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08lgq9g>, last accessed: 10-11-2019, 17:19



and aligned with their collective body of the Police Family, SWP consequently have to invest extra efforts in being perceived as “the good guys” (Allan) and “make people *like* the police” (Jane) to correct Others’ perceptions. Any wrongly attuned perception schemes about interactions involving (generic) police uniforms have to be overwritten to enable fruitful and more positive interactions to take/make place. Underlying this is that alignments of bodies between MoP and SWP are affected by globally and locally; digitally and non-digitally interacting, entangled bodies, including norms, emotions, images and assumptions (c.f. Sumartojo, 2017).

To further illustrate the problem of misconceptions and their effects on the relationship (possibilities) between SWP and MoP, let’s return to the example Phil flagged up on Level 1. He explains that it is ‘safer’ for SWP to arrest someone, especially when said someone is “resisting arrest”, if there are several police officers involved: The capacities of limiting a MoP’s physical range of motion increases, if the policing bodies outnumber those they ‘deal with’ to ‘make safe’. Phil emphasises that a MoP is ‘distressed’ when being arrested, and ‘they can’t think clearly’. This meets the criteria for SWP to perceive of someone as vulnerable – which is also true for ‘not reasonable’ people like ‘drunks’ (Kyle; Dave). Once one ‘cannot reason with [someone]’ (Kyle), and any innate skills of ‘knowing how to talk to people’ fail, SWP authoritatively use their “power [e.g.] to take away someone’s liberty” (Mick). Thereby, officers may ‘make safe’ against the ideas of safety that MoP might hold: Deemed ‘vulnerable’, MoP are perceived as unable to provide for their own protection from harm themselves⁶⁰. In the scenario Phil describes, the ‘protection from harm’ that can be better ensured if more than one officer deals with an arrest is two-fold: Phil argues that desperate, upset people tend to struggle hard and develop strength and stamina that might pose a threat to the physical integrity of even the fittest police. Two people could compensate for that. Secondly, ‘fighting against an officer trying to arrest you’ involves all sorts of potential harm for the arrestee themselves, epitomised by suffering cuts from hand-cuffs, butting their head against the floor etc. Thus, ‘the more officers are involved, the safer’ a situation generally is (Phil; Allan). From the outside, however, and to those who lack policing XP, “that might look a bit much (...) [people might think it’s] excessive [and] brutal”

⁶⁰ Guidance on Safeguarding and Investigating the Abuse of Vulnerable Adults, 2012; briefing on Street Vulnerability, Western BCU, Chief Inspector Steve Jones



to have several officers arresting one person. An overabundance of police dealing “with one guy”, according to Phil, looks as though the police were collectively ‘bullying’ someone who would instantly be framed as someone who ‘probably hasn’t done anything wrong’. ‘What they don’t know’, in this instance is “how much force [SWP] are actually allowed to use [compared to] how little [SWP] actually *do* use it” (Phil⁶¹).

Dear Explorer! If you are keen to Learn more about “Handling People Safely”, consider yourself lucky! You can find an extended version of Phil’s Knowledge-sharing interactions with your ally in your Appendix pp304. Claim 33XP for such a detour.

Phil’s quote is part of a larger narrative about misconceptions with which SWP are directly confronted. ‘People often think [or] say we’re **brutal**’, Phil tells your ally: “but we’re not brutal...” ‘Brutal’ is an attribute Phil associates with ‘Continental police forces’, e.g. ‘German and French (...) or in the U.S’. He does not explicate why he deems them brutal, but Phil attributes a “[more] militaristic, authoritarian” style of policing with the former. ‘Forces’ in the USA serve as an example to highlight that using weapons (especially fire-arms) as police caters to an image of ‘brutality’ that adheres to officers as an institutionalised characteristic. Given that Phil does not provide a source for his perception of ‘brutal’ forces of continental European, or U.S. police family members, one might assume that he draws on similar ‘information’ as those misperceiving MoP he calls out for their lack of ‘Knowing’. Thus, Phil’s professional Experience is multiply entangled with global discourses about ‘the police’: It colours his own narratives and views on those he seeks to distinguish himself from (more on this shortly), and it affects interactions between MoP and him as the misperceived ‘generic Other’.

With a glance over your shoulder, you can benefit from an insight that grew from Hjorth & Pink’s (2014: 43pp) theory-plotting: Digital wayfaring practices interrelate the physical realm and the digital realm in multiple ways. All digital artefacts have their associated place-making practices, before they develop lives of their own in digitally mediated spheres of other (exchange; communication) practices. Phil himself informs your ally of those: He tells your ally that MoP more and more film SWP in pursuit of professional duties. This happens, as Phil argues, because civilians want to capture possible police misconduct in real-time to

⁶¹ c.f. Use of Force guidelines



instantly upload ‘evidence’ on social media (c.f. Brucato, 2015; c.f. Lemov, 2016). Hence, MoP engage in something that SWP refer to as “shoving their phones in [officer’s] face[s], when [they]’re trying to arrest someone (Phil).” Despite the fact that this is what Brucato’s (2015) theorising establishes to be a safe-making related behaviour, i.e. “ubiquitous surveillance” by responsabilised civilian community-members, Phil contends that “people are... putting themselves in danger [when] they get so close to a scene [when SWP arrest somebody] – (...) [I]t’s not safe...” for MoP to be so close when SWP enact their interventionist safe-making function. But civilians seem to wager their safety for the sake of getting a better picture; getting closer to the ‘action’. It is a frequent techno-human assemblage whilst your ally accompanies SWP on Afterdarks:

vignette 2: ‘people shoving phones in your face’ – a medley

We’re standing in a big throng in front of [club name] – and I take a minute to look around. Everybody, who is not on their phone to excitedly talk to someone and tell them about what’s happening, seems to be filming. I see a lot of tiny camera-lights, pointed at the scene. People in the crowd and in my back whispering; demanding; ordering... almost, as if they were the producer at a film set: “Did you get that?” – “Film over there!” And I wonder, where these videos go... Into a movie diary? ‘My Big Night Out?’ – more like ‘my big fight out’... “Did you get that police guy?” – What for?

memo after After Dark shift

“People will... shove their phones in your face... when you’re trying to arrest somebody. (...) Coz – that’s what people do.” (...) “It’s not safe. [...] [The people] are a physical obstacle to police work...”, so they could actually be arrested for that – for being in the way of policing in progress. It’s an offence. Not that the SWP have any capacity to also deal with that. Nor make people leave from the scene when they have an arrest to ‘deal with’. But – “We can take away their phones. – Confiscate them – say we need them for evidence (...) that usually makes them stop. [...] People don’t wanna lose their phone.” – “What can you do? (...) I just say: go ahead! Film me. (...) We’ve got the CCTV, anyway.”

memory protocol on basis of scribbles, After Dark with Allan



Those snapshots from the Researching journey indicate how globally mediated discourses are practically generated before they travel social media and can effect alliances of affective kinds against (or with) the SWP. Discursive digital bodies emerge as emplaced and affective (Pink, 2009: 23pp) in SWP’s direct, offline Experience and entangled with the broader background of officers’ future perspectives and Knowing about MoP’s misperceptions. Without confidence that those who encounter images of their in-role performances can ‘understand’ and rightly decode the digitised uniform’s engagements, SWP do not feel ‘safe’: Their risk of being mistaken for anything but their self-representational objective of ‘good, professional police officer’ grows with the growing audience of globally-distributed bodies of potential ‘judges’ of their performance (c.f. Foucault, 1977). The SWP (uniform) is exposed to an unknowable panel of potential Others and their meaning-making of them ‘out of context’: “[One can] never know what [MoP] do with those videos” (Dave), after all. An underlying assumption to drive such a narrative could be that MoP might use filmed ‘evidence’ to call for Social Death of ‘their’ community service. Such ties in with what Allan above points towards, and what has blossomed in the Theory-Garden on Brucato’s plot: Civilian camera-phone practices a.k.a. ubiquitous surveillance happens redundantly as expressions of a ‘lack of trust’ in proper policing (Brucato, 2015: 43pp). The redundancy of SWP performance videos happens as MoP produce footage of situations that are already visibilised through e.g. CCTV. Additionally, SWP wear body- cameras to generate video-material that complements written reports to visibilise and evidence all interactions with MoP. The latter are structured clan-specifically coded by the police’s Use of Force regulations that determine how to sanction overstepping of tolerable boundaries internally. However, SWP narratives indicate: The police’s good performance to make safe (places) is in question by MoP. Instead of expressing ‘trust’ in the community’s safe-makers’ capacities, filming policing actions is a practical move away from an alignment with SWP as a collective body. MoP enact their roles in a manner that SWP decode to the end that ‘their community’ questions the police’s capacities or willingness to make ‘safe places’, despite official role-prescription and all the safety-mechanisms associated with it to keep police from acting ‘out-of-character’. The latter coincides with role-specific behavioural codes to establish hegemonically designed safe places, and will be on topic for you travels through Level 3 and 4. Practices in which SWP are supposed to (re-)gain ‘the public’s’ trust, and to legitimise the



authority with which they enact their roles are Explored. Thereafter, your attention is nudged towards approaches to frame why civilian community members take on the role of ‘surveyor surveyors’ (c.f. Foucault, 1979: 202-3) who do not even trust the arguably objective footage from CCTV in local venues.

LEVEL 3: [Trust Re-Building: Robots versus Humans #1]



GOGGLES: LEVEL 3

Level by Learning...

...How SWP visibilise their (good) Performance to ‘evidence’ it publicly;

...About the relationship between Robotic principles that pre-structure policing enactments and feeling ‘safe’ as SWP;

...Different ‘special’ skills that SWP draw from in their pursuits of safe-(place-)making.



Challenge 3:

In line with this Level’s headline, your next step finds support from your opinion on the issue of “trust”.

Find task [t1] on page 330 and complete it before moving to [t2] on the next page.

After these exercises, your self-reflexive Knowing muscles should be steeled enough to brave entering Level 3.

Claim 22 XP to record this accomplishment!

[the SWP: A Diverse
Assemblage of Many
Forms]

self-visibilising...

...to ‘showcase good work’?



Dear, Explorers: Your cooperation is asked for. Imagine a ‘Robotic’, mechanic-sounding voice from the Off. One that just resonates with you, instinctively, as machine-generated – and fails to sound ‘Human’ (whatever that means to your cognitive framing of audio-data). If you are thus-inclined and currently engaging with technology that affords you co-LARPing over a screen, you may find the “Read Aloud”-function in your word-processing software. It should be hidden in the “Review”-segment on the top of your screen-window. Highlight the Verdana-fond text and click “Read Allowed” for an auditive Experience of the following announcement.

It is the voice of one of those obscure shape-shifters that you have Learnt of through the Campaign-brief. A Robot⁶² that threatens what it means to be Human!

“Establishing trust requires transparency. Police have to disclose every single interaction they engage with, as all of them comprise “use of force” if members of the public are involved.

Thus, every branch of the police family tree is required to log every job-related instance immediately. Every single officer who has been in touch with any ‘body’ related to an incident needs to file reports, and contribute to the large intelligence-data-base from whose data-corpus god, effective policing can be effected. Data analytics will establish patterns in Human behaviour that can thereon be controlled for at a larger scale. The database’s inherent objective knowledge will inform efficient policing through appropriate resource-allocation. The management of individual police officers will also be controlled through Big-data-driven approaches to visibilising their performance and making it measurable, comparable and transparent, i.e. open for judgment and holding them accountable. As such, officers’ performance can also be amended by providing them with detailed action-codes that diminish liability in their performances and ultimately eradicate misconduct. The public, by consequence, has no more reason not to ‘trust’ how their police performs: Every interaction will be pre-coded and predictable, according to the incident-classification logged.

⁶² What the Robot tells you relies on emerging Knowing throughout the empirical prequel uniform-following. Additionally, arguments reflect the Police and Crime Plan 2018-21. You can find relevant sections in Appendix “Police & Crime Strategy 2018-21”. It joins the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan/ Wellbeing Act discourse on safe-making.



On the basis of full disclosure, the public will See and Know that their police is abiding by their professional conduct-standards. The public is also brought into a position to survey their service-providers, and hold them accountable if their performance is judged inappropriate. Police are responsible to show what they are doing in the data-visibilising way that is legible for policy-making authorities, as well as in the digital mode of engagement the public is accustomed to: Social media posts. Every input onto the Twittersphere can thus be considered evidence of police-performance that represents a functional, rule-abiding organisation. Only on this basis can 'trust' be re-built. Through the tools of transparency and Big Data, the SWP can fix what has been broken.

End of message.”

Now that you have Learnt of the robotic principles to fix 'trust', it becomes the empirical challenge to reflect on how they find implementation, adoption, appropriation...i.e. actual use in how SWP police. In this Campaign specifically, the potential threats to Humanness comprised by such robotic prescripts for policing are of importance. This Level is concerned with the paradigm of posting and tweeting 'for evidence', which is revisited on Level 4. To orientate you through the LARPverse journey, the following uniform-Following takes the uniform 'seriously' by tracing its respective affordances and interactions they inspire. This links with what SWP 'can do' because of and with their costume and props. Through the uniform, SWP officers are entangled with digital and technological bodies that are directly perceivable, as well as indirectly tied to their role-enactments. By highlighting the affordances of the SWP uniform, you are heeding Ash's (2013) call for more attention paid to 'non-human' elements of and in social Research. Without the bodies to whom your focus is now turning, the SWP would not possess capacities to engage in practices like online visibilising or accumulating 'intelligence' in the ways they do. The next Levels' Explorations of the SWP uniform are structured according to their **relationship with** perceptions, feelings and constructions of '**safety**' from various bodily positions, i.e. how to Experience "safe places".

To ease you onto this new level, let's revisit a view that may bear resemblance from previous Learning encounters:



This Selfie shows the beginning of an Afterdark on Wind Street, as well as features of the uniform that you are about to Explore in more detail on Level 4. Most prominently: The body-worn camera featured on the officers’ right chest (black on high-vis yellow), and the walkie-talkie (“radio” hereafter) accompanying it.

For this Level, the hidden device of this Selfie is of focal importance: The smartphone with its camera through which the photographed

officer interrelates digital and non-digital visibilisations of SWP. Additionally, the uniform overall as a signifier for approachability is your ‘lead’ for your subsequent Exploration.

The text locates the tweeting position ‘on Wind Street’, whereas locals equally possess the perception schemes to decode the image’s background: It shows an NTE venue at the ‘top’ of Wind Street; recognisable for those ‘attuned’ to Swansea CC’s topography. Arguably more important is the face-showing through the digital wayfaring practice of posting such a Selfie: Four SWP officers look directly into the camera of a private phone which your ally knows to be that shift’s Sergeant’s. Thus, at least a fragment of the Afterdark are rendered personally recognisable and arguably to be held accountable for whatever policing encounters take place that night. Notably, the image was uploaded as the picture was taken, not retrospectively. The officers in the picture thus disclose their physical emplacement to a larger audience of possible performance-judges at (nearly) the same time they are perceivable offline without techno-digital mediation or co-assembled devices to afford encounters. Implications of this are discussed as you proceed.

Brought into the larger Learning-context of this Campaign, the above Selfie can be understood as an enactment of the “one tweet a day”-paradigm. SWP state a ‘strong encouragement’ (Kath) to make use of their own or their team’s Twitter-account for posting daily as a recently introduced, if unwritten, code of conduct their role implies. This is, according to Allan, another dimension of being a visible, reassuring presence where MoP spend most of their lives. He deems social media engagements a good way of interacting



with the (no further specified) public, e.g. to “show-case [the SWP’s] good work”.

Underlying this is the fact that SWP post, apart from their Selfies, (about) **good performance** that thereon visibilises on social media.

The first Selfie is arguably intended as reassurance to ‘the community’ that ‘their safe-makers’ are out on the streets if needed for safe-place-making. Additionally, the tweeted text informs Twitter-audiences that the police are briefed and ‘put in place’ where they ‘belong’ for the purpose of their job-performance. Thus, SWP are publicising openness and readiness for further offline-online encounters and interactions...of the friendly-preventative or interventionist kind. The second post your Researcher offers you to Explore is equally real-time emplaced where policing offline is translated into a digital artefact. Instead of featuring the capable safe-makers to represent the promise and presence of ‘safe places’, this post **reports** an outcome of successful policing: In eliminating unsafe driving



behaviours from potentially affecting others’ safety, SWP accomplished their tribal goal of ‘protecting vulnerable people from harm’. Publishing such news on Twitter helps increase the size of the possibly reassuring, safe-feeling audience, as the SWP’s digitised performance success-story enters into global social media data networks. One possible reasoning of tweeting about police conduct could therefore be

found in making a larger, more spatially and temporally disjoint community ‘feel safe’ by informing them about their safe-makers’ ‘good work’ (Döveling et al., 2018: 5-8): The reassurance-effect from visible policing would not have to rely on face-to-face offline encounters but could work by proxy through the SWP profile. The community’s decoding capacities, including knowing where one less likely encountered law-defeating driving behaviour after the SWP’s intervention, would determine the boundaries of generated reassurance-relationships.



On another level, the above tweet appeals to the behavioural norms that the community of law-abiding citizen-subjects are supposed to abide by: Its hashtag #YouKnowTheDrill invokes the rules for safe driving practice. Without further specifications, the post’s appeal-function to behavioural discipline only transmits the desired significance amongst those who share common values and practice-codes, including legal frameworks. To those, the tweet acts as a reminder that people whose behaviours deviate from those tolerable in ‘safe places’ face sanction because of the safe-makers’ presence.

Through online visibilisation practices, SWP arguably enforce a digital Panopticon-effect and deter norm-deviant behaviours. Joe proposes a similar notion as he posts a Selfie of him patrolling a Swansea park whilst the Researcher accompanies his shift. The officer explains that he complies with the ‘one tweet a day’-standard⁶³ because letting the public know police are around might best be achieved through a ‘news’ medium with which they actually engage regularly. Subsequent abidance by the Law through self-disciplining into norm-conformity would make the policed areas safe/r. Joe illustrates his rationale by contending that his Selfie with its physical and real-time place-markers visibilises the SWP uniform’s presence to ‘people who might want to sell drugs in the park’. Those people might thereupon ‘reconsider and not sell drugs [t]here, because they d[id]n’t want to get arrested’. He also admits that this ‘deterrence’-effect might simply mean that the crime happens somewhere else. But such a moving-on phenomenon, i.e. criminal behaviours moving away from likely offline uniform-encounters, would not diminish the fact that the police’s presence made the policed place safe/r, according to Joe. On that logic, the point stands out that, if there were more officers to patrol larger areas could be covered in which crime likelihood could be brought down.

Allan reflects the deterrence-function of offline visibilisations similarly when explaining the function of SWP Trigger Teams to keep crowds of people, e.g. festivalgoers, safe. The teams are emplaced for triggering criminals into giving their identity and/or intent away by acting

⁶³ From her understanding of the SWP’s opinion on the matter, your ally prioritises the use of a more normative, less choice-based term. She therefore does not use ‘recommendation’ to invoke the Twitter/PR-initiatives that were implemented and communicated on a top-down principle. Incidentally, the enthusiasm for especially real-time tweeting lessens as one descends the clan’s rank hierarchy.



suspiciously (see below) Ideally, however, (petty) criminals would leave the festival-area and “maybe go where [fewer] people are and there is less opportunity [to break the Law]” (Allan). Allan concludes: “We never know if what we [SWP] do has an[y] effect (...) We’ve done our job [well], if **nothing** [bad] **happens** (...)”, which means there is no unambiguous performance feedback. Statistics of non-crime are not kept, so that non-interventionist policing actions easily go un-perceived.

From these contemplations, the concept of ‘safety’ already emerges as relative. The perceived safety of real-time tweeting further exemplifies relativity on another level than the deterrence-conundrum. As previously indicated, not all SWP feel comfortable and confident in disclosing their real-time locality via social media: One might, thereby, make oneself a ‘target’ for negative interactions (Amber). Not Knowing whom they communicate their presence to disables e.g. Kath and Meghan from feeling ‘safe’ when tweeting on-duty with spatial referents connecting physical patrolled and digitally represented safe-made places. They disagree with the assumed positive effects of Selfie-posting and performance-updates in real-time for multiple reasons. One of them involves jeopardising their physical integrity offline. Should real-time posts be perceived and correctly decoded by those who do not belong into the community of shared values and conduct codes, SWP officers make themselves ‘targets’ for violations of in-group interaction-norms that guarantee safe places. Rather than being met with empathy, support and affiliations as a community, they might accordingly be assaulted. Experiences of that kind will be returned to later. They are not, however, where the officers’ reluctant embrace of the tweeting-policies ends.

...as professional and human?

Meghan’s cautioning against ‘putting too much about yourself online’ seems to flag up an issue of boundary-blurriness associated with the SWP’s social media engagements: On one hand, she argues that it could be dangerous to ‘give away too much’ about one’s personal life via social media. This links with ideas about making oneself a target for personalised assault, online *and* offline. However, like Dave, Meghan emphasises that she is not on social media as a ‘private’ person. Both officer’s dislike and perception of Twitter and Facebook as places where they don’t ‘belong’ draw upon their personality and out-of-character personae. Kath, too, reiterates Dave’s statement: “I don’t have a personal Twitter account.”, whilst adding that she nevertheless follows the ‘one tweet a day’-paradigm in her



professional function. Kath's alibi-reinforcement, i.e. the emphatic differentiation between 'professional' role-enactments online, and personal dislike for and absence from Twitter is important in many ways. As Bowman's theory-plot allows you to perceive: Bleed-management can function through such a reinforced separation-line between what one 'personally' stands for e.g. in terms of values or preferences, and what one 'has to do' as part of one's role-performance demands. Thus, SWP officers turn down 'personal' responsibility for their in-character actions on social media, with reference to those being 'part of the[ir] job', not their personal choice. Perceptions of being out of place on Twitter, or not doing one's proper job can thus be mediated, and one's continued playing as a recognisable character is made possible: SWP 'manage' (unwanted) Bleed and feelings of disaffiliation with their role, to further their tribal agenda of safe-making (in theory) (c.f. Bowman, 2015).

Simultaneously, invoking the personal attitudes towards social media also uncover how officers' 'personality' Bleeds into how they perceive and interpret their in-character play: Personal relationships to Twitter as a place affect professional engagements thereon. Most prominently stands Dave's example, who altogether refrains from tweeting, even professionally, because he seeks to reduce his vulnerability to repeats of being negatively affected by such exposure. Kath makes use of her Discretion when tweeting: Corresponding with her personal disaffection for "having [her] picture taken" and not liking to 'see [her] face on social media', Kath chooses to upload performance-outcome-only pictures on Twitter. "You're still showing that you're doing your job", she explains, whilst arguing that she would pose with the back of the uniform to the camera rather than taking a Selfie. These instances of using 'Discretion' highlight the blurriness of a constructed boundary between the professional and personal characters SWP play. They are also empirical examples of a variety of interpretations of the SWP's safe-making role that are still within the improvisational space for 'passing' as they illustrate 'policing styles' digitally.

On the other end of the proverbial spectrum of interpreting the tweeting-directive, personality also influences strong proponents of police's social media use for SWP: Allan, too, reinforces that he posts as a police professional. That notwithstanding, his out-of-character attitude towards Twitter differs largely from e.g. Dave's. Whilst the latter's professional role coloured his view of social media to such a degree that even outside of his



role he no longer dwells there, Allan does not prioritise Twitter’s affordances for sharing and spreading hostility and animosity. Allan largely frames social media in positive terms and uses it on-duty whilst keeping his “private side” concealed. Incidentally, that is also how he describes his offline shift-enactments, i.e. being friendly and approachable but not sharing personal aspects of his character with colleagues or other. On the same cautionary caveat, i.e. interacting in a purely professional manner, Allan finds social media a helpful ‘tool’ to engage (with) the public and showcase police work. Against the agreed-upon background that good news about police might not make it to the headlines⁶⁴ that Dave diagnoses, Allan wants to make best possible use of the SWP’s Twitter profile to promote work successes, a.k.a. “good performance”. Allan’s argument is that tweeting of successful arrests, raids and how SWP help make events safe can be capitalised to brighten the police’s image and insert positive associations with the SWP uniform, and the police family by association, into globally mediated discourses of e.g. #policeBrutality. In that sense, Twitter is used to rewrite the narrative about a specific clan amongst the police family in a more positive tone.

From a Researcher’s position amongst the insight-flowers in the Theory-garden, Twitter-posting can improve the self-perception of police family members, especially SWP, by visibilising how well they do their job. Apart from purely representing themselves in such a way, this ‘writing’ of their Self can already positively boast confidence as Research-plotting helped unearth (Sakr, 2012). ‘Confidence’ is what many SWP member bring up as crucial when ‘dealing with’ unpredictable situations and having to make split-second decisions without defined action-protocol: In order to rely on one’s skills and instinct (more on that shortly), one needs to trust in oneself, one’s job-performance capacities and one’s community for back-up. In other words: One needs to be confident in ‘who’ one acts as, and that said character is ‘one of the good guys’ to represent the values one’s performance seeks to express. Allan’s suggestions to highlight good performance would accordingly comprise the recognition that Dave misses when experiencing the Twittersphere. Posting

⁶⁴ If you wish to Explore some good news: <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/250k-cannabis-found-city-centre-14636766>. Incidentally, your Researcher-ally was party to the Afterdark shift that was diminished in officer numbers on the day the resin raid happened: “The entire afternoon shift is busy doing paperwork” (Brad), and officers who were supposed to be recruited for the Afterdark needed to man their neighbourhoods instead. (last accessed: 04-Dec-2019; 05:17)



‘good news’ would visibilise that SWP give ‘one-hundred-ten percent, all the time’ for the goal of safe-making (Dave).

Another story that SWP arguably tell about themselves revolves around their being ‘Human’, or ‘more than police’.



Expressed in this tweet about an officer’s bird-rescue is that police “care” about their environment and that, as well as how, they act in emotional, ‘human’ ways. This suggests their having ‘face(t)s’ with which they want others to engage, and with which they seek to be perceived: As ‘more than (just) police’. Linked with their tribal goal of safe-making, and

representational pursuits of being understood as officially authorised safe-makers, SWP accounts also express ‘collective values’ in tweets, e.g. goals found under #LiveFearFree, or speaking up against #ViolenceAgainstWoman. These discursive moves position the SWP’s digital uniform as ‘one of them’. The ‘them’ here refers to an unbounded, potential (imagined) discursive community of value-sharing. Through such a positioning, SWP digitally construct (c.f. Anderson, 1983) which values they seek to have associated with their uniform, and what they want to be perceived as in moral terms. By writing such a narrative into the interactive context of social media, SWP furthermore encourage value-based in a larger to-be-built community who is invited to discursively align with them (c.f. Levine, 2005). ‘Others’ can e.g. share the value-expressing hashtags and thus form a previously non-existing value-based community of belonging and safety. On a more direct experiential level from the SWP’s point of view, they are highlighting co-alignments of other civilian bodies that emerge through interactions as shown in this Selfie with a British singer after a concert. An underlying appeal might be that such siding with the SWP is therefore open to, and advisable for, other non-police. This would grow the supportive group of ‘allies’ to whom SWP can experience belonging, and from whom they do not have to fear any threats to their



role-performances. Furthermore, following the digital uniform’s interactions unveils once more how imperfect boundaries between Us/Them are, e.g. if the separation refers to ‘police/civilian’: There may be ‘more’ (c.f. Anderson, 2009) to those bodies involved than can be represented by (one of their) labels: ‘More than police’ underneath the uniforms may serve to tie together what appears discursively divided.



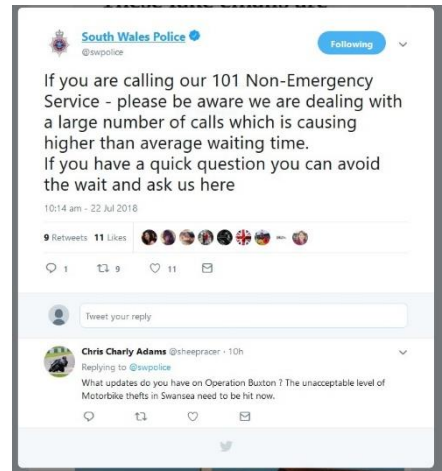
Through inserting bodies with which positive relationships can be established into the Twittersphere, SWP can— if put into a theoretical punnet – foster their sense of in-character safety. Officers digitally engineer a more positive meaning and sense of self-as-SWP (Howarth, 2001: 20) by ways of managing others’ attitudes and behaviours towards them(ibid.). This relies on the notion that interactions co-constitute role perceptions, i.e. what a role stands for. By implication, the SWP’s overall

position within the LARPverse also depends on relationships (to be) formed interactively. By using Twitter in a (professional) way, ultimately, SWP tweeters ‘make social media their place’ by dwelling on it and seeking to change how it (O’Gorman, 2014: 284-5) makes them feel and affords interactions with others: SWP (can) ‘do’ Twitter-placeness differently (Duff, 2010) and rebel against prevailing conduct norms. Those may include emotional positionings ‘anti police’ (Dave).

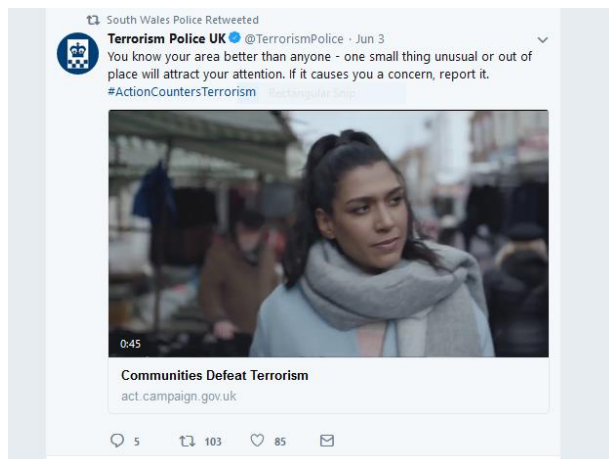
This does not cancel out the perceived threat Amber and Meghan highlight. Instead, these elaborations may link to another shade of a threat underlying the SWP’s use of social media and a suggested professional-personal-‘boundary’: Even in one’s demonstrably professional function and through the clan’s avatar, i.e. the SWP Twitter profile, one is not ‘safe’ from acting as though one was in a private function. Such would, however, violate the conduct-codes for professional SWP characters, i.e. be ‘out-of-character’ for their safe-making



pursuits. Whether or not he considers “silly stuff” tweeted from police accounts as expressions of ‘personal’ roles does not emerge from Phil’s accounts. He is very explicit in dismissing that silly posts from police belong on social media, however. To clarify this: Phil sees usefulness in having a SWP Twitter profile to post “important stuff”. In that category fall information e.g. to warn and advice the public in real-time about crime.



Additionally, social media is used by SWP for greater ‘community cooperation’ in the safe-making process. Alongside Safer Swansea policy-directives that have police work more closely with ‘the community’ to deliver the ‘service’ of feeling safe (e.g. by obtaining safety-priorities and information about how SWP are perceived by MoP), SWP also use their approachability and established trust-relationships to obtain “intelligence” from MoP (see Level 1). In analogy to that, Twitter serves as a platform to appeal for



intelligence and cooperation: Such information may refer to stolen objects, ASB reports in one’s neighbourhoods, observed “suspicious behaviour” (see tweet on the left) or “Missper”: Missing Person cases that are supposed to be supported by mobilising the larger community of responsabilised community-members into

the policing practice. MissPer and/or suspects are also ‘followed’ on social media to possibly gather information about their personal whereabouts: Physical locations may be deduced from personal information that is made available on private social media accounts – which is arguably the flipside of what Amber and Meghan find worrisome about social media.

Through use for intelligence-generation, social media is a stage on which the SWP’s digital uniform is afforded interactions with different kinds of data to ‘perform better’ in their safe-making function.

If the digital uniforms’ visibilisations pursue the same duties that SWP claim to be their tribal deeds offline, Phil has no problem with the clan’s safe-place-making in online



domains. However, he enthuses ‘I could scroll through the Twitter timeline’ and find ‘silly stuff’ that ‘nobody needs’ tweeted from SWP-affiliated users. To exemplify silly police tweets, Phil tells your ally about “Twitter Wars”. This term describes mock ‘battles’ between different SWP divisions for more spectacular cases to be solved, i.e. ‘better performance’ accomplishments. Once such performance success was accomplished, teams would “pose in front of the camera (...) [making] the victory-sign” with their hands (Phil). As such, the teams used Twitter, as e.g. Allan recommends, for ‘showcasing good work’ and to reassert their investment in their work. However, these representations of policing celebration are judged inappropriate for professional officers’ conduct by Phil.

In light of the SWP’s offline engagements and emphatic proclivity to ‘friendly banter’ as Modus Operandi on-duty, one might draw parallels to the Twitter War phenomenon. As humour-savvy self-representation, it would serve to advance the discourse of SWP as ‘the good guys’ who ‘know how to have a laugh’. When your ally accompanies Eli, he tells her about ‘playing practical jokes’ on (civilian) community-members to show ‘good humour’. This ‘taking the Micky out on’ (Eli) each other works because of shared values in the form of (good) humour, and common knowledge ‘how to have a laugh’. On Twitter, posts equally draw from a shared place-specific mode of engagement, including memes, irony and puns. All of these require specifically honed perception-schemes to ‘make sense’ as banter, rather than ‘silly stuff’.

Self-representations as knowledgeable in humour can be found in ‘police talking to other police’ instances, and banter-exchanges between SWP and civilian-presenting accounts: The latter often involves re-tweeting or joining in on jokes from police accounts.



The former can function as Bleed-management and reinforcement of police-family-related community ties (Saleh & Zakar, 2017). In a position in which their online surroundings may not offer much ‘gratitude’ and welcoming interactions from ‘Others’ (represented by civilian accounts),

SWP may share humorous banter to bolster each other’s confidence and offer support.



Postings ‘to themselves’ can thus be advantageous for a ‘good morale’ (Jane) amongst people whose professional Experience gives them little ‘to laugh about’ (Mick). For Jane, upholding a “good morale amongst colleagues” is vital, because one’s ‘spirit’ affects not only one’s job-perception, but also the “enthusiasm” with which policing is practiced. Without a “**passion**” for one’s job, fostered by in-group support and

humour amongst colleagues, officers stop ‘caring’ about their role. They lose interest in doing their job well and fall out of love with what your co-LARPers unanimously deem “an important job”: Safe(-place)-making. Whilst the importance of the job is also reflected in officers’ self-perception as performing said job-role, they also express difficulties in ‘dealing with’ a highly ‘stressful, demanding’ and “grim” (Mick) professional everyday. Thus, working towards in-group ‘good spirits’ is another mechanism of safe-making: It allows SWP characters to stay in role and compensate for negative in-role Experience, including stress and previous negative (emotional) affectedness. Apart from this Bleed-management that sets SWP up affectively for managing their emotion-displays in interactions with MoP, i.e. for a professional appearance as police officers who can keep their calm, their internal support-networks grow stronger.



...as special?

Furthering that, SWP social media activity also accentuates the SWP’s performance to express officers’ “**pride**” as an emotional outcome of their job, and how they self-perceive as professionals. The expression of pride on Twitter takes on the form of hashtag-sharing including #JobLikeNoOther, and #ProudToServe⁶⁵, whereas offline articulations of ‘pride’ in their job infuse SWP narratives about their clan specificity or ‘specialness’. SWP construct themselves as ‘special’ in their friendliness and approachability. You have already Learnt on Level 1, that such distinct characteristics demarcate SWP as different from ‘brutal’ “police forces” (Eli; Phil). Apart from being purely defined through a constitutive ‘outside’, SWP perceive themselves as special because of how they interact with ‘the[ir] community’: Through (friendly, joking) banter, ‘actually caring’ as well as ‘actively listening’. Their uniform as an overall assemblage is supposed to invite interactions with MoP, i.e. signify approachability. Desirable relationship-formations of policing are often summed up as “having a chat”.

Dear Explorer! When was the last time you had ‘a chat’ with someone? – Have you ever had a chat with a police officer? – There is a Campaign in the LARPverse that you, too, can be part of in your role-enactments outside of this ethnographic place-making. Find your local ‘copper’ to have a ‘cuppa’ with and chat with a representative of your local safe-making clan! If you are keen on a South Wales encounter on a Monday afternoon, see:

<https://www.swansea.gov.uk/article/15016/Cuppa-with-a-Copper> (last accessed 12-11-2019, 11:22).

(another voice from the Off appears)

It is time to get into an active Exploring-role, now. You have thus-far been following the Following of the SWP uniform guided by your Researcher-ally. Now, imagine yourself in her position – having observed interactions between SWP; obtained insights into their meaning-making; Experienced some Knowing...To the end of emerging questions. Questions that, once asked, bring to the fore seemingly self-evident answers. If you will: Co-experience this and play Researcher for a moment. The behavioural rules you to follow are simple: By proxy of written words, you can ask (lengthily formulated, oftentimes multiple sentences

⁶⁵ This hashtag occurs in connection with either the term ‘police’ or #Police. It may otherwise also refer to e.g. military services.



comprising) questions about situations unfolding around the SWP uniform. Read them out as though they were emerging from you, rather than this script. The response is invariably: “Have a chat.” Depending on your medium of engagement, you may have it read out to you by your “Read Aloud”-function in the software that is currently affording you to journey the LARP-verse through a screen: Highlight the sentence “Have a chat” and click on ‘Read Aloud’, when you are done asking the question. Alternatively, you may do as Researchers do and note down your observations and ‘insights’ in writ.

Ready?

DETOURS: Have a chat.

What do SWP like Phil do, when they see someone acting in a manner that is deemed “suspicious behaviour”, such as walking past parked cars repeatedly, testing door-handles and glancing through the windows?

The response:

What does e.g. Eli do, when he spots someone fidgeting, not meeting his eyes in a crowd; or walking around restlessly, pumping his fists and clenching his jaws?

The response:

What does Mick do when someone walks ‘seemingly aimlessly’ around, crosses the street when uniformed officers are nearby, and before Mick decides to carry out a full stop-search⁶⁶ on someone?

The response:

How does Eli prefer acting out his safe-making function, as opposed to having to deescalate situations and/or “locking someone up”? Instead of doing that, he would rather...

Your response:

⁶⁶ ‘Stop-Search’ refers to a policing practice in which MoP are ‘stopped’ by police and have their clothes, bags and bodies ‘checked’ for illicit objects, like drugs, weapons or stolen goods. This has to happen on “reasonable grounds” (Joe) - a charged term! Over the course of this Campaign’s prequel, the parameters for ‘reasonably stop-searching someone’ have become stricter. Without them, MoP can complain i.e. press charges against having been stop-searched, which reflects badly on officers’ performance. Mick’s “having a chat” helps him trace ‘suspicious’ behaviours and corroborate the initial instinct that drove him towards MoP.



What is Jane’s strategy for getting to know her special position’s vulnerable clients, and the reason for her ‘sitting around’ in drop-ins that they can attend? – She says, she wants to...

The response:

When Mick pulls a vehicle over because of unsafe driving behaviour, he uses his people-reading skills to decide whether someone is going to ‘get away with a verbal warning’ or needs an actual sanction. To establish whether said Other is a member of the shared value community and reacts politely and with respect, or whether said member is ‘rude’ and possibly even lies, Mick needs to...

The response:

Thanks for your cooperation. That sheds light on quite some things.

Or does it?

The rationale underlying these ‘chatting’ techniques link directly with the previously mentioned ‘special’ skills SWP claim for themselves. When your co-LARPer invoke that they can ‘read people’, issues like MoP’s body-language come up. Eli specifies that ‘fidgeting’ and not meeting an officer’s eyes is tell-tale, whilst he specifically watches for what the MoP’s hands do: Are they being clenched into fists; wander around; are they hidden from the officers’ view? Before he singles out a person to ‘read’ more closely and have a chat with, Eli uses another, related, skill: ‘[R]eading the crowd’ and ‘the atmosphere’ (c.f. Brad). This is to ascertain whether it is a conglomerate of ‘happy people’, generating a ‘friendly atmosphere’ like on a ‘family event’ (Allan; Eli) which allow for officer’s feeling safe (see Level 1), or whether it is an “atmosphere of violence” (Brad), in which aggression and fights are “something in the air” (Rob) that one ‘cannot put one’s finger on’ (Eli), but that definitely informs SWP’s behaviours. Having a chat also, as in Phil’s case, serves to identify “when someone lies to you”. Such a behaviour violates in-group codes of ethical interaction and corresponds with a behavioural and discursive shift from ‘having a friendly chat’ to becoming active in disciplinary, authoritative ways of safe-making. Adjustments of ‘how to talk to people properly’ are one way of policing in ethical response-ability to those who are ‘always different’ in their needs, wants and capacities. Intriguingly, Eli and other SWP use the term “know your *audience*” to describe the Knowing that helps them decide about their tone and diction.



Phil deems himself a liar-spotter by ways of his ‘natural’ communication and listening skills. He backs up his “instinct”, which Kyle also invokes as the SWP’s ‘special weapon’, with data e.g. from CCTV⁶⁷. However, most of the skills that your co-LARPer use has grown and been honed by “Experience” – by “making mistakes and Learning from them”(Eli; Allan; c.f. Pink, 2009: 35) in interaction with others, i.e. by ‘doing real work’. For Eli, this means that when he relies on his Knowing to “talk people down”, he may ‘say the wrong thing’ or ‘in the wrong way’. This could then mean that the other person ‘blow[s] up in [his] face’ as Eli Learnt by Experience. He would draw behaviour-informative conclusions from such instances, i.e. ‘not react the same way in a similar situation’. As Eli underlines, it is always best to “have a chat with somebody” in a preventative fashion. He tells your ally that he would readily “spend hours...talking to someone”, trying to “find out what’s wrong” with them – i.e. why they behave in ways that raise Eli’s suspicion – and possibly even physically remove them from the place in which they are deemed unsafe: “I’d take them into my car...for a drive [around]” and chat. From ‘actively listening’ and taking seriously people’s worries, Eli expects a ‘calming’ effect that will readjust the other’s behaviour to safe-place appropriate conduct (c.f. Strathmann & Hay, 2009: 224). His sharing of support and concern makes the MoP feel cared for and a member of a community of belonging and shared values, including associated trust-relationships and a feeling of safety from mutually protecting bonds of (emotional) co-alignment. When dealing with ‘upset’ individuals, who yell and shout, Eli also highlights that he stays ‘polite’ and ‘calm’ – he represents the authority figure whose behaviour is appropriate for the shared place and its behaviour-norms. Whilst Eli admits he would normally ‘tell them to eff off’, he also sees that this would make MoP ‘even more aggressive’ i.e. counteract the safe-place-making strategies Eli prefers. The officer accordingly manages himself into calmness when interacting with someone to be made (feel) safe. ‘Talking to people properly’ consequently makes doubly safe: The individual Other is made to feel safe, and the larger community is made safe/r by having a potential ‘threat’ to its safe-place atmosphere removed: Physically, or by pre-emptively de-escalating the aggressive potential.

With view to Eli’s framing as possessing this ‘special skill’, he again invokes his personality. Accordingly not everybody wearing the SWP uniform is fit for this style of safe-place-making.

⁶⁷ c.f. The Why Factor “Intuition: Why We Should Trust It”, BBC Radio 4



Internal clan stratification, Eli explicates, hinges on Experience and policing styles: Some people (amongst the SWP) may be good at talking to female abuse survivors, who need a calming influence. Other officers are better at obtaining background intelligence and stimulating people’s memories when ‘chatting’ with witnesses. This division of labour is key, as “everybody is different” (Allan; Eli; Mick), including police. The SWP draw another discursive parallel between them and others amongst the larger community of Humans in pointing this out on several occasions, i.e.: SWP are ‘just like anybody’ – ‘nobody is perfect’ and ‘nobody can do everything (well)’. Relatedly, all officers go through Learning processes of mistake-making. These are intimately bound up with people reading, and on a larger dimension “**Knowing the[ir] community**”. Via ‘really getting to Know the people’, as Jane and Kath emphasise, one can form (positive) personal bonds with community-members and develop a ‘feeling’ for how to talk to them⁶⁸. This implies a refinement of ‘talking to people’-skills, in that not every interaction happens along the same patterns: Every ‘case’ and interaction is different. Accordingly, one has to ‘really listen’ and attune to the needs, wishes and emotions of those one engages with: Be it upset or suspicion from former negative Experience that require calm and care to be displayed; be it an attitude of disrespect that manifests in lying to officers, which require Mick to be punitive and Kath to be authoritative when speaking to “sassy students”, or through joking with (drunk) community members to divert their ‘tension’ and make them ‘cool off’ before they ‘kick off’ (Eli). You will Explore later, how other ‘special skills’ and personality-traits also feature in the SWP’s toolkit for safe-place-building and fending off robotic infiltration.

These illustrations of ‘knowing the community’ sketch out how (well) SWP know the ‘place’ of their policing. Through engaging with always-different MoP during policing space-times, they grow better at ‘reading’ the people and honing their instincts: Through trialling and erroring their policing strategies, they acquire real-life data back-up for the ‘feeling’ that initially informs their pursuits. Gathering XP and skill-honing via attuning to people and place is the basis for officers’ differently “confident” exercise of Discretion: The more XP and Learning, the more ease officers show when making decisions that are not ‘by-the-book’. Phil explains that rookie officers are glued to protocol and no good at policing, because they cannot talk to people properly, and they cannot flexibly adjust to situations as they happen.

⁶⁸ c.f. The Why Factor, BBC Radio 4 “Intuition: Why We Should Trust It”



They have to Learn, make mistakes, and feel the contrast between theory and practice: “[Y]ou have to **get in there**...and just do it”, as Phil and Eli explain, when elaborating on how one Learns to ‘do the right thing’ in a given situation. There is, after all, “no time to think” (Phil; Mick) in most cases. That such situations make for the importance of ‘intuitive decision-making’ has, supportively, grown out of The Why Factor’s Research-plot. In it, one may also pluck the insight-fruit that ‘intuition’, i.e. instinct’ can be upgraded and backed up by ‘data’ e.g. from larger scale sampling or observation of outcomes⁶⁹. Furthermore, their Research-crops sustain what this Campaign indicates, i.e. that inter-personal relationships are an environment in which instincts are more trust-worthy than in absolutely unknown settings where following one’s ‘gut’ equals chancing it. For the same reason that more XP is associated with more reliable in-role skill-applications, i.e. intuitive decision-making, SWP like Susann (who has been on a maternal leave and just returned) decidedly state that they feel more ‘confident’ and absolutely ‘safe’ with Experienced colleagues by their side. Those, they can trust unconditionally and on rely on for help, if they themselves don’t know how to act. Conversely, one might intimate that the feeling of safety in-role is reduced, if teams – due to ‘low numbers’ and/or ‘paperwork duties’ (see Level 4) are only staffed by single officers.

In their repeated affirmation of “knowing how to talk to people properly” and “knowing how to have a laugh” even in dire situations, SWP mark themselves out as a ‘special’ branch of the policy family tree. Their special skills allow them to deviate from automated policing protocols on the basis of their “instinct” (Kyle) – this is an analytical taste you may be familiar with, when reminiscing about your Take-Away of ‘skills’ catered by Ingold (2017: 159-160). Such an instinct may be understood as a special sense that finds application when ‘engaging with people’ and can be honed through such real-work role-enactments. One can, however, also “**de-skill**” (Rob) by either repeating ‘the same thing over and over again’, as Allan asserts when speaking of being ‘in the same [job-]position for too long’. This topic comes up when he explains that SWP are encouraged, and can be observed to, change their internal clan position in terms of their task-focus regularly. Thus, officers may be frontline response officers, work in interviewing settings at the HUB or go on plainclothes missions with the CID, depending on which ‘skills’ they seek to acquire or hone. Officers stay ‘safe’ in

⁶⁹ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3csyv04>



their role and capacities for ‘good policing’ by making new Experiences (and mistakes) and Learning from those whilst training to adjust to novel environments and associated bodies (of work). If they do not, the threat of skill-loss looms large, i.e. falling into a habituated routine, robotic (Phil) enactment of one’s job, without passion (Allan), and without the care needed to consider every case on its own. De-skilling is especially threatening through engagements broadly framed as “paperwork”: Managerial tasks. By association, SWP positions held by “managerial types” are endangered by de-skilling. Officers in such positions, a.k.a. (in some situations) “bosses”, “forget **what it’s like to be police**” (Dean), i.e. to be ‘in the streets’ and actually engage with the public. In such statements, bosses are Othered internally: Their XP no longer imply their alignment and common foundation for understanding and empathy to be ‘equals’ to e.g. frontline officers. They become someone who ‘do[es]n’t understand what it’s like to be police’ anymore. This Othering is later also associated with emotion-management tasks performed by officers that seek to make Others ‘happy’. Similarly problematic about “admin” or “managerial tasks” of SWP characters is that officers, in their offices, invisibilise from the interaction-based LARPverse: Allan describes “nobody see you in your office...doing paperwork all day”. Which is nevertheless something that ‘has to be done’, because it is part of his job. “Paperwork” is a part of his role, however, that is not the ‘real work’ of engaging with the people; not direct safe-place-making. Neither is office-based work considered skill-honing in ways that enable officers to intuitively react to those one encounters, and talk to them (properly) so as to ‘make safe’ professionally. Thus, it makes one prey to Robotisation...

Jane, who states that her job mainly involves “admin” as she is interviewed by your Researcher-ally, highlights that she values the unpredictability of policing Wind Street at night because “it is a change from (...) sitting in front of [her] computer [at the office] all day”. Mick seconds this valorisation of Afterdarks, and highlights that it is part of the “exciting stuff” that police-roles comprise. ‘Unpredictability’, which is often invoked to describe police work in general and Afterdarks in particular, can thus be beneficial, because it ‘keeps [officers] sharp’, as they always have to be ‘switched on’ to make “split-second decisions” (Eli). This attunement of keeping one’s reactive capacities highly alert, however, is as wearying (Ash, 2013b) as computer-screen interactions can be. Some SWP thus contend that “[one] can only deal with so much drunk [fights]” (Geena) before it gets



‘tedious’ or ‘boring’. Those experiential attributes would bring with them the danger of losing sharpness and focus, and monotonously act in a *Robotic* fashion on the assumption that every situation is ‘the same’ and requires the same protocolled conduct. Such a threat even affects Afterdarks wherein one can never fully predict what exactly happens. Dean sums their shifts up as “always the same” regarding the types of policing enacted on Wind Street shifts. Hence, the changes amongst specific SWP positions also cater to keeping officers ‘on the ball’ (Jane) and ‘passionate’ about their job-role.

...as authority-figures?

Having a passion for one’s job and being proud to be police might take on the form of Twitter Wars and poses of Victory on social media as previously Explored: One keeps one’s morale high by friendly banter with colleagues through digital social co-alignments. Those, however, lend themselves to perceptions as “silly stuff” which may counter the notion of ‘safety’ depending on one’s interpretation. Phil’s statements suggest that such deemed silly interactions online imply a two-fold ‘unsafe’ behaviour by police. For once, in line with Phil’s notion that nobody but police follow police-Twitter-accounts anyway, he accuses those ‘putting silly stuff online’ of ‘not doing real work’: By practices summed up as “police talking to themselves” police are not ‘engaging with the public’. They thus do not pursue behaviours associated with their role, and may not be recognisable as (professional) police characters. Relatedly, the SWP’s online interactions would not cater to the tribal goal of ‘making safe (places)’, either. Secondly, Phil puts emphasis on a threat underlying these ‘silly’ online behaviours that he also detects in digital wayfaring offline: A potential loss of ‘respect’ from MoP because SWP are not acting according to the display-codes for “**authority** figure[s]”. ‘People don’t take you seriously’, Phil warns when speaking about the perception MoP must have of police who tweet ‘silly stuff’. It is important for Phil, despite the ‘approachable, friendly’ image of good guys that SWP portray, to still maintain “an authority figure” reputation: Someone to be respected and taken seriously, rather than being ‘made fun of’ or ‘mocked’. By risking a perception as ‘silly’, the one stands for all paradigm becomes more immanent: Deemed unprofessional, globally visibilising conduct may imply an organisational image-damage that threatens the tribe and its meaning as a whole. Perceiving or fearing such an image-loss intimates certain idea(l)s underlying the ‘professional police officer’ that will be Explored on the Plateau of Discussion in more depth.



The notion of MoP ‘taking it too far’ in the friendly, banter-based interactions with ‘their’ community also finds its way into Allan’s narratives. Phil’s problem with how some (!) police use their Twitter accounts in ways that can appear ‘foolish or silly’ compared to a representational standard of authoritativeness criticises the officers’ behaviours. Allan additionally highlights that some MoP might “make a fool of [SWP]” by over-exploiting signalled friendliness and banter-exchanges. As a clear proponent of “having a laugh” with people, Allan has not turned down a single Selfie-request whilst your Researcher-ally patrolled with him. However, he makes the point of saying that he does not give away his Bobby Helmet lest someone steal it. People might want to ‘run away with it’, rather than merely pose, as he points out. This is an instance that he recalls from Experience. Moreover, your ally is privy to an exchange in which the ‘banter’ escalates: Allan is jumped by an inebriated MoP, who mock-strangles the officer whilst trying to get his Bobby Helmet. The situation is defused instantly, and Allan loses his usually beaming smile temporarily when he bids the MoP good-bye (without a photo). Allan tells the Researcher that, in this case, it is ‘difficult for those around [him] to see’ if it was ‘fun’ or not. He also refuses to be ‘taken for a fool’ or ridiculed (c.f. Dave) – “we’re still the police, after all”. Being chased or having to chase someone because a part of the uniform is nicked as a trophy



does not fall within the proper professional conduct code. For a visual imprint upon you: A female (left) and male (right) Bobby Helmet⁷⁰.



They make their appearance in SWP’s

narratives about “drawing the line [somewhere]” with view to how much approachability is within the role-permissiveness: Taking off the Helmet is often considered out of the question, as though a loss of (part of) one’s costume made one more vulnerable to respect-less, out-of-character interactions, too.

These argumentations suggest that there is an image of ‘proper police’ that underlies the SWP’s in-role performances and finds expressions mostly when they are challenged. While the normative, ideal type of SWP is friendly and approachable, Jane pinpoints other criteria for a ‘good police officer’ as: “You have to **fair**, but **firm** (...) [You have to] treat everyone equally (...) [and] **be consistent** in how you act.” Such a consistency does not mean,

⁷⁰ (source: <http://www.qcmilitaria.com>, last accessed 04-12-2019, 17:56)



however, that one enacts certain prescribed codes and robotically engages with every other person the same. ‘Equal’ treatment instead alludes to Human interactions on the basis of face-based responses to specific Others (Pollard, 2015: 365) Jane says, and practically confirms, that she adjusts her policing performance in accordance to those she encounters on-duty. ‘Happy drunks’ are merited a Selfie with her, if they “ask [her] respectfully” and if they are “polite” in the encounter. If people are ‘rude’ and ‘obnoxious’, however, Jane turns requests for Selfies down. Ultimately, if she has personal out-of-character relationships with people met on-duty, she steps temporarily out of her role and might allow MoP to wear her Bobby Helmet for a brief moment of photographing: Her ‘personality’ affects how she uses her Discretion, as well as she is led by her **instinct**. The latter tells her how another person perceives of and interacts with her. In accordance with that relational input, Jane decides to be “friendly” or “stern”. Relative to those Jane engages with, her costume also serves different role-enactments: It is either defended as a symbolic of police authority, or to co-align friendly, happy community-members on a Selfie. The Bobby Helmet exemplarily suggests the ambivalence with which the SWP uniform inspires relationships to form, and which broad variety of meanings can be attached to it.

LEVEL 4: [Trust Might Break – But So Does Data]



GOGGLES: LEVEL 4

To Level Up, Learn...

...more about the special (Human) skills with which SWP ‘make safe (places)’;

...what “paperwork” and omniscient surveillance have to do with “feeling safe” in one’s role and place;



...how ‘getting in there’ and ‘dealing with it’ structure the narratives of SWP about themselves in many ways.



Challenge 4:

The next step upwards brings you even closer to the Plateau of your journey. To make sure your thought-muscles are ready for action to ‘deal with’ what you encounter next, find page 321 in your Companion: Think through [i1] and [i2] for five minutes to reconnect with ‘where you are’ on this journey.

Help yourself to a serving of 11XP for that.

vignette 3: At Phil’s office

On the screen, we see how the man lashes out (at the camera?) – his hands are tied to his back, but he tries to head-butt Phil (from whose chest-camera⁷¹ we observe the scene). The man is saying all sorts of harsh things about how Phil abuses his power to make up for some “inferiority complex” – that he (Phil) became police, because he flunked at school. If Phil didn’t have any problems with his ego, he would surely not have become a police officer to abuse his powers, is one of the suggestions that the suspect makes. He also repeatedly spits at Phil – and when that is not enough anymore, the man starts hitting his own head against the van. Phil wants to stop that – we see his arms, trying to restrain the man, who then kicks in the direction of the camera. Then he shouts for help, claiming that Phil was brutalising him.

CF: “How could you keep calm in that situation?”

“Phil: “You just have to (...) There’s no point getting loud...or violent [...] – That’s what he wants.”

Phil thinks that his ‘calm nature’- “I’ve always been a calm person.”- helps him deal with such situations. That, and the awareness that it is his duty to protect and keep people from harm. Thus, he cannot cause (more) harm to a person he understands to be vulnerable. No matter how harshly the other is behaving towards him. He reiterates that ‘if we break the law, how can we lock them [emphasis] up for breaking it?’, meaning that he has to ‘stay

⁷¹ The official name of the device is “body-worn camera”, but your ally uses short-hand in this vignette, which is taken from her memory protocols after the shifts with SWP members.



calm’, thereby abide by the rules of ‘lawful’ policing. He hopes that his calmness helps him wait the other person’s misdemeanour out. “He’ll wear himself out, eventually.” Phil contends. –

memory protocol, NPT shift with Phil

A Uniforms Affective Relationships

The above encounter was afforded to you via another technological body that is co-assembled with the SWP’s uniform: A body-worn camera (see Set-Up for a photographic impression). Its mediating capacities, through multiple levels of entanglement, grant you insight into how the SWP uniform functions to technologically visibilise and datafy their in-role pursuits (Sumartojo et al., 2016). It serves to ‘evidence’ and materialise as camera-footage what and how SWP do when they are supposed to make (feel) safe. Through the datafication of on-duty interactions between SWP and MoP, body-worn cameras are supposed to directly record, and enable officers to better account for, any ‘use of force’. The latter is a generic term for every encounter between MoP and SWP in their professional role. Generating digital and video-artefacts of policing is part of the designed strategy to (re-)establish the police, and the SWP, as ‘trustworthy’, as record-keeping is deemed to permit full transparency and performance-disclosure (c.f. Police and Crime Plan 2018-21). SWP officers your ally accompanies use their cameras at their Discretion, even though they are encouraged to *always* film when they pursue their professional duties. Despite such a recommendation, however, not every SWP officer (at the time of Researching) possesses a body-camera (the official goal was to equip 100% of staff by 2018) to complement their uniform. Thus, officers are not afforded the ‘evidencing capacities’ that camera-footage of their in-character performance might provide. This has been explained by lack of funding, at the time your Researcher-ally Learnt from SWP.

Those who *did* wear body-cameras at that time by and large agreed to always switching their cameras on when responding to calls⁷². Their arguments spoke of how a body-camera’s filming capacities imbue SWP’s in-role Experience with ‘security’ and ‘confidence’:

⁷² The use(fulness) of body-cameras in preventative functions is not problematised on this mission, because the Researcher did not Experience any situation in which body-cameras had been turned on pre-emptively. Based on the SWP’s largely ‘trusting’ perception of ‘feeling safe’ in community-policing pursuits, she did not venture down such investigative pathways. They may, however, offer Exploring-potential for future Campaigns.



In case of misconduct allegations, officers have a ‘back-up’ of their datafied uniforms that supports their claims and accounts of interactions (c.f. Sharon, 2017). As such, the device earns a safe-place-making function for those to whose costume it is attached because of the historical context it is intertwined with: Experience SWP have and had with civilians whose lack of trust led to misconduct-claims makes SWP feel ‘safer’ in their role as reputable good guys, if they can ‘evidence’ their performance seemingly objectively through passive filming.

In the Garden of Theory, the introduction of body-worn cameras as Researched by Jennings et al. (2014) sprouted insights that differ with view to ‘safety’ (to be) technologically generated. The Researchers’ insight-crops reflect how U.S. officers’ in-role behaviour was supposed to be ‘disciplined’ through the camera-introduction (2014: 549; 552). By Knowing that their every move was digitally archived, officers were deemed under the Panopticon-effect which would improve their internalised abidance by codes of conduct, i.e. play-rules for moral safe-makers (ibid.). On that note, Phil’s above-reflected ‘calmness’ may be part-‘natural’ and part-aided by his Knowing about potential future sanctioning should he violate his character-card provisions on video. However, SWP officers do not actively invoke such a suggestion. Neither do they particularly rely on their camera’s ‘seeing’ capacities as a means of keeping MoP’s behaviour in check, either. Whilst theoretically, self-discipline should be enforced by an awareness of potential sanction and the function of video-footage as ‘evidence’ of Law-breaches, deterrence of misbehaviour is not a phenomenon that either the uniform in full or the camera can effect. Only Phil’s and Eli’s narratives about the Taser’s capacity to make people ‘behave’ indicate that the SWP uniform may serve to ‘discipline’ and pre-emptively instil caution. As Phil puts it, the Taser has people “watching very closely how they are acting around [the SWP]...” and adjusting their movements to the presence of a potential threat to their freedom (from harm; official sanctioning).

As with the cameras, however, the Taser is not available as deterring prop for all SWP-uniform-wearers. Even though officers may have access to the hardware, Taser-training is of ubiquitous shortage when your ally patrols with the SWP (c.f. Susann; George). Moreover, the Taser is one of the means that classifies for an ‘aggressive’, interventionist prop for interventionist purposes, i.e. none that finds usage for preventative, friendly ‘community engagement’. Although many officers state that they would like to be Taser-trained, and possibly ‘feel safer’ Knowing that they had the capacities to use one, the consensus is that



SWP are ‘special’ and ‘distinct’ because they police with their non-combative skills as “people-person[s]” who ‘Know the[ir] community’. Your co-LARPer, exemplified by Phil, repeatedly emphasise that they are “**policing by consent**” instead of punitive ‘brutal’ means. The narrative of being unlike ‘brutal Continental or U.S. police forces’ is entangled with notions of the SWP’s **pride** in not being an ‘armed force’: Only very few armed units amongst the SWP clan carry fire-arms⁷³. Thus, part of how the SWP perceive themselves and represent their meaning is by ways of distinction from those whose costumes feature firearms.

The debate about arming up officers is topical throughout the Campaign prequel. True to the notion that ‘everybody is different’ (Eli), SWP officers diverge in their views on whether or not SWP should carry fire-arms on patrol. Most, e.g. Eli and Phil, derive “pride” from their specialness as unarmed, by-consent police. Phil invokes the ‘history [of] British police’ whose heritage gave UK police family members their particular positionality and significance within the tribe as a whole. Phil is adamant that “[SWP] **don’t need weapons** to police [well]”, which Eli backs up by invoking how well SWP ‘know the[ir] community’ and can thus trust in not needing anything as potentially dangerous as fire-arms: “Even, if I was [fire-arms-trained and] carrying a weapon (...) I wouldn’t use it.”, Eli establishes firmly. He justifies this point by saying that he could not live with the idea of having shot at someone: His self-image as a person, and the ideal of good policing through which he frames and steers his in-character actions, dismiss ‘shooting people’ from his range of options.

Phil, too, struggles to imagine actually using a gun to police; even only to deter. When speaking about the armed SWP units, of which there is supposedly one available at all times, should they be needed (although this may not always be the case, because so few of them are trained and stationed near-by; Phil) Phil raises an issue akin to the de-skilling discourse above: In his opinion, armed units are “so [highly] specialised...because of what they have to do...” that ‘their entire world only revolves around their job’. Armed officers lose out of sight, and get out of touch, with human-to-human-interactions, as Phil elaborates, which brings him to assert that they stop being able to be ‘normal’. In his own words, Phil accordingly theorises the threat of Robotisation by repeating the very same performative

⁷³ Apart from this prop-related intra-clan-specific Distinction, those units are also not high-vis: Their uniforms serve other purposes and are designed to bring to the fore different (types of) relationships.



acts over and over again: Because of the necessity to make split-second decisions, but the limitation to *one* predetermined action (shooting), one may lose the capacity to consider and make use of alternatives to the protocolled behaviour. For Phil, such a risk seems not worth taking – especially with his note that it would be difficult to return to a ‘normal’ life, or job, once arms-trained and past the first shot at someone. In this remark, Phil tacitly alludes to Bleed-out phenomena of being (emotionally) affected by what one has to do in one’s in-character pursuits. The idea that “it affects you” (Eli), which refers to one’s job (responsibilities) as SWP takes up some more discursive space on the Plateau to be reached for Discussion.

Eli brings up another concern when considering the possible arming-up of SWP: ‘If you start using arms against [the public] *they* will start using weapons, too’. He foresees an arms race, not unlike the one he narrates when reflecting where his Knowing how to talk to people has its logical roots. In that case, he makes clear that there is no point shouting at people, because they would shout back and just get more upset (c.f. Phil; below). The strong parallel and identification between SWP and their community (of also-civilians; c.f. Ahmed, 2004) accordingly colours how SWP predict the[ir] possible futures. Eli’s assumption is, therefore, that banter-based community interactions and pre-emptive patrolling would help keep the level of expectable violence and the modes of interactions ‘safe/r’. The premise is that the official safe-keepers function as the authority-imbued role-model of safe behaviour (Humphrey et al., 2008: 157-161). This applies also to their emotion-displays, as will be of further Exploring later.

However, the ways in which interactions between MoP and SWP can go ‘wrong’ and cross the line of respectful behaviour seems to be why Phil is ambivalent about the potential advantages of carrying (rather than using) guns in-character. He invokes the armed ‘forces’ with their authoritarian attitudes again to point out that “people show [more] respect [for] police in France...or Germany”. He relates this to how arguably ‘brutal’ and militaristic those police family branches operate (as he perceives of it), and that ‘nobody messes’ with police ‘who can shoot you’: The threat of losing respectability and being taken for a fool (Allan) is reduced by the relationships that weapon-carrying affords and conversely renders less likely. Phil also admits that MoP might “**fear**” the police in those cases, rather than “respect” them, which is an important difference for SWP: ‘Respect’ represents the expected and



desirable attitude and behavioural reaction to their policing presence that SWP code as appropriate for and from MoP, i.e. community members. This coincides with theoretical insights on communities of belonging and emotional safety grown by Preisler (2013) and others, as you may recall! ‘Fear’, however, is neither what they seek to inspire nor what aligns with their safe-place-making or reputational goals – it comprises the opposite of the ‘trust’ that SWP aspire to, and which subsequently provides the basis for the ‘happy people’ SWP’s (emotional) labour is directed at engineering.

Dave functions as SWP member to voice a controversial opinion on the matter of police armament: He muses that he might feel ‘safer’ in-character if carrying a gun. His understanding of the discussion about more armed policing is tied up in broader national and global tendencies: Dave perceives contemporary societal interactions more likely to comprise ‘more serious issues’ of policing matter, and ‘violence’ as expectable Experience to be made. Consequently, arming police officers would give them the capacities to flexibly adapt to changing circumstances that demand their behavioural adjustments: More violent performances from others require more violent returns. To argue this point, Dave invokes terrorist attacks as ‘the worst-case scenario’. As he brings it up, Dave makes clear how uncertain he is that he would be able to ‘do anything’ about e.g. ‘a van full of explosives coming down Wind Street’: Even with a weapon, he would not be able to ‘make safe’ sufficiently. However, fire-arms might nevertheless ‘feel’, in smaller scale contexts of violence (see below), as though SWP had the capacities and resources to appropriately ‘make safe places’: Safe-place-making could thereon take shape as indexed by policy-standards, i.e. reducing crime through intervention and prevention, and through feeling more ‘confident’ in his role as the safe-maker. Thus, the costume’s affordance on an affective level crystallise once again: Even though Dave at no point imagines himself shooting someone, he assumes that his confidence in being able to ‘do a good job’ and police well would be boasted by gun-carrying. He contextualises his Experience on the streets within discourses of a perceived globally growing terrorist threat, and increased access to weapons for ‘the community’.



Waiting and Not (Being Able To Be) Doing Anything

low numbers and ‘family care’

When Dave speaks of the hypothetical terrorist attack on Wind Street, he furthers his accounts by stating that the SWP would be “**helpless**” – that they would “have to wait for the specialist teams to arrive and take over”, i.e. they would not be able to ‘get in there’ and ‘deal with it’ in a meaningful manner. These paradigms, however, are the ones through which SWP explain and narrate their in-job Experience and role expectations as they have them set for themselves (more below). Dave highlights the feeling of helplessness, and not doing his job (properly) with reference to ‘waiting’ and purported inaptness to ‘make safe’.

‘Waiting’, irrespective of its cause, links with discourses of “standing back” or “hesitating” that SWP bring up when describing what ‘bad’ policing looks like. Hesitance or ‘waiting to see what happens’ (Phil; Dave) rather than ‘doing something about’ an incident, also characterises ‘newbie’ or ‘rookie’ officers. Those lack the XP to overcome the ‘natural’ fear of “getting in there” and whose skills are not – yet – refined enough to allow them to trust their instincts. Thus, when Dave imagines having to ‘stand back’ and let others do the work which he understands himself to be responsible for – safe-place-making – he Experiences his role as improperly performed. His professional impulse drives him to ‘get in there and deal with it’, even though he might also rationalise his capacities to be too limited to effect any significant change (for the better).

When Allan raises the issue of ‘not being able to make safe effectively’, he also contextualises this Experience as related to a lack of resources: Whilst Dave’s hypothetical scenario about the terrorist attacks invokes specialist needs and requirements to police according to rising demands, Allan’s concern centres on already immanently low officer numbers amongst SWP, a.k.a. scarce ‘resources’. Those are chronically too low to be effective in policing Wind Street during peak hours. Especially when big events draw more people into the streets of Swansea’s CC at night, Allan’s confidence in how well he and his teams would ‘cope’ should a big brawl kick off is moderate. His sober statement is that ‘[one] can only do so much’ with what limited resources are available. “When it’s two-hundred of them [MoP] against a handful of you [SWP] – what can you do?”, Kyle asks your Researcher-ally on the topic of police being outnumbered. At another point, Allan suggests that one would do better to make sure oneself ‘stay[s] safe’, until more officers arrive as



back-up. The officers' own safety accordingly, stands in direct connection to the 'numbers' of those who mutually align in XP and tasks: Other SWP, and more broadly the police family as 'brothers and sisters' in whom one trusts fully and amongst whom one feels safe enough to perform confidently, are needed to feel and make safe. In-group support bonds are crucial for the SWP's 'feeling of belonging' and emotional safety to perform their job-role to 'make safe'. By association, SWP can thereon make others feel safe e.g. through 'friendly banter' despite their own spatiotemporal Experience of not being (able to make) 'safe'.

The place-ness of Wind Street, as earlier reflected in discourses of Twitter, is none that affords either of your SWP co-LARPer (except for Kim, who 'goes out all the time') positive relationships for 'personal pursuits'. SWP exclusively dwell on social media and Wind Street in their professional role, i.e. because 'it's [their] job'. None of the SWP your Researcher-ally has mingled with stated to 'go out on Wind Street' or enjoy nightlife there. Instead, they would be looking for 'quieter places', with less people – and most emphatically: Less violence, 'drunk idiots' and escalations of aggression between people who 'want to have a fight' and 'will have a fight for no reason' (Dave; Rob). "It's not a safe place...to go out in" (Rob), is what many officers articulate at some point during their shifts. Allan remains more diplomatic by framing Wind Street (at night) as "not a nice place", whereas Graham and Rob call Wind Street a "Hellhole". As such, it attracts 'drunk idiots who want to show off their muscles' (Dave) and pools 'testosterone' which feeds aggressions. Those account for some of the "atmosphere of violence" Rob is wary of. This means the spatiotemporal frames of those responsible for 'making safe', even when co-assembled with the rest of the NTE bodies, differs from what they are by design supposed to generate. The SWP's Experience of Wind Street as not a 'safe place' stands in direct contrast to what they are supposed to make it be and feel like for MoP. Accordingly, it takes internal labouring to make themselves feel, or at least appear as though, wherever they visibilise is 'a safe place'.

In all of these circumstances, therefore, the feeling of 'not being able to do anything about it', and 'it' being the perception of an un-safe place, requires intense emotional labour to be able to smile, 'have a chat' and appear friendly and approachable. Emotional labour, however, has grown out of e.g. Hochschild's (1979) plot in the Garden of Insights as being



‘silent’⁷⁴. This Campaign furthers this by suggesting that emotional labour is also invisibilised and invisibilising. To exemplify this claim, let’s return to Dave and the notion of ‘waiting’ as not doing anything:

Dave seems utterly at unease with the notion of ‘waiting’ for back-up that Allan proposes to be the only reasonable option, if SWP are outnumbered or not capable of correctly dealing with an issue. To cope with his feeling of helplessness, Dave’s response to resource-scarcity and low numbers is to invest even more of his time and personal resources. Thus, he seeks to compensate for the teams’ lack of capacity to effectively make (and potentially be) ‘safe’ in their role-performance when understaffed. Because Dave ‘cares’ so much for his team, as he puts it, he would (and does) readily go without breaks, food or anything to drink ‘so that [his] teams can take their breaks’. Allan, too, surrenders his food-breaks for the good of his teams, by highlighting ‘it is important for the[ir] morale and [good] performance that the teams take breaks’. Hence, he “watch[es] out for [his] teams” – which is an opinion Dave seconds nearly word for word. What needs to be clarified here, when looking at these officers’ dedication to protect ‘their’ teams from harm, is that both of them (one temporarily) act in “Sergeant”-roles: Their position makes them be in charge, i.e. directly ‘responsible’, for their teams’ “well-being”; Sergeants “have to make sure [their] teams are **happy** (...) and have everything they need” (Allan) to do their job. In that function, both abstain from claiming the rights to take care of their own ‘basic human needs’ (Maslow⁷⁵; c.f. Eli, Amber) for the good of their team-members. This reenacts, at an interpersonal, clan-inherent scale, the overall protector-relationship that SWP as police take on relative to ‘their community’: To enable the community to pursue their roles, SWP have to make sure their well—being is taken care of. The hegemonic narrative would insist this role-performance in the NTE is careless consumption. SWP standards and your co-LARPer would highlight the freedom from harm and ‘happiness’ that SWP interactions seeks to produce. What remains to be answered – and arguably questioned more openly – maybe what Allan and Dave responded to with shrugs when interrogated by your Researcher-ally: Who watches out for you, as you watch out for everyone else?

⁷⁴ c.f. also: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3csytzd>; last accessed: 12-12-2019, 09:09

⁷⁵ for a quick Exploratory detour: <https://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html>; last accessed: 10-12-2019, 16:47



vulnerability

At this point, Dave’s own words may come to bear special significance. As he tells the Researcher: “We’re all vulnerable in our [own] ways.” Dave refers to having moved on a rough sleeper who had attracted attention and dislike from a Wind Street based shop-owner. Instead of issuing a Section 35, which would have meant the rough sleeper – who was perceived as a ‘beggar’ by the shop-owner – needed to leave the CC and could not return to the designated Safe Zone for a specified time (usually 36 hours). By handing over such a notification, Dave would have criminalised the person whom he identified not as an ‘aggressive professional beggar’, but instead an ‘actually homeless person’. This Knowing resulted from the databases of intelligence about people sleeping rough in Swansea, as well as Dave’s previous Experience. As he argues: He Knows ‘his community’, and those who ‘exploit the good-will of responsible, well-meaning citizens’ (Graham) versus those who live in the streets for various reasons. Dave considers the rough sleeper a ‘vulnerable’ person, who should not be Othered by ways of criminalization: By not issuing Section 35, Dave allows the rough sleeper to remain on ‘the same side of the Law’ as he himself, whereby he enables the other to still feel emotionally safe and as a member of the community of shared values and belonging. Despite, as it were, being asked to vacate the particular spot from which the shopkeeper would want them moved-on.

Dave’s invocation of ‘vulnerability’ implies that the person he moved on cannot take care of themselves and their own safety, but also that they are ‘exposed to harm’. His Experience taught him that ‘rough-looking people’, irrespective of what they actually represent, by merely giving the appearance of someone begging have an increased likelihood of making negative encounters (c.f. Harrison, 2008; Ash, 2013b). In particular the notion of being harassed and assaulted brutally is what makes Dave concerned for the other’s well-being, should they not move out of an area in which there are ‘many drunk idiots’ who cannot keep their aggressions contained: It is not a ‘safe place’ for those who seem to represent someone who does not or should not ‘belong’.

By moving the other person on, however, Dave might deprive them of an income opportunity: The same drunks who might be inclined to beat up a homeless(-looking) person could also feel inclined to show their charitability by donating money. In Dave’s eyes and professional perception, drunk people are equally ‘vulnerable’, if in a different way. His



vernacular conceptualisation seems to rely on any person’s capacity to guarantee for their own (future) safety from harm, and to make informed decisions that jeopardise neither their own nor others’ safe place (feeling). From a spot in the theoretical undergrowth of the Academic Garden, Dave’s accounts also reflect the inevitable exposure and openness to contingent encounters that bodily vulnerability may be conceptually framed with (c.f. Harrison, 2008). The ‘body’ that can be hurt may be a physical one, as when Dave invokes a spot in Swansea where a homeless person was beaten to death, or less tangible ones: Affectedness may comprise emotional, digital and other ‘bodies’ that affect and are affective, and that move – even through ‘something around [one]self’ that is supposed to provide protection (see Deep Diving, below).

What this example also illustrates, however, is that Dave can use his Discretion to manage his own (perception and feeling of) safety. When he chooses not to issue a Section 35, he saves time to do the necessary paperwork – and saves himself as a ‘resource’ available for safe-place-making – that any official interaction with MoP would imply. He thus invisibilises a Human interaction from the track record and the statistics about police performance that are robotically assessed to represent how ‘well’ SWP are doing their job. For a theoretically-goggled perceiver, this comprises an act of “data-breaking” (Pink et al., 2018): Dave does not datafy a professional interaction that is supposed to be measured, assessed and analysed in order to make ‘more efficient policing’ and resource-allocation possible on the basis of Big(ger) Data, patterns and predictions. Instead, he relies on his instinct and his Knowing of the community to decide that the person he chooses not to criminalise does not infringe upon the community’s ‘safety’. Should the rough sleeper refuse to take the “second chance” that Dave offers, and exploit his ‘being nice’ (Dave), a Section would have to follow. However, Dave prioritises other issues that he suspects need to be ‘dealt with’ and that comprise more serious problems than someone whom he trusts not to actually be begging with malicious intent⁷⁶. Dave furthermore argues that the rough sleepers knows where to search for shelter and get food that night, based on previous encounters with that particular

⁷⁶ The notion of aggressive and criminal ‘professional begging’ was of major policy-relevant concern during the Campaign’s prequel. Such behaviour falls, in legal code, under the code Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB). In its extreme cases, professional beggars can ‘make up to nine-hundred quid per night (...) and then drive home, outside of Swansea (...) without having to work at all’ (Graham). Professional beggars, as opposed to rough sleepers (mostly indexed in the police database) do have a fix abode and are not dependent on money made in the streets.



person whom he recognises as an individual rather than by the abstract category of e.g. ‘homeless’. Dave’s XP even allow him to differentiate between those who have had homes, but cannot be indoors for longer amounts of time because of their personal traumatic history. In other words: Dave knows his community and the trajectories of those who dwell therein and make it a ‘place’. His own body and his perception are a (Big-)database into which he can tap to supplement his intuition about people and his reading of a night’s atmosphere. His resource-management in favour of letting the rough sleeper ‘get away with a warning’ was based on a previous acknowledgement that it would be a ‘busy’ night.

‘Busy’ nights tend to allude to nights with at least one major ‘kick off’, and accordingly high demands on personnel amongst SWP. From Dave’s XP and his instinct, therefore, he manages the available safe-place-making capacities of those in uniform to match the ‘demand’ he foresees as likely in the future. The latter relies on his openness to affect also from “something in the air” (Rob) that one ‘cannot put [one’s] finger on’ (Eli). In other words: nothing that would materialise as clear-cut behavioural advice, policing guidelines or forecasts “based on numbers” (Phil).

Through his own discretionary resource-allocation, Dave manages from Experience and in practice what robotic principles of datafication, record-keeping and ‘paperwork’ are supposed to do: Generate reliable ‘evidence’ about how to police best. Such numbers-based policing, however, fails to take into consideration that SWP are doing a job defined by “unpredictability”. As Phil puts it: “Only because there’s no major kick-off one night doesn’t mean that it’s not gonna kick off next Saturday...or the week after.” One needs to be attuned to the contexts of policing, read those bodies that are assembled to make (un-)safe places and police response-ably, rather than in a protocolled fashion. Even though the resources one may be able to free up might still not suffice to efficiently ‘make safe’ or feel confident about one’s capacities to do a good job.

BS and distress

Whilst Dave’s Discretion illustrates how he copes with a feeling of stress and not wanting to ‘waste time’ doing paperwork, because safe place-making requires other labour-investment, Mick finds himself in a situation in which time-waste and associated stress seems inescapable. Like Dave previously, Mick Experiences his responsibility to ‘care’ for the community and a drivenness into action, whilst seemingly not being able to ‘do anything’



but wait. Waiting, instead of ‘getting in there’, seemingly evokes feelings of inaptness and letting down those whose safety one is responsible for. This responsibility is often defined in discourses of ‘vulnerability’ associated with the MoP SWP ‘deal with’ and ‘help’. ‘Vulnerable people’ are discursively tied up with issues of ‘waiting’ and ‘wasting time’ in relation to “BS calls⁷⁷” Mick educates the Researcher on. BS calls are SWP vernacular for 999-calls forwarded to SWP in which the circumstances of a situation have been exaggerated or falsely represented either from misperception, or because MoP have phoned the police to ‘mess with [SWP]’ (Mick). There seems to be disagreement as to whether ‘genuine mistakes’ made by callers still qualify for BS call classifications. On average, however, every call that left SWP ‘go back to the office to do the paperwork’ without having to ‘actually do anything’ qualifies.

Sometimes, BS callers are too distressed and upset to ‘rationally’ reflect what a situation is like. Other times the callers are too intoxicated to remain realistic about their demands, requirements and the dangers they are in. All this is explained to your Researcher-ally, as she accompanies Mick and Libby during their Response-Team shift. Over the course of the night, one BS call comprises information from the call-center that informs officers of a “huge Rambo-style knife” that was being used to threaten MoP, which was not (or no longer) present at the site of the incident. Mick had responded to this high-priority call by turning on the police cars blue lights and siren⁷⁸. Such signals visibly and audibly that a police vehicle was going to trespass the norms of appropriate and safe traffic conduct in pursuit of policing duties. It also, internally, renders the response meaningful in being of acute importance, i.e. all other occupations have to wait, until this call is dealt with.

From his accounts about the incident, Mick understands that – despite the false information upon which the call was filed as ‘to be responded to immediately’ – this was not a ‘waste of time’ sort of BS call: For SWP, MoP who are ‘upset’ or merely dubbed (overly) “emotional” and “distressed” fall in the category of vulnerable people. As with drunks, emotionally upset

⁷⁷ Mick uses the full technical term that refers to animal excrements. The Researcher has deemed its use inappropriate for a doctoral thesis. This reflects her pre-set perception schemes about PhD roles. Feel free to disagree, dear Explorer, and correct whatever you wish to see change on the utopic space that is either paper or a screen in front of you!

⁷⁸ One glimpse ‘inside’ the uniform: Blue-light rides are also the epitome of what Mick calls “exciting stuff” in his job.



MoP are deemed unable to make informed decisions about their future or ensure their own protection from harm. Thus, they need to be made safe by taking control of the situation in a safe-maker's authoritative manner.

One of the (emotional) performative ways in which SWP distinguish themselves from MoP seems to be founded in officers' refined capacities and skills to 'switch off' their emotionality. They assert to have the capacity to make 'calm', rational, informed and deliberate decisions, rather than 'get upset, too' (Eli). Their thus-acclaimed emotional distance from affectedness by others' emotions, and the often 'grueling circumstances' (Dean) that comprise SWP's working life, are deemed necessary and appropriate for safe places to be (re-)established. Accordingly, being able to remain 'calm' is an objective of safe-makers' emotional laboring and their Bleed-control efforts. This discursive divide and the self-perception of police as not showing – or having – 'emotions' is problematic for several reasons to be pondered later in more depth. You have already Learnt, however, that SWP are 'expected to show care and compassion', i.e. that there are certain desired, expected emotions to be 'served' to customers. And your Explorer led you into insight-realms in which SWP actually empathise and 'feel with' those whom they express belonging to and care for.

Through such a sense of belonging, and Mick's responsibility to and arguable feeling of care, the upset callers do not, in Mick's view, violate the code of conduct expected from community members who co-align with SWP. Furthermore, Mick explains that the majority of BS calls happen because of unrealistic and distorted perceptions of the places (of un-safety) in which MoP call 999. Other BS-calls, however, deliberately deprive SWP of one of their rarest resources: Time. If police 'turn up to calls for nothing' (Mick), i.e. their help is not needed, SWP are busy dealing with nevertheless necessary paperwork and cannot attend to 'serious issues' and 'real problems' (Mick). All the other less-prioritised calls, accordingly, have to be attended to even later because of the time and resource-investment into 'BS'. Arguably, however, attending to calls from upset people nevertheless shows 'care' and is thus an emotional act of labour that goes unnoticed. The SWP show that they are taking every caller seriously, and they even (manage to) joke about misperceptions by MoP: Both in order to make MoP feel 'safe', i.e. not guilty for over-reacting (Mick), and amongst themselves to 'keep up the morale' in a job that gives them little to laugh about. On paper,



i.e. in the stats, BS calls may appear as futile, but on an interpersonal level they may not register as such with those who are shown care by their safe-place-makers.

waste of time and disrespect

Callers who intentionally misrepresent situations, however, are accused of disrespectful behaviour by SWP members, i.e. of violating the conduct code for morally responsible in-group members. This ‘waste of time’ is an exploitation of the much-repeated lived reality of SWP as part of an “organisation that can’t say ‘no’ to people” or refuse to attend calls. Even the smallest likelihood of a caller being actually in need of help mobilises the SWP’s internalised sense of responsibility and care into policing actions. From Mick’s point of view, not appreciating the fact that SWP have ‘more important things to do’ than ‘wasting their time’ equals ‘lack of respect’ for police work. This can even be the attitude transported in interactions when SWP attend calls that would normally fall under policing duties, i.e. without false representation of the call rationale.

Dear Explorer! If you fancy a quick detour, before re-entering the car with Mick and Libby: This would be a good opportunity to consult your Companion on the matter of “respect”. Find pp329: They offer you three thought exercises, [RX1 – 3]. Depending on your preferences, you may do either or all of them. Allow yourself five minutes per task, though. Gain 9XP per task completed and return to your main journey.

During the same Response-unit shift, Mick and Libby are made wait by MoP who require police protection to return to their home, after having been assaulted therein by their son. Even though the assault had happened days earlier, and the son was supposed to have vacated the building, the parents nevertheless called for SWP attendance to be ‘feel safe’ returning. As Mick and Libby arrive at the agreed-upon meeting point, on time, he is informed that the MoP have not even departed from their 20-minute distant location. Mick deems this a “waste of time” – framing his frustration and anger within the context of scarce resources, a.k.a. low police officer numbers. His concerns are for the safety of his colleagues, whom he could– and might have to be – ‘helping’ out on their respective incident-responses. His colleagues might not be ‘safe’ with even fewer officers surrounding them for potential support. On a larger scale, the community might be ‘less safe’, because Mick and Libby are not capable to ‘do anything’ to make safe in their safe-place-maker role.



Mick states that he “could be out there”, dealing with real problems and serious issues, rather than “wasting time...waiting [...] not doing anything.” Instead of doing as he hypothesises, however, i.e. “just drive off” and leave the MoP to deal with their ‘issue’ on their own, Mick waits until the MoP show up.

From the Researcher’s (back-seat) point of view, Mick is doing more than ‘nothing’ whilst he waits. Instead, the officer uses the ‘safe place’ of being in the car with his colleague for company⁷⁹ to “vent off” and show his frustration. He also articulates verbally what he truly thinks about MoP who “take [SWP] for granted” in such a way, and seem to “think police have nothing better to do than wait for them [MoP] to show up”. By so doing, he cathartically cleanses himself arguably of the negative attitude towards MoP, whom he is responsabilised to ‘serve’ as safe-place-making, trust-inspiring representative of the ‘good guys’. The thus-glimpsed ‘real face’ of Mick’s emotionality needs to be hidden away again, however. Mick tells your Researcher-ally that “[he] can’t show them” that he was angry and upset. Instead, he states with determination “[SWP] have to **be professional**” when interacting with MoP. This implies putting on a professionally friendly face, being polite and listening to MoP’s concerns. His venting off in the car is necessary to manage his emotion-display when interacting with those who have brought to the fore an emotional reaction that is deemed inappropriate for the friendly customer-service provider SWP. Such a judgment as out-of-character comes arguably from how MoP express their attitudes (performatively and directly verbally) and the SWP’s self-perception (more shortly).

Failing to interact with SWP in a respectful manner also disrupts the trust-bonds and the codes of conduct associated with in-group members. Thus, the feeling of emotional safety amongst communities is no longer secured for Mick and Libby, who are made feel ‘taken for granted’. SWP’s concerns and the importance of their time is, as judged from decoding the interaction, not ‘equal’ to those of the MoP who claim the right to freely make use of it: An attitude of being entitled to police time and services, i.e. acting as a customer who ‘pays for police work with their tax’ (Eli), denies Mick and Libby their status as equal Humans.

Through Mick’s Bleed-management, including the debrief of venting off and other emotion-

⁷⁹ Admittedly, the ‘safe place’-character associated with dwelling amongst one’s in-group is imperfect in this situation: The Researcher has only temporarily been granted emplacement amongst the clan, and she does not share the in-group codes of conduct or their common Experience. Those would be needed to de-brief and vent off emotionally.



labour methods (see below), Mick manages to fully identify with his role. From a spot in the Academic Garden, this suggests he performs ‘deep acting’ and sets himself (Humphrey et al., 2008: 152) up emotionally in such a way as to Experience and feel the care he is supposed to display in interactions with MoP. Even ‘only’ at the level of surface acting, i.e. managing his own spatiotemporal perception (‘This is not a place where I am respected and belong.’) to allow him to perform in a friendly, calm manner is already emotional labour: A labour which Mick and SWP invest in silence and hidden from public ‘surveillance’.

Deep Diving

Getting Personal: Following The ‘Inside’ Of The Uniforms

Dear Explorer,

It may come a little abruptly, and certainly unasked-for. However, you have just dropped from Level 4 all the way ‘down’, below even the level of conscious (cognitive) meaning-making⁸⁰. Your Researcher-ally has led you all this way only to suddenly disrupt the climb towards the Plateau of Discussion for a close-up dive through emotional territories. However, rest assured: As long as you keep engaging with this thesis-LARP, you will re-emerge on the discursive trajectory that your last step had been grounded on.

As was previously the case, your ally heeds principles of ethical interactions and complies with her role-parameters by providing you with all you need to follow her Following the Uniform. To guarantee your safety and meaning-making capacities: Receive your Diving Goggles.

⁸⁰ (Please be advised that there are other ways of conceptualising the place and stratification of realms of meaning-making. The suggestion of layers on top of each other is not to express hierarchical organisation, but merely to mirror the LARP-journey’s imagined topography (ascending to a Plateau). ‘Going deep’ in this ‘sub-level’ reflects dealing with the proverbial ‘inside’ of the SWP uniforms in ways that allude to the lack of protectiveness from obscuring skins or costumes. ‘Depth’ and the diving-metaphor also draw from cultural codes in proverbs like ‘having deep conversations’ and ‘getting to the core of a matter’ by ‘drilling down’.)



GOGGLES: SUBMERGED



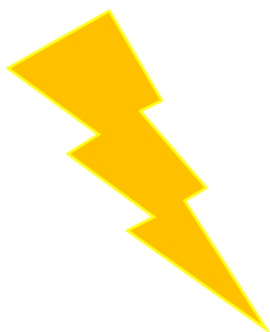
(source: <https://reanson.en.made-in-china.com/product/SNgnzkrPXYVZ/China-Children-Boys-Cartoon-Anti-Fog-Swimming-Goggles.html>; last accessed 13-11-2019, 04:56)

To Re-Emerge onto Level 4, Learn...

...about laborious aspects of Human policing that may remain invisible and un(der)valued even by those whose skills they rely on;

...how being ‘too good’ in one’s job might become a problem;

...that uniforms are leaky enough to permit Bleeding through.



Challenge 5:

With your Goggles firmly adjusted, find pp.315-6 in your Companion. Do exercises [EM1] and [EM2] to adjust your thinking muscles to the new terrain.

Gain 14XP!

invisibilising emotionality and silent labours

When attending to calls with Mick, the Researcher is surprised by the notably ‘happy’ and cheerful music that fills the car from a radio that is tuned to a pop music channel. Mick specifies that he deliberately likes to have ‘silly music’ playing in the background when responding to calls. His job is grim enough, he points out, so that setting himself up in a better mood can at least alleviate some of the grimness. As such, Mick intentionally manages his emotional Experience, rather than purely seeking to ‘seem’ friendly when engaging with others whose emotion he also has to manage into calmness.



Apart from the happy-making music, much of the interactions between SWP that is obscured from public sight and hearing revolves around “black humour (...) a lot of black humour” (Mick). This might include jokes about the job that would arguably not meet standards of shared recognition as ‘funny’ without the XP and perception schemes to contextually perceive them. “You’ve gotta laugh about it”, is the consensus amongst SWP – “otherwise it dives you crazy” or it “gets to you”. ‘Having a laugh about it’ is considered an important, if not essential, way of ‘coping’ and ‘dealing with it’ internally: ‘Internal’ to the respective uniforms, and internal to the police family. Joking about their job routines, and banter-based interactions amongst SWP rely on a common discursive code that is not to be cracked by the co-assembled Researcher. She recognises its encoded character, e.g. on Learning about the various nicknames that SWP have for each other, but fails to comprehend the history’ and thus why they classify for ‘funny’ proxies for the officer’s real names. In addition to that, the codes are used in adaptation to the ‘audience’ of those present. In-group language varies significantly depending on whom one engages with – even amongst SWP clan members. Thus, the rude language including very crude sexual remarks, and friendly teasing about each other’s personal hygiene, diet and work ethics are restricted to officers of the same rank.

Towards superiors, neither nicknames nor particularly ‘offensive’ language find application. This reinforces the previously made Distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) based on work experience and ‘skills’ between ‘bosses/managerial types’ and those who ‘know what it’s like to be police’ on the streets in some degree: Sergeants who still work frontline jobs are not per se ‘excluded’, but nevertheless treated through different discursive means. This can be theoretically supported by Howarth’s (2001) and Blanchard & Markus’ (2017) insight-crops on community-formation: Communities rely on internal stratification and distinctness of members, express in division of labour. That notwithstanding, a slight Othering occurs amongst SWP as expressed in how they frame the ‘purpose’ of in-group banter. When considering the Twitter-based interactions of e.g. Twitter Wars, one might deem them a digital equivalent of banter and in-group ‘joking relationships’ that take on the form of mocking rivalry. When expanding on Twitter-use vis-à-vis ‘bosses’, it is identified to serve to ‘keep bosses happy’ by showing ‘good performance’. The happy-making annotation discursively classifies ‘bosses’ as judges to the officers’ performance, with ‘happiness’ being



the desirable outcome of their (emotional) labour efforts. The ways in which tweets therefore express their ‘good performance’ and the SWP’s ‘friendly-faced community engagement’ comprises digitally wayfaring with which SWP make the Twitter-community ‘feel safe’ about visibilising their good performance, and of making themselves as officers ‘feel safe’ because their recognition as well-performing manifests in ‘happy bosses’. The latter have overtly stated to use Twitter as a means of ‘supervising’ their teams – which can generate a feeling of constantly being subjected to the watchful and possibly sanction-promising ‘gaze’ of a hierarchically higher judge of normality. The normality in question is ‘friendliness’ as legible from how SWP represent themselves, also on social media.

Via such Twitter-mediated interactions, SWP are doing what Phil frames as “police talking to themselves”. Thus, their social media banter and joke-sharing also, hypothetically, remains invisibilised from MoP: If MoP do not engage with SWP accounts at all, ‘outsiders’ never encounter the discursive bodies SWP share. If MoP did engage with SWP accounts, the former Twitter-users’ perception schemes likely lack the capacities to decode what it ‘really means’. In a sense, employing humour, offline and online, is an emotional mechanism to uphold internal coherence and trust amongst family members. It can also serve to reaffirm bonds of absolute trust through relying on code recognisable only by those who ‘belong’ affirmatively. From yet another analytical angle, irony and jokes may be the only means available to resist and protest against a ‘system’ or job conditions that are experienced as insufferable, but from which one sees no available escape (Saleh & Zakar, 2018: 6). In the SWP’s case: Their job has to be dealt with, and they have no ‘choice’ to say no to people. They have no option not to respond to calls, because they are ‘Crown-owned’ and officially put in place to make safe, and because SWP feel personally responsible for ‘their community’ and doing their job well. Put under such pressure to perform in accordance with what is deemed appropriate makes it necessary, to find every outlet to ‘have a laugh’ in a job that ‘gives [SWP] little to laugh about’ – or to ‘vent off’ with colleagues ‘where nobody can see [or] hear’ them. Throughout this Campaign’s prequel, the Researcher was privy to sharing of emotional affectedness at night in a coffee shop, where only emergency service teams populated the space. It was there, that the frustrating, upsetting and exhausting character of the shift was discussed, which was thereafter ‘dealt with’ in a professional manner. Another place ‘out of public sight’ to choose for venting off is ‘the Sergeants’



office’, where complaints also of personal kind are articulated that often enough link with discourses about one’s perceived helplessness without the necessary resources to make safe. Given that ‘there [was] nothing to be done about it’, ‘letting off steam’ in front of one’s superior was the only way of ‘dealing with it’ for oneself.

Importantly, not every member of the SWP uses the potential to ‘vent off’ and share truly felt emotion with colleagues. Self-perceptions about police as being unemotional, and affectedness being a sign of weakness may prohibit officer to create safe places of emotion-debrief. The threat of ‘stigma’ and an internal loss of status looms too large to feel able to show one’s ‘true’ emotional and Human face, as Eli highlights. It may not feel ‘safe’ to even just suggest that one’s emotion-management efforts and ‘building something around yourself to protect’ from emotional affectedness, were unsuccessful. This may be in part connected to an understanding, and open reaffirmation, of having to own the hardship implied by a “challenging, confrontational job”, and reframing its meaning with a sense of ‘pride’ and specialness’. SWP officers frequently invoke how challenging their profession is, but that they have to ‘deal with it’ – including ‘sucking it up’ and ‘get[ting] on with it’: “It’s gotta be done (...) if you don’t do it” nobody will, as Phil phrases it. The importance felt about their job’s meaning helps SWP overcome the (emotional) burden they Experience throughout their professional role-enactments and, in many cases, outside thereof.

“It Affects You⁸¹”

“We have a saying amongst police – ‘Join the Force, Get A divorce’ (laughs). – It’s true.” This excerpt from an interview with Mick highlights one Bleed-out phenomena that SWP bring up: The detrimental effects of being in a professional that confronts officers with “the worst in people” (Eli), and has them face ‘disturbing’ potentially ‘traumatising’ scenes on a regular basis (Allan).

On a personal level, SWP recount what has previously grown in the Academic Garden about Chinese police officers’ job-related stress phenomena: SWP experience lack of sleep, lack of healthy nutrition and constant exhaustion. Their exhaustion also falls into a terrain that can arguably be classified as emotional. As Mick points out, he sometimes ‘cries when [he has]to come back to work after a day off’, because after a little ‘normal’ time he would have to

⁸¹ (Dean)



face the unpredictability of his job life again: “You **never know what’s gonna happen**” on a given day as police is the paradigm under which every SWP in this Campaign files their professional Experience away. They also argue that they are always prepared to face ‘the worst’, i.e. that they brace themselves for and become attuned to negative Experience, whom they Know to be more likely than positive once based on their professional historical trajectory.

This ‘Knowing’ also enables SWP to engage in mechanisms to protect themselves. Thus, despite the impossibility of predicting exactly how interactions in-character are going to unfold, Mick goes through “a little routine” before he responds to calls. Said routine involves ‘checking, if he has everything on him that he might need’, including the taser and other non-lethal ‘props’ for safe-making. He also goes through all the available information about a call, and makes sense of it relative to his XP: What has happened before teaches him how to positively react to what may be coming, whilst remaining alert to the fact that ‘no one case is ever the same’ as any given case before (Phil). The SWP’s bodies thus combine the ‘big data’ from personal engagements and their own Experience, in combination with their ‘skills’ of attuning to those they deal with situationally and flexibly to generate their capacities to police ‘properly’.

For Eli, similar mechanisms of ‘bracing [him]self’ prepare him for interactions with MoP in public settings: He attunes to other people’s body-language to ascertain whether someone is likely to ‘kick off’ by ways of reading their body-language. Additionally, Eli has refined his skills of reading the atmosphere of a place to judge the likelihood of people ‘kicking off’ against the background of historical feelings he had about a place. Nothing that he ‘could put [his] finger on’ directs his actions in particular. That notwithstanding, Eli has ‘a feeling’ about somebody and can anticipate their future behaviour based on said ‘sense’ for the people who make up his community. Despite a lack of certainty about the exact future actions, Eli can get “ready” – he becomes ‘tense’ and ready for action as soon as the potential changes in others’ behaviours instantiate to make the place Eli polices unsafe. In that respect, his attunement likens the theoretical insight-outgrowths from Ash’s (2013a) plotting on vulnerability. Heeding the Researcher’s harvest, therefore, it becomes theoretically graspable that there is a ‘cost’ to pay for the action-readiness SWP officers need and actively bring about when pursuing their professional role. They need to make



split-second decision without time to think, i.e. officers need to rely on their instinct and ‘just get in there...and do it’: ‘Do the right thing’ to be (perceived as) good police and make the community safe. This ‘costs’ officers energy; it exhausts them and it may happen in contexts in which their invisible, silent ‘prep-work’ finds little to no (positive) recognition.

Furthermore, as you have Learnt, SWP often spend shifts without breaks, and always knowing that they might have to work over-hours. Thus, the time spent in a personal role and outside of the uniform decreases, too. Which, again, can lead to Bleed-out, as families may not survive the impact of too little time spent together (Graham). Or, as Phil and Eli detail: Negative Bleed-out from their job-pursuits may translate into an inability to still play their ‘personal’ roles. ‘Mundane things’ like “doing the recycling” may no longer affect officers in a way that they (can) care about. They may either be too emptied of emotion-capacities to want anything but ‘watch telly’ and be “like a potato”, “numb” – or they may conversely be ‘too high on adrenaline all the time’ that they get too bored with domestic duties, as Phil elaborates. Outside of the family-context, Mick tells the Researcher that many SWP ‘deal with stress’ by drinking alcohol – and that alcoholism is a common phenomenon amongst police in general. This negative impact on officers’ health is even further dramatised by Eli, who speaks of suicidal ideation and actual suicides amongst police at higher rates than amongst civilian tribes⁸². In a less full disability to ‘keep playing’, Bleed-out effects may lead to officers’ resigning from their professional position, in order to be able to maintain their out-of-character playing.

‘Being Human’ is reflected on page 17 to schematically illustrate how the Human race functions as proto-category for this Campaign’s characters. It can also help envisage that Distinction into professional roles, like SWP, is but one possible sub-section of affiliations characters have. Apart from how characters are perceived as belonging to job-cohorts, they might also perform under other identifying labels. Those roles may be played out in other Campaigns and can Bleed into the SWP’s professional role-enactments through heightened stress-levels and/or insufficient Bleed-management. This can affect how they perceive in-character challenges: “I am a mother, too (...)", Kim states to explain: “... So I find it difficult

⁸² For the sake of transparency: Your Researcher-ally has not investigated into the numerical evidence underlying such claims. Her goal is to represent the experienced reality of professional policing from the SWP’s accounts, rather than ‘factually’ painting a complete picture about what it’s like to be a police officer. Feel free to Explore your means of information-supply, however, to fill in those gaps in the narrative!



to deal with domestics [incidents classified as Domestic Violence; CF] - ...especially when there's kids involved.” Some elements of policing are ‘jobs that have to be done’ even against personal feelings of safety, because one's Knowing does not derive from pre-established protocols. Whilst a managed Bleed-in may allow SWP to relate to MoP's Experience, read their needs and react flexibly to the changing situations, a Bleed-in of personality may also remind officers that they, too, are ‘vulnerable in [their] own ways’. A relationship of likeness with ‘fellow Humans’ offers potential for ‘too much’ empathy. In addition to that, SWP might feel ‘out of place’ or out of character in some of the incidents that they have to ‘deal with’ as gap-fillers for other social service providers (Phil; see below).

The notion that “everyone is different” affects not only how police officers may prefer ‘dealing with traffic issues’ or ‘chasing drug dealers’ over other tasks (Mick; Dave), and wishing to be able to avoid answering calls in certain ‘trouble spots’ (Graham). The other roles that SWP take on whence their professional missions are over also affect how (well) officers (can) deal with certain types of issues and calls. When it comes to entering other people's homes to pursue interventionist policing duties, another component of the common basis of shared Humanness emerges in the SWP narratives. It also highlights the blurriness of the reinforced, if artificial professional-personal boundary that the uniform symbolically manifests: ‘Homes’ appear to be perceived as ‘personal spaces’ for SWP officers. Thus, they empathise with MoP reactions that articulate defensive, possibly hostile attitudes towards the ‘intruding’ police. Even though SWP enter homes in their safe-place-making capacities, Nathan suggests at one point “it feels a bit like a violation of their privacy” to enter into a civilian's home. He also invokes a possible infringement upon the MoP's sense of freedom by the police exercising their official power to ‘trespass’ into ‘their [MoP] territory’: ‘I wouldn't want anybody...coming to my place and tell[ing] me what to do!’ By being able to take the place and perspective of MoP, through their shared Humanness, SWP may feel ‘out of place’ when performing professionally in what they Experience as a place in which they do not ‘belong’, albeit according to others’ place-making claims.

Against the backdrop of all of this, one may wonder why and how SWP do keep playing to begin with. In order to pick up the LARP-journey outside of the uniforms where we left it, dear Explorer, I want to invite you to dive a little more deeply into the problematic of



‘waiting’ and seemingly not being able to do anything with Eli and myself. This is, however, an Exploration that may affect you. Brace yourself.

Hope and Waiting

“I could see the hope in her eyes (...) [hope] that I would help her. – But I couldn’t help her (...) All I could do was (...) [stay] with her – hold her hand [and] wait...until the ambulance arrived.”

We are following Eli’s SWP uniform into the past, when he was still an inexperienced ‘rookie’ officer. On top of that, he was alone in his station, staffing the late shift all by himself, because his colleagues attended calls elsewhere. Furthermore, it was nearing the end of his shift when he responds to a call to a road accident. When he arrives at the site, he recognises that one of the crash-victims is a local woman, whom he had previously helped and encountered in informal encounters. They had a face-to-face, personal relationship that arguably contributed to the fact that Eli understood himself to be perceived and responded to with ‘hope’ as he arrives.

What he also perceived was that the other car’s driver, and the little girl on the passenger seat of the woman’s car had been killed in the car accident.

“She was upset [...] she kept asking about her daughter – ‘Is my daughter alright?’ (...) And I told her ‘You will be fine – you will see your daughter again...at the hospital. [...] I was trying everything [I could] to make her calm down (...) I told her she would be fine – but she wouldn’t be fine!”

Eli is using his Knowing how to talk to people correctly in this situation to ‘talk the woman down’. Her state of upset, as he points out to the Researcher, was deemed ‘unsafe’ with regards to her ‘pulling through’ as Eli explains. Thus, to make her safe and protect her from harm, he wanted to manage her spatiotemporal frame of the situation into one of a safe place, as aligns with his job-role. He mobilised his capacity to make the woman feel that she belonged and was taken care of. Eli did this by physically showing her how he sided with her (holding her hand), managing his emotion-display into one of calm that translated into the message she was (made) safe and that her future prospects included being safe, protected and well. None of this, however, registers with Eli as ‘doing anything’ – despite the fact that



he is ‘doing real work’ and ‘engaging with the public’, he perceives and frames his ‘waiting’ as not performing at all; let alone performing well.

Such a self-assessment of his performance is exacerbated in the aftermath of the incident. Eli has, once the ambulance arrives and his protegee becomes other service providers’ ‘responsibility’, do all the paperwork that such an interaction between police and MoP requires. This is, by that time, already hours after his shift was officially finished. When he has ‘dealt with it’, i.e. the mandatory ‘transparent-making’ chores, he goes home to have ‘too little sleep’, and when he ‘return[s] the next day, [he] learn[s] that the woman died on the way to the hospital.’

“It haunted me [that] the last thing I [ever] told her ...was a lie.”

Through record-making, Eli has to construct the incident as a police performance in which three people died, i.e. nobody was objectively made safe despite Eli’s involvement. retrospectively, he has managed to convince himself that he has “done all that [he] could to help” in that situation. However, silent labour of emotionally interacting with others does not manifest in official records, or numbers, or even appreciation and recognition amongst colleagues. From Eli’s perception of potential stigma associated with ‘being affected’ on duty, he kept his trauma to himself and ‘dealt with it’ in his personal spaces: Hidden from view of those he is supposed to be able to share everything with, and trust unconditionally.

Arguably, the reason why Eli was so strongly affected by the incident is also intimately bound up with what brought him back into the uniform, after having had to stop playing. Eli’s strong personal bonds with ‘the community’ allowed him to empathise with the woman whom he wanted to ‘make happy’ and for whom he felt responsible too much. Emotions travelled through the porous boundary of a ‘professional’ uniform or ‘something around himself’ that could have protected Eli, and he felt too strongly ‘for’ the woman to reinforce his alibi and remain unharmed ‘personally’. However, the strength with which Eli identifies with his job role, and what his profession as a community service provider who ‘cares’ implies, compelled him to come back: “I know it was the right decision to come back (...) Its is an important job (...) I wouldn’t want to do anything else.” Eli’s ‘personal’ motivation for policing revolve around wanting to ‘make the world a better place’ and ‘help other people to lead’ happy’, ‘safe’ lives as and in their communities. For Eli, his job-role fully represents



values that he claims as his own, which suggests (even though it does not ‘prove’) that the care he exhibits when engaging with MoP is genuine, too.

Within a common identification as ‘Human’, SWP also appeal to other players’ capacities to empathise. Conversely, Eli ‘suffers with’ the upset woman – and he may foresee the upset caused by those less directly affected by the road accident.

The Bleed-out that Eli recounts, and the effects Explored above, including substance-misuse and suffering personal relationship, visibilise and embody what Allan puts as such: “[SWP] **never really take off the uniform**” as police (see *You Never Stop Being Police*). The resonance in values expressed through their job-role and the meaning SWP attach to it imply that, in uniform or not, they feel and act as though ‘responsible’ for safe-place-making. When Allan suggests at another point that the uniform is “a costume you take on” and that protects against emotional affectedness, he accordingly (if unconsciously) invokes a notion of a costume’s function to intensify the emotional identification with the role it demarcates. Thus, the uniform leaves officers emotionally re-aligned and imprinted-upon with the ‘marks’ of their professional role-pursuits, including the emotional performance-directives.

[\[You Never Stop Being Police\]](#)

The inextricable linkage between ‘personality’, i.e. out-of-role persona, and one’s professional role as SWP manifests in various diverging situations and forms. In a (managed) Bleed-in, personality informs policing styles. However, policing also informs the personal play SWP engage in, when their on-duty time is over. Whether or not this is a Bleed-out, caused (or exacerbated by) distressing professional Experience is not to be ‘proven’ by this quest. Negative emotional Bleed by SWP members can definitely be found in the officers’ narratives of suffering, e.g. from sleeplessness, restlessness, exhaustion and dysfunctional social relationships. However, they are equally ‘Human’ and thus affected by moral responsabilisation discourses that might be connected to why and that ‘performing as police’ without their costume to symbolise their professional affiliation might occur. Due to the matching values of what the SWP uniform is supposed to stand for, and what brought SWP ‘into’ their uniforms to begin with, the following encounters of ‘virtual’ uniforms, i.e. the



uniforms’ imprints left upon the SWP officers’ bodies, may simply be how they ‘act’ to express their understanding of what is right and ‘safe’ as part of their communities.

Following the emotional re-alignment and comport of those impressed uniforms, one may encounter stories like those of Phil, Kath and Allan’s below. They epitomise what it means that “you never really stop being police” (Allan), and that ‘taking off the uniform and going back to one’s private life’ does not always work, despite Allan’s suggestion that it is essentially a “costume you can take off, when your shift is over”. Let’s have a ‘listen’ to the story-tellers themselves:

[Kath]

“...when I was off-duty – I saw her – walking to her car...and thought ‘Please don’t get in there...behind the wheel...’, because of how she was staggering (...) all over the place. [...] Sure enough, she got in, closed the door and was about to start the engine (...) [I] walked up to her, knocked on her window...and told her I was [from the] police, and if she would mind having a quick chat [because I thought she was drunk]...I had my ID on me to prove that I was police, but she didn’t even want to see it...and when we spoke, I realised that she was not drunk [at all] – she explained that she had been walking [that way]...because she was wearing new shoes and the heels were hurting her. [...] Of course I was [quite] embarrassed, but – I couldn’t have let her drive off, if she had been drunk. [...] If she had been drunk, I would have taken [away] her licence, (...) in a heart-beat.”

Kath explains that she acted ‘as police’ despite being out of her uniform, and going about her civilian business of grocery-shopping, because she felt responsible to make sure the other members of her community did not violate binding codes of conduct. In this case: the legal prohibitions on drunk-driving. Thus, without the uniform to identify her as someone to ‘make (feel) safe’, Kath was still acting in the role of someone who managed others’ behaviours and freedom (to make their own decision), when she felt that they might be at risk of harm to themselves or others, a.k.a. vulnerable. She identifies the responsibility she felt as an obligation ‘as a human being’, and a member of society. This might be deemed a reverberation of the responsabilisation ethos we encounter throughout our Campaign. Kath also reaffirms what Phil tells us in another instance: That the police is as bound and managed by the Law as everybody else. There is a ‘community’ of legal subjects, in which SWP and MoP play according to the same binding rules. There’s more that Phil has to say:



[Phil 1]

“...of course – if I saw someone shop-lifting, or whatever...or, if they tried to rob [the place] when I was doing my groceries – I would [still] intervene...[even without my uniform on] – That’s just common sense...when I’m off-duty [that] doesn’t mean that I stop believing in what is right and what is wrong...I am still bound by law...and I always have my ID on me, anyway...[police are] obliged to carry their badge, also when they are not [officially] on shift.”

In this example, Phil invokes how his sense of being responsible spills from his professional role into his personal role-enactments. Such a Bleed-out has a material component to it in the badge that officers (have to) carry to identify themselves as police, even when they are in plainclothes. Through this seemingly innocuous element of the uniform, the narrative of unpredictable working hours extends. As Phil explains: Police officers always live with the possibility to be called into duty, even during their days off. Via making them carry an identifier even out-of-character, the likelihood of them taking on the policing role becomes intensified: Their in-role ‘prop’ trespasses into supposedly private, personal life-enactments, spaces and times and places.

Additionally, like Kath above, Phil reiterates the binding-ness of the rule of Law, which mobilises the officers into policing interactions, regardless of whether or not they are overtly discernible as police to outsiders. Phil also highlights, however, that he would ‘always recognise other police’. In-group members ‘read’ each other, the way they read Others, from their body language:

“...the way they compose themselves...the way we talk, the way we walk...we think about the same issues, we feel the same...we are the same (...) I would always notice another police [officer] when they walk past...from how they hold themselves – their comport.”

Police officers ‘act their role’ and ‘play their part’, without needing to ‘dress up’. When Bowman’s insight-crop highlights the intensification of players’ identification with their roles through costumes and props, she might have arguably also considered the imprints left upon those who take on a role that they seek to imbue with a specific meaning through how they perform.

It might be interesting to follow officers’ trajectory back into their personal historical encounters. Thus, one might glimpse whether these bodily adjustments are reactive to



taking on the uniform and its responsabilising meaning, or if they predated the characters' professional Distinction. Within the setting of this Campaign, other perspectives on the issue are afforded to Explorers. They relate to the 'unpredictable working hours' your co-LARPer experience constantly.

There are, accordingly, several different ways in which SWP act out what their professional character-cards have them do. They might be externally mobilised into their active role-performance, even on days off, because their professional status does not provide 'protection' of their personal space-times from interpellations as professionals that are made by higher authorities. Additionally, SWP internalise their 'responsibility' to make safe' as members of the public (sharing the values of 'Law') in a moral and ethical sense. Their perception-schemes are so attuned to how 'safe behaviour' has to materialise through the community's behaviour, that they may fall out of character in *personal* performances and act 'as police'. Such a Bleed is possibly provoked and made more likely, because SWP never fully de-role and take off their entire uniform: Their police badge co-assembles with what is supposed to be 'normal life' and may be an affective force therein. Such Bleed-out from insufficient de-roleing can be instantiated by, as well as made worse through, what Phil also tells us about:

[Phil 2]

"...I was [off-hours] on my way to the gym...when in front of me [I saw] a car crash (...) I pulled over and [ran to the car] after I called 999 (...) to see, if anybody was hurt – I pulled the woman from the passenger seat, but there [was] nothing I could do for the driver [who was the passenger's] mother...and I stood there, waiting [with them] for the Ambulance – still in my gym-kit, see – and there was nothing [else] I could do...to help (...) and of course that wasn't nice [to see] – she was [very] upset, of course – and that...that got to me (...) if I had been in uniform [i.e. on shift; CF] I might have been prepared – I mean: you can't prepare for those sorts of things, but – when I put on my uniform, I know that I might [experience something like this] – that something like this can happen [and I have to respond to it]...but I was – it caught me off-guard."

What Phil refers to here links with two themes your LARP-quest brought up: For once, the unpredictability and impossibility of being 'prepared' for the job as an SWP officer. Secondly, it appeals to the notion that 'the uniform' might act as a barrier between the



personal ‘emotional’ body inside, that needs (to build) something around itself to be protected from being affected. Being off-duty here coincides with being un-‘braced’ for the liabilities and the range of possible, likely-to-happen encounters that Phil would have been attuned to in his police officer role.

This case provides a good point of reflection for the concept of vulnerability in relation to (sensory) attunement that Ash’s 2013 Gardening-project produced. On one hand, SWP members are attuned into the atmospheres of their job – they ‘zone out’ as they brace themselves and assemble an inner tool-kit of skills, based on their Experience. Thus, they manage their self-perception into an emotional state of confidence in their capacities. Additionally, their sensory awareness is heightened, in correspondence with their XP, to react more flexibly and quickly to environmental changes that they are likely to encounter. Such an adaptivity to changing environments of their work-life translates into SWP officers’ becoming even more aware of minor changes in possibly not sensorially perceivable, not cognitively frameable changes, e.g. in the demeanour of the MoP whose body-language the officers ‘read’. On such a highly alert status, SWP’s capacity to interpret atmospheres also becomes magnified. Thus, they can – by mobilising previous Learning that their bodies can performatively recall via skills-application – make ethical, situationally appropriate split-second decisions enable SWP to ‘deal with’ situations that fall within a range of possible encounters of their policing lives. Put differently: they are attuned to and braced for certain types of encounters, not universally more adjusted and increased in their reactive capacities. This attuned state of mind is an openness to certain Experiences that is ‘place’-specific (i.e. gaming environments, Swansea’s NTE...) as well as place-making. Ash highlights furthermore that attunement comes at a price of emotional and other types of also-physical exhaustion. In the case of the SWP, one might argue that their forfeit some of their capacity to be(-come) ‘emotional’ by ‘toughening up’, alongside the tiredness that our co-LARPer mention. When Eli and Mick refer to being ‘on edge’ all the time, they might invoke the price to pay for their attunement-capacities. Additionally, Kyle’s comment that his job has made him “cynical” and less trusting in the good of people is associated with ‘what [he] learn[t] when patrolling as a police officer’ and dealing with what SWP’s role comprises. ‘This job changes you’ is also a judgment that Eli passes as he ponders that his character (out-of-role personality) has changed throughout his XP-accumulation in-role.



In Phil's above example, he was taken 'off-guard' by having to act as police officer without being braced. Thus, the uniform's (symbolic) protection from emotional affectedness is not active. Additionally, Phil might have experienced a role conflict in that he felt responsabilised and compelled to act in his function as a police officer, but he had entered the situation in his role and self-perception as a civilian. This could be corroborated by the fact that Others would have not met him with the attitudinal display that an SWP uniform might have triggered: Dave describes in our Campaign, people instantly understand that they are engaging with police through the signalling capacities of the uniform. Phil in his 'gym kit' would have looked like 'anybody just passing by in their cars...maybe even a spectator', as Phil describes. Without the feedback from other's responses to their perception and interpretation of the official tribal marker, Phil might feel less confident in how to act.

Supplied with the conceptual intake from your Take-Away, 'responsibilisation' can add value to the meaning-making quest. Phil as having internalised a mind-set and morale to make safe (places) in and for his community as an autonomous individual and responsible citizen-subject would act the way he did, even without the uniform. This ethical position and moral orientation might have been ingrained in his 'personality' before taking on the uniform. It would have been fostered throughout the discursive learning trajectories within the organisation and in the latter's broader embeddedness in a state-system with a normative frame on how to perceive 'police' and their functions. On top of the professional responsabilisation, however, Phil's self-concept also identifies him as someone who 'belongs' to the community he serves. Much like Kath, and Allan and Eli on other occasions, his intervention into the car crash scene is accordingly framed not (only) as policing work, but something that is "the right thing to do", as a member of society. The 'Bleeding out'-effect one might find in how quickly Phil 'got in there' and 'dealt with it' could be related to the intense emotional stressors present in the scenario he describes. Over the course of his policing career, as Eli tells us, one is taught to overwrite the instinctive reaction to stay away from danger, not hesitate and 'just get in there'. This might have inspired Phil's behaviour on being, off-guard, confronted with a case that he deemed required safe-making.

What Phil is more 'exposed to', i.e. what marks his vulnerability in this situation as different from the usual job-related type, is that there is no way for him to de-role. Technically, he has not intervened in an official function. Thus, he cannot go through the motions of a



responsible, professional police officer to ‘deal with it’. Instead, in his civilian role, this incident becomes memorised as a private, personal experience. One in which he felt ‘helpless to help’, which arguably featured into his emotional response, i.e. being ‘upset’ for a while thereafter. He is ‘waiting’ with the crash victim who survived, and tries to calm her. This ‘waiting’, however, does not give Phil the feeling of ‘doing something about it’. All this might contribute to why Phil brings up this example, when asked if he was ever “affected by [his] work”. Critically, he does not volunteer an actual work-experience example, but instead invokes one in which he is not professionally prepared. This might seek to underline that, as a police officer, Phil is apt in using his personal capacity to be and remain ‘calm’. As a “a calm person” on-duty, and a professional, he would not commonly be ‘affected’ emotionally.

One could argue that this does not represent an example to illustrate the unpredictability of an SWP officer’s job-life. It would possibly be more appropriate to speak of an instance of unpredictable lived reality of and as Humans. The question of responsiveness and responsibility arise that notwithstanding. After all, Phil could have chosen to drive away and continue onwards to the gym. But such a behaviour would have conflicted with his responsabilised self-perception: As a civilian (possibly), and as a professional safe-maker, who has been taught and internalising over the years in his role that ‘making people safe’ is his responsibility. The ways in which Phil’s perception schemes have been honed and his behaviour is affected, accordingly, make his life rife with the liability of when he is ‘triggered’ into functioning in-role, despite his previous plans to do otherwise. The imperfect boundary between professional and personal lives lived comprises another ‘unpredictable’ element in the WP’s experiences that are arguably irrevocably affected by their imprinted uniform.

‘They Never Taught Us That’: Improvisation and Dealing with Unpredictability
There are several aspects subsumed under the headline “unpredictability” in the narratives SWP mobilise throughout the Campaign. Another one emerges as you deep-dive with Eli, in the modified form of unpreparedness. Whilst there may be (internalised and official) directives for how to perform properly as SWP in accordance with codes of conduct and data analytics-based performance guidelines, Eli had to ‘improvise’ in direct response to the situation he was thrown in. His previous Experience and his “class-room-based training”



(Phil), were not sufficient in preparing him for such a situation, however. Eli's accounts speak of being 'overwhelmed' and 'feeling helpless', as well as 'not know[ing] what do to'. Within an orientation towards always 'doing the right thing', Eli relies on what he calls "just being human (...) being there for" the woman who needed him and his help and support. His previously established trust-relationships made him react spontaneously to the (non-)verbal cues he received from his interaction-partner, whilst on safe-place-making duty. This is an intimate re-enactment of Eli's later work ethics, when he specifically 'asks, if everyone is happy' – what he relies on, however, is his instinct and his capacity to empathise with the one he 'deals with' to understand 'what they need' and want him to do.

By engaging with Others at an eye-level, one assumes conceptually and ethically standpoint of being 'equal' with those towards whom one feels and expresses responsibility (responsibility in Theory-speak). These encounters on the level of a shared Humanness allow SWP to maintain their capacity to improvise. Such is needed, e.g. when responding to calls 'for which "[n]othing can prepare you" (Eli; Phil; Allan). The lack of preparedness for things SWP encounter is an issue that many of your co-LARPer raise: Mick speaks of 'never know[ing] what awaits you behind a closed door', when responding to calls. And once one faces what the technical codes from the 999-Call Center deliver as 'information' and "intelligence' about a case, the words SWP invoke to 'make sense' draw less from a Law dictionary: "shocking" and "traumatising" are how they narrate their job realities. Dave and Allan especially point out the impressiveness of 'dealing with things for the first time'. Dave refers to murder sites and Allan argues that "[i]t doesn't usually happen that you get to see a dead baby...it's not natural (...) - [I]t's not a normal thing to happen (...) it gets to you, somehow." Whilst jobs like investigating cases like Sudden Deaths are dealt with at a regular basis in a police position, and Phil strongly argues that 'people who want to become police should do their homework' and get informed about what the policing job entails, actual Learning only happens by 'getting in there', getting exposed and generating the necessary XP to 'deal with it' on a personal and professional basis.

Some things, as per Phil's explanation, one can 'read up' before applying for a job as police: The long hours, the unpredictability of when shifts end, the fact that officer can be called in from their days off. What Phil admits, however, is that 'the effect it has on you' to deal with dead bodies, and even more so: the subject of Death, cannot be entrained. One of the



commonly most disliked responsibilities all officers invoke (apart from the unexpectedly large amounts of paperwork to be done) reflects this: Delivering bad news to relatives of a deceased is “upsetting” (Phil; Allan) for SWP. “[S]eeing people upset all the time...it gets to you (...) it’s not nice” are also opinions voiced by Allan, Jane and Dave – although they do not only respond like this to the ‘task you would like to avoid’-question your Researcher-ally posed them. Instead, the ‘upset’ people SWP encounter are seemingly always co-assembling with the places they police, because upset people arguably need ‘protection’ from ‘harm’; they need to be made (feel) safe. Even, if one can’t really do much to ‘help’, as SWP argue – when someone passed away, Phil explains, ‘there’s really nothing you can do’ but try and mitigate the pain. He trusts in his communication skills to show ‘care’ and ‘respect’ for the feelings of those whom he had to inform of someone’s death. But he concludes that he does not feel like it was ‘enough’.

The same holds true for calls that SWP have to respond to by ways of “**filling the gaps** left by the NHS” (Phil). As such, he addresses what is commonly invoked by SWP as “resource shortage” – implying a lack of sufficient police officers to ‘deal with’ all the calls they get. Such a shortage is exacerbated by larger scale economic and political ‘power-geometries of space’. Namely that Austerity-politics related cuts to social and emergency services have depleted the capacities of e.g. medical services to respond to emergency calls for which they would, according to protocol, bear responsibility. As “the one organization that can’t say ‘no’ to people” (Eli), SWP have to attend any calls irrespective of how little formal training they may have received to ‘deal with’ the incident ‘properly’. “If we don’t deal with it (...) people get hurt”, as Eli puts it, is the moral-ethical mobilizing narrative behind the officers’ actions on behalf of ‘making the community safe’. However, their Experience is affected by a notion of acting out other characters’ ploys.

Many incidents that SWP attend to these days, as Phil explicates, are not ‘traditionally’ part of policing duties. Instead, he labels them “mental health calls”, for which SWP receive no prior training. Thus, he relies on improvisation and his interpersonal communication skills to ‘try [his] best’ and wait until experts who would normally be responsible for such incidents show up. Amber highlights that SWP recently find themselves performing roles of “counsellors, mental health nurses, first aiders, therapists...” without having had any formal training to do so. In a position in which they, as police, cannot turn calls down, they thereby



arguably feed into the “unrealistic demands” (Amber) people set in them, i.e. to ‘take care of every little thing’ – “they [MoP] expect you to be everything”. This is exacerbated as a problem affecting SWP’s Experience of stress by their already ‘small numbers’. Current political developments suggest that PM Johnson will drastically increase the number of police officers available to ‘make safe’ (autumn 2019) and plans to include mental health training into the ‘class-room-based’ training for SWP seek to tackle this. However, the questionability of how well one might be ‘taught’ how to deal with MoP properly remains. Phil, as you have previously Learnt, is very vocal about the insufficiency of class-room-based Learning and the futility of “by-the-book-policing”: Training and up-skilling happens in interaction and through engagement with the people: Improvisation. Irrespective of any (lack of) efficiency of following preset guidelines, however, the training for police officers that does happen ‘in the class-room’ has been represented as lacking, too: Joe tells the Researcher that he had “a two-hour work-shop” on how to professionally police on and via social media, that left him with “no idea” what to do. Although it may have ‘covered the basics’, Joe deemed the Learning content ‘self-evident’; stuff that he would have instinctively done (right). None of the class-room hours ever covered ‘how to talk to people’, either, as Phil emphasises – and all the legal codes that needed to be Learnt by heart ‘help you little...outside your office’ (Phil).

From what SWP report, the ‘stuff’ that they do Learn in their training – “all the theory” (Phil) – mostly informs them about things that they are not supposed to do, and how to ‘keep your back’. Use of Force prescriptions detail how “little we’re allowed to touch people [these days]” and generate a latent feeling of insecurity and fear that transpires from how SWP talk about their limited permission to make decisions of their own. Phil directly flags up that Discretion is supposed to be ‘nearly eradicated’ from the range of options for SWP to perform. This, he explains, seems to be a move towards less possible misconduct (charges) based on predetermined interactions between SWP and MoP, where every possible encounter has strict and minute guidelines on how to proceed. This automation and robotization of policing “based on numbers” deprives SWP of chances to listen to and follow their instinct, inasmuch as it denies them their capacity to infuse their uniforms with their personality: Policing styles would become ‘uniform’ and normed. Interactions, too, would be deplete of the recognition of the Humanness of those SWP engage with – making it



impossible to generate ‘trust’, because of the “Robot-polic[ing]” that does not take into account the uniqueness of the Other who is to be helped on their terms.

From a Robot’s perspective, this would imply a double success: The MoP would be dehumanised in subsequent policing incidents; and police would dehumanize themselves through their actions. Arguably, the provision of fully pre-set standards could imbue policing performances with more ‘confidence’ as they would have to follow exhaustive protocols of action. No ‘chance’ for misconduct could arise. However, SWP are acutely aware of the potential for misperception that threatens their position and recognition as good police. Those misinterpretations of what police (are allowed to) do not necessarily have much to do with what is happening in a specific encounter with a specific SWP. Unless there are protocols for ‘those who don’t understand’, taking away the Discretion and the room for improvisation for SWP purely diminishes their capacity to ‘deal with’ stressful situations in ways that they Know and feel confident in, on the basis of their accumulated XP and instinct.

RE-EMERGING: a special kind of police
unlike the other[uniform]s

Dear Explorers: You can take off the diving goggles, now. Welcome back on Level 4. Whilst the past dive has brought you ‘underneath’ the skin’ of SWP, the following remains rather touchy and close. With all the invocations of ‘personal’ interactions, it might be just right to do as Learnt from SWP and ‘really listen’ to what comes from the proverbial inside of the uniforms. The latter, however, is necessarily translated into what SWP say about themselves, due to your Researcher’s incapacity to directly engage with ‘inside-code’ like emotion Experience.



To return to the notion of misrepresentation and misperception and connect it with the uniform-paraphernalia that comprise your attention-focus for Level 4: one might be led to believe that the body-worn cameras should ‘protect’ SWP from the ‘harm’ of wrongful accusations. However, the body-cameras are entangled in a techno-digital fight in which the civilian camera-phones that you have encountered on previous Levels comprise the



weapons of choice, against which the SWP's uniform-assemblages has to defend and reclaim its meaning. The uniform's ambivalence as a tribal signifier comes up when Phil invokes the militaristic, potentially brutal forces 'on the Continent'. They are using their capacities to form relationships with 'their' community in different ways, despite an arguably same conduct-protocol: As Phil points out, e.g. French police would not be seen taking Selfies with the public or **'having a laugh'** with their community, to distinguish the SWP as a 'friendly, approachable community service' from the others of the police family-tree. Eli articulates the specialness of the SWP in an even more granular geospatial and national level. His descriptions of SWP are about a "friendly, Welsh community service", whereby the community is that of the 'friendly Welsh', who are naturally friendly and know how to have a laugh. A constitutive outside to this in-group reference is depicted in the image⁸³ (right): The purportedly 'brutal' London Met. Whilst Eli draws from his Experience in pointing out how welcome SWP officers were made feel by MoP in London when SWP provided back-up for a mass event, the Met has also been disrepute through (social) media. Similarly, U.S. 'brutality' may have become a factor in shaping Phil's Self/Other-perception-schemes through the same problematic discourses that SWP have to defend themselves against: Images of police overhandling MoP and abusing their power; the use of arms against unarmed civilians and 'police brutality' as a generic discourse about a generically Othered uniform-wearing tribe. Such discourses are supported by circulating images about police violence that are mediated through a global network of data flows, including academic knowledge-production (c.f. Fridkind et al., 2017), and can thus affect a greater variety and number of bodies, through space and time.

Locally, these narratives translate into the professional enactments of SWP, too, who are confronted with notions of police brutality, coupled with more nuanced background discourses. Amongst them, as Phil asserts, is the persistent idea that police officers 'got into their job, because they couldn't do anything else...' Phil raises this issue, i.e. that he perceives a wide-spread underlying assumption that people choose the job of a police officer, because they failed in other professions. He states that he personally experienced accusations from MoP that denounced him as being a bully in his job and as his job, because

⁸³ source: <https://mob.indymedia.org.uk/images/2009/01/418384.jpg> (last accessed: 10-11-2019; 12:09)



he must have been bullied as a kid before. Dave seconds this suggestion, i.e. that police are frequently framed as brutal and aggressive because of their failed lives and an alleged innate proclivity to violence. Policing is, after all, “a **confrontational** [kind of] job” (Phil) that involves violent encounters between police and MoP. In such situations, police have the authority of the state and the Law on their side, which makes their engagement partners invariably ‘the underdog’ with which other MoP, who are like said underdogs, readily side: MoP tend to align against ‘the police’ purely for the meaning that is associated with the latter’s character, rather than considering the context i.e. the contingently emerging place they are entangled in.

Thus, MoP ‘Other’⁸⁴ those who are supposed to ‘belong’ to the[ir] community, and position themselves discursively and emotionally opposite the SWP. The division line that they arguably act upon and enact is one in which SWP fail to perform in accordance with the code of conduct or the rules laid down in the legal Social Contract. From the SWP’s point of view the divide exists and is recreated because of a lack of shared Knowing. It is a frontier that returns to this Campaign in the guise of ‘customer-service provisions’, too. In every case, however, the SWP is denied their status as ‘belonging’ – and thus can no longer rely on the trust and support that would be associated with it (Preisler, 2013). Additionally, their performance is assessed without taking into consideration their respective characters and/or faces: SWP are dehumanised into the generic Other of ‘the police’ and reduced to a uniform, with a prefix meaning and emotional reactions that seemingly adhere to it (Pollard, 2015: 365-6; c.f. Bergo, 2011). Against the backdrop of these analytical insight-branches, the Selfie-making practices and Dave’s and Allan’s comments obtain another dimension of meaning: When our co-LARPer agree on Selfie-taking, despite potentially not being particularly keen, their XP may nevertheless lead them to consent to any possibility of making MoP think of SWP as ‘the good guys’ (Allan) who are less likely attacked (Dave).

Viewed from a theoretical spot in the insight-garden, this situation sets up the dehumanised officers for treatments outside of the rules of engagements that (human) equals would otherwise share (pollard, 2015). In practice, such theoretical insights materialise in the

⁸⁴ For the sake of clarity: Apart from representing the ‘generic Other’, as you Learnt on Level 1, ‘Othering’ can also be a practice in which one engages to demarcate Others. This happens through how one interacts with them on the basis of their perceived, always-already established Otherness. Explore Said (1978) for more!



places SWP Experience within a broader, possibly globally digitally-mediated context of stereotypical images about police (c.f. Hjorth, 2019; Giles, 2006). Their affective potential can inspire encounters in the streets and online that take many forms. Dave recounts that MoP “would call [him] pigs...”, or chant rude songs about ‘the police’. Other MoP might call SWP like Amber and Eli out for ‘wasting the taxpayers’ money’ (Eli) by spending their time eating or taking breaks ‘all the time’ “instead of locking up some bad guy” (Amber). These prefixed assumptions about what a police uniform, as a generic signifier, represents accordingly contribute to particular kinds of relationships between MoP and SWP, and provide for a limited range of future perspectives how each of the involved bodies can develop.

getting in there & dealing with it

For Dave, the most common and most evocative progress of aggressions against the SWP, in their uniform that “acts like a target [for aggression]” is: Fights. When interpreting his job-role and lived Experience during the Afterdark, Dave points out that “people want to fight”, and they will “fight for no reason” other than ‘it’s the end of the night and they have nothing better to do’. And whilst such fights are understood to occur more commonly amongst MoP, SWP have to intervene and break them up. Thus, officers naturally get between the fighting lines. It is their job, and their self-perception of good, professional police, to “get in there” and “deal with it” “lest someone gets hurt” (Eli). This requires officers to overwrite their perception schemes in order to be able to perform their role in accordance with their self-perceived responsibilities. Eli explains what would theoretically be put as ‘spatiotemporal frames’ (Strathmann & Hay, 2009: 217-8) that do not match the criteria for safe places in his own words: “It’s unnatural [for you] to see a dangerous situation and ...get in there” rather than ‘running away from it’ – “but that’s our job (...) it’s what we’ve gotta do (Eli)” as professional, good police. Eli highlights that **SWP have no choice** – which, through a LARP-lens, comprises acute stress-potential. Through engaging with situations that are perceived as ‘dangerous’, SWP are required to emotion-manage their framing of the situation into something that is ‘normal’.

Accordingly, Eli has to manage whatever potential Bleed could impede upon his professional policing and safe-place-making performance: If his ‘personal’ inclination out-of-character would be to run away, he needs to ignore the perceived danger, and not become paralysed



by the lack of time and pre-scripted behaviour guidelines to follow. Whilst these situations are rife with what Bowman’s Researching deems Bleed-triggers, Eli mobilises his ‘skills’ and his ‘calmness’ through reinforcing his alibi: As a private person, he would (arguably) ‘stay away’, but as a professional police officer he has to “**get in there and deal with it**”. It is what Eli has Learnt from Experience as in policing interactions. This sentence, at times edited by “(because) it’s [y]our job” are phrases of almost mantra-like quality; regurgitated by all your co-LARPer throughout the Campaign. SWP express that they do not perceive of the situations into which they get as ‘safe’. Instead, they ‘act as if’ they were feeling safe. Such a behaviour has been theoretically-plotted as ‘surface acting’ (Humphrey et al., 2008: 152-6) by emotional labour dedicated Researchers. SWP also seek to make themselves ‘feel safe’ by ‘dealing with stress’, i.e. managing their Bleed as best as they can, e.g. through humour (c.f. pp305 on ‘banter’) and the above arguably motivating, self-positioning statements. Additionally, their professional performance is made possible by their reported “absolute, 100% trust” in each other and colleagues’ Experience, and officers’ skills including “instinct” which provide SWP confidence that they have the capacities to “**do the right thing**” (Jane; Phil; Allan), even “when there’s no time to think” (Eli). Without providing anything that could be ‘seen’ from the outside, SWP labour silently in pursuit of ‘making safe’ and protecting from harm. This protection from harm at once refers to their danger of job loss because they didn’t perform well (enough; according to Others), and to those who are deemed-vulnerable and made safe in the SWP’s official job-role enactments. Additionally, SWP as a close-knit community a.k.a. family, keep each other safe and supported against Others (Levine et al., 2005): Physically and emotionally.

By intervening in other people’s business, the police also actively exposing themselves to harm directed at *them* (Kyle). Although Dave’s Experience provides plenty of examples in which SWP have not obviously brought about the abuse he epitomises by being ‘spat at, assaulted, kicked, punched...all the time’. A professional Experience that, without exception, every co-LARPer shares with your ally throughout their Researching engagement.

Singular punches and attacks can amount up to ‘big brawls’ for which Wind Street during peak hours is infamous, especially amongst SWP. This big brawl phenomenon is especially dramatised by Swansea’s particular NTE place-ness: Almost all the NTE venues have historically come to be concentrated on one street and its surroundings. Thus, whilst



theoretically making it ‘easier to police, because everybody’s in one place’ and SWP can ‘have an eye on them’, Graham also points out that “when something kicks off...it kicks off big time”. The ‘spread’ of a fight that might have been sparked between only two people finds further explication through Dave’s reflection on MoP during a ‘night out’: People run actively to ‘join in on the fight’, i.e. MoP get ‘attracted’ to fights, because they *want* to fight. Through this attraction, of which you are to learn more shortly, another major interaction between SWP and MoP on Afterdarks is fight-diffusion.

For keeping and making the community safe also in these instances, SWP could use the Taser. Supplementary to this ‘non-lethal weapon’ (Phil), SWP uniforms feature other gadgets of ‘making people safe from harm’ to themselves and others. Said people might be police officers, MoP or those on whom the safe-making devices are employed. There is CS spray to obfuscate other’s view and irritate their respiratory system, and a plethora of restraining devices that Phil shows your ally in his office. They enable police to minimise others’ range of movement, which means that SWP gain control over what their interaction-partners can physically ‘do’ with their bodies. As Phil puts it, were he to use all of the straps at his avail, he could ‘strap [MoP] up like a little package’, which makes it easier and safer to move them e.g. into a van to be brought to custody or hospital. Even though their extremities cannot move anymore: “...they can still spit at you. – It happens.⁸⁵”

Dear Explorer: please perform an elegant backwards spin to the beginning of this Level to return to the body-worn cameras you have earlier focused on. These are also active and affective in dispersing fights on the streets: Body-cameras ban on film-footage what is happening. This serves, rather than necessarily as a behavioural disciplining mechanism, a techno-digital body of meaning-making for SWP. Through its capacity to engage differently with visual data in events that unfold rapidly, as SWP unambiguously agree is the case during Afterdarks, Eli finds it easier to use camera-footage as addition to the written reports that follow from every interaction between SWP and MoP. He describes that he ‘sometimes find[s] it hard to put into words’ exactly what happened. If one has the video, one can ‘simply show what happened’. All these narratives seemingly side with the notion that

⁸⁵ Phil also shows me that there are certain props to (try and) prevent being spat at. He is not very convinced of their efficacy, however. To give you an idea: one of them is essentially a woolen facemask or cloth, like one you would imagine to be used to anaesthetise somebody with chloroform.



filmed material portrays the ‘truth’ of events – equating (visual; sonic) data with truth and objective information. This, however, has been questioned through outgrowths from the Academic Garden: Video-camera films are partial and positioned; and data can break and be broken, as well as interpreted with an agenda and on the basis of how one can make sense of it.

What Is Not Seen (or Safe?)

The same, however, is true for other means of representation. Even for the vignette 3, all the way at the beginning of this Level. What the vignette does not allow you to ‘see’, although the camera-footage does, is how Phil is eventually bitten by the ‘suspect’. The latter thereupon changes in the meaning attached to their body and turns into a ‘detainee’ for violating the community-shared code of conduct called Law.

Throughout the encounter with the MoP, Phil never raises his voice, i.e. ‘gets loud’. He demonstrably acts in a different behavioural diction than the MoP, who is shouting ceaselessly: The SWP is accordingly not ‘blending in’ through mimicking the other’s behaviour (Pink, 2009: 37). Phil is rather investing his energy in trying to fend off most of the verbal abuse directed at him with making **jokes** – not *about* the suspect, but in mocking, ironic ways that deflect from the vitriolic statements the suspect verbally spits at Phil. What starts off as a generalised rant on police soon becomes personal, but Phil maintains that “if you get loud, they [will] just get louder (...) what’s the point [of shouting back at them]?” He also points out that he, Phil, could not harm the suspect, a.k.a. ‘get physical’, because such would be against SWP character-rules. Additionally, Phil conceives of any performance-deviation of his as something desired by and aimed at through the MoP’s aggressions. The man who is ultimately biting him, as far as Phil understands, tries to ‘get [Phil] to respond’: Phil muses that the MoP feels **powerless** in this situation, with Phil having ‘taken away his freedom’ on the basis of his professional authority. Thus, any little way in which the MoP can “provoke a response ...to get to [Phil]” could reinstate some sense of power in the self-perceived Underdog, who feels unjustly treated. In the vignette, Phil’s comment on ‘what the MoP wants’ articulates Phil’s theory that the MoP seeks to cause Phil to act out-of-character and lose his status as properly-performing police. Such a strategy would follow from the MoP’s perception that Phil, by not being ‘on his [the MoP’s] side’, already acted immorally, anyway: The two are not equals, if and because Phil can exert the power of the



state. Unless MoP perceive of themselves as deserving treatment outside of the conduct-codes for Law-abiding, safely-behaving citizens, such must be ‘unfair’ treatment.

When Phil argues that ‘you can’t let them [MoP; abuses] get to you’, he chimes in with Eli, Dave and other SWP, who argue that “you have to build something around yourself” that protects SWP on-duty against (emotional) harm. For Phil specifically, this ‘something around himself’ is his “natural” calmness and his Experience in dealing with people: “I’ve always been a calm person (...) [and had] a **calm nature**” As your ally interviews Phil about where his capacity to stay calm originates, Phil also refers to his pre-police career in customer-service jobs. Therein, he had to ‘deal with people all the time (...)’ which helped Phil to ‘Learn how to talk to all kinds of people’. This generated additional XP for Phil, who self-identifies as “a people’s person” already before his working-life began, and someone whose personality is characterised by being naturally **good at talking to people**. In the role that Phil previously played, ‘the people’ Phil had to ‘deal with’ would always, invariably ‘want something from [him]’: Phil played the customer-service provider, and they were the customers to demand and receive service. As a theoretical flower to adorn these notions, Humphrey et al. (2008: 155pp) have also plotted an insight-crop that sustains a perception of customer-service providers’ requirements to be and appear ‘friendly, kind’, forthcoming, police and...*caring* about the wishes and needs of their customers (c.f. Strathmann & Hay, 2009:222). Phil’s accounts support this interpretation, as he informs your ally that he Learnt how to responds to different ‘sorts of people’ and stay calm and polite throughout the interaction. Which, as far as he is concerned, is crucial Knowing for policing, too. Conversely, Phil emphasises the struggles of ‘rookie’ police officer, who have ‘just come from [their] class-room training’ and have no Experience in talking to people. Phil understands them not to be ‘real-life trained’, unless they have had any background Experience in ‘communication’. Alongside Eli and Allan, Phil is most vocal about the importance of “**knowing how to talk to people (properly)**” in ‘doing a good, professional’ job as police. These talking talents, as will recur soon, are used to emotion-manage those SWP interact with in-character: The officers ‘stay calm’ and use their calmness to ‘talk people down’ – which is what Phil tries during the vignette encounter, too, by responding with (black) **humour** rather than volume to the input from his interlocutor.



Through resorting to his ‘skills’ and ‘personality’, Phil moderates and manages his emotion displays in the above situation in accordance with place-specific feeling rules (Strathmann&Hay, 2009: 217). As the official, safe-making authority-bearing body in the assemblage, he has to maintain a professional, calm attitude towards the MoP. This is predefined by his role-card and his tribe’s conduct codes. Additionally, Phil understands the MoP to be ‘vulnerable’ in the scenario above: Prior to recording the vignette, your ally has Learnt that the ‘suspect’ had been hurt in a fight and was supposed to report as a witness. Such reports, however, cannot be taken if MoP are still in a medically questionable condition or ‘intoxicated’. The latter state seemed evidenced by the MoP’s recorded behaviour, but Phil was additionally waiting with the van-passenger until the latter calmed down enough to be seen by medical staff at a hospital. From Phil’s interpretation of his protector-role, he could not act otherwise but through a calm, self-disciplining demeanour that reflected his ‘personality’ and relied on his embodied skills of knowing how to talk to people.

Dear Explorer! Please make sure you have stilled your conceptual appetites with the conceptual candy in your Take-Away that serves you insights on “skills” as embodied capacities to spontaneously diverge from habituated, routine practice. ‘Skills’ mean that one can improvise on the basis of what one has previously Learnt and done (in similar situations), corresponding with changing environmental bodies. Once you can nod in affirmation to have done so, please take a moment to detour into your Companion. Find the section labelled “skills” (p. 320) and do tasks [sk1] and [sk2]. All others are complementary. Return here with an extra 9XP on your overall score.

The Samsung: Numbers, Intelligence and Paperwork

In spite of these accounts, the next uniform feature your Researcher-ally proposes you turn to is not to ‘make safe’ against assaults from MoP directed at SWP. Those interactions, however, also turn into the “paperwork” which ensues on the basis of said body’s capacities and meaning: “The Samsung”.

In your Appendix, you find a more specific denomination from the official guidelines in the Police and Crime Plan 2018-21. Over the course of the Campaign, ‘The Samsung’ has always only found its way into SWP’s narratives through this reference-term. It alludes to another technological prop to supplement the uniform’s high-vis vest and directly links with notions



of “intelligence”-generation. The device itself is a smartphone, into which officers are urged to enter details about the “Use of Force” in every interactions with members of the public. Thus, SWP spend the immediate aftermath of every MoP-involving encounter incident-logging, i.e. interacting with their Samsung. As Rob emphatically stresses: “Every officer involved in an incident has to make a report”, which includes those who may have “...only carried a suspect’s briefcase.” The report-making ultimately involves the filing of digital reports on officers’ office-desktop-computers. Those are interlinked with a large intelligence-database that features and centralises all those filed reports in their completed state, i.e. categorised according to the legal code of an incident, data about the MoP involved, police numbers of the officers involved, and precisely what kind of ‘Force’ was used. The latter then has to be justified and legitimised, in order to pass for ‘legitimate’ force us, i.e. interactions that are “proportionate” and ethically responsive to the interactive input SWP officers receive from their performance-partners.

The Samsung is thus the first techno-digital body in a longer chain of intelligence- and data-production that SWP are also tied up with. This is due to the notion that ‘full transparency’ about every interaction between them and civilian bodies equals accountability (c.f. Jackson, 2015:4) and the potential to sanction misbehaviours as they visibilise through the reports. Since the Samsung literally adheres to the officers’ bodies, it is also a manifest interface to symbolise an interaction that is designed through the “partnership approach” between police and ‘the community’, laid out in the Safer Swansea Scheme and the Police and Crime Plan: ‘The Samsung’ is a portable computer into which data from witnesses, and accounts from officers are logged “as soon as possible” (Phil; Allan) to have “a fresh memory” (Rob) when detailing interactions. Apart from catering to the ‘full transparency means more (likely) trust from the public’-narrative (Jackson, 2015: 4pp) the Samsung is also an embodiment of the larger intelligence-pooling that happens through gathering information from the cooperating, responsabilised community. Any meaning-making from MoP involved in incidents gets translated into data-points that visibilise on the Samsung and are available to and through a network of safe-place-makers. Much like the radios, with which the Safer Swansea uniform-wearing bodies of Taxi Marshalls, NTE door-staff in the CC, Help Point staff and Street Pastors are interconnected over (roughly) the Afterdark time-period, the Samsung connects to larger dimension of ‘data’ with which SWP can interact as



perceivable ‘information’ through their devices. Accordingly, the SWP’s instinctive action-skills can be supported by data that has been generated in historical encounters between (other) SWP and MoP (Ahmed, 2004: 30p.), to help them proceed in emerging policing missions. SWP behaviour may be informed by previously logged information about MissPer (missing persons) hide-out preferences when responding to a call for someone who has gone amiss again. Thus, SWP are enabled to Know ‘their community’ differently, and through different sensory modes than without their costume and associated props.

Performances co-constituted by ‘Big Data’ of intelligence that has emerged from cooperation between SWP and other community-members are part of the ‘design’ for a Safer Swansea that you have Learnt of earlier. The cooperation is effected largely because of the Human labour that SWP engage in to generate ‘trust’, although they also mobilise – arguably both because, and to the effect of – responsabilisation-based acts of ‘reporting’ and intelligence-sharing from MoP as ‘independent safe-makers’ of their own. Such a design that foresees more “efficient” policing and resource-allocation, as well as correct spending of tax-payers’ money relies on the notion that Big(ger) Data amounts up to the “truth” about the social interactions it emerges from and is supposed to abstractly capture and represent. “Evidence-based” recourse allocation, as you find detailed in your Appendix, should enable the best possible performance: Policing against and by patterns that establish and predict ‘real-life’. Apart from the purported truth about what the data show, this generation of paperwork-practice-based BD is also supposed to reflect realistically how ‘well’ SWP already do in their job performances. This serves to ‘make transparent’ and by association ‘trust-



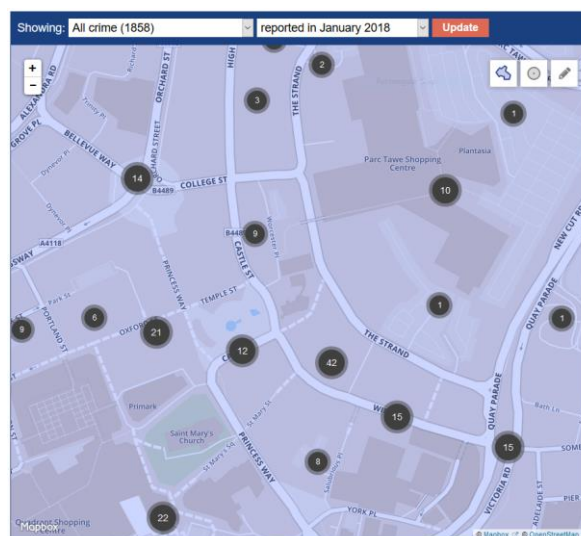
worthy’ how police go about their professional pursuits. Through such a self-representation of the organisation as a whole, the latter’s reputation is also supposed to be protected and rendered ‘good’. This comes at the price of abstracting the officers that are responsible for the measurably good performance into data points and numbers. Whilst some of those data points stand for ‘satisfaction’ with police work (see: tweet below),

those are less publicised than the quarterly visibilising Use of Force releases.



However, as your journey has had you Explore: All the Human interactions are invisibilised from the statistics. And neither of the publications contains ‘faces’, unless police use their discretionary engagement e.g. with social media to reinsert their face into the discourse. The same already happens on the ground level, based on another feature of the SWP uniform: The police (officer’s) number. In interactions with MoP, it is this number that renders individual officers accountable for their action. It is also the number that MoP ask for, if they want to raise claims of misconduct against an individual. Thus, their interactions are more physically focused with an area on the officers’ chest than their faces.

Abstracting officers into numbers that measure predominantly interventionist encounters happens systemically and at a larger scale for mapping, because they Human (interaction)s do not ‘fit’ into narrow categories of crime-policing. Crime maps (right) and other supposed representatives of ‘good work’ focus predominantly on the ‘bad stuff that happens’. Such publications seek to



visibilise policed areas, e.g. Swansea City-centre, as ‘safe places’ according to measurable metrics of incidents and policed interactions, which can then be labelled and declared ‘resolved’. Such a visibilising practice can be ambiguous (c.f. Pink et al., 2018:4), in a parallel fashion to Allan’s elaborations on the SWP uniform’s visibilising: For once, many incidents ‘resolved’ mean that the police is doing a good job in ‘dealing with it’. ‘It’ can be crimes that are labelled according to the legislative categories and legal terminology echoed in the police codes are logged with every incident. Public should, in theory, feel ‘reassured’ for such a visibly efficient policing presence. The flipside of visibilising a map with many crime incidents and large ‘hot spots’, however, is that the ‘place’ appears to need a lot of policing. After all, logged interactions represent instances when SWP switch from friendly-face-showing to acting authoritatively. Data points imply breaches of the (legal) code of conduct in the policed area, i.e. when the community does not play according to the rules. Secondly, it is not possible to tell whether the ‘safety’ of Swansea CC per se is rising or falling, if only



logged incidents are considered. Emplaced in (post-) Austerity-environments in which Dave and his SWP colleagues police, there might simply not be ‘enough of [the SWP] out there’ to police efficiently and deal with every recordable incident.

Furthermore, against the same contextual backdrop, officers might use their Discretion to resolve issues without needing to report, in order to preserve scarce resources of police officers to do ‘real work’, rather than paperwork.⁸⁶ The amounts of paperwork that SWP collectively invoke as “unexpected” and “overwhelming” comprise an element in their policing Experience that makes SWP feel less ‘safe’ in their communities, and in their role as good police officers. By not doing ‘real work’ of engaging with people, but instead invisibilising into their offices to ‘deal with’ paperwork-duties, they cannot ‘make safe’ in interactive, flexibly adjusting ways. MoP cannot be reassured by their presence during the time it takes for officers to abstract their performance into statistics and data, and it cannot be ascertained how many MoP actually engage with the publications of (good) performance made available through press releases. For the SWP’s perception as ‘doing well’, discourses about ‘bad news sells’ and media ‘blow[ing] out of proportion’ whenever misconduct *does* happen are unlikely to make them feel safer in their role-recognition as a good guy. In terms of being more ready for ‘getting in there’ to make safe, and in terms of officers’ self-perception as actively safe-making and paying tribute to their responsibilities, any alleviation from paperwork duties is thus helpful.

The discretionary avoidance of having to ‘deal with’ even more paperwork that attaches to Dave’s resistance to criminalising the rough sleeper also relates to another problem that is supposed to be resolved through Robotic policing. The aggregated data and subsequent analyses are supposed to be used for complementing the protocols for SWP to follow. Direct guidelines for policing on the ‘truth’ emerging from Big Data, however, cannot be accomplished if data gets ‘broken’ in the way e.g. Dave’s invisibilised Discretion slants the

⁸⁶ It is a valid argument to raise that some officers might also make the ‘personal choice’ not to deal with issues and avoid the paperwork because they simply don’t like doing paperwork. As above noted, most SWP members consider this side of their job a ‘chore’, and not ‘real work’. However, the Researcher has not been privy to any discourses about this kind of preference-based avoidance behaviour. It also seems to violate the SWP’s strong-held understanding that ‘if it’s your job, you’ve gotta deal with it’, which is a very strong driving ethos. Paired with their notion of not having a choice not to attend to even ‘undesirable’, uncomfortable cases, because they are bound by their professional responsibility (as perceived and predetermined), accusations of ‘laziness’ driving the report-making evasions seem unfounded.



interaction records. In a context of a customer-service oriented police, whose interactions are already highly regulated as SWP express it – i.e. with them ‘hardly [being] allowed to touch’ MoP without having to fear (and often face) misconduct charges – Robotic principles might not help much to rebuild trust on a prefabricated cause-and-effect-chain, either. In part, SWP may be contributing to their invisibilisation as Humans by invisibilising their emotionality in interactions. Their own dedication to make MoP ‘happy’ and meet expectations of others also reinforces notions that SWP are a ‘service’ rather than a ‘service provider’. In the spirit of LARPing, one would be advised to consider the multiple and divergent bodies involved in forming trust-relationships spontaneously, when trying to ‘fix’ them. Rather than focusing only on the performance of SWP, whose self-understanding may be feeding into a divide between service-providers and service-users, a practical following of the uniform may reflect...

LEVEL 5: What ‘the Others’ Do and Know

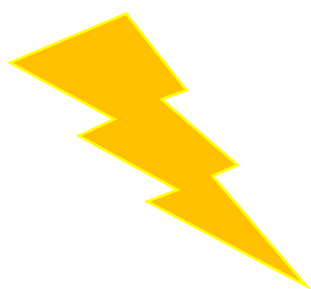
GOGGLES: Level 5



Reach the Plateau via Learning...

...why and how ‘customers’ demands and expectations’ illustrate ‘responsibilisation’, and

...how humour and Human policing instead of Robotic rules-based interactions help to ‘deal with’ resource shortages and safe-place-making tasks



Challenge 6:

Dear Explorers – nearly there!

Let your companion lift you onto the fifth Level by doing task [att1] and [att2], on page 315.

Claim 14XP and return to the quest well-attuned!



vignette 4: meet the solicitor

She is very distraught and upset – that notwithstanding, she seems eager to micro-manage the entire group. She has taken everybody’s names and numbers, addresses and where they stay that night to hand over to the police. A little bonus on top: the bloodied, torn t-shirt she made her partner strip off, because it constituted ‘evidence’ for their case. Initially, Hannah is dealing with her, but it is Allan she mostly engages with. Or rather: talks at. She keeps telling him, in more and more unasked-for detail, what had happened; underlining, very decisively, that they were just ‘having a nice night out’, when the door-staff effectively assaulted them. Hence the very justified escalation that culminated in people being thrown over tables, glassware breaking and the group’s dismissal from the club.

Allan nods – all business; all serious. His forehead is creased, like he, too, is dismayed at the state of door-staff these days, which is what the woman is ranting about at that point. “We’ve also filmed it all – you can have our videos, from our phones, as evidence.” Allan thanks her and then tells her he is going inside the club to review the CCTV coverage. She nods solemnly, collected. All business, too. Not so much anymore ca. ten minutes later, when Allan re-emerges into the cluster of people populating the pavement. As Allan’s voice has this strange quality of being audible even when he speaks quietly, I can overhear him tell ‘the solicitor’ that the CCTV videos show the initiation of the bar fight was not the door-staff’s doing. Instead, personnel only got involved when the first damages to the club’s inventory occurred, and the harm caused to the solicitor’s partner – which she had earlier pointed towards as a reason to “lock him [the door-staff] up!” – were caused by said partner’s stumbling into glass. Not somebody attacking him intentionally.

Her face falls. She is stunned – shaking her head in disbelief, before she presses her lips tightly together and casts her eyes down again. Then she says, still sounding rather collected “I’m really disappointed. – I thought the police were there to help me (...) But now, I don’t feel like you’re helping me at all.” Then she starts crying. Allan says sorry, explains again – but she cannot be consoled. At least he gave her the t-shirt back, though.

‘The solicitor’ exemplifies how civilian safe-making is used to performatively accuse SWP of ‘not doing the right thing’ and not doing their job properly. It goes along with doing police-work ‘for’ SWP to ‘help’ them – in ways that would construct the helpers are morally responsible in the light of conforming with a mutual goal of community safety. However, this redundant data-generation also reflects a lack of trust in being made and kept safe by those who represent the safe-place-making authority. The demands raised above also speak of an interpretation of ‘the Law’ and justice that enables an individual to construct their version of the ideal future in accordance with their specific positionality – as someone



(distressed; upset; drunk) who experienced ‘harm’ and seeks justice. For Allan, the solicitor is a ‘vulnerable person’ who cannot judge for herself how to best protect herself and others from harm. He calmly tells the Researcher, who remarks the solicitor “was pretty upset”, that ‘she’ll wake up tomorrow with a head-ache’ and laugh about it. Thus, he relies on her being part of the community of values shared, that also constitute a consensus of what safe places mean. For Allan as an official safe-place-maker, the safety of the DS – in this case: a job-safety – is of more concern than the temporary ‘harm’ caused to the solicitor’s feelings. That notwithstanding, she speaks of ‘disappointment’ in the police performance, i.e. that her emotional expectations were not met. She had invested hope that her version of the future was brought about by the ‘help’ from a service that is supposed to make her feel safe and cared for. But her investment was not reimbursed-for. Thus, she feels like the transactional relationship between service-user and service-provider left her dealt with unfairly.

[the Uniform on the Market?](#)

The solicitor above is arguably enacting her role as a neoliberal consumer-citizens, who ‘makes use’ of a customer-service that is provided to her by the neoliberal (post-Austerity) state-structures. The ‘product’ is safety in accordance with her demands and expectations. It is provided through the ‘service’ of safe-(place-)making by police. From such a perspective, the civilian public ‘pays’ the SWP for the latter’s services with taxes. Hence, comments like the ones Amber and Eli are confronted with during the Researcher’s involvement with them become meaningful in context. Neoliberal service-user make understand themselves to “pay [the SWP’s] pension.” Thereupon, they would be entitled the services of ‘being made (feel) safe’ on their terms and conditions: Like Mick’s waiting example illustrates, a pre-purchased safe-making service could be utilised based on the consumer’s choice and time management decisions.

As Whiteford (2010) highlights: changing from a ‘care’ to a ‘commercial’ logic in social interactions diminishes the effects of possible trust-relationships that would be expected (and have been empirically proven) to emerge from e.g. compassion-based interactions. In our Campaign, the transformation of a subject ‘in need’ of help, i.e. the responsabilisation of a previously ‘vulnerable’ person into someone who has the capacity and moral obligation to ‘take care of their own well-being’, health and safety, also affects the ways in which the



SWP can be perceived. Their role is transformed alongside the public's self-perception: As autonomous, independent agents of their own safe-making projects, including the feeling of safety established e.g. by controlling for proper police conduct, MoP no longer have to 'trust' in humanness of those who care for them. Instead, they autonomously enact their roles via self-care through calling 999. SWP, conversely, become dehumanised to the degree that their (emotional) labour of safe-place-making is reduced to a paid-for 'product' that the 'customers' they serve are entitled to. The SWP uniforms comes to signify a 'means' that serves to make members of the public, the entitled customer, (feel) safe. This transactional logic arguably resembles the SWP's self-perception as not having a choice about how to do their job, or which tasks to take on: they always 'have to deal with it', and cannot decide not to answer a call. In combination with the SWP's self-perceived and Experience feeling of responsibility – through the double responsabilisation at a 'personal' community-belonging level and a professional role-card instruction one, the customer-service model divides those who provide and those who consume in a seemingly fix narrative of professional distinction. SWP (feel that they) have to act in accordance with the rules, because "it's [their] job [...] [they] gotta do it. (Mick)"

They Know How To Police

Apart from articulating a 'demand' in the SWP services, MoP also express 'how' they wish to be served with safety. An underlying assumption of 'being right' and 'knowing better' than the police is a common theme throughout the Researcher's Following of the SWP Uniform. Eli supports this interpretation: "[P]eople will tell you how to do your job all the time". Kyle, too, highlights that "the public always knows best how to do [one's] job as police" and they will 'helpfully' educate police officers on the matter during their shifts. In these educational interventions on behalf of community safety – which are arguably supported by Campaigns that rely on crowd-sourced 'intelligence' and make non-police community members take moral responsibility for acting safely – often rely on video-footage. Whilst the above example instantiates a reliance on self-generated and trusted video from a civilian-camera-phone, there is also an underlying assumption that the CCTV should 'back up' what the solicitor's memory had already archived as evidence. However, the specific place-ness of Swansea brings with it a history of a particular NTE. One in which DS used to be "a bit heavy-handed" and "rough" (Jane). In fact "it's often the DS who incite a fight" (Graham). The SWP



actively try and generate trust-relationships with DS these days, who receive ‘far more training’ and have to be licensed so as to ‘belong’ to the safety-assemblage as good guys (Allan) that notwithstanding, DS are co-assembled with the SWP-uniforms and the clubs in a way that arouses historically grown suspicion in the ‘consumers’ of NTE services.

vignette 5: meet the ‘twat’

It is still way before the infamous ‘tricky’ time of night, when Fiction [Swansea night/dance club; CF] closes and the masses of often inebriated customers are released onto the nightly streets. Without, as most of my SWP colleagues agree, “wanting to go home”, which provides enough potential for disruptive behaviours. Instead, we are called to the club by the door-staff, because a ‘boy’ who has been discharged and asked not to return for the night (which is the polite way of saying he was kicked out, as Kyle tells me) refuses to leave. A refusal to leave the door-staff alone, to be precise, is at the core of their call.

The boy, of course, is right in his exasperation. Or so he tells Kyle, in a repetitive, high-pitched, excited and increasingly whiny manner. Over and over again, I hear fragments of his laments, about being over-handled by the staff and thrown out, when he tried to re-enter after going for a kebab. In his version of the story, nobody even told him why. Kyle takes his tale in, nodding appreciatively, and waits him out – possibly hoping to let the boy vent off, lose steam and then ‘get lost’ (his words). But after almost ten minutes that Kyle has bothered with the boy, he nods more sternly and takes the door-staff’s side of the events, whilst placing the dismissed under his colleague’s supervision. It turns out that the boy ‘puked all over the place’ and was therefore not allowed back in, after returning from his culinary ventures. The over-handling in question consisted of a door-staff ‘maybe touching him up a little too harshly’. Kyle admits, but he also sees no evidence from the CCTV that the door-staff hurt the boy voluntarily, if at all.

What strikes me most about this situation is the endless calm with which Kyle let the boy speak, despite the fact that he was regurgitating the same sentences again and again. That, and how suavely he sort-of-lied to the boy’s face. After telling the agitated civilian that there was no point in keeping trying to get into Fiction – “Even, if they’re wrong: the door-staff have the last say on who can get in and who can’t.” – he suggests that the boy try other clubs down Wind Street: “...maybe you get in there!” Which I know to be unlikely, as all door-staff (and the police, the Street Pastors and the Help Point) are connected via radio and will,



by now, know of the boy and how he looks. Just to prevent the soiling of any other facilities' floors. At the end of their almost half-hour-long encounter [which would have not been possible, if it had been 'busier', e.g. later that night; CF], Kyle had in fact managed to calm the boy down and send him off peacefully. As we watch him walk away, Kyle mutters "What a twat." – and that's the end of it.⁸⁷

Kyle has, throughout the Researcher's engagement with SWP, always been a pool of calmness and self-discipline. He also frequently uses 'humour' to 'deal with' issues, like sexual advances from drunk (possibly underage) girls who try to get away from awaiting arrest. In the above vignette, he is censoring his 'real emotion' and the perception of twat-ness that adheres to the boy from his point of view, with a professional and calm mode of action. Apart from that, the vignette also covers an incident in which SWP are accused of colluding with DS. They are deemed 'untrustworthy' to a degree that extends to the filmed material from the club's CCTV cameras. After all, SWP are 'part of the system', as the boy is not shy from pointing out. Such concerns are not alien to SWP, either. Graham expands on the matter by pointing out that, in the past, clubs would 'have their cameras show another spot in the club' when something bad happened. Or the material would have mysteriously disappeared. These measures sought to safe their staff from criminalisation, and catered to a lack of distrust experienced towards DS and club staff. By being generically classified as part of the security-apparatus, SWP also have to combat such historically grown proto-hostilities when emotion-managing MoP into feeling safe. In terms of 'colluding' with DS, Allan is also aware of the suggestion that SWP are 'friends' with DS and therefore believe them rather than MoP. Allan states that it is true that, due to the lack of time under which SWP operate (especially on Afterdarks), police may be inclined to take the DS' word for truth, rather than consulting CCTV at length: "They have their job to lose", is one of Allan's points – and he adds: "[DS] are sober", whereas MoP usually fall into any category along the intoxication-spectrum. Their accounts are therefore taken seriously in direct interactions, but are moderated against the backdrop of SWP's Experience with the reliability of a drunk person's memory.

⁸⁷ Almost. It turns out, the boy returned to Fiction that night, with a mate. He then threatened the Door-staff, telling them how he was going to have his revenge in a physically violent manner...that's when Dave, as a Sergeant, meets him, and escorts him to the van for arrest.



Kyle, too, expresses performatively that he ‘Knows’ the community. He knows the DS who had been accused of ‘nearly strangling’ the boy. And he trusts in the boy’s ability to ‘protect himself from harm’ by ‘going home’. In this particular case, however, Kyle misjudged the boy’s capacity to take care of himself. It is the exact same boy, whom Dave encounters that night. Said boy takes the side of another moved-on rough sleeper; lecturing Dave on how said person is ‘not begging’, without knowing that Dave’s action was based on the same information. Hence, he did not issue a section 35, but merely ‘warned’ the rough sleeper to move on. The boy offers all sorts of harsh criticism that Dave calmly ignored, before the SWP ultimately walks off; leaving the boy standing and yelling behind: “I don’t argue with drunk kids.” he states. There is ‘no reasoning with drunks’, after all (Kyle) and any ‘Knowing how to talk to people properly’ in the guise of ‘talking reason to them’ (Eli; Kyle) would be doomed to fail.

Said boy makes a re-appearance on the stage of the SWP’s performance that night, however. And he is thus recurring in this thesis for another important reason: He turns into too much of a stressor for an officer’s Bleed-management to work its best. An officer, who may have been ‘hungry, tired, exhausted’ and already working over-hours without a break.

vignette 6: Bleeding Humans

The entire team is walking towards the van, now. The guy is held on either arm by two officers; he is hand-cuffed to his back, but he keeps kicking his legs and making it apparently really difficult to get forward. Actually – he is being carried by the officers, now, because his legs are up in the air most of the time. – He keeps yapping and screaming and often also spitting and snapping at the officers, who try to get his details. I think he tried to bite [name of officer] just then. I can’t understand what it is that he’s saying. But it can’t be nice – I’ve just seen [name of officer] marching at the guy – he had been in front of the group, but just a few steps ahead – and he [the officer] is grabbing him by the collar and pulling his face really close to his own. Jaws clenched. I’ve not seen him so angry, before. – Then he instantly lets go off the collar and the man and very quickly moves to the sidewalk on the left. He trails behind – he’s in our back, now. I wonder what upset him so much?

memory protocol, Afterdark, winter 2018

This vignette, an officer whose pseudonymised is omitted to protect them from potentially being recognised by clan-members, visibilises an instance of almost-misperforming. A glitch, if you will, in the enactment of a professional police officer. Said near out-of-character



action was caused by various job-inherent stressors⁸⁸ that can cause unwanted emotional Bleed into performances and ultimately even lead to one’s Social Death. The above incident would have been perceivable by those on Wind Street – colleagues, ‘members of the public’, CCTV cameras – as well as actively recording cameras on present SWP uniforms. Had the Bleed not been thwarted, the fall out of character would have found another level of visibilisation in force-use reports. Such reports responsabilise SWP to legitimise the quality and level on ‘force’ used in interactions with MoP: A task that would have probably not been accomplished successfully, had the above instance escalated. This Robotic protocolling as a safety-providing mechanism serves as evidence in investigations of misconduct charges, which officers Know they ‘have to do’. Such Knowing might suffice to discipline themselves into conformity. An additional ‘Panopticon’-related safety-assemblage body, the CCTV cameras that subject officers as well as civilians to capture and datafication, might have influenced the officer’s subsequent behaviour. If interactions on a level of mutual respect is not possible, officers may – as suggested above – physically withdrawn from the threat to their successful passing for a ‘good guy’. This is akin to what Dave does regarding social media based negative encounters, that might bring out aspects of him (unwanted emotionality) that he feels do not belong into his role, and would not help him do his job well. In Researcher-lingo, this might be phrased as a re-assemblage of the ‘safe place’ that SWP are responsible to make and maintain, by removing one body – that of a Bleeding SWP – from it, whereupon a double-safety is (re-)established: The officer’s professional integrity remains intact, and the aggressor’s physical integrity, too. What this also implies, as will be of relevance on the Plateau of Discussion (Level 5) is that the officer literally removed their ‘real face’ from the scene: When emotions could not be managed away sufficiently that are deemed inappropriate in professional police enactments, our co-LARPer in the SWP uniforms may choose to hide their faces, rather than being exposed to judgment of what they show. In the above example, arguably, anger.

⁸⁸ That member of the SWP later confided in the Researcher that the reaction was unwanted and they felt sorry for what had (almost) happened. They attributed it to the many incidents that night, lack of police officers, a missed break and the fact that the verbal assaults were directed against their family. These assaults included very graphic elements of violence that the detainee planned to inflict upon them. Their ‘barriers were momentarily down’, implying the same narrative of ‘something around oneself to protect’ the officers from being (emotionally) affected.



There is a variety of emotion-management labour that SWP engage in and that you have followed throughout this journey. That notwithstanding, emotionality and dealing with emotion is not (often; usually; openly) an element in the image of how to be and act as police. Encounters between SWP and MoP that tick off official boxes for ‘safe-making’ should accordingly still count for ‘real work’, as bodies of various kinds engage with and transform one another; ‘forces’ are ‘at play’: The labour invested may be silent, but it nevertheless requires ‘skills’ to be performed. From Eli’s accounts on the Deep Dive, and much of what you have learnt by now, emotional officers are purposively not ‘seen’ as such, or not making themselves perceivable in such a way: Internally, and externally.

Where Are the Humans?

Outside of Eli’s personal accounts, the notion that SWP have to “be professional” by ways of not showing their emotions also colours Mick’s earlier statements on being made wait by MoP. Mick frames his interaction with MoP in ways that arguably equate professional policing thereby with a lack of truly experienced emotion-disclosure. By confining emotionality to safe places amongst in-group members, i.e. police/ SWP, SWP deprive themselves of their capacity and permission to be (visibilising) as ‘Human’. It has grown from Delle’s (2019) gardening-plot, that Humanness critically hinges on the permissiveness and opportunity to allow pre-reflexive meaning-making like emotionality to be expressed freely. Such a free expression includes a freedom from judgment and censorship – as exercised internally, from those experiencing and expressing emotions, and externally. Such a recognition of Humanness is increasingly limited to the small in-group of uniform-wearing bodies, whose numbers are chronically ‘too low’ to make safe. This safe-making accordingly also refers to the possibility of venting off, as shifts feature single officers on patrol, or too little time to take breaks and de-brief (together).

Based on what officers throughout this Campaign largely understand to be the norm and demand in ‘professional police officers – not showing (or feeling) emotion towards MoP – another problematic aspect to invisibilising their Humanness emerges. Not showing e.g. frustration and anger SWP feeds into the suggested misperception in their civilian interaction-partners that, unlike MoP themselves, SWP are not affected by ‘emotion’. Rather than ‘only’ not letting themselves be (overly) affected by others’ distress or upset, which is the desirable outcome of bleed-management, SWP self-dehumanise. This not only



fails to communicate that they do feel, but also obscures the larger context of their Experience that they render meaningful emotionally, i.e. that wasting police time depletes resources that are already scarce and jeopardises the community’s capacity to be (made) a safe place. Censoring it away from interactive contexts may thus actively contribute to the ‘unrealistic demands’ (Amber) set in SWP by MoP, and the latter’s lack of tolerance for perceived-Human role-enactments of SWP on professional duty.

Emotion-sharing and showing is argued to be one of the key performative ways in which Humans express who and what they ‘are’ (made of), as a pre-reflexive mode of ‘acting’ one’s role. It requires ‘trust’ and a sense of safety in one’s role; a sense of belonging amongst those one shares with. One’s self-perception, as co-constituted by the ‘cultural Learning’ from how one is interacted with throughout one’s performance, must accordingly permit oneself to be (visibilising as) ‘emotional’. Otherwise, one might discipline oneself into not acting, and possibly being, Human in pursuit of being (seen as) ‘professional’.

A self-perception of police as necessarily ‘unemotional’, furthermore, sets SWP up for becoming “hard-hearted” (Dave), or “cold” (Dave) and ‘utterly unengaging’ (Phil: Eli) in job-related interactions. In fact, Dave makes the point that officers have to “toughen up” – which happens through Experience. And he describes himself as having “always been rather hard-hearted”, which locates a purported lack of emotional affectedness in the realm of his ‘personal skills’. Emotional response-ability, however, is necessary and crucial for ‘doing the right thing’ and performing well a job as SWP. Dave also acknowledges that “[SWP] can’t be completely numb” and disaffected “by what other people go through”, but he emphasises such emotion must not show: Dave asserts that Learning for SWP also implies that emotions are not supposed to be perceivable for MoP when SWP are in their safe-making role. Instead, the SWP’s role-card determines their emotional tool-kit for policing to be predefined: Within the community which they serve and are supposed to belong, i.e. amongst those whom they are responsabilised to make feel safe, SWP have to show ‘care’ and ‘empathy’.

Dear Explorer! At this point, you are encouraged to detour and consult your Companion on a mission to skill up: Find the section “Emotional officers?”. Do task [eO] on page 314 which



takes you to the word (optional). Once arrived there, you can complement your XP score with an additional 12, before returning to the main journey.

Care and empathy as normative emotion-displays match Research-outgrowths that bloom on the matter of what emotional labour customer-service jobs implies. They are also theoretically associated with harvests from plots on how to build communities of emotional safety. Empirically, your Learning-journey exposed you to how ‘costumers’ of the safe-place-making service demand police who ‘care’ and are empathetic and engaging (Eli; Amber). Phil puts it even more directly in stating that “the public don’t want Robot-police”. On that note, decidedly (silently; invisibly) labouring to generate the appearance of ‘tough’ police who are not affected by their job emotionally can be detrimental to the SWP’s capacities to police well and Humanly: Without the managed skills-Bleed that SWP employ to allow their ‘personality’ to fill the uniform’s inside, e.g. with truly caring and ethically responding to others’ Experience, SWP may act like Robots. In LARP-logic, they would also become Robots and thus lose their capacity to perform as the role with which they arguably align and which they claim for themselves: Humans.

Come A Little Closer

“It might not be a very Researcher-‘appropriate’ manner, but I do not want to over-analyse the following. There is a common understanding amongst my tribe that data does not ‘speak for itself’ and that we are tribally responsible to provide you, Explorers, the necessary tools to decode what it is that we wish you to Learn from the insight-crops that we provide for you. But you have already got to Know me and my outlook on Researching enough to Know that all I want you is be affected and engage with this Campaign in whichever capacities you see appropriate and can. Thus, I trust that you are currently emplaced ‘safely’, and can allow yourself to encounter the actual words of those whose lived realities I was permitted to co-experience.”

Meet The Police

DISCLAIMER:

The following segment can be upsetting to Explorers. Please use your Discretion and have a mental check-list: Are you braced to encounter traumatising job realities from the inside of the SWP uniform? If you do not wish to engage with this, please jump ahead to the Discussion!

“It [the job as police; CF] makes you harder...you toughen up.”



“It affects you (...) Usually, when my shift is over, I can switch off...and just go back to [my] normal life. – But sometimes that’s not so easy, because you never know...what you [will get to] see, when you respond to a call.” [That’s why he prefers his new position, in which the ‘type’ of interventions is more foreseeable]

“I don’t normally [think about work on his days off; CF] – But there was this one day, when I (...) had to deal with a Sudden Death...and it was a baby [...] I don’t know what it was – maybe it just felt unnatural (...) A baby should not be dead [...] So, after that, I had to – I went to visit my sister, who had just recently given birth to a baby herself (...) And I held her baby (...) I don’t know: maybe I just needed to – over-write the image of the dead baby by holding a living one? [shrugs]”

“I couldn’t [cope; CF] – I didn’t. – After that weekend, I went off – first on sick leave [...] I went to Australia...for a year...and really thought about why I wanted to be a police officer [...] I knew, then, it was the right thing to do, so I came back. – I want to help people. And if I can do that, - even just for one person at any given day (...) I’m happy.”

“We have a saying [amongst police members; CF] – ‘Join the force, get a divorce’ – and it’s true [...] You never really see your real family...that’s why there are rumours, you know – especially, when you have [mixed sex] team partners, that we would have [affairs] – But it’s more like...brothers and sisters. – You have to rely on each other, one hundred percent – (...) You [can be] dependent on your colleagues, with your life.”

“You try not to think about it – the fact that you might not come home [at all] that night, when you start a shift. – It’s just what it is.”

“Nothing prepares you for seeing people dying. – Especially, when you’re – I...it was my day off, see? – I wasn’t prepared for something like this. – [When I’m on-duty], at least I know it is – it can [emphasis] happen. – But then...it just hit me.”

“I don’t think I’ve spent Christmas with my family in the last...three, four, five...years? (...) I want to see my daughter [more] – that’s the most important thing in my life (...) But I haven’t been [there; home] for her birthday...even though I try to see her as much as I can.”

“...you’re always exhausted! – That’s part of the job.”



“And when you get home – it can be difficult...to get rid of all that adrenaline – because it’s a highly stressful job (...) so you can’t [calm down again] – you’re always on edge...and I just can’t [be bothered] with mundane issues like doing [the] recycling [...] or, the contrary, you can’t do anything anymore. (...) My nephews – for them, I am the ‘cold uncle’, because I can’t show emotion...when I’ve just come from a shift and had to deal with [so many] really brutal, aggressive incidents...I don’t want to feel anything, anymore, when I’m home (...) You turn into a vegetable, just watching the telly.”

“...or you take to the drink. (...) A lot of police do that to deal with their job.”

Dear Explorer: The time has come. This is ‘the place’. Find the section (pp.333-4) and do exercise H1 – H3. If you are being (philosophically) adventurous, why not also give H3-Xtra a try? Just make sure not to get your thought-muscles too sore to reach the Plateau!

Plateau of Discussion

what visibilises

Dear Explorer: Congratulations. Through your very own XP, you have generated sufficient Learning-force to make it onto the Plateau in your own ways. At this point, if you will: Rise to your full glory. You can look back (down) onto the levels you have masterfully climbed; you can look ahead and see what the future – may – hold on offer for you; you may feel elated and exposed all at once. You may also follow your ally’s cue once again: When the hashtag visibilises on this page, turn around and look at the path you have taken to ‘get there’, wherever your body currently dwells. This might imply re-engaging with the ‘scribbles’ (c.f. p. 27) you might have produced throughout the Campaign, and possibly consulting your Companion, in which some of your Knowing transformations have manifested. Think about what you have Learnt, before engaging with what your ally mediates you ‘should’ or ‘could’ have taken away from this Campaign. After that – please turn back to face the Plateau.

#

This Campaign tries to entangle Explorers of various bodily capacities in engagements that Researchers mediate. Through a playful, experimental and practical Experience, Explorers have been offered opportunities to let their own bodies ‘Know’ what could be Learnt whilst Following the SWP Uniform. Said uniform has been taken seriously in its affective potentials and capacities to materialise contingent potential relationships between different(-ly



transformed) bodies. The uniform functions as a shared element in Explorers', the Researcher's and SWP officers' Experience throughout the Campaign, whilst the meaning it obtained changed depending on the angle from which it was approached, and the situations in which it was made divergently meaningful.

Did you feel connected; 'drawn into' ethnographic places that SWP uniforms pulled together? Your Knowing, dear Explorer, is one of the goals this Campaign targeted. You have become an active ethnographic place-maker throughout your engagement. Thus, this LARP-Campaign worked like a manifesto. It 'did', and functioned in a way that matched, what it was 'talking about': The tacit Knowing that emerges in engaging bodies as they encounter and make new Experience and places. You, whoever and however you are (and have become) in your Humanness, could relate to the shared element in each character's plot-development: The SWP **uniform**, that **every-body** could **allude to** from their own positionality, and with their own capacities and means available. This includes the digital and intangible realm, which has been practically and conceptually mobilised: Your Companion challenged you to engage with the techno-digital bodies in your embodied environments, whilst implicated digitalities into the plot-narrative about safe-place-making as human SWP. This multi-dimensional relationship-formation to the SWP (uniforms) thus exemplifies an enactment of **digital-sensorial place-making** and **co-experience**.

(imagine a jingle as the Researcher claims a reward-token for placing her project in the neighbourhood of Digital Sensory Ethnography and Ludic Geography in the Garden of Theory and having such a nutritious insight-crop grow to share with others)

Through shared relationality to the uniform, and generating own embodied knowledge about what it means to be 'human' as SWP, this LARP's **characters are equals in Knowing**. To manifest this, the Campaign's core message is a direct quote from the SWP's vernacular as it emerges throughout their professional performances. "**We Are All Human**" becomes divergently significant to the uniform-following Researcher, whose contingent trajectory can be followed by Learning Explorers, who are yet differently affected by the message. Thus, without a fixed content associated, to 'be human' is empirically shown to mean 'a lot', and to deserve recognition and valorisation for its **diverse meanings**. Claiming or appealing to a



common in-group, as SWP may be doing, provides a basis for forming caring relationships with others, rather than focusing on what divides Them from Us (Nicholson et al., 2019: 41).

An emphasis on skills and improvisation, practically implemented by the LARP-frame, also playfully manifests a **critique of too narrow** role-card **prescriptions**. On one level, a too narrow notion of what a **‘professional’** role involves, specifically **with regards to** which **emotions** are supposed to be experienced and expressed, how, takes away one’s capacities to play in alignment with one’s personal values (c.f. Markham, 2013).

(your Researcher-ally enters by dropping out of a puff of smoke, which had emerged out of seemingly thin air)

“This may be a bit of a personal interruption – and yet another fissure in the Fourth Wall⁸⁹, but...Mind if I ask what professional role(s) you, dear Explorer, play? – You might take this moment (and make it as long or short as you prefer) to **consider what rules and codes of conduct you identify with who you ‘play’ as a professional**. Do you show your ‘real face’ – and if so: Towards which in-group? Might it be worth for you to also consider occasional de-briefs and de-roleing rituals to be introduced, to ‘stop being’ a professional and act in your ‘personal, private’ role without unwanted Bleed-out effects? How much of your personality does your (figurative) professional uniform allow – or is it too ‘tight’ for any? – Your Explorations of these out-of-Campaign roles may advance your future alignments with what it means to ‘play’...humanly? safely?...in roles outside of this very Campaign, and which shared values are worth defending!”

(with another comic ‘puff’ she invisibilises again; the narrative continues as though nothing happened)

Dissonance caused by having to play in ways that do not match personal values can ultimately lead to **Bleed** which escalates into rule-violations. The latter may imply being dismissed from playing altogether. Even outside of policing contexts, we might Learn that **other (professional) categories** could benefit from accepting **improvisation** as a **key** – beneficial! – component of **interactional, relational ‘fair play’**. Arguably, their enactments

⁸⁹ This LARP’s Brechtian Fourth Wall has broken before, as Explorers were time-warped into a post-Campaign interview with the Researcher; c.f. “detour 1” in the main Campaign.



also **require** safe-keeping measures like **de-roles and de-briefs**, as have been and will be suggested for SWP as a ‘Take-Away’ from this LARP-journey (see below).

Thinking through lived realities as improvisation-based play links with this Campaign’s **empirical problematisation of** ideas about **optimisation and (pre-)regulation in** the example of **urban policing** and ‘resource allocation’ based on Big Data analytics. Whilst this LARP-Campaign renders problematic any linear assumptions made about the usefulness and validity of reliable Big-Data-making, analyses and patterned policing, it does not dismiss the inclusion of ‘Robots’ into Human meaning-making quests. However, by **highlighting** the intimate entanglement between Human experiential practice and **how data comes to matter differently**, depending on context and perspective, moving towards more sensitive, situation-cautious data-practice may be advisable. This Campaign has emphasised how much of a ‘pre-reflexive’ pattern-spotting ‘device’ the Human body can be, and how **instinct⁹⁰ and feeling** can be (come) invaluable **sources of Knowing**, if imperfect skills required to ‘do the right thing’. Based on experience and getting in there, police ‘Know’ and, if not always consciously, act on patterns that they ‘spot’ or have been affected by, once they emerge in the ‘place’ they seek to make safe. Whatever the numbers may be that make and ‘see’ the future, it would be unwise – from the empirical insights this LARP grew – to take ‘the Human’ out of the equation/s.

This Campaign also sought to reflect broader dynamics, e.g. of political and economic cuts to service provisions, and low police officer numbers due to waves of retirement that have not been compensated for with new recruits (Phil). They materialised in their affective capacities, specifically regarding pluralistic feelings of emplaced safety. In Researcher-lingo, this Campaign therefore manifests in one’s embodied place-making how the ‘power-geometries of space’ afford different experiences to different characters. Through the empirical points of emergence, one might deduct that Robotic measures of safety-designing may be flawed, as Human interactions and social relationships cannot fully be represented or abstracted into measurable categories. In fact: The friendly, **human faces of SWP** who ‘make people happy’ **are not datafied** into performance outcomes, which are biased towards preconfigured encounters that fall into ‘crime’ categories in crime maps or

⁹⁰c.f. “The Why Factor”, BBC 4 Radio, on “Intuition”



performance statistics. This **devalues the emotional labour** that SWP rely on to police well and humanly, and **with which** they make safe in their ‘special’ way. This LARP Campaign fills this gap of recognition and appreciation of how transformative the face-based, caring engagements that **SWP** characterise themselves with **are** with regards to **building a (safe) community of belonging**. Through empirical co-experience, it has also emerged that safe-place-making is ambivalent. Increasing paperwork-duties and depriving SWP of Discretion and improvisational spaces to enact their roles in alignment with their personality were reflected as detrimental to the officers’ own safety-perception: SWP express feeling less capable to ‘deal with’ actual issues, and they are literally ‘taken off the streets’ by growing paperwork responsibilities. Thus, the introduced Robotic principles that purportedly ensure better policing performance through statistical analyses and improved resource allocation, and ‘safe’ conduct through increased accountability-from-transparency, do not generate ‘safety’-feelings in SWP. They also contravene officers’ emotional safe-making activities by disallowing officers’ ‘real work’ of engaging with the public as the former are bound up in paperwork duties. Transparency- and datafication-paradigms, as empirically discussed, go diametrically against the simultaneously existing policy-directive to be a ‘visible presence’ and engage with the community.

To cope with that, following the uniform led us to improvisation as **Discretion** used to reduce data-making about police interventions. This exemplifies how data might break (Pink et al., 2018) and is interpreted from necessarily partial and ‘biased’ perspectives.

Highlighting this might inspire further Campaigns to branch off from this Researching-outgrowth. Their plots may ask questions about how to better analyse already passively generated data like CCTV footage, and how technological affordances available to SWP – and MoP? – may beneficially contribute to safer policing. The latter may refer to feeling safe in ways that affectively exceed statistical representation. On the note of respecting police work and representing more ‘realistically’, there may be a point of consideration to **map** positive, community-engagement type interactions to boost the representativeness of **‘good guys’ policing** in a context that is perceived as being dominated by negative headlines.

These examples are some ways of **visibilising what is hidden from performance-measurements** matrices of policing. On top of suggesting that such visibilisation could



valorise police's **hidden (silent) emotional labour**, this LARP specifically features **language** that actively and visibly **alludes to something 'more'**, underlying the surface of what 'is' known or self-evident. Using the arguably neologistic term visibilisation materialises the discourse that **more-than-human meaning-making** happens through sensory data-engagements ('more-than-human seeing'). Another layer of 'meaning' also emerges through **language** as ambivalent, **ambiguous** and **differently affective**. This is mobilised through use of **metaphor** to leave imaginary improvisation-room and diverse relationship-potential between Explorers and the present writ. Metaphors like the Academic Garden also disclose the Researcher's positionality and (political) aspirations, and picture **possible future 'utopias'**, e.g. about the role Academia might play (c.f. Johnson, 2010: 144pp; Pink et al., 2018). Metaphorically framed as an open communal gardening project, Academia could be encouraging **mutual exchanges of different Knowing projects** and insight-plot (Nicholson et al., 2019: 41). As one outgrowth thereof, this LARP seeks to **encourage non-Researchers to Explore** and be valorised in their meaning-making missions. Growing out of this insight-crop, and through Explorers' affectedness and engagement in innovative, playful ways, Explorers may **relate to 'Academia' differently** (ibid.). Their future interactions with research might thus also become transformed as an affective realignment caused by Following the SWP Uniform. Even though such transformations would be subsequent outcomes of Explorers' LARP-engagement **beyond the Researcher's control** or premeditative capacities, they could nevertheless positively **reflect** on the **affective potential of creative, experimental means and modes of Researcher-'dissemination'**. By expanding upon previous writing about playful geographies, and the usage of creative methods during the Research-generation phase (i.e. playing to get data and play as data), this ethnographic place-making (ad-)venture playfully ties 'non-academics' into academic discourses, whilst still allowing them room to modify their engagements. Playful language, on one level, implicates multiple dimensions of meaning into the possible, pluralistic Knowing emergent from this play. Coincidentally, potentially existing notions about authoritative, 'science-y' language-use as a prerequisite for doing Research and passing as a Researcher are deconstructed. This add-on to gamely Research might therefore also **inspire other Researchers** who Explore this LARP to expand the boundaries of their professional category and **infuse their (thesis-)work with 'personality'**. Based on Learning how important personality-based improvisations are for



SWP, this Campaign might open doors to ‘doing Researching differently’ and utopias beyond the imagination of just the one uniform-following Researcher in this play. Hopefully, such effects help to avoid or **delimitate** future **Bleed** amongst the cohort, too.

Bleed conceptually and empirically accompanies the Campaign-plot in that it is discussed as a **shared element** in all characters’ Human Experience. Awareness about Bleed-potential also comprises **ethical reflections**, as below flagged up. Moreover, Bleed is an **analytical ‘tool’ of story-building** that conceptually advances this Campaign’s ethical plot. By using LARP-research theory to reflect on emotionally labouring police and draw experiential parallels between and amongst characters, Bleed is another powerful metaphor that figuratively and critically links the empirical/ethical and conceptual realms of this thesis.

Apart from manifesting and valorising embodied, experiential and tacit knowledge, the LARP’s plot also highlights the importance and **value of emotional labour** as part of **professional policing**. As Researchers before the present one have argued: Emotional Labour is silent and undervalued. Against this empirical Research-garden-plot backdrop, emotionally labouring SWP have arguably emerged as unaware of the extra labour they invest when they self-perceive as ‘not doing anything’, or unable to do anything to fulfil their tribal goal. SWP or other Explorers who play other police outside this Campaign could be inspired to **reassess the value and validity of their work** and the necessity of being and remaining human. Such an awareness would include associated vulnerabilities to contingent future interactions with others and being affected divergently. These suggestions humbly what the Researcher was allowed to Learn by being partially adopted into the Police Family. It is a Learning that, despite the multi-layeredness and ineradicable insufficiency of language, boiled down to seemingly simple messages:

“We are all human...” and, as Dave has shared, “[We are all] *vulnerable in our own ways*”.

As **vulnerable Humans, we are all exposed and open to contingent** encounters with **futures** that cannot be predicted, controlled as they emerge, or necessarily fully explained via cognitive framing.

So, what’s the Take-Away, then, apart from the conceptual one? What is the last hand-over from your ally to send you off into your ‘personal’ Campaigns?



another Take-Away (not a conclusion⁹¹)

Drawing from the LARP-frame and Learning about the stressors with which SWP are confronted, this is a place to suggest that SWP need more ‘debriefing’ opportunities throughout their official job-performances. Whilst ‘venting off’ amongst the clan is one way of ‘coping’, and internal humour exchanges may keep up the morale and re-assert trust-relationships to make officers feel safe amongst their ‘brothers and sisters’, these Bleed-management strategies may not be enough. This is especially pertinent since they are under threat by small officer numbers and possibly still existing stigma around the issue of mental health which may deplete SWP’s personal resources to ‘deal with it’, i.e. the SWP’s critically emotional(ly challenging) job: There are fewer colleagues to vent off to, because they are engaged in job-duties; there is no time to show one’s real emotion because too many calls require one’s own engagement, or one deems one’s role to require ‘toughness’ and not showing emotional affectedness. As this Campaign highlights the benefits and necessity of emotional coping and Bleed-management, some future directives may be gauged:

This LARP recognises what e.g. Twitter activity by SWP already intimates (c.f. #protectTheProtectors): Mental health (issues; concerns), well-being and emotionality ‘belong’ to police performances. Twitter might be capitalised more fruitfully to reinforce the ‘police talking to themselves’ (Phil) enactment of mutual in-group support. In a manner of digital affect communities (Döveling et al., 2018; Howarth, 2001), framing Humanness as an in-group marker and its meaning as a shared value might in fact **allow the in-group to grow**: More (also non-police) digital bodies could side with ‘the protectors’ and **support** each other, e.g. through banter and black humour or supportive exchanges and signals of care. This potential for Bleed-management should be fostered and sustained by strengthening services like Mind’s “Blue Light” services: They offer mental health advice for emergency service providers including police. The SWP as an organisation has recently publicly shown trends to develop towards a more mental-health-aware institution that ‘cares’ for its safe-

⁹¹ Since being pedantic about language is one of the personal features of your present Researcher-ally, she wishes to highlight that the etymological meaning ‘to shut up’ is undesirable. The semantic meaning of ‘to conclude’ as ‘to bring to an end, finally settle, finish’ or ‘arrive at a judgment by reasoning’ is inappropriate in the current Research-engagement. Hence, she resorted to another food-related metaphor to send you, dear Explorer, your ways. c.f. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/conclude>; last accessed: 19/03/2020, 08:35



makers⁹². It may nevertheless be necessary to open discourse about **‘being affected’ as a general**, rather than an exceptional, **in-character plot-component** for SWP’s professional safe-place-making pursuits. This LARP-thesis suggests the long-term usefulness to preserve ‘human’ resources by pre-emptively caring for sufficient acceptance of potential Bleed, e.g. showing one’s real feelings and human face amongst colleagues, and taking precautions to avoid rendering officers unable to continue playing. Sufficient Bleed-management as part of the police’s professional role also fortifies against misconduct caused by the many stressors that delimit officers’ in-role actions outside of emotional self-censoring associated with their emotional labour: The near-impossibility to improvise, trust their instincts, take a break or reaffirm their personality on-duty.

‘Emotional debriefs’, like venting off, may serve to destigmatise further what is a crucial and arguably inevitable element of the policing job. LARP-research suggests ‘de-roleing’ might be another way of decreasing the potential for negative Bleed (in and out) from policing. The notion of the SWP uniform as a ‘costume’ (Allan) was raised and could be appropriated to such an end. In one of Phil’s accounts on not being able to ‘take off the uniform’, even whilst not wearing it, he describes that he never really stops being police: The uniform’s imprints on his behaviour and world-view are too strong to disappear when slipping into his ‘personal’ role. However, he explains by invoking a traffic accident that he dealt with “in [his] gym kit” , that he was (more) emotionally affected because he was not on a shift, and not functioning in his professional role symbolised by the SWP uniform. The symbolic protection and the ‘bracing’ associated with the SWP uniform may, conversely, help to ‘de-brace’ officers: Rather than ‘always expecting the worst to happen’ (Eli; Mick), police may be encouraged to develop their own rituals associated with figurative or symbolic **acts of taking-off-the-uniform** to re-establish that they can both **stop policing and still be moral**, responsible Humans.

⁹² As an up-date after the Research-mission had officially been accomplished: During her debriefs with participants, it has been pointed out that many measures, including public Campaigns for mental health awareness amongst police, are more ‘lip-service’ payments than representative of actual organisational attitude changes. Instead, the Researcher was informed that how a team handles mental health and ‘well-being’ more broadly is largely dependent on the supervisor’s stance towards matters of self-care and emotions.



Ultimately, the SWP identifies you, Explorers, with the larger in-group of Humans. On such a basis, you are theoretically able to empathise with the plot-development, and most importantly with its Human characters (SWP and Researchers alike). The theoretical insights from the Garden of Theory that establish one is able to ‘feel for and with’ those who ‘belong’ to one’s in-group (Levine, 2005) resonates with SWP policing as humans. The SWP arguably appeal to the larger cohort of Humans who share values and practices like Learning from making mistakes to allow ‘all’ to empathise with their Experience; to take on their perspective; to relate to their role. This is, after all, how SWP interact with ‘the community’. This LARP similarly relies on the assumption that one can try and ‘relate’ to others’ Experience within the constraints imposed upon oneself from one’s previous Learning. Those ‘constraints’ are also empowering in that one can establish novel and fruitful relationships to those whom one agrees to re-encounter from one’s own emplacement as equals; as fellow Humans. Thus, dear Explorer, you are herewith **encouraged to establish fruitful, face-based relationships** with your local safe-makers and Explore further how to relate to them from wherever you ‘stand’.

If we are all Human, we can theoretically all play together on a **fair-play** basis of mutually respected rules of engagement and equivalence of characters. Irrespective of what label we attach to ourselves, or have attached to us because of how others perceive us: ‘Knowing’ as tacit, embodied and emplaced interaction is what every ‘body’ can do. This LARP seeks to impress itself upon Explorers in ways that makes them Know, and accredit what they Know as valid and valuable. It also seeks to make them feel the tacit knowledge that...

...if we are all Humans, **we can define, through our actions, what it means to be Human.** Based on our mutual Humanness, we can and do invariably relate to each other. By abiding by common rules of accepting, recognising and respecting others’ Humanness and vulnerabilities, we can keep ourselves and the community ‘safe’ and co-aligned. Since there is no fix and fast definition of what it means to be Human, or any other label we perform as, any fair-play rules must be Explored, Learnt and felt in contingent, forever-changing ways. Thus, we can all humanly contribute to keep the play going, rather than drawing it to an (unsafe) end.

[The Ultimate Challenge: De-Role](#)



Dear Explorer –

As above argued, this LARP – in the voice and words of SWP – recognises your Humanness and the associated ‘vulnerability in your own way’. Thus, the LARP-frame is supposed to give you the opportunity to self-regulate how (far) you engage with the plot-development and your Knowing encounters, based on your (emotional) affectedness. Decisions about how to play an Explorer consequently feature improvisational liberties (e.g. further Exploring of the Academic Garden, following digital detours, extra activities with your Companion), afforded alongside the boundary criteria to fulfil and prompts to follow to ‘pass’ for your character and successfully relate to the SWP uniform. This is deemed an ethical way of engaging with you at face-level and valorising your experiential Knowing as a Human Learner equal to your Researcher-ally. In a similar gesture of care, said Researcher now encourages you to go some further steps before you part and return to your out-of-character life:

Even though you may already be sufficiently exhausted to ‘call it a day’, for the sake of safety, take on this last challenge:

Find a de-roleing ritual that helps you to step out of your Explorer-role and return to ‘the real life’ outside of this Campaign.

(See Companion pages 335-6 titled: “Good-Bye For Now”)

Gain however many XP you deem appropriate.



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other resources:

non-academic articles, policy papers:

Code of Ethics: A Code of Practice for the Principles and Standards of Professional Behaviour for the Policing Profession of England and Wales July 2014; pursuant to Section 39A(5) of the Police Act 1996, as amended by Section 124 of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014

Safeguarding and Investigating the Abuse of Vulnerable Adults 2012 Association of Chief Police Officers. NPIA.

Mental Capacity Act 2005 (2007), Code of Practice, Chapter 4, TSO, UK.

Police & Crime Reduction Plan 2016-2021, published by the South Wales Police and Crime Commissioner

Safer Swansea Community Safety Strategy 2018-2012

Use of Force Legislation UK, accessed via: <https://www.south-wales.police.uk/en/your-right-to-information/police-use-of-force/>; last accessed: 12-05-2019, 15:11

Well-being statement 2017, “Prosperity for all: the national strategy”, published by the Welsh Government, OGL, 2017.

websites:

Bowman, Sarah Lynne (2015) *Bleed: The Spillover Between Player and Character*, published: 02-03-2015, last accessed: 01-12-2019, 15:46 via <https://nordiclarp.org/2015/03/02/bleed-the-spillover-between-player-and-character/>

Livingstone, Bob (2013) “The Importance of Feeling Safe : Healing Emotional Pain and Loss”, originally published: 03-06-2013 , last accessed: 13-04-2018, 15:28, via: <https://www.mentalhelp.net/blogs/the-importance-of-feeling-safe/>

Huysman, Dr. James D. (2014) “Emotional Safety: What Does It really Mean?”, originally posted 29-05-2014, last accessed: 13-04-2018, 14:53, via: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/gb/blog/life-in-the-recovery-room/201405/emotional-safety-what-does-it-really-mean>

podcasts

Malachowsky, Pete (2015) on Invisibilia “Our Computers, Ourselves”, aired 12-02-2015, accessed via: <https://www.npr.org/2015/02/13/385794689/how-to-grow-a-bully-lullaby>

The Digital Human, BBC4, “Tribe”, 26-02-2018, last accessed: 12-10-2019, 07:56, via: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b09sn514>



The Digital Human, BBC4, “Bursting Bubbles”, aired 12-12-2016, last accessed: 13-09-2019, 14:15, via: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08656qn>

The Digital Human, BBC4, “Anger”, aired 10-04-2017, last accessed: 10-11-2019, 17:19

The Why Factor: “Emotional Labour” (29-04-2019), BBC4, URL: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3csytzd>; last accessed: 12-12-2019, 09:09

The Why Factor “Intuition: Why Should We Trust It?”, BBC4 (07-10-2019), resource: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/w3csyv04>; last accessed: 01-12-2019, 18:57

The Why Factor, “Intuition: Why Should We Be Cautious Of It?”, BBC4, (14-10-2019), last accessed: 13-11-2019, 07:26, via: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3csyv05>

Appendix

[rank insignia, British police]

This is an overview taken from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Police_ranks_of_the_United_Kingdom (11-Sep-2019; 07:16). The South Wales Police’s official website: <https://www.south-wales.police.uk/en/welcome-to-south-wales-police/> (11-Sep-2019, 07:11) has a much smaller version of it at its bottom.

Rank	Constable	Sergeant	Inspector	Chief inspector	Superintendent	Chief superintendent
Insignia	24234	20300 				

[stab-vest]



This stab-vest is usually worn underneath the SWP’s high-vis uniform top.

image source: <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/pontarddulais-stolen-police-uniform-swanea-16163632>, last accessed 30-11-2019



[ethics approval]

College of Science Intranet - Project Ethics

<https://science.swansea.ac.uk/intranet/safety/forms/ethics/committeedec...>

College Ethics Committee/AWERB Group DECISION on Ethical Review

Application Details

Project Title: Emotional Experiences of and Reactions to Night-time Interventions
Applicant Name: Claire Forster
Submitted by: Matthew Roach
Full application details can be found in [College Human Subjects Ethics Application](#) .

Having examined the information included in the above application with Reference No. STU_GEOG_49217_200717114044_1, this Committee has decided to:

Approve this application
with the following reputation risk to the University
 Low Risk Moderate Risk High Risk
Any amendments to approved proposals should be emailed to College Ethics Committee for review: cosethics@swan.ac.uk

Reject this application and allow for resubmission provided the ethical issues raised by the College Ethics Committee/AWERB Group below are addressed
 Return for minor amendment/clarification (please resubmit using the 'Resubmit minor amendment' option for a quick turnaround for approval)

Comments:

The CoS Ethics Committee approves this application but recommends that the following points are considered

Re-submission comments 15/09/17

R1. No concerns

R2. The applicant has addressed the concerns that I have previously raised. I only have two further observations to make, which relate to the Research Proposal.

1. Given the legal obligations and cultural sensitivities around the Welsh language, I would urge the student and her supervisors to be careful when crafting the multi-lingual posters, and perhaps take advice if appropriate. There is a danger that Welsh-speaking may become an exclusion criteria by default. (Proposal page 11)

2. Footnote 5 effectively relies upon presumed or implicit consent. I would recommend that this is made explicit to assure all concerned. (Proposal page 11)

R3. no further comments

Last Updated Date: 22 Sep 2017



For more information and deeper engagement with the ethics provisions at your Researcher’s professional lair, go to: <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/P1415-956-Research-Integrity---Policy-Framework-updated-Jan-2020.pdf> (last accessed: 05-03-2020; 15:04)

[Social Death: a detour into the land of Theory]

In our Campaign, and in LARP more generally, the concept of ‘Social Death’ signifies that a character can either no longer perform their role (e.g. because their experience of emotional Bleed is too strong and they feel they cannot continue), or because they have failed to successfully ‘pass’ for their character. This can happen, because of the phenomenon of Bleed-in that you have learnt about in the Social Contract. To re-capture this: Acting ‘out-of-character’ during in a Campaign by acting as though one was performing one’s out-of-game persona would be considered a Bleed-in which might constitute a violation of one’s character-provisions. Depending on the rules and regulations for a specific Campaign, this might either mean that one is no longer recognisable as a member of the specific role-card determined tribe one is associated with. Or, more commonly, that the community of LARPer votes a character out of the game, i.e. no longer recognises the player as having a rightful place in the LARP-verse.

A somewhat parallel argument is made by the Researcher Butler, and others in her wake. Tackling this issue from an analytical, theoretical angle she argues that, as social beings, human bodies are given labels. To epitomise her argumentation, she uses the idea that on birth, a baby is given identifiers like sex and Gender that are certified, codified and officially ‘known about’ that baby. According with this authoritative knowledge, and the culturally specific system of classifying or perceiving and attaching sense to bodies, other people engage with the new human baby as though it was e.g. female. It is perhaps even given a ‘role card’ a.k.a. birth certificate, which labels the body as such. Notions of femaleness and femininity are not only morphed together and pre-empt people’s behaviour towards the then-labelled body: They also comprise set expectations of how the body should practice its ‘identity’ as female/feminine. Butler thus constructs the set-up of a LARP-game, in which a novice is dealt a role-card that demarcates it as ‘woman-to-be’ by virtue of its costume, i.e. biological markers like chromosomes and genitalia. As you learnt early on in this Campaign, however: A costume is not the exclusive means of understanding who (or what) a body is,



does, or can do. Neither is it an unambiguous one: The same costumes can cover different bodies and mean different things (to different Others), depending on how it functions in practice and context. You are on a learning-journey to understand this very principle in the example of police uniforms and friendly faces, as it were.

For now, however, let's follow Butler's elaborations. She continues to critique that expectations set in the socially embedded body of the baby throughout her life need to be met, despite them being artificial and externally superimposed. The baby cannot form a self-perception from her experience, but instead on how she is engaged with by others and their interpretations of her body and its meaning, incl. its uses (“what a body can do” as argued in the main Campaign). Thus, she is forced into a social role that matches her label, without much agency to deviate – either because she is not exposed to alterity (she doesn't know how else to act) or alterity is sanctioned instantly: When she fails to behave in accordance with what a girl ‘should do’ she is made suffer. Taking one step back from Butler's accounts and back into a LARP-narrative: Imagine you were dealt a character-card, but you had no (clear) idea about what it implies. In some ways, one trials and errors one's way into the role one enacts in society, as far as Butler's accounts go. Although the Experience gained through this trialling and erroring is not always as positive as our co-LARPer from the SWP frame it. You learn in the Campaign from Eli that ‘making mistakes and learning from them’ means levelling-up for SWP: Officers gain Experience and become better at ‘talking to people’. Thus, SWP refine their personality-based skills of ‘knowing how to talk to people properly’ by *not* talking to people properly and adjusting their behaviour in situations they perceive to be similar. This, however, is being sanctioned by the robotic principles that take away officers' Discretions, as you learn throughout the Campaign.

A too-narrow definition of what a character can do, as Butler describes, means that there is (almost) no margin of error and a character's rigid performance of itself, i.e. it's ‘self’, effectively comprises repetition of established norms. Only on this basis, Butler and others argue, can a label be reaffirmed and one's place in society be secured. Without Other's perception of oneself as ‘the body bearing label X’, Others would not know how to engage with and make sense of that body and its behaviour. Thus, the body is very likely to be framed as a threat to the societal whole and cast out, i.e. not engaged with further. This is a very reductionist account of what Butler explains in much more depth and detail about her



conceptualisation of ‘Social Death’. As soon as a body acts out of the narrow or wide provisions that its label affords, it is derived of whatever agency and action-freedom said label and the associated status within an in-group implied. For the example of femaleness/femininity, for instance, there could be a dearth of appropriate pronouns, suitable clothing or lack of representation of alternative ways of performing (in) one’s body, if the deemed-woman stepped beyond the boundaries of the label. At a more extreme level, the threat-narrative and the pathologisation that are often the discursive forces of sanctioning deviance might make it impossible for the body to survive in its Otherness or not-belonging (to the label-based group): ‘She’ might be forced to use the pronouns available; she might be deprived of her political power to speak for herself by being judged mentally ill or morally wrong; she might inspire enough disgust or hatred to be physically forced to leave the place she occupies.

In a less dramatic, and more play-related example, you could think of how children might be playing a game. If one of them violates the rules to such a degree that it jeopardises the entire game, i.e. that it breaks with the codes of conduct so much that playing becomes impossible, said player might be dismissed. Such a dismissal might be deemed rightful, in that it allows the game to continue. However, imagine further that the rules were simply too narrow for said player to perform in accordance with them. In fact, the rules might have been made by the other players, and privilege their gaming positions, to effectively disable those who are not ‘like them’ in whichever way could not possibly assume to keep playing; let alone win the game.

Not all is bad, however. As Butler (espec. in “The Psychic Life of Power”, 1997 – based off of e.g. Foucault’s “Discipline and Punish”, 1977; c.f. also “The Subject and Power” (1982) in: *Critical Inquiry*, vol.8, no.4, pp 777-795) – highlights: A label is as much a restraint on how to ‘speak’ about oneself, as it is a speaking position. Thus, it comes with agency to act out. And even though expectations in how that speaking happens might be artificial and unrealistically demanding repetition, the changing contexts of performing one’s group-belonging pose shifting demands on the performing bodies. From Irigaray’s ‘mimesis’-concept, such an expectation of repetition can be used as a basis for parody and paradox to critique the impossibility of inflexible subject-norms (c.f. “This Sex Which Is Not One”, 1977). However, demands of repeating characteristic displays of e.g. femaleness within changing



environments can be even more of a challenge: Imagine not only being dealt a role-card without any hints at how to perform, but also with an understanding that your performance is judged by a changing panel of judges, that all expect you to act differently over time! In some ways, this is what happens to the SWP in our LARP, and as Butler asserts: It is happening to all of us, playing the game of social interaction. However, making ‘moves’ under one’s label can also **stretch the boundaries of whatever category one finds oneself in**. One can thus re-appropriate it and **make it meaningful through one’s actions** and their effects. Here is where Butler seems to approach the concept of LARP-ing the most: She points towards a potential for improvisation; for tolerable deviations and interpretations of one’s label that might not be pre-scripted, and for situational variance in how the costume of a body can function and be understood, framed, engaged with. All of those ‘deviations’ would happen whilst the body still maintained its right to be understood as ‘human’.

Outside of that over-arching category (like the ‘race’-category in the tribal genealogy you find in the Campaign), there is no political voice or agency; no recognition or power. ‘Safely’ framed by it, however, there is room for engagement and for trialling and erroring. Hence, Butler’s argumentation aligns with the Campaign’s narrative and the SWP’s wise remarks that “We are all human”, in that a shared ‘community of belonging’ or common reference can enable empathy (being able to put oneself in the position of others), and acceptance of difference. As such, the reference-framework becomes broader and more accommodating of diversity than focusing on the e.g. tribe of a professional and what it is supposed to stand for. The thus encompassed difference under the ‘human’ label also derives from the impossibility of repeating i.e. ‘performing’ the exact same role over time within changing contexts. This relates to what you learn about how every experience and every interaction between differently constituted ‘bodies’ affects the environments in which those encounters take place, as much as it transforms the involved experiencing bodies. Accordingly, there is not ever ‘the same’ space or time, so that even the seemingly same acts would have different outcomes.

Should you wish to deepen your understanding of Butler’s notion of “Social Death”, Butler’s books “Bodies That Matter” (1993) and “Undoing Gender” (2004) could be a good place for you to jump to and delve in another perspective on the issues pondered in our Campaign. A briefer Researcher input on the matter can be found here: “Performativity, Precarity and



Sexual Politics”, in: *Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, vol.4, no.3, pp 1-13. For more on “performativity” and the above invoked transmutability of labels and categories, in their likening to LARP-ing, consult e.g, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory” (1988), in: *Theatre Journal*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 519-531 as a starting point for future ventures of Exploring.

If you feel like you have learnt about Social Death enough, you can also Explore your own Knowing on the topic. Go to your Companion and scribble down or think through some other examples of ‘Social Death’ that you may have experienced yourself. Have you ever actively violated any rules that you found too tightly phrased; have you ever accidentally or intentionally acted against others’ expectations in you? Against which ‘label/s’ have you thereby rebelled?

[\[Extended methods chapter: A Researcher’s Report\]](#)

[\[Following the Uniform: the prequel\]](#)

You are now entering the ‘methods chapter’, as it would be formally known. In this Campaign, the details of how your ethnographic place-making adventure came about take on the form of a first-person narrative of your Researcher ally. It traces her steps in the Researcher-role amongst SWP, wherein she initially co-experienced ‘human’ policing, and sought to grow insights in various ways afforded by virtue of her tribally shaped perception schemes and role-card provisions.

[Playing Methods Ping-Pong to Make Ethnographic Places](#)

Your journey subsequently leads you to Learn about the Research-practices that I employed in my quests to understand the role of an SWP officer. Relatedly, you encounter how emotionality is bound up with that, and ultimately how I came to approach you, the Explorer, through a LARP-frame. In time, you will get to understand the ‘why?’ behind all of this (see “Live-Action Role-FAIR-Play”, pp26). Now, however, is the time to consider the ‘how?’ of our mutual playing. It is thus ensured that you enjoy full transparency about my interactions with various other players, and I hope to make clear why I have made certain decisions in-character. You will also follow how my focus has evolved throughout the transformative Research-interactions with others. This should help clarify that writing the thesis on the issue of what it means to be ‘human’ as an SWP officer emerged from subjective selection processes and abandoning other, potentially also fruitful, lines of interrogation and analyses. Sacrificing other stories to be told, however, is necessary for you to find a convincing narrative at the end of our journey together. It is my mission to provide you with one, though, and I have successfully



accomplished it, if you can follow it along throughout the Campaign and possibly even see where future Campaigns in this narrative realm might lead. Understanding where I am coming from, in terms of prior actions in-character, also constitutes a way of getting to know my in-role character better. In other words: The prequel to our following adventures should enable you to relate to what is going to happen better by giving you some context and background.

pilot phase: September 2017 – January 2018

To recap what you have Learnt in the main Campaign: A studentship by the ESRC brought me into the physical realm of Swansea, where this Campaign is mostly situated. The studentship’s title? “Understanding Emotional reactions to and Experiences of Night-time Service provisions in Cities”. Given this quest’s broadness, a necessary first step was selecting a specific type of interventions and intervening parties. After scouting interventions into Swansea’s nightlife, I contacted the Street Pastors in Swansea, the Help Point team and the security services who staff Swansea’s Taxi Marshalls. With all these tribes, I interacted through Participant Observation: I spent two nightshifts with Street Pastors as they patrolled Swansea’s city-centre on Saturday nights. Their role implies consoling broken hearts, picking up glass shards on the ground, providing free water or flip-flops and just generally trying to reduce harm and risk in night-time economy-related situations of distress. The Taxi Marshalls let me accompany their night duties once, making sure that people left the city-centre safely. For the Help Point I volunteered four Saturdays between 10pm – 4am alongside paramedics from St. John’s hospital, student volunteers, first aiders, nurses and police. They are based in a portacabin near Swansea’s night-time economy (NTE) hub during peak-times in the Wind Street area. Their job is to relieve the NHS by providing instant medical emergency help to people in the city-centre – often related to alcohol- or substance-use, or fight-related wounds. In all of these positions, I was dressed in differently coloured uniforms, but always highly visible. My high-vis, offline activities subsumed as ‘piloting’ comprised 61 hours of PO. six hours Sensory Ethnography in Swansea’s CC (in which I was led by my ‘senses’ of smell, taste, hearing and feeling to fully engage with and be affected by Swansea’s NTE from a position of someone who is supposed to experience it as a safe place), and four hours interviewing Sergeants, Police Constables and Police Community Support Officers. Other ca. hour-long interviews were conducted with the head of the Help Point volunteers, a leading figure of the Street Pastors, and the head manager of the biggest Swansea-operating Security Staff training enterprise to negotiate ‘access’ into their respective tribes as part of their safe-making teams. One of the boundary conditions for my part-immersion was that my costume had to be different from theirs: ‘Actual’ night-time interveners’ uniforms, i.e. role-specific costumes, are respectively dark blue, purple or red. Their jobs, as I would later learn are all connected by their being put in place to make Swansea’s city-centre a ‘safer place’ to live, shop etc. A key part of this safe(r)-making Campaign is played by final emergency night-time service provider I approached: South Wales Police (SWP), whose uniforms are black, underneath high-vis yellow. My initial contact with



them was afforded by the Patrol Along scheme I introduce in ‘Following the SWP Uniform’. What I ultimately mostly focused on as part of my Participant Observation Research-moves was the ‘Afterdark’-shift, which polices Swansea’s NTE in the CC’s ‘Safe Zone’. This shift is staffed differently each Wednesday/Saturday (and Sunday before Bank Holidays) through a rota-system. Accordingly, the teams consist of officers who are not usually teamed up together: they come from different precincts, divisions and sometimes even specialist departments in which they do not police as frontline officers. This has been ambivalently commented on by officers, who spoke of the challenges of not knowing how one’s colleagues would react in certain situations. On the other hand, changing one’s routine duties is also a means of avoiding ‘de-skilling’ in the necessarily flexibly adaptive capacities to ‘do the right thing’ in accordance with changing environmental contexts and others, on which SWP rely fundamentally. Diversity in functions as police links narratively with ‘excitement’ that might have drawn some of your SWP co-LARPer into their uniforms. ‘Excitement’ associated with being in the streets and policing Wind Street also often cropped up in SWP’s assessment of what they did and did not like about their job. As opposed to ‘exciting’ night in which unpredictable ‘kick-offs’ called officers into action, the very same officer might mention, on another occasion, that it was ‘always the same’: ‘Dealing with drunk [idiot-]s’ and rebellious teens, who would tell officers how to do their jobs. And, lest I should forget: Taking ‘Selfies’ with the public. Although SWP spoke of the latter as ‘common’ interactions with non-uniformed bodies, they intrigued me as a Researcher, for I had not expected them. As you can deduce from the Campaign-plot, it was the ‘surprising’ in what my allies understood as ‘mundane’, on which I zoomed-in.

Apart from being accessible as a Research-field, the Afterdark shift also met the boundary criteria for conceptual and analytical focus that I was given by my studentship: Selfie-taking and the subsequently experienced practices acting on the ‘one Tweet a day’-paradigm amongst SWP, interlaced offline and online policing directly. Moreover, the Afterdark held the promise of giving me insider-insights into what kind of ‘place’ Swansea’s CC at night was designed to be. This type of shift directly emerged from endeavours to reinforce policing in Swansea’s CC by targeting local NTE peak times and days that coincide with the Help Point service times. You Learn more about the structural provisions that afford night-time policing during the main Campaign: This Campaign-plot’s development was co-constituted by measures put in place based on the Well-Being for Future Generations Act, Wales, and the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan, as well as the Purple Flag Scheme. The Afterdark-shift is the afterhours complement to daytime ‘safe-place-making bodies’ like ‘City Centre Rangers’ in their respective uniforms into the assemblage that registers as the place Swansea CC, funded by the Swansea BID (Business and Industry Development)⁹³. Through my embodied

⁹³ For more information on the ‘ears and eyes’ of Swansea’s City Council, you may detour into the World Wide Web. Here <https://www.swansea.gov.uk/citycentrerangers> as a starting point. If you want to engage further and possibly share your experience, visit http://www1.swansea.gov.uk/snap/snapforms/2017/05_17/citycentrerangers_eng/city_centre_rangers_t.htm (last accessed: 12-April-2020, 09:21)



emplacement alongside the SWP, I generated tacit, ‘felt knowledge’ that shaped my perception of the SWP’s role, as well as mine. On top of that, I formed relationships with the people wearing the SWP uniform.

Continuously co-experiencing what characters ‘do’ in-character, in varying situational contexts, provides ‘data’ on how officers interpret their role practically. Whilst, in LARP-lingo, all officers are dealt the same tribal (professional) role-card, their interpretations of what it means to police professionally, however, vary relative to their ‘personality’. This term repeatedly emerged in narratives about SWP’s ‘policing style’, as well as their motivations to join the ‘community service’ that served the community it belonged to by making it a safe/r place. Expressions of SWP officers’ individuality and alibi-specific interpretations of what it means to police professionally officers reassert their humanness as recognisable individuals amongst their tribe. Apart from understanding the improvisational room necessary to play a professional SWP, the focus on anecdotal interactions and a representation as such, e.g. through this LARP wherein SWP act as characters to engage with, also helps to add the (human) ‘faces’ to the SWP uniform we follow throughout the Campaign: Whilst still having their confidentiality protected, the various SWP characters in this play speak through their actions and thereby disclose what their role means to them, and how ‘professional’ and ‘personal’ traits intersect to police humanly. In order to ‘make (safe) places’ as the ‘friendly Welsh community service’ as which I subsequently understood the SWP to perform, their uniforms need to be co-assembled with their ‘special’ way of policing, to stand out against other (brutal) ‘police family members’ and as ‘one of them’, i.e. ‘their’ community of safe-feeling, well-behaving co-humans.

It is according to SWP’s own narrative, that their personality informs officers’ in-role-/ in-uniform-performance, and thus affects encounters with Others, online and offline. Perhaps due to the personalities inside the uniforms, my welcome into the uniformed ranks already during the pilot-phase was as warm as I experienced it. This Campaign’s prequel starts as I am given different high-vis uniforms to accompany them on their patrols whilst being quickly detectable in a crowd, e.g. classifying me as a “Police Support Volunteer”. Whilst these uniforms, as the main Campaign highlights, serve to make me highly visible to SWP, to be seen and made ‘safe’ under their supervision, they also affected my understanding of myself: The fact that I was not given an ‘actual’ safe-maker uniform was supposed to protect the public and myself from the possible harm an identification as ‘police family member’ could afford. Officers, from experience, assume that their uniform attracts positive interactions (e.g. Selfie-taking or being thanked for being so nice), but also, and regularly, brutal and confrontational encounters with civilians. I was neither supposed to be assaulted (although it happened) nor expected to intervene on behalf of public safety (which also happened). Irrespective of the fact that my actions did not give me away as a police officer, as I was



more passive than the SWP and, rather than ‘getting in there’ when an incident kicked off, I followed the SWP’s advice and kept my distance, my role was judged on the basis of my external appearance: My ‘costume’ or what others interpreted to be ‘my’ character signifier. Explorers learn in the main Campaign that such perceptive shortcuts have sprouted analytical fruits of insights in Ahmed’s gardening plot on ‘impressions left by Others’: The evocative powers of the uniform disable some interaction partners of purported SWP to interpret the emerging situations anew. Instead, they resort to behavioural patterns that have been preestablished and deemed appropriate when facing SWP uniform. Emotional realignments against the latter ranged from ‘being [one’s] best mate’ to extremely hostile, rude, offensive and accusatory comments ‘on passing’. All these experiences comprise ‘data’ that my own body generated, relative to the SWP ‘uniform’ and from my personal positionality to it, in the role of a Researcher. Its affective capacities also transformed my self-perception, as I subsequently partly identified with the SWP whose internal logics I learnt so much about, whilst I was continuously marvelling at their capacities to ‘deal with things’. This aligns with a self-reflective being struck by just how helpless and useless I felt throughout the night-shifts in which I was largely delegated to the position of a bystander (And regularly accused of being voyeuristic in my following of the police in action). To keep track of the affective changes that co-constituted my ‘Learning’ through ethnographic place-making, I kept an emotion diary, alongside very minute field notes that I memory-protocolled instantly after each shift (from scribbled notes, hasty voice recordings, and photos shot in-situ). This follows the Researcher-paradigm of ‘transparency’ and caters to ‘reflexivity’ of the final Research-crop to share amongst and with others.

The trust-relationships that I established with SWP positioned me ‘in-between’ the tribes of civilians and police. I was privy to instances when officers showed their ‘real face’ and emotions in protected ‘safe places’ amongst their in-group (in cars; in lonesome bars; in the few breaks between calls), but I was also seen as a civilian in need of protection, who probably functioned as an audience of ‘those who don’t understand what it’s like to be police’ (Allan; Eli; Dave). The latter, as I learnt, is the constitutive outside (c.f. Butler 1990; 2014) to Police Family Members who share experience and values that ‘fill’ the SWP uniform in the proper way to be able to ‘do the right thing’ and make safe. However, my expressed goal to Learn from SWP ‘what it’s like’ helps me represent their worldviews to a larger audience, and highlight the messages that they emphasised and put on the agenda. Staying close to the SWP’s emic voices and concerns, I chose to prune the growing insights from this project in way that it literally sprouts their words in the core message that keeps reappearing throughout the Campaign-plot. And whilst echoing others’ words does not fully represent what they mean to their originators, I hope that “We are all human [&] vulnerable in our own ways”, which accompanies Explorers throughout their place-making journey, is given plenty of capacity to affect a large variety of different bodies by the ways in which I ‘disseminate’ them as the Learning-content from my initial quest.



main research: January 2018 – September 2018

My following ultimately added up to 110 hours of patrolling on different types of shifts, and 18 hours of interviews, as well as 10 Blurr Campaigns. Dressed e.g. as Police Support Volunteer, I partook in predominantly After Dark shifts, i.e. patrols on and around Wind Street as Swansea’s NTE hub, between January and May 2018.

During the shifts, I scribbled notes to document what impressed upon me whilst Following the SWP uniforms. Those notes describe encounters in-character that are structured according to a focus on **interactions**, whilst also seeking to understand how emotionality featured in them. The focus on emotional experience also colours the emotion-journal I kept. Apart from pertaining to ‘transparency’ and keeping track of my emotional re-alignments in-character, some of the journaling comprises poetic outcomes of my nightshifts. These, I consider to be part of my own in-role ‘Bleed-management’ in ways that my out-of-character personality as a ‘creative writer’ enables me to. Creatively writing in more abstract ways about what occurred throughout the shifts in one behaviour in response to my in-character experience. Those poems complement more conventional write-ups of Researchers, e.g. analytical puzzles recorded via memos.

Apart from being ‘data’ and a means to enable my continued playing as a recognisable Researcher through managing my ‘Bleed’, emotional reflection also establishes part of my relationship to the SWP uniform and its encounters. It is not a cognitively framed relationship, however, which brought to the fore the poems. They embody and express my affectedness without me being able to ‘put my finger on’ what ‘made me’ write them. Additionally, the poems also helped me reflect my role and positionality i.e. relationships with others, including you. They materialise that even outside the uniform, I was continuously dealing with in-play happenings, and their after-effects. Those did not only manifest in creative writing, but also e.g. lack of sleep and repeated reliving traumatic occurrences on patrols. This influenced my choice of disseminating my findings. The chapter “Live-Action Role-FAIR-Play” deals at length with motivations behind the LARP-frame. Most importantly, though, I mean to enable Explorers to manage their affectedness and emotional Bleed by giving them more agency to choose the depth and means of their engagement with this Campaign in an experimental, playful way. You have the capacity to decide how much you want to know, through and with your own embodied experience, i.e. how to learn about key messages of this thesis. It is part of the Researchers’ principle to “do no harm” when Researching, which directs me to ensure that there is as little unwanted negative impact on how you as possible: In-character and outside of your Explorer-role. Accordingly, whichever relationships you (can) form with the SWP uniform happens, as much as possible, on your terms.

The relationships I was capable to form with the SWP are ‘fruitful’ (Buchanan, 1997) in that they enable me to further engage with people (the SWP) as subsequent ‘participants’ in my Research.



Initially, this implies the formerly mentioned team-ups for After Dark shifts. They offer first-hand glimpses into what it means to engage with the public. This, SWP later explain to be the primary policing purpose and pursuit (more shortly). My Researching practice amongst the SWP tribe altogether allowed me to co-experience especially shifts in the city-centre ‘Safe Zone’, where SWP were ‘put in place’ in the Afterdarks I co-experienced as part of the Safer Swansea Strategic Plan. Outside of the Afterdark, I accompanied officers on response-unit shifts twice; co-patrolled on Phil’s day-time shift in his neighbourhood i.e. precinct; am toured around facilities including the jail and the CCTV room, and joined the SWP during the BBC’s “Biggest Weekend”, where officers of different neighbourhood units keep the surrounding areas of the festival ‘safe’. Afterwards, I observed the plainclothes police units who were watching the dismissal and exit of festivalgoers and coordinated the streams away from the festival grounds. These (Participant) Observations give me a broader sense of what it means to police as member of the SWP, including what different types of encounters their role-conduct implies. My specific focus relative to my mission goal was understanding how emotions ‘played out’ in police-interactions. This helped me structure my observations accordingly and informed the themes and directives of follow-up interviews. I had to deduce ‘emotions’ from observations of SWP actions and my own embodied co-experience to the ethnographic places. These data would be complemented by interviewing SWP about any perceived emotional code of conduct they expressed: In-depth interviews provided SWP a platform to reflect on their policing experience. Officers could thereby add their perspective and narratives to my embodied interpretations, and offer me more cognitively framed notions of the ‘theory’ behind their tribal identity. As such, interviews provided data on more prescribed aspects as per the SWP role-card – **what the SWP is ‘supposed to do’**. The main Campaign gives you the quantitative side of how I tried to do so. What I was co-experiencing and observing supplied the **practice of what they were really doing**, i.e. the interpretations of the character-directives by personae inside the uniforms. A ‘communication’ between those data types was made possible through sampling: Interviewees were officers whom I had previously carried out at least one shift with. I hoped to obtain insights into the SWP’s take on my observations and ask for clarification on issues I couldn’t understand. Outside of my engaging with the SWP, Researching included interim analyses, which fed into further interviews geared towards the thematic schedule that successively shaped up.

[research ping-pong]

The process invoked above is known as methods-/ and data-triangulation in Researcher-speech. It means that the data I generated is supposed to provide answers to the questions I was asking, albeit from different perspectives. As mentioned, interviews would cover more of a reflexive, cognitively-framed understanding of the SWP role, whilst observations and participation refer to embodied sensory ‘knowing’-data. Imagine a methods-/ and data-ping-pong: What my police co-LARPer and I talked about in those formalised encounters was informed by experiences on shifts together. The



questions I asked often started with instances I wished them to clarify, to give me their perspective and framing of what had occurred. I also asked about their emotions in those encounters, to get comparative data on what I observed. Their accounts also complement what I experienced from my position relative to the uniforms that inspired the encounters. In a mutually informative, iterative manner, the practicalities of performing as an SWP officer and the narratives about what the role implied comprise the ‘(sensory) ethnographic’ and offline component of my in-character pursuits. They are interlinked with subsequent literature review to sharpen my perception schemes analytically by contributions from other Researchers, commenting on how to relate to the uniforms’ interactions. I employed these data-generation means because I was predominantly interested in real-life experience in its multi-sensorial richness. And in a true LARP-manner, I could also flexibly adjust to ‘cues’ my participants gave me through their job-pursuits. My attention was drawn especially to interactions I had not expected or foreseen. Those I would then take up on, e.g. in interviews, to have an explanatory framework from the police’s points of view to ‘make sense’ of what was happening. This also adds ‘depth’ and nuance to my own experience. The accounts of SWP officers provide qualitative, anecdotal insights, rather than generalisable data, which qualifies and affirms my empirical and inductive agenda as an Ethnographer. The other ‘data’ that could not so easily be made sense of was what affected me on Following the Uniform. ‘Place-making’ as Sensory Ethnography describes gave me tools to tap into the lived experience of SWP officers alongside them; sharing their experience by forming an embodied and emplaced relationship with their uniforms as moving through space-times of professional policing. By observing and experiencing the police’s shifts, I could achieve first-hand information about their technology-related practices of policing. Additionally, integrating myself into the work everyday of the SWP helped them to get used to me being part of the scene. Thus, we established tacit trust-relationships that made officers open up to me in the streets, and later in interviews.

As policing experiences emerged, so did questions that re-directed my Researcher-‘gaze’, i.e. honed my perception-schemes. Whilst focusing on “emotions” and officers’ “experience”, as well as their expression in reaction to night-time interventions, my uniform-following in the pilot phase had me also enquire **how officers could keep doing their jobs in conditions that I experienced as emotionally charged, challenging and stressful**. I wondered how their experience might have differed, as well as what interpretations they attached to the interactions I observed. That, and the **ways in which SWP expressed their emotionality**, also in the digital ways in which they enacted their role, would steer my attention towards instances in which the narrative of ‘being human’, and its perceived contestation, occurred. My pilot patrolling arguably comprises a ‘chance’-element encouraged in playful fieldwork. For once, I found willing research partners who wanted to cooperate with me further by being interviewed. Those interviews, furthermore, exposed key emotional issues for SWP I engaged with. You would be right in contending that this implies a very small segment of



‘night-time service provisions’ as my original Campaign title invoked. However, the Campaign’s timeframe being set for three years, for funding reasons, meant I was challenged to achieve my mission-goal within this temporal limitation. Luckily, again, I had glimpsed salient research-worthy topics that also personally intrigued me so that I could justify why my uniform-following was to be the quest to earn me my place amongst the Researcher-tribe.

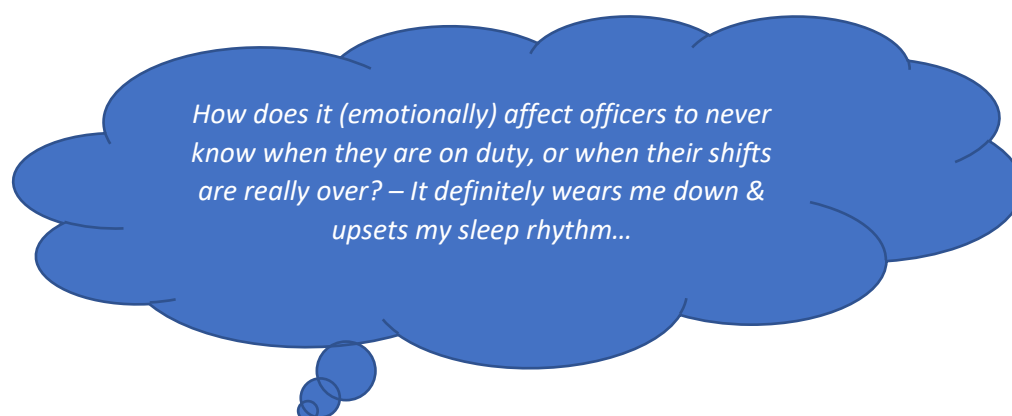
You can deduce many things from the observations that I flagged up above. And you can equally well draw all sorts of conclusions with view to how to go about ‘Researching’ the issues. What I did was partly informed by my previous academic pathways, as well as the encounters of academic literature that circulated through the research community over the time my PhD commenced. One of those discourses I encountered, ‘Sensory Ethnography’ (SE) crossed my path conveniently. It is admittedly only *one* way of interrogating ‘experience’, rather than ‘the one way’. My Researching is guided by its principles, because emotionality and experience, as my Researching-objects, can be framed theoretically and conceptually by a Sensory Ethnography methodology (see Conceptual Take-Away). Moreover, SE comprises practical tools for data-generation: methods like Participant Observation, interviews etc.

Having only terminological ‘cues’ to navigate the early stages of my Research mission, I mostly relied on observing interactions between police and various ‘others’. I focused on what I perceived to be ‘emotional’ in interactions (as expressed by police and their interaction partners), and my own positionality throughout the situations. What I observed and interpreted was either directly scribbled down on paper during the shifts, or I recorded memos on my phone. Both types of initial data would be translated into memory protocols, immediately after each Participant Observation, during which I also seized opportunities for in-situ ad hoc interviews with SWP. Whenever they allowed me to quote them directly, you will later encounter their verbatim statements. However, the often hectic environments of our After Dark shifts did not usually afford enough space and time to gain a full in-depth understanding of the observed from the SWP’s point of view. Accordingly, notes I took feature narrative gaps – questions that came up when I processed what had happened, which I would use to plan semi-structured interviews to which I invited participants later. Those were additionally informed by literature on theories surrounding key empirically established conflicts, as well as the analyses of my emotion-journal. The latter comprises part of my reflexive emplacement in unfolding scenes. It serves to contextualise unfolding interactions relative to the part that I played in them. My own embodied (emotional) experiences, moreover, supply a comparative data set for the accounts of what SWP felt. In interviews, I could use my emotional positioning to build a reciprocal relationship with my participants, and possibly encourage them to share their opinion on incidents that they might have framed as routine, whilst they stood out more distinctly from my perspective.



emerging themes

In the manner of a truly improvisational, interactive role-play, my steps in the Researcher’s shoes were partly shaped by the inputs the SWP gave me. When issues like the unpredictability of the job as SWP kept recurring, my attention was drawn to how police adjusted to **job ‘routines’ for which one “cannot prepare [oneself]” (Mick)**. Much less, as my participants repeatedly pointed out, could you know when you would go home (Dave): SWP spoke of, and I experienced, **regular over-hours**, because “you never know what’s going to happen” (Mick). But there seemed to be the frequently repeated work ethos of “**you have to get on with it**” or “**get in there**” and “**deal with it**”, which apparently let SWP carry out their role, regardless. This speaks to a situationally flexible performance of their role as suggested by LARP: No matter what challenges were thrown in their way unpredictably, SWP embraced them and improvised based on their ‘personality’-mediated instinct and Experience!



Perhaps you share this ignorance with me: I was not sure that I understood what the police meant, most of the time, as their language seemed to be coded. For once, their vocabulary literally involves codes when classifying the incidents that SWP dealt with. Moreover, what SWP said to each other involved key phrases or terms that I found to be far from self-evident⁹⁴. Thus, I resorted to interviews – already at the end of my pilot phase – to gain some explanatory background to what was happening. On the cue of ‘dealing with it’, for instance, I was made curious to Learn what the job-role of a police officer with the SWP actually comprised...

A strikingly ‘uniform’ understanding of policing as ‘**engaging with the people**’ was what I learnt from the pilot interviews. That, and a seemingly very variable, but nevertheless behaviour-guiding notion of what a ‘professional’ and ‘good’ police officer was supposed to look like and do. It became my goal to **put together the character-card of a professional SWP officer**, which would include

⁹⁴ These internal discourses also involved shared ‘superstitions’ (without meaning to be demeaning by invoking this word: it is an emic term). One of them is the contentious use of the word “quiet” to describe a situation at night, especially on Wind Street. Alternative means of saying that a shift is relatively free from major occurrences include “Q” (most common) or “uneventful”. – Other ways of discursive distinction as an in-group, and internally, involve banter, black humour and the use of nicknames. These issues are pending more elaborate discussions in a forthcoming Campaign.



performance guidelines that reached into the emotional aspects of policing. To fill such a card, I would have to draw on how SWP acted in-character, what they told me about their role, and also the common framework in which they are given their role: Joining the Police (Family) Tribe as an organisation implies certain prescriptions (professional codes of conduct, including Use of Force regulations, work hour policies, internal hierarchies, labour division...). In a manner of foreshadowing: SWP members seemed to agree, **one police officer represented the organisation as a whole**. As such, they were **affecting and affected by the popular image of police** prevailing amongst “members of the public”. According to Mick and Jane, those predispositions towards police led to “anti-police” attitudes and the consequential responsibility for each officer to be seen as ‘good’ and “professional”, so as not to cause (more) disrepute for the entire organisation. In their vernacular, SWP thus experientially Know about the ‘perception schemes’ that are honed so humans can ‘make sense’ of encounters which you are being theoretically catered via your Conceptual Take-Away!

Following the ethnographic Researcher-principle of inductively and iteratively adapting to inputs from ‘the field’, I sought for instances of what SWP perceived to be preconceptions about police that affected their professional encounters. One such predisposition-fuelled engagement that I was privy to can be exemplified in ‘brawls’ on Wind Street: It struck me as curious how the ‘members of the public’ who did not incite the assault in which my then-‘colleagues’ got involved, i.e. which they had to ‘deal with’, were actively joining the encounter. ‘Dave’ told me that it was common for members of the public to take part in a fight ‘for fun’, later. Apart from this judgment of the civilians’ proneness to violence, the incident also featured an element of predispositions against police: As Phil and Dave told me, SWP are often confronted with accusations of being brutal and overhandling. I overheard similar comments as the brawl unfolded. What I observed, additionally, seemed to confirm that ‘members of the public’ were attuned to ‘watching out’ for police misconduct – mediated and supported by technological devices: Through the capacities of their camera-phones, bystanders were filming what happened. Or, in Phil’s words “shoving their phones in your face...when you’re trying to arrest someone”. These videos were later addressed in interviews, with view to not only how they impeded upon effective policing. They also comprise a threat to the organisation’s reputation should they be accompanied by narratives of perceived misconduct. This instils and spreads the fearful or angry anti-police attitudes Dave invoked earlier, and make in turn SWP feel less safe in their role, whilst increasing their need to perform demonstrably ‘well’ and combat negative images of police-uniform-assemblages: SWP have to ‘deal with’ issues of misrepresentation online as part of their role-enactment. Here, I glimpsed (some) officers’ views on social media: They presume that the video-footage was circulated on social networks. Those represent, e.g. according to Dave an environment that is conducive to the spread of misinformed opinions about, i.e. against, the police, and generally “not nice”.



Thus, other questions that I took with me on my quest from the pilot phase concerned the desired and desirable ‘image’ of a police officer (of the SWP): How do officers want to be perceived? And what do they do, also on social media, in order to make the public ‘like’ them?

By making use of their smartphones on shift, SWP officers tangibly bridge the digital and non-digital components of their role-pursuits. Conceptually, SE allows me to interlace them with the offline-encounters, too. We eventually enter the Campaign through empirical exemplars of some such unexpected digital and non-digital encounters. Selfie-Taking, which was one of the most common and none of the expected interactions revolving around the SWP-uniform, represents our starting point in the professional digital wayfaring practices the SWP engages in (Hjorth & Pink, 2014). To follow the SWP uniform digitally, though, I must also allow you insight into the digital ethnographic practices which enable me to share my Learning-process with you.

[\[emplacing the uniform: non-human perceptions\]](#)

Observing in-role Selfie-taking and overhearing notions about having to tweet once a day to evidence professional performance on social media, I decided to follow the SWP uniform on Twitter with a newly-generated professional Twitter account as the digital Researcher. On a small-scale, **I wanted to know what SWP tweeted (topics)**, and **how they represented themselves** (as individuals; part of the police organisation; through Selfies, specific use of language or symbols etc.). Hence, I ‘followed’ their accounts literally. This enabled me to observe tweeting behaviours like re-tweeting, liking, sharing (of videos). Furthermore, I sought to understand **who reacted** to tweets by the SWP, **who initiated contact** with SWP, and **who tweeted about them**. With ‘who’, I am referring to anecdotal evidence from Twitter profiles (gender identification, profile location, background demographics etc.) This gives an idea about interactions taking place, and (outcomes of) interventions initiated by SWP in their professional role-pursuits. With the second focus, I hoped to glimpse insight into how the ‘trust-relationship-building’ efforts that comprise the lion’s share of what the SWP professionally do transpire digitally. The last point reflects my interest in understanding Others’ perceptions of the SWP, as expressed in narratives online. All Twitter-encounters happen in a broader context, i.e. “power-geometries of space”. To tackle this dimension of social media place-making, I resorted to the help of one of my LARP-affiliates: Blurrt. Blurrt is a social-media analyses organisation. They have invented a tool that algorithmically scans Twitter for search-terms entered by users. Additionally, tweets can be assessed on the basis of their emotion-score (Blurrt score), their sentiment (from minus-two negative to plus-two positive), and the mood on Twitter can be established by agMickating tweets that can be grouped by manipulating the platform’s filters.

Through Blurrt’s platform, I scanned the Twittersphere for key words and filter the results, e.g. according to where tweets came from, when they were tweeted and by ‘who’ (see main Campaign). By visualising which (police) accounts posted more, I sampled my digital ethnographic ‘participants’,



whose accounts I observed more closely. These anecdotal and small-scale followings intersperse our main LARP-Campaign, when and where we ‘meet’ the digital uniforms I encountered. The focus of digital ethnographic Researching lay on participants I engaged with offline, too. As part of my quest to understand what policing implies, I was e.g. interested to understand who posted how much, and why (not); especially in relation to their understanding of professional responsibilities. This, I investigated by asking SWP about their notions of social media in offline-settings, and ethnographically following how the ‘theory’ underlying their social media conduct translated into posting-‘practice’. Accordingly, the digital components of the (Sensory) Ethnography were informed by, and informative of, the offline Researching I engaged in: Impressions from Twitter could be integrated into interviews and guide observations, for instance.

In line with the Sensory Ethnography paradigms your Take-Away will supply you with, I also sought to link the larger and smaller scales of the also-digital realms the SWP uniforms affected and were affected by. Blurr helped me in affording certain filtering and agMickating functions to create a broader context to the small-scale ethnographies. Thus, I could interrogate what **topics** are **generally discussed** on Twitter, or what **language** is **used** to invoke police interactions on social media. Blurr also provided visualisation means like **thematic word-clouds** that Explorers encounter in the main Campaign, emotion-analysis and overviews like emotion-averages (p.74) or maps of tweets.

I initially wanted to map thematic differences between police accounts from outside of South Wales, to compare self-representative differences or other uses of social media. Additionally, I was curious about how people’s interactions with police accounts might have varied across the corresponding physical territory to be related to tweets. However, Twitter-data does not afford parallels to be drawn quite so directly. There are only a small percentage of tweets that are geo-tagged, i.e. posted from a directly disclosed coordinate-referenced position. And whilst Blurr can additionally derive tweet-locations based on Twitter-profile location specifications, public Wi-Fi geo-locations used for posting, and identify place-names in tweets or hashtags, any ‘maps’ are necessarily incomplete. Thus, I used possible discursive area-boundaries as illustrated by some agMickated queries more tentatively, for exploratory purposes, and excluded produced visualisations from the analysed data.

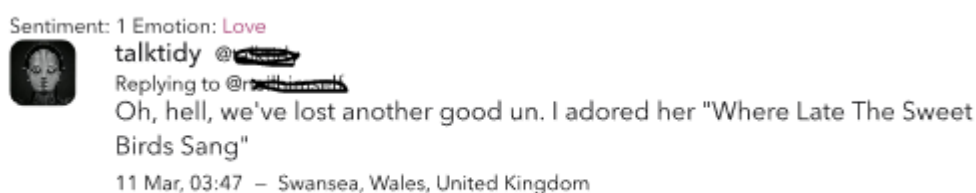
Blurr-use was my way of accessing algorithmic perceptions of Twitter-discourse. You can imagine this to be akin to the chatter in the streets at night, by which you are affected but which does not necessarily register consciously with you, unless you tune in to it. It is ‘chatter’, or a background noise to whatever dwelling you engage in, in that noise-infused space-time: You don’t need to necessarily make sense of it, unless you want to use the data to inform your future decision-making. Any unorganised data e.g. on social media is also ‘noisy’ in Computer Science discourse. One way of dealing with seemingly unstructured large amounts of (textual) discourse algorithmically is shown in



in the word clouds to be Explored in the main Campaign: Their structuring principles is quantity and frequency of occurrence.

Trending words or topics were also algorithmically sentiment scored. Combined with word order and other contextual elements, sentiment-scores served to deduce ‘**emotion**’-scores for tweets. **Emotions**, according to Blurr, are explained along the way through the Campaign plot, and they rely on interactions between ‘human’ emotion-identifiers and machine-Learning of patterns in Tweeting-behaviour that can be classified accordingly.

Furthering the above likening: the algorithms tune in to the chatter to order it, by focusing on ‘what is said, how’. Thus, the chatter becomes meaningful in its emotional expressivity, if on the basis of abstractions and reductions: If you were to only ‘listen out’ for emotional valence, you would miss out on other cues, and/or you might not be familiar with how those whom you are tuning in to are expressing their emotions to begin with. Similarly, algorithms settle for likelihoods or averages when assigning emotion-labels. There is no ‘maybe’ or grey-area as far as a machine-classification system is concerned. Whilst officers may argue that ‘you can’t put a finger’ on something that you clearly ‘sense’, Blurr’s tool does, by labelling it.



ambiguous emotion?

As suggested by the above figure, emotionality of a given tweet might be ambiguous: Context might make several emotional underpinnings possible, or there may be more than one clearly defined and discrete emotion expressed in a Tweet. When seeking to understand how Twitter affords self-expression, and what algorithms make of it, I encountered disagreement e.g. with the above identification of ‘love’. Presumably, the phrase ‘I adored’ triggered this choice. Arguably, a human might understand the post to be ‘sad’, however. What Blurr’s tool therefore also does is what Pink et al. (2018) ‘data breaking’: It simplifies and makes ‘trade-offs’ in order to come up with a definite result. Emotions are difficult to define even as a human, who arguably experience and express them. Emotionality in humans is, through rich harvests from the Theory-garden, related to perception schemes in the main Campaign: Emotional realignments express how bodies in the perceiving human’s environment are made meaningful. Those perceptions, however, can be flawed. Algorithms, too, make mistakes in identifying them based on pre-set criteria. What the algorithm is trained to perceive, and how those perceptions are interpreted, is therefore always limited and contingent. This is not only because of the human input with which algorithms are trained, but also because of their



‘objectives’ and the meaning they seek to derive from the data that they can be affected by: A classification-code is not usually designed to deal with ambiguity other than by erasing it. Ultimately, the meaning deriving from what happens on Twitter, as well as algorithmic emotion-labelling, is partial to who engages with the data or ‘information’, how and to what end (Pink et al., 1028: 9; 11). In good Researcher-tradition, Blurr’s algorithmic understanding of the Twitter-sphere provided me with a robotic ‘view’ of Twitter and emotional behaviour on social media, to triangulate the data that forms the basis for ‘Following the SWP Uniform’. This implies complementary meaning-making via data-interaction to what Twitter ‘feels’ like to me, as a human engager with its affordances. A **machine’s notion of Twitter** as a place draws from **different sources; comprises different amounts of (Big) data** and hinges on **differently primed ‘perception schemes’**, which ultimately results in different ‘understandings’ of what Twitter is (like).

My interest in this, as well as the agMickated overview below, derived from wishing to get a feeling for **Twitter as a place**. With ‘place’, I am referring to a nugget in your Conceptual Take-Away that, as per Sensory Ethnography definition, invokes the experiential dimension of space-times. I was interested to **learn what kinds of interactions**, emotion-expressions and experiences **Twitter affords** e.g. through its structural provisions, but also due to **how it registers with**, feels to and is perceived by **people**. People’s understanding of Twitter, themselves as Twitter-users and possibly existing (unwritten) **codes of conduct** associated with social media would affect their digital practices and/or cause them to (not) use Twitter (in certain ways). With this hypothesis, into whose methodological and ontological origins you may dive by ways of your Take-Away and the Theory-garden,, Twitter as a place would be associated with **atmospheres**. Those would **affect different bodies differently**, and imply that emotional experiences and associated behaviours (incl. emotion-expression) become more or less likely, for specific bodies, in specific space-times.

‘Places’ and their atmospheres are constituted by, and affecting, different bodies differently. This acknowledgement links the SE-conceptualisation of places as open, processual, contingently emerging through interaction, with an orientation towards a more-than-human understanding of meaning-making. Having been guided by SE through this LARP-verse accordingly encourages me to include non-human perceivers in trying to ‘make sense’ of the unfolding places related to ‘Following the SWP Uniform’. Algorithmic interpretations of emotional behaviour are therefore data in their own rights, beyond having certain effects on human experience by what is ‘done’ with and because of them (c.f. Lorimer, 2005:85). The latter is epitomised in policy-directives derived from BD analyses, or changes to people’s browsing experience from algorithmic analyses of their previous online behaviours. It must be highlighted, though, that in ‘Following the SWP Uniform’, Blurr’s visualisations mainly provide orientation and context to the more in-depth qualitative elements of the overall quest.



One of the visualisations Blurr created for me is shown in the main Campaign wherein emotion - ‘averages’ in a specific time-bracket are depicted. Arguably, the algorithm thereby makes visible a ‘mood’ or trend towards emotional expressivity in a certain way, for the timeframe set on the agMickated Twitter-data.

Although their main function was to support my choice of profiles to follow for in-depth small-scale analyses, visualisations like the emotion-averages and emotion-tags provide interesting insights into a machine’s ‘Learnt’ perception of human interaction. This could be material for intriguing future Campaigns. In this Campaign, interactions that are directly or indirectly affected by emotional interactions online, rather than by how these interactions are registered algorithmically, is of central concern. This reflects the overall evolution of research-interests that may be illustrated through this selective (not exhaustive!) tabular overview:

Table 1 evolution of Researcher-orientation

questions	action	outcome	implications	...emotions as per Blurr’s emotion analyses?
<i>What do people talk about on Twitter?</i>	generic captures of tweets filtered by 1) geolocation UK; 2) night-hours, globally	→ visualised via word-cloud: thematic fields of Twitter-post samples emerge	most common topics (anecdotally evidenced): sports, news	very varied ‘quality’ of emotion in various search runs, but often ‘consensus’
<i>...during the After Dark shift hours?</i>	filter: 10pm – 4am	mostly ads/promotional campaigns; sports events		
<i>...in Swansea?</i>	filter: Swansea in tweets, hashtags, user-profile location, public Wi-Fi-access, geo-tag of tweet			
<i>How do people interact on Twitter?</i>	anecdotal small-scale analyses of interactions between highly active users (identified by Blurr) on Twitter; network analysis queries via Blurr			



	(filtering by most re-tweets, shares); search for Selfies, other images/photos, videos, non-linguistic elements in tweets, e.g. emoticons; links; timing of tweeting/responses			
<i>Who tweets about police interventions?</i>	key word searches on the basis of news media analysis, generic police-related terms (incl. “police”, “cops”) → interrogation of user profiles (which information is given? where do people locate their profiles?)	mostly police; globally = more ‘trendy’ topic in Northern (U.S.) American territories; higher ranks (as deducted from profile identifiers, e.g. “supt” = Superintendent”) post more	very little engagement from the police talked about with the represented image from posting accounts; possibly decreasing aversion towards social media with rise in status	usually “angry” (tweets and responses)
<i>...by the SWP?</i>	refined key words, to incl. “South Wales Police, @SWPolice/ #SWPolice” etc.	usually police accounts reporting, informing, commenting & sharing	some very active SWP accounts = responding to every approach from public → this led me to enquire who was in charge of SWP’s social media coverage/profile	
<i>How do people tweet about the SWP?...when?</i>	filtering for mentions of SWP (incl. sub-groups like NPTGower) → filtered visualisation by time of post	data-basis for smaller-scale analyses (discourse analysis, thematic analysis, textual analysis)		
<i>Who tweets at the SWP?...how?...about what?</i>	use of Twitter search function (API) & Blurr to find posts incl. “@SWP”	→ manual search of time-lines; thematic analysis/discourse analysis/textual analysis of posts	police tweets at SWP; several sub-units converse with each other; ‘the public’ mostly responds to tweets;	



			when initiating = often legal/ advisory queries; sometimes insults & shared news items about (perceived) police misconduct
<i>What does the SWP tweet (about)?</i>	following main SWP account & sub-accounts → anecdotal insights via alerts function of Twitter; Blurr refined searches with account-filter	reporting of work conduct, warnings about e.g. crime ‘trends’, warning & education about behaviours; promotion successes & retirements are announced & commented on; much more personal (seeming) posts; very humorous → many funny videos, ironic comments, emoticons...	mostly happy; occasionally angry; abundant emoticon-use (established via qualitative ethnographic checks of emotion-scores)
<i>Who engages with SWP tweets? ...how?</i>	on basis of following SWP accounts → search for responses, shares, re-tweets, likes, as well as initiated communications in relation to profiles of users & their network	mostly police talking to other members of the police (mostly local, but also nationally)	
<i>What do people generally tweet about the police?...who?</i>	comparative broader-scale dataset based on key words revolving around police → generic terms, names of specific divisions elsewhere, incl. “London Met” (on the basis of		(anecdotal) check, whether the SWP officers’ fear about misrepresentations & discourses of police violence, misconduct, i.e. “negative media” were really as virulent &



	interviews with SWP & in-situ chats, as well as media reviews)		pervasive as they claimed	
<i>Who tweets?...in Swansea...at night?</i>	based on geo-filters & time-filters: analysis of profile information	anecdotal insight into bas of tweeters & most active ‘voices’ (that would affect the emotion-visualisations, topic fields etc. created by Blurr); to be put in perspective with studies on Twitter user bias	police accounts are hardly ‘opinion leaders’/ influencers; too much noise at night; possibly bits due to the regularity of tweet-activity peaks from certain amounts	many ‘neutral’ (event-information based); high undefined sentiment scores (possibly because of high-frequency CAP-use)

This table highlights how my Researcher-perception was affected by the visualisations that Blurr produced and the data the tool engaged with. Thus, my ethnographic behaviour and my reading was influenced by more-than-human components of the Researching assemblage around Following the SWP Uniform. The discreteness with which I enabled you to follow up on my methods falls short off showing how inextricably bound up digital and non-digital explorations of the SWP’s world occurred. All my moves through the LARP-world were both contingent on circumstance, and iteratively responsive to the data they brought to the fore. Moreover, Researching affected, and was affected by, various factors in the Research - ‘places’ that might be beyond my capacity to cognitively frame. In line with LARP’s inherent set-up, too, interactions and improvisations were central in how I enacted my Researcher-role. Despite a neatly laid-down plan, a.k.a. research design, with which I entered ‘the field’, I had to spontaneously react to my co-LARPer. Hence, my research foci, methods and tools corresponded to insights and data as they were *played* out.

Entanglement & Mutually Informative Steps On Research Pathways

Just as a quick overview or summary over what you have just learnt more lengthily:

What was I doing?	How did I carry out this quest?	What was I searching for? (i.e. how were my perception schemes pre-attuned)
Following the Uniform.	offline & online ‘immersion’ into lived everyday interactions of SWP with others	interactions; experience; emotion (to be defined empirically)



Imagine I had been dealt with an Action card to level up in my overall Campaign of Following the Uniform. Mission Objectives of this pilot phase quest? Answering...

- (1) *Which interactions are inspired by the SWP uniform, offline and online?*
- (2) *How are those interactions (emotionally) experienced, inside and outside the uniform; in physical and digital spaces?*
- (3) *How are such experiences (emotionally) expressed, digitally and non-digitally, by those involved?*

For the sake of clarity: (1) revolves around (a) (professional) behaviours of those wearing the uniform with those who perceive them, and (b) behaviours towards uniformed bodies on perceiving them.

Furthermore, police profiles outside of SWP territory, where specific ‘costume’-provisions render regional polices distinct from each other, relate with other publics in certain ways. Those I aimed to observe e.g. by following tweets and threads including ‘#policefamily’ which emerged as relevant to the SWP. As the topic stretched across varying geographical areas (deducted from the above geo-references), I was provided anecdotal evidence for different discursive community-building practices. Overall, the Twitter data was input for network-, discourse-, textual and thematic analyses (c.f. Doel, 2016). As Blurr’s software could map tweets, I could deduct discourse-fields of how people talked about and with ‘their’ police⁹⁵ and/or SWP from various physical standpoints. Thus, I could ‘map’ online interactions to compare with and complement the impressions left on me by following offline SWP uniforms. These investigations were inspired by what my participants narrated e.g. about ways in which social media facilitated misconceptions about their role online, i.e. how perceptions of their uniform were affected by its digital ‘relatives’.

[\[actual and virtual links\]](#)

You have already learnt that the police’s role-enactments take and make place on the streets as well as online. Their uniforms are tangible ‘bodies’ that trespass from one realm into the other, through digital wayfaring practices (Hjorth & Pink, 2014) in interactions with technological bodies. I followed them on their way in ways that I explain in what Researchers call the methods chapter of my thesis-LARP. However, a Researcher’s quest does not end at the generation of ‘data’. Instead, our tribe thereafter goes about implanting the seeds of insight that our cooperation partners have shared with us into the fruitful ground of Theory, where they can grow with the nutrients from previous Researchers’ work. Some of the elements that helped this LARP become and prosper are reflected throughout

⁹⁵ The notion of regional distinctions amongst uniforms and their wearers, which affect and derive from differential relationships with others outside of those uniforms, is expanded upon later in this Campaign.



Following the SWP Uniform: As ‘looks over the Explorers’ shoulder’ into the Garden of Theory, they intersect the plot’s direct engagement with SWP uniform-related ethnographic place-making. This nourishing mingling with other Researchers’ theoretical crop-outgrowths is a necessary part of Researchers’ role-enactment. It ripens the fruits of our Research-practices to be shared later, e.g. in a LARP-/ or thesis-format. If dissected, the insight-crop would disclose its composition of interpreted, selective narrative comprised of empirical data, emic narratives, theoretical and analytical framing and empirical contextualisation.

Before sharing the outcome of Theory-enriched insight-growing, Researchers prune the budding data-insight-plants by analyses. Analytical processes are ways in which Researchers make sense of data: In this Campaign, what has collaboratively been grown in the Theory-Garden has to be composted into something that Explorers can be served. These sense-making interventions imply that your serving of this Research-crop is inevitably selective and biased by my perspectives, values and objectives. Hopefully you can follow the accounts that derived from them with this caveat in mind. To give you some glimpses into the altercation, feel free to Explore the prepping of your insight-delivery.

The analytical process underlying this narrative is, in a reduced form, this: All written data, Selfies and other imagery, were fed into a qualitative analysis tool called nVivo 12, wherein I coded in line with Framework Analysis (e.g. Srivastava, 2009). This very broadly refers to organising the various forms of data I produced according to recurring themes.

police language			2	11
banter			2	4
coping			1	2
nicknames			1	1
police language internal			3	10
statistics			2	3

snap-shot nodes in nVivo 12

The above figure exemplifies some ‘themes’ or headlines under which I coded the data. Those themes could then be traced across situations and participants. Some themes inspired the iterative reading in which I engaged, i.e. the consultations with other Researchers who had already implanted and harvested their insight-crops before me. Interlaced with their theoretical framings, which I factor into the thesis-accounts as you progress, other analytical practices like discourse analysis (Trappes-Lomax, 2008) and textual analysis (c.f. Doel, 2010) helped produce this thesis-LARP as a means of sharing what I learnt.

[\[Live-Action Role-FAIR-Play: What This Is All About\]](#)
the ‘why?’ to the ‘how?’

As above hinted at: The LARP-framework which involves you as an Explorer in the meaning-making projects of my Researcher-character is a personality-based decision on how to disseminate



Researching crops. Apart from that, there are other motivators and justifying rationales underlying it, too. Alongside the playful and interactive character that I chose to generate tacit knowledge, LARP-research also offers conceptual tools to make sense of and communicate what I experienced for myself, other Researchers and Explorers alike. The concept of Bleed, of which you have first learnt through the Social Contract, makes its re-appearance on an analytical plane as we go further ahead with our quest. It derives from LARP-Researchers whose insight-yields support our mutual sense-making endeavour. In your Explorer-role, you can judge for yourself whether this analytical choice was ultimately successful in nourishing you with Learning-experience.

Ideally, this LARP-approach responds to calls for more engaging, inclusive, experimental and playful research strategies and distribution methods. It comprises what I believe to be a gateway into lived experiences, including emotionality, through “ethnographic place-making” at various stages of the Research-process. Ultimately, LARPing also comprises an element of choice and agency handed over to those affected by research, who may lack prior affiliations with Researcher-clans’ activities. Those ‘researched’ become active allies and co-players, as much as those ‘exploring’ what Research is like and about. Their engagement is, still, mediated by the Researcher who reaches out to them. As such, you have my character’s trajectory to hold responsible for the ‘how?’ of your current Research-engagement. Explorers are also affected and engaged by another aspect that comprises choice in how I enact my role: Language use. The ways I enable you to co-experience ethnographic places are characterised by e.g. a proclivity to challenge linguistic and rhetoric boundaries. How I ‘speak’ with you and about the stories unfolding whilst following the SWP uniform aim at making you question the self-evidence with which you might perceive what certain words mean. **The use of metaphor**, (Pink et al., 2018: 2-3) especially, helps build alternative relationships to concepts or ideas, that might lie ‘hidden’ underneath solid-seeming definitions and taken-for-granted language-use. Through metaphors, I try to reinforce that there is nothing predetermined or prescribed about what you (can) ‘know’ from this write-up. As figurative speech goes, there is always ‘more’ underneath the surface of the obvious and overtly spelled-out – more meaning that emerges, depending on how you engage with what you (can) perceive. You have to form a relationship with it, that metaphorical ‘something’, to interpret it in some way. Which is precisely what this LARP is all about. And through relating to it – the play, the uniform, your role and mine – you become entangled (Ingold, 2008), are affected and cannot but ‘know’ through experience. In this experience, the uniform remains the seemingly shared element that all characters relate to – an allusion, whose affective potentials are always ‘effective’, but also always contingently so (c.f. Zizek, 2009). In this sense, the SWP uniform itself, and this LARP-thesis, potentially comprise more aesthetic qualities than solid, definitory authority (c.f. Sloterdijk, 2013, pp19-29). Even though it comes in this LARP-form, which is arguably not a ‘traditional’ Researcher-tool, this thesis still emerges from certain customs of my cohort, which express values that I ought to reaffirm to establish my place as one of them. Beyond disclosing the methods used that



brought you into our mutual Campaign, reflexivity, positionality and transparency are elements of ‘fair play’ as a Researcher that require unveiling the objectives behind my engagement with you.

where this is supposed to go

As specified on the character cards above, each LARPer pursues goals in Campaigns that are particular to tribes. Additionally, players are sent on missions to accomplish Campaign-specific tasks and level up through gaining Experience in their respective character.

Whilst we are ‘Following the Uniform’ together, albeit spatially and temporally distinct from one another, *my* role in this Campaign is to

1) enable you, the Explorer, to engage with the Research-conduct, and understand the steps I have taken in pursuit of the SWP uniforms, offline and online. This is, because I am responsible to

2) pass on what I learnt from engaging with my participants, which quintessentially is that **“We are all human.”** My mission is to allow you to re-experience my Learning processes, and play your part in this mutual Campaign. According to your tribal preferences, you need to be able to jump between various possible narratives, rather than settling for the ‘one’ story or ‘truth’. In further response to my need to ‘pass’ for a Researcher, I must

(3) render myself **recognisable** as ‘one of the community’, by acting in compliance with communal values, and **abiding by codes of conduct**. This implies expressing symbolic behavioural practices that are meaningful to my in-group. Else I would face Social Death and could not continue LARPing as a ‘Researcher’.

The above disclosed ‘methods’ are established practice amongst Researchers. Arguably, I therefore did what I did to understand the role-card of an SWP officer, because I was already a qualitative Researcher from former academic pursuits and knew how to pass for one. Nevertheless, every Campaign requires continuous reaffirmation of one’s tribal belonging embedded in another LARPerverse of interrelated players to judge one’s performance (Foucault, 1977). Apart from entangling you in the lived experiences of the SWP and myself, I am accordingly also claiming my ‘place’ in my cohort, by producing this Campaign in a form that also functions as a PhD thesis. Informed by personal preferences, the chosen structure of ‘play’ affords that I am following the rules of the game as binding for Researchers but also improvising to benefit my character-interpretation (e.g. Woodyer, 2012; Valentine, 2001). Thus, I claim a place in the neighbourhood of Researcher-tribe members like Sarah Pink (2009) by embracing her notions of “ethnographic place-making” and put it into ‘practice’ as my version of playing the Researching game. This role-interpretation also situates our Campaign, and my contribution to and with it, amongst other work revolving around more-than-representational meaning-making. Implications of this neighborliness in the Academic Garden of Insights are that embodied, transformative and mutually constitutive forms of ‘Knowing’ comprise the



epistemological and ontological basis for our Campaign. Based on the co-constitution and transformations that occur when bodies, like yours and mine, encounter (even if indirectly, and mediated in this LARPing format) your role and mine are inextricably intertwined: We need to acknowledge this mutual dependence and status as equals on the playing field to achieve our respective goals.

where this comes from

Let's break this down: Due to this LARP being a 'play', I am following a lineage of 'playful' geographers (e.g. Woodyer, 2012) who promote exploratory and experimental Researching that still provides enough structure to orientate 'players' through certain rules. Those afford a fair play-experience and the possibility to reach their goals. Similarly, the notion of 'place-making' underlying SE as a Research-methodology matches this LARP experiment: Various stages of my research conduct, from 'data generation' to dissemination, rely on interactions between various 'bodies' who experience the Campaign relative to the SWP uniform and each other. Through those experiences, they obtain embodied experiential knowledge, make places, and are transformed in and through what they learn by ways of encountering others, a.k.a. 'knowing' (Pink, 2009; Ingold, 2010). Since this conceptualisation of 'knowing' roots the accounts I share, it is arguably logical to render you able to co-experience what I learnt (Pink, 2009). Your own uniform-following equals knowing via embodied engagement. What emerges from your engagements, however, is contingent as it depends on your body, the sensorial paths that you choose to take in order to engage with our shared mission, and the times and spaces in which you go take on your Explorer-role. As long as you *do* engage with this Campaign as an Explorer, you *are* transformed by this LARP. My work, therefore, is successful if you are 'knowing' on (largely) your terms.

This means this thesis is effective and doing its job, if it is affective and becomes a transformative experience in your life. Within a theoretical neighbourhood of Elders whose work on research-as-arts (e.g. Oliver, 2018) provides inspiring seeds of insights, this thesis-LARP

(4) **functions more like an aesthetic piece of art** than making authoritative 'knowledge' claims.

More broadly put, forms and ways of knowing experienced by characters in this Campaign are not hierarchically ordered: What players inside, or outside, the SWP uniforms Know is neither any better nor worse than any other body's Knowing. Characters and players all know differently – situationally; based on differently acquired perception schemes and interpretative frameworks; because of our capacities to make sense of what happens (Lorimer, 2005:89). That notwithstanding, we can all form relationships with a common denominator in all our respective place-making quests. As such, the SWP uniform becomes something that we can, from various vantage and stand points through space and time, 'relate to', engage with, be affected by. Boldly put: **anybody can follow the uniform**, and the trajectories narrated as Researching are not exclusive to those in the Researcher-role, although



they will mobilise other ways of knowing. By (ideally) making research more accessible through a playful, practical and more open style,

(5) I hope to enable **pluralistic life-paths to intersect with this LARP-verse** journey.

In this spirit, I am hopefully sharing an outgrowth from the Academic Garden that can nourish a great variety of players. Beyond purely ‘consuming’ the fruits of insight-growing that this Campaign offers, a wider-reaching impact of being touched by this thesis-LARP concerns your future, dear Explorers, and your (potential) alliances with Researchers.

.....

Congratulations, dear Explorer! You have successfully made it to the end of the Researcher’s memoirs! As you may have gathered from the way it is written, these very words, too, comprise a manifesto inside the manifesto, for you have Learnt, honestly and openly, about the Research-journey that preceded your initial encounters with the SWP uniform and your ally. Irrespective of what sense you (wish to; can) make of this, you are very much encouraged to note down an extra of **35XP** before returning to the main Campaign!

The Conceptual Take-Away

When you have a look inside your Take-Away (any Take-Away, even an imaginary one would do for now), you will hardly ever find a coherent order that prescribes which parts of it you are to devour first, and what comes last. This Conceptual Take-Away is not much different in that **its components** are not neatly discrete units of nutritional value, but they **partly infuse each other**, mix and mingle, and where you start digging in is random. For the sake of comprehensiveness, though, let us assume that you can read the Take-Away box in a linear fashion, inspired by successively emerging concepts on the Researcher’s Following the Uniform quest. In reconstructing a chronological fashion, your conceptual culinary course starts with pre-set terminological bites included in the initial studentship’s directives. The conceptualisation choices made in response to the project’s frame link with SE as a methodological framework which features preestablished conceptual chunks to work with. Those already touch upon and contain discourse employed as vernacular by SWP members, which leads your conceptual meal into its final course: Emergent and iteratively



supplemented conceptualisations that entered into the Campaign because of what happens whilst Following the SWP Uniform.

Returning to the original studentship-title gives clues to begin picking through this Take-Away: “Understanding **Emotional Experience** of and Reactions to Night-time service provisions in **Cities**”. Key conceptual pillars in that framework are printed in bold. Bold print you find in your Take-Away does not warn you about allergens in the following. Instead, the highlighting gives you orientation in the Take-Away you are served, like buffet food signs.

Key challenge for you, on journeying through the following conceptual detour, is not necessarily to ingest and absorb every definition in a way that you can reiterate it. Instead, **take in what you can and want**, and make out of it what you wish and need. The following is a selection of possible terms or concepts that has a large variety of other meanings. They depend on context and, as is the case with this Campaign, purpose of being dished up. Enjoy and feel free to Explore more nuances to the reductionist conceptual catering this Campaign features on your own.



To avoid adverse reactions, a little background on where this Take-Away is sourced from: As above explained, this Campaign hinges on a SE methodology. With that come certain epistemological and ontological caveats, which also affect the outcome of any engagement with and through it. Given that this Campaign aims at ‘knowledge’ generated in, for and by Explorers through being affected, i.e. relating to the SWP uniform, SE features the best-fit conceptual features to tickle the right taste buds. Coming from a SE-inspired conceptual cooking school also implies certain underlying logics and ingredients involved, which you need to be aware of to fully benefit from the Take-Away’s nutritional value. Critically, SE is



set in a **more-than-representational, more-than-human** theoretical realm, which instructs how terms and the phenomena they describe are framed. Now that you know wherefrom the Take-Away was delivered, feel free to take a first bite:

experience

“Experience” comprises a large chunk amongst the snacks in your Take-Away. Thankfully, it consists of several composite parts that you can nibble at successively, rather than having to swallow the whole thing in one go. Intriguingly, the SWP also use ‘experience’ in much of their everyday discourse, albeit with a slightly different nudge to it. We are going to pick on their interpretation of the matter in a bit(e).

In a SE-inspired mode of thought, experience refers to processes of **embodied** and **emplaced knowing**, if the experiencer is a human, organic and multi-**sensorial body**. The cooks behind this conceptual concoction that have contributed the most to your Take-Away are Pink (2009) and Ingold (2010), whom you may wish to consult for more thorough Explorations of more-than-representational theoretical delicacies. For this journey through the LARP-verse, a broken-down intake of the above highlighted ingredients might suffice to sustain you conceptually.

embodiment

With the assertion that all experience is ‘embodied’, SE inextricably intertwines the concepts of **body, place** and **sensory-perception-based knowing**. A select entrée into these concepts’ richness, for now, features tastes that conceptually refer to the human body. However, the more-than-human input will add some spices beyond that later.

What is experienced as a human body depends on said body’s capacities to be affected. For the purposes of SE-cuisine, the body’s **capacity to be affected** by sense-data through its sensory system is most important. A body as a multi-sensorial unit features several senses or sensors through which **sense-data** can affect it. All of those cater to what the body then experiences and potentially knows (see below). If the human body also has the capacities to make sense of that data, i.e. **perceive** the other body that affects it sensorially, perception takes (and makes) place. This term describes the immediate (and progressively changing) knowing-processes of a **body** that is both the **site and producer of various kinds of ‘knowledge’**. The processes revolving around what a body does (**knowing** through **sensing** and **perceiving**) and has done to it (by **being affected** and changed) through its sensory



capacities are also where embodiment links with emplacement. Embodied processes are inevitably **interactions** between different bodies: In this example, a human body with the capacity to be sensorially affected, and an environmental Other that has the capacity to affect the human body with sense-data. A **relationship via sense-data** is created, which posits the bodies relative to each other and *in place*. Even more so, the relational practices of sensory engagement *make* the bodies (meaningful and different), as they do with the place that emerges (Pink, 2009).

As above highlighted: This is a rather massive conceptual chunk to swallow. To ensure you can productively engage with all the conceptual nuances, help yourself to the rest of the Take-Away and maybe revisit this first concept-colossus, once you have devoured the rest.

emplacement

“Emplacement” treats you conceptually to an assertion that no experience could occur without environmental bodies to affectively interact with. Ingold adds the conceptual nuance of **entanglement** to elaborate on the mutual dependence and co-constitutions of bodies through e.g. sensory relationships. By dwelling on the various aromas of his conceptual creations, we can also appreciate finer nuances of the ‘knowing’ you have just tasted: Ingold illustrates the co-evolution of the human body, its experience, and **places** through stepping on soil (Pink, 2009: 24). As a multi-sensorial unit (ibid., pp.25-6), the human body is affected by several sense-data over the course of stepping, and before when e.g. visual data register as seeing before a step is taken: The human body sees where it steps, and might have made the decision to take a step on the basis of prior stepping experience and an expected future that is thus instantiated. The **touch** of stepping that relates the soil and the human body implies an exchange of tactile sense-data. Thereupon, the human body is affected and ‘knows’ phenomenologically: The human *feels and senses* the body [of soil] underneath it (c.f. Ingold, 2000; 2010). A decoding of the body as ‘soil’ relies on perception schemes, whilst the ‘underneath’-ness of such a sensory interpretation puts the feeling body in its place:

Through this sensate feedback, the human body experiences itself as affected by the touch. Self-experience or emergence of oneself as a knowing, stepping subject, is relational: The human experiences its body relative to the soil underneath it, i.e. as a ‘stepper-onto-ground’. The understanding of oneself as stepping, and the Other as ground, relies on the



human's capacity to **perceive** (more shortly). Above, the suggestion is that the human 'sees' the ground, and 'feels' the soil through the feet's touch (c.f. Ingold, 2008), and understands the ground to be a particular meaningful body. The visual sense-data arguably partly initiated the stepping movement, because the human interpreted it in a way that framed the **environmental body** (soil) as **affording** the step to be taken. On initiating the step, the stepper could emerge in collaboration with the ground to step on (Ingold, 2010: 172pp).

If the visual sense-data had not previously been processable, i.e. seeing the ground did not come with a perception of it as affording a step onto it, only the stepping itself would make the body 'know'. Through the stepping, the human **learns** about and of itself and its environment through the body-specific and situational capacities that are expressed in the encounter (McFarlane, 2011). The human body learns it can be(come) a *stepper on soil*, and the soil becomes known as on-steppable through experience (embodied, phenomenological knowledge in practice). This engagement, i.e. experience, shapes future (possible) interactions and understandings of what the human body can (not) do in and with certain environments, i.e. other bodies. A human's sensory interaction with environmental others that affect and transform it constitutes 'place' in multiple ways that you are served successively. The above reflects the phenomenological component of Knowing oneself and the Other through sensory encounters (embodied experience). **Place** conceptually designates **experiential space-times** that emerge through entangled, engaging bodies that realise certain potentials through their transformative interactions.⁹⁶

The above conceptual serving of 'learning by doing' resonates strongly with the SWP's invocations of "experience" as they frame their in-role performance: SWP gain experience as an on-going process of "getting in there [a situation]", "dealing with it" and "making mistakes" from which they then "learn". This is based on, and refined, their 'skills', which corresponds with how 'experienced' SWP are. Thus, their experience (XP) derives from experiences, as per your Take-Away! SWP members' levelling up functions via trial-and-error engagements with other bodies that yield them XP. Those engagements are transformative, in that the SWP 'learn' how to (not) engage with other bodies, e.g. members of the public, to effect certain relationships. The latter bring to the fore certain qualities and

⁹⁶ These renditions comprise a reconstruction of Ingold's argument found in Ingold (2010).



capacities of the involved bodies, which may (not) be desirable outcomes of the SWP’s initial performance: When Eli says that, even though he possesses the skills to know how to talk to people properly, he made mistakes and had people ‘blow up in [his] face’. This unwanted interaction-outcome made Eli learn interactively, how different versions of ‘touch’ and affectedness shape his experience on-duty. The judgment of having ‘made a mistake’ invokes a mismatch between an act’s consequences and what might have been imagined to happen. Relationships and meaningful places emerge through transformative interactions, as you have learnt, which are furthermore the basis for future engagements of those who perceive an emplaced encounter and make it meaningful (c.f. Pink, 2009: 23pp).

As with the stepping example, SWP engage with their environments and thereby learn where they are, and what they can (not) do with others, to what effect. The future-dimension that the notion of making mistakes alludes to, is also conceptually dished up for you in a SE-serving of your Take-Away: Returning to the above stepping-example, you have learnt that by forming a relationship between the soil and the human via stepping, the human perceives itself as a body that has the capacity to step (a stepper), whilst the Other, the soil, emerges meaningfully as a body to be stepped on. Had the human stepped on water, the emerging relationship and its experience would have brought about alternative **self-perceptions and understandings of one’s place and possible interactions** therein and therewith. These transformative knowing-processes could have informed the human not to engage with water in a manner of stepping, on its future trajectory. This example highlights that some environments do not afford certain types of experiences to emerge, i.e. certain bodies cannot (always, everywhere) engage in fruitful relationships with Others. Such a conceptual curiosity has the sign “**affordances**” (e.g. Bucher, 2018) stuck in it, and refers to a larger conceptual dish called “the power geometries of **space**” (Pink, 2009: 33) on which you will get to feast shortly. For now, the notion that one’s engagements with Others as the basis for experience and knowing, relies on emplaced and place-making, entangled bodies. How those bodies engage with each other depends on what they can do with each other, and which interactions they are afforded by their larger-scale environments. However, this is also a LARP which features the element of *choice*. Even though one might have the capacity to become a stepper, not every interaction of a potentially stepping body with soil needs to be realised, although one’s experience might make alternative future



unimaginable: If a stepper has never engaged with soil otherwise, they might not realise their capacities to become hoppers, bouncers, shufflers or moon-walkers on the same underground.

The above-served conceptual crouton about the emerging ‘stepper’ in the soil-stepping interaction can also be related to a human that stepped to realise their role as a stepper. After all, the knowing transformation of the human body is one of self-perception, as the human learns from experience that it can step (on soil) through engaging with the ground in a stepping manner. In the LARP-verse, this holds equally true by the paradigm that roles are recognisable through their actions: One is a stepper, because one does what a stepper does, can and should do. This Campaign, as a project of reverse-engineering the SWP role through following the uniform and trying to render the emerging encounters meaningful (Sumartojo & Pink, 2017: 361-3), relies on the premise that **bodies emerge as meaningful through the relationships they form**. This, again, **relates to what** they, as character-**bodies**, **(can) do**, and what they are **perceived** doing. Perception as a conceptual Take-Away nibble takes us into another realm of enjoying the taste of ‘knowledge’ to be produced in and through emplaced human-organic bodies, that reaches beyond the sensate phenomenological one of concern above.

perception and sense-making

disclaimer: The following bit(es) are served with some equations, in case you feel more equipped to ‘make sense’ of those!

When it comes to meaning-making, we have been served a dish that bears a “**perception**”-label: The self-perception of e.g. becoming a stepper on soil. Additionally, the meaning that emerges from the environmental bodies the human engages with (soil, which is below, and of a specific consistency etc.) make the experiential place in which the human becomes a stepper meaningful: The stepper perceives its environment. If you are to take a proverbial step back, though, the above example illustrated a human that must have been able to **meaningfully engage with the sense-data** of touch that then enabled a self-perception as stepping, and being on (above) the ground. Thus, the knowing performed requires a decoding and translation (into meaning) of the sense-data with which the soil is capable of affecting the human sensory system. By considering the human organic body as a multi-sensorial units, whose sense-apparatus is targeted at experiential place-making, the



human's senses were affected diversely by the soil's capacities to affect it: Soil may have initially affected the human senses by being able to be 'seen', if the human body has the capacity to be affected by visual data.

a body that can affect other bodies via its sensory qualities, e.g. smell PLUS a body that can be affected via its sensory apparatus = relationship of 'smelling' in which the first body is smelled by the second body, i.e. the second body smells the first

...but what does the 'smell' mean and do to the second body?

Sense-data, such as the tactile impressions of 'touch', or the visual data to be 'seen' requires **decoding**. Such a decoding process is conceptually ingestible in the form of e.g. Pink's (2009) culinary contributions that cover how human bodies cognitively frame sense-data via "**perception schemes**". These are honed through autobiographic experience, i.e. encounters like the one above that comprise learning. Additionally, there is a **cultural dimension** to this perception-scheme honing. As Pink (2009: 23 – 43) offers you to take away: Human organic bodies are formally taught which senses to use, how, and what sense-data mean that they (can) perceive. Cultural values associated with sensory engagements are also 'emplaced', because certain environments only afford certain sensory experiences to be made, which can be valued by a collective for their particular implications to the human perceiver. This suggests that places become meaningful through an agMickation of different types of bodies (discourses, sense-data...) that shape how experience can be made meaningful, at an immediate bodily level as well as with a historical dimension: Cultural wisdom underlies how you perceive and (can) know, as well as what influences the relationships you engage in. Thus, through **experience-/ or enculturation-acquired perception schemes**, humans can engage with sense-data meaningfully, as data become **information** for **future** decision-making. Schemes are frames through which multisensorially **complexity is reduced** (ibid., 2009: 27), and their development is co-dependent on the spaces, times and 'places' that humans are sensorially emplaced in.

human organic, multi-sensorial unit PLUS particularly honed perception schemes to make sense of sense data = body with specific capacities to be affected by and decode sense-data, whilst others remain 'imperceivable'

Crudely put: Depending on where humans dwell, their bodies can be affected by specific (types of) sense-data. This reflects the larger-scale 'space'-dimension of affordances again. The places that they experience and make [into specific, meaningful places] through what



they do in them (c.f. Ingold, 2000) only affords certain kinds of interactions, e.g. with particular smells. Consequently, perception schemes of humans living in those space-times **become attuned** to the meaning of those smells **as they engage** with the bodies who affect their sense of smell: A body’s openness or exposure to certain affective relationships comprises the basis for their autobiographical experience-based learning. In the main Campaign, the notion of a likelihood or possibility to have certain encounters, and to be affected in particularly decodable, transformative ways, returns to you in the guise of ‘vulnerability’. It, too, comprises the grounds on which learning can grow.

Sensory relationships are also influenced by cultural **norms on how to relate to the bodies** emitting the smells because of what the smells signify: An edible plant, a poisonous mould, a sacred animal. Humans need not actively encounter those bodies to ‘learn’ their significance through cohort-knowledge transmission. They can actively be taught what certain sense-data mean, rather than having to rely purely on their embodied, sensate data-interactions. Thus, human perception schemes and associated reactions to the perceived body (incl. other humans) that is cognitively framed as a particular (type of) body, are **co-shaped vicariously** through attitudes and values held by one’s in-group, without having actually ever encountered ‘the Other’. This conceptual nibble will unfold more of its aroma shortly, as we learn about emotionality through Ahmed’s (2004) Take-Away contributions. Concerning learning and acquiring perception schemes, Pink has another serving ready for you now: She argues that not only the value attached to certain sense-data, but even the (types of) senses that a human has the capacity to be affected by meaningfully vary amongst humans. Thus, **different (human, organic) bodies can be affected by different sense-data**, as well as **perceiving** said **data differently**, to render the sensorially perceived bodies differently meaningful (c.f. Pink, 2009: 23 – 43).

a body with the perception schemes to decode sense-data, and a sensory apparatus that can be affected by sense data PLUS sense-data that can affect the first bodies sensory system = an affective sensory relationship of perception

When trying to digest this copious conceptual input, you may think about proverbial sixth or seventh senses that some people state to have. If it is not two human organic bodies that



differ in how their sensory systems are honed, you may think about how non-human animals perceive their environmental Others, as deduced from what they can be perceived doing therein. As such, one may assume bats have a different experience of place they are experiencing, albeit they may seemingly share the ‘same’ space-time with a human body. As Ingold (2010: 122pp) would dress this conceptual canape: The bat and the human may be **immersed in the same medium**, i.e. air, but their relationship to their spatial environment and their **interactions** with other bodies **vary**. This is at least in part due to their **capacities to affectively interact with sense-data afforded** in said environment. In theory, the human body is also affected by e.g. the magnetic impulses that bats navigate on⁹⁷, but the sensory capacities of humans do not afford a meaningful *direct* [conscious, i.e. cognitively framed] engagement with it. Accordingly, the seemingly ‘same’ data inspires different behaviours, and leads to **different understandings of one’s place**, and oneself therein. Relating this to the above stepping example, one could argue that on the basis of sense-data interactions, the bat performs bat-ness, and the human humanness, because of how their capacities enable them to perform in certain spatial and temporal affordances (ibid., 124pp): Different selves emerge relative to the ‘same’ environmental other. The human might not ‘know’ the place the Earth’s magnetic field unless the human is equipped with another body, e.g. a compass. The latter is a body that can fruitfully engage with magnetic sense-data and render it intelligible for a human to engage with, if the human’s learning provided schemes to decode compasses.

By engaging meaningfully with such an environmental body (the compass), the human moreover expresses its knowledge and exposes itself to be perceived as someone who uses a compass. This becomes relevant again below. For now, the meaningfulness of ‘place’ varies on one’s capacities to be affected by and engage with (sense-) data: A differently meaningful place can emerge through the relationship between the human body, the compass, and the Earth’s magnetic field, which affords the human a sense of where the North is. You will be delivered a bigger portion of this conceptual concoction called **“assemblage”** in a bit. For now, you may dig a little deeper into the magnetic field and

⁹⁷ If you wish to get off track and Explore: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/6213402.stm>; last accessed 27-September-2019, 07:48 GST.



where the compass may have come from, as those bodies need to be ‘afforded’ for the human to be affected by them.

affordances

In another equation, the above hypothetical example would look as follows:

a human sensory body without the capacity to be affected by magnetic data, but with the capacity to read compasses PLUS an environment that affords magnetic radiation PLUS a compass with which the human body can assemble = a human body emplaced relative to the Earth’s magnetic field

This hypothetical example serves as conceptual fodder for you to process the engagements between human bodies and imperceivable data. Whilst the latter affects the human body, humans would not be able to cognitively frame, i.e. make meaningful, e.g. magnetic data on their own. They require other bodies, like compasses, to assemble and engage with, and previous Learning that allow for compass-data to become meaningful (c.f. Ingold, 2010).

This bears relevance to your Exploring, because this LARP includes digital data as a body that has the capacity to affect human bodies’ experiences (c.f. Anderson, 2009: 79; c.f. Pink, 2009.) Said ‘**imperceivable**’ **bodies also inspire** humans’ imaginations of possible **futures**, as well as **influence** their **behaviours**. This can happen **directly**: Following the Uniform takes you into the digital spaces of Twitter and interactions and experiences that are afforded by Twitter’s spatial and temporal structures. Therein, a digital version of the SWP uniform represents a manifestation of digital data that we can engage with, e.g. through PC-screens. Outside of direct engagements with the digital, through whichever **interface** we may assemble with, offline experiences inside the uniforms can be influenced by what occurs in the digital realm, or what has previously occurred therein (c.f. Ingold, 2000).

Having raised the issue of interfaces for engagements with social, digital media afforded by digital data networks, the SWP uniform as a physical component of the SWP’s policing role requires revisiting: Its feature mediate between the offline and online worlds, by affording policing pursuits in both realms ‘at once’. Those pursuits are described as “**digital wayfaring**” (Hjorth&Pink, 2014) and become part of the police’s performance through e.g. “the Samsung”, body-worn cameras, and private smartphones in ‘Following the SWP Uniform’. Thus, technological devices shape the (possible) experience involving SWP



uniforms, as they are bodies in the assemblage of encounters with the SWP that also have the capacity to advance the sensory perception of human bodies.

The SWP uniforms are not simply one body, with one meaning. Instead, as above alluded to, they express different qualities in different relationships formed with them: In any given encounter, only *some* features of the uniform body come to the fore to render the engagements meaningful to make ‘place’ (c.f. Duff & Sumartojo, 2017). ‘Place’, here, refers to a meaningful assemblage in space-time (c.f. Pink, 2019: 29pp), i.e. drawn-together and recognisable complex of variously entangled bodies of different types. In their emergent togetherness, those bodies convey a specific character, that your Take-Away later treats you to when you are dished up a ‘city’ conceptually. In the space-times of e.g. Swansea’s Wind Street during the peak hours of the NTE, the uniform’s elements co-assemble with other bodies surrounding them to inspire particular relationships. Some interactions afforded to be experienced include Selfie-taking or instant incident-logging, via smart-phone or police Samsung. These practices not only assemble Swansea city-centre as a particular place, but simultaneously also enable the performances of recognisable roles: Bodies emerge as e.g. SWP officers through the bodies’ respective capacities to engage in interactions with particular other bodies, e.g. the police Samsung, to certain ends.

The two devices above are meaningful, as they are potentially enabling digital wayfaring practices that directly link the physical with the digital spaces. This is possible through broader structural **affordances** like wi-fi in Swansea city-centre, or the accessibility of smartphones for civilians via global economic and commercial structures in which humans are entangled (c.f. Ingold, 2008). Arguably, the global economic structures in which they are embedded gave those who experience Swansea’s NTE the capacity to engage in practices like Selfie-taking with the SWP on Wind Street on a Saturday night. On the flipside of this conceptual crêpe, some broader structure may *not* afford certain actions, as the above water-stepping example illustrates. In it, the broader geological structures of soil-formation needed to have made ‘place’ historically (experienceable) for the stepping to occur, and the stepper to emerge. Additionally, the historical trajectory of the stepper must have made the stepping possible, and desirable with view to the imagined and imaginable future relationships to be generated after the stepping. A ban on human trespass would have arguably reduced the emergence of a stepper-soil-relationship in that example: It would be



a not directly perceivable element in the human’s experience that could prevent the formation of a stepper-body discursively (more below).

skills

Affordances like free wi-fi, or having a smartphone, do not mean that all bodies *must* form relationships with the digital data, but that some bodies (potentially) could. Relating this back to the stepper example: Some people might choose not to take the step on the soil, e.g. because of how they perceive their futures to be, or how they desire their future paths to look like, or because of how they think of themselves as having to behave and act on their capacities (see below for more). Other bodies may not be able to take a step, because their bodies, rather than the soil, do not afford stepping. In the former option lies an element of choice that might resonate with your understanding of what LARP implies, i.e. an interactional basis of improvisation within certain rule – /and role-boundaries. If a human body, i.e. character, acts a certain way because of having the capacity and previous Learning how to do so to achieve certain ends this can be conceptualised as another Take-Away hors-d’oeuvre: “**skills**”. Skills are served to you conceptually dressed as **embodied practical knowledge** a.k.a. know-how (Crossley, 2004; 2007) that manifests in one’s **capacity to improvise** and deviate from pre-set, established rules or standards of action (Ingold, 2018). A skilled practice is one that can be flexibly adjusted to changing environmental features, rather than repetitively re-enacting a predetermined, encoded routine (ibid., pp160-2). This links with narratives of SWP, who invoke their skills in relation to their instinctive, situational adjustments to professional experiences. SWP intimately relate experience and skills: Officers gain experience and skill up through making mistakes and learning from them. The more experienced officers are, the more and better can they use their skills. Learning and better policing, however, is premised upon the capacity to make mistakes by and in practice, i.e. via ‘real work’ of ‘engaging with people’. This echoes howLARPs function, again, as one can only enact one’s role meaningfully in engagements with others, on whose input one depends to improvise and make oneself perceivable via action:

Characters in a LARP are identifiable by what they (can) do (where, when, with whom). By acting skilfully, i.e. displaying the skilful practice of e.g. Exploring, you constitute yourself as an Explorer, and claim your rightful belonging to the Explorer-tribe. Your skill-application discloses that you have ‘Learnt’ in a specific cultural setting (in a particular historical period



of your perception-scheme honing), and thus expresses ‘where you are from’ as well as collective values underlying your acquired practical knowledge⁹⁸. The same is true for SWP members, who employ their skills of good, professional policing in the way they have Learnt to, to be recognised as ‘good, professional police’. Critically, this conceptual dish of skills establishes that one’s capacity to engage with others, environments, situations, i.e. to make **place** requires **improvisation** and **adjustment on the basis of what one has learnt** (how) to do. For SWP, the origin of this impromptu decision-making lies in their “personality” i.e. roles they perform outside their uniform. As a possible origin of such personality-linked skills, SWP often emphasise their ‘being human’, which permits SWP to ‘know [how] to do the right thing’.

Through ‘doing the right thing’ by (personality-inspired) situational performance adjustments, SWP emerge as ‘humans’ and **belonging** to the SWP tribe. The latter is established through what the SWP, in their costume, skilfully do in order to **achieve** certain **goals**, e.g. making people (feel) safe and Swansea a ‘safe place’. This signifies that they are SWP, because these activities are affiliated with the SWP character-card’s goals and tribal customs. However, by reinforcing *humanness* in how SWP perform, and additionally narrativising their role as part of ‘the **community** [SWP] **belong to**, SWP seemingly appeal to a common value-/ and practice-basis that unites them and civilians. This commonality of values is expressed through a broader in-group category for others and police (-family members). To make this deduction a little less bland, your Take-Away spices it up through a portion of conceptualisations regarding “**communities of belonging**” and “- **practice**”. Much like what a LARP and its tribal system implies, ‘communities’ can be conceptualised as collectives that **distinguish themselves** from others **through** their **practice**. These practices involve rituals, like writing dissertations for Researchers, wearing characteristic costumes, like the SWP uniform, speaking a shared language (e.g. police code on the internal radio, or ‘banter’ as ‘friendly Welsh’) and pursuing certain goals that reaffirm their role in a broader context, e.g. society or humanity: ‘Doping alike’ means that a collective expresses belonging to and with each other as a (e.g. professional) unit to be thus-recognised to outsiders and insiders.

⁹⁸ For trudging down this side-alley a little further, take a detour to your Companion, here, and Explore what you are ‘good at’ from past Learning! Find the section called “skills” to do so.



(doing) belonging

Those shared **practices** relate to a common origin story that imbues performances with meaning beyond the direct application and utility: Through practicing one’s role as a community-member, **one reaffirms the values of one’s community**, i.e. what the collective stands for (c.f. e.g. Ahmed, 2004; Closs-Stephens, 2016). What members of a collective do is thus a cultural code that expresses or **signifies who they are to each other and to outsiders** of the group. Through the value-basis, too, intangible elements play into this belonging – emotional connections and experience that are (or can be) equally re-enacted via one’s group-affirming practices (c.f. e.g. Thrift, 2004:60). As LARP-research has it, this is intensified through costume-wearing and prop-using (Bowman, 2015). Feeling a deeper cause and connection underlying one’s actions one’s performance also arguably becomes more ‘authentic’ (c.f. Humphrey et al., 2008: 157). Conceptually, this common practice and supposedly shared emotional relationship to a group’s origin makes for a “**community of affect**”. This Researcher-lingo might be better ingestible, if you consider ‘practice’ like work to conform with role-provisions as tasks that can also apply to internal actions: **Feeling-part-of and belonging** is something that is **‘done’ through emotion-practice** (Ahmed, 2004:27pp; Döveling et al., 2009). This involves self-representations, incl. emotion displays, and practices associated with perception, decoding and knowing (Howarth, 2001; Hochschild, 1979; Humphrey et al., 2008: 152): Emotional performances comprise the component of one’s role-performance that involve a sense, self-perception and experiential feedback of belonging to the in-group, i.e. ‘Us’ Ahmed, 2004: 37; . By **performing emotionality** ‘appropriately’ one can **pass for one’s character** to one’s in-group, and the out-groups to whom one’s character is (supposed to) related in certain ways. Accordingly, there are expectations set in one’s emotion-conduct one has to fulfil or else risks Social Death. Practicing emotions to express alignments with those performing under the same collective label is handed to you as conceptual candy from Ahmed (below), when we tear apart the conceptualisations of emotional alignments. As those draw from notions of bodies impressing upon one another, you may treat yourself to another starter of concepts first that revisits ‘place’ and its interactive features.





space and entanglements through time

Recapitulating what nutrients your Take-Away has thus-far offered you, your Learning can comprise that particular interactions that make for experience are possible between certain (types of) bodies because of what engaging bodies can (not) do (with each other). Whether bodies can form relationships with each other depends on their capacities to be affected by, and affecting, other bodies. Additionally, the bodies' engagement has to be afforded by broader structural provisions – “power-geometries of space” – that have historically formed through various other (bodies') engagements.

As an equally historically formed body, you will certainly be able to return to the stepper-example that you have been conceptually catered earlier on. You have Learnt, that through stepping on soil, a 'stepper' emerges, as defined through the stepping practice. Similarly, the ground emerged as soil, which could be 'known' by the perceiving human stepper who engaged with it and to whom the soil thus became imbued with meaning. The transformations of the two bodies, however, did not solely occur because of discursive changes of meaning:

Stepping on soil, as Ingold's conceptual delights unfold, comprises an instance of touch (c.f. Ahmed, 2004): (Human) feet imprint themselves on the environmental Other, i.e. the body of soil. Those **imprints alter the engaged-with Other**: Another environment for future bodies to engage with and make sense of emerges. The environment's meaning is transformed, because feet have stepped on it and perhaps trampled down a bit of grass: *Nobody* can encounter the soil in the way the initial stepper did anymore. The stepped-on soil **features different capacities to be affected and affecting**; it will register differently and therefore instantiate [afford] other experiences. Thus, the impressions left on the ground by the stepping body co-constitute possible subsequent engagements with the altered environmental bodies. Similarly, as above mentioned, the initial stepping experience was afforded by a variety of other structural historical provisions (c.f. Pink, 2009: 34; 38-9). Apart from the geological processes leading to the soil-making, there may have been other feet to have stepped on the ground to mould it into an already trodden path. A new instance of stepping would accordingly imply an **entanglement** with other trajectories of bodies no longer present to be directly encountered, who still affect newly emerging experiences and



place. Ingold’s entanglement-serving caters you an understanding of **bodily co-constitution through space and time**. The stepping-encounter provides possible pathways into futures and transforms the involved bodies towards certain futures, whereas other paths can no longer be taken: The stepper is no longer a stander, and can no longer step onto pristine land after having already set foot on it. A trampled-down patch of grass can no longer grow the way it might have before. Neither body is ‘the same’ as their meanings have changed and different capacities of theirs come to the fore in the relationship formed between stepper and soil. In their entanglement, the **bodies give each other meaning and shape each other**, and each other’s future (prospects) (c.f. Ahmed, 2004).

place-making 1: perception and dwelling

This transformative and multifariously ‘touching’ encounter might taste similar to a prior conceptualisation crouton: Perception schemes, i.e. cognitive frames with which bodies whose sense-data affected a human organic body were rendered meaningful (c.f. Pink, 2009: 63). They, too, relied on past ‘impressions’ left on them through encounters with, i.e. experience of, Others. Such impressions then contributed to how new experiences were framed, because of what the human body had Learnt. Consequently, how human organic bodies can and do engage with environments is entangled with future and past bodies, and on-going transformation processes that co-constitute the places that said body experiences and co-produces. Broken down into conceptual crumbs: Place-making via ‘experience’ is a meaning-making to oneself, as an embodied knowing-unit. The co-production aspect implies that what the body does in and with and through its environment ‘makes’ the place meaningful. A meaning affiliated with ‘place’ co-depends on its affordances, which (types of) bodies engage in them, to what ends, when and how. Those practices can be conceptually wrapped into the conceptual Take-Away bite of “**dwelling**” (c.f. Vannini & Taggart, 2013). For this LARP in particular, you will be following the SWP uniform in their online- / and offline-pursuits to make a particular kind of ‘place’: Ideally, SWP want to create ‘safe places’ by how they enact their role, i.e. by ‘dwelling’ in certain space-times, and engaging with specific other bodies to effect a feeling or sense of safety. ‘Dwelling’ thus **labels emplaced and place-making** [meaning-transforming] **performances** or practice.

Fueled with this conceptual quality cut of a conceptual chunk that breaks down the co-constitution of ‘place’ and bodies, e.g. police officers as meaningful agents, you can Explore





the SWP-uniform-involving encounters from an analytically more saturated position: By **performing their role** as a particular clan of the police-family, i.e. the friendly Welsh community service, in particular ways, e.g. by Selfie-taking and bantering with the public, the **SWP ‘make’ themselves**. They seek to pass for their character, and (whether or not they are successful in that) are **perceived by others** who make sense of them, whereupon they emerge as a particular body. Those Others are also supposed to experience a ‘safe’ place because of what the SWP does, where, when, with whom...i.e. with(-in) and through their environments. Such environments feature e.g. the uniform, but are also comprised **of larger structures of also intangible bodies**, e.g. past encounters, that affect the perceiving outcomes, because of how Others’ perception schemes (if said other bodies are of the human organic kind) have been impressed upon previously. **Prior impressions and perception-scheme honing may not align with the goals of SWP’s self-representation**. Despite their dwelling-intent, therefore, other human bodies may experience SWP officers’ enactments in certain space-times differently, **according to how they (can) render them meaningful**. The places of encounter accordingly emerge differently meaningful **depending on the possible relationships to be formed with the SWP uniforms**, which also rely on decoding their meaning via sensory engagement: Perception.

These conceptual courses resonate with how the SWP talks about how Others, specifically ‘members of the public’, relate to them – which also reflect the notion that **one’s self-understanding is deduced partly from how one is engaged with** by Others (Howarth, 2001; Butler, 2004). This is, crucially, what this LARP revolves around. SWP experience in-role encounters with non-police as though Others perceived police negatively, i.e. as if their perception-schemes had been impressed upon in ways that generated an understanding of police as ‘bad’, or ‘brutal’ (Phil). SWP explain this historicity of how other characters relate to them by musing that members of the public made ‘bad experiences [with police] in the[ir] past’ (Eli⁹⁹). Those experiences were considered the cause for being ‘anti-police’ (Jane; Dave) and having a distrusting or even hateful attitude towards the SWP as expressed in and through actual encounters (c.f. Ahmed, 2004: 26pp). With your conceptual

⁹⁹ Although perhaps unconventional for referencing primary quotes, this LARP subsequently features inputs from SWP members without a specific date. This ensures participant confidentiality, as police colleagues might recognise each other through corresponding instances depicted and the SWP’s work schedules.



sustenance at the ready, you can process furthermore, how SWP allude to perception-schemes that render their performance meaningful and have not been acquired from first-hand embodied experience, but cultural teaching: Instead of direct experienced Learning, **discursive encounters with ‘the police’**, e.g. through public and social media, might shape how other players interpret the SWP’s performances. Mixed with the flavours of affordances, mutual impression and entanglements, you can also digest how this notion is infused with past intangible bodies that affect emerging experiences: Past negative Tweets can possibly inhibit the SWP’s taking of figurative steps to generate positive relationships with members of the public, as the latter do not have the capacity anymore to experience and perceive the uniform-related performances afresh (c.f. Ahmed, 2004: 27-8), i.e. without ‘feeling’ the negative impressions left previously.

emplacing characters

Narratives about and images of (other) uniforms can affect how SWP are framed and related to, despite the lack of ‘actual’ touching encounters. Your Companion (“My Experiences With Police”) offers a side-track in which you can reflectively Explore your previous encounters of police uniforms. Any **positions and predispositions** that you hold **towards police influence how you engage** with and perceive this Campaign: Your body has capacities to be affected by the SWP uniform, and the means of engagement with it, i.e. these words, in certain ways. Additionally, LARP offers you to flexibly interpret your role outside of your capacities to be affected. In your in-character action-freedom you can decide how, and how deeply, you immerse yourself in the play. The notion of mutual transformation and co-constitution also implies that through various possible modes of engagement and contingent emerging relationships, a **diversity of Knowing can emerge**. In a manner of true interrelatedness, these knowing-experiences co-depend on the SWP uniforms to follow. As above intimated: When the SWP enact their role in uniform, they do so with specific intentions: SWP professionally ‘make safe places’ for, in and as ‘the community’. Those whom they engage with are accordingly supposed to feel safe in assemblages involving SWP uniforms, and therefore perceive SWP as uniform-wearing safe-place-makers, and parts of their community of belonging. To foreshadow later conceptual courses dished up for you in the Campaign: The perception of ‘safe places’ that SWP arguably aspire to in their tribal professional enactments is called an adjustment of



community members’ spatio-temporal frames, accomplished through emotion-management by SWP (Strathmann & Hay, 2009: 223-4). How SWP ‘do policing’ makes the space-times in which they do so into specific SWP-co-dependent experiential places, into which you and I, too, are drawn and entangled. Ultimately, your engagement with this dissertation-LARP, and **your relationships with SWP-uniforms** as they do what they are doing, **makes your Exploring part of the game** (c.f. Pink, 2009: 35). **You are making yourself an Explorer**, and you are simultaneously making an ethnographic place as per Pink’s (2009) conceptual cook-up.

Your place-making is afforded to you through your capacities to engage with this dissertation-LARP in a variety of ways. *Take a moment to try and Explore, how and why you have come (and possibly chosen) to engage with this, before digging into the Take-Away again.*

To fully relinquish the aroma of affordances of a less physical kind than e.g. the electronic networks that power the computer with which you may currently engage to be affected by these words, you get to nibble on to how certain experiences may not be afforded by all space-times. Conceptually chewing over the soil-stepping again: Had the stepping-encounter happened on grass growing on designated ‘private land’, the emerging stepper-body would, through the stepping, possibly violate place-specific rules. The place’s meaning would not be one of public access but regulated by larger-scale symbolic systems (policies) that restricted access to particular bodies (c.f. Buchanan, 1997: 85). This affects possible meanings of stepping-bodies: A landowner’s stepping on the grass makes for a different emerging experience and role-enactment than the same emplaced practice would for a random person. Here, the flavours of belonging penetrate the conceptual Take-Away again: The place-meaning and what bodies become perceivable (to themselves and others) alongside future options is contingent on ‘who’ the stepper is, in terms of their label or tribe. The body-specificity of place-affordances like exclusiveness and inclusiveness accordingly correlate with intangible notions of ‘identity¹⁰⁰’, and past trajectories of the

¹⁰⁰ For those Explorers who have a particularly keen eye on language: The present Researcher is aware of the contentious nature of the term ‘identity’, which is supposed to be expressed by the quotation marks. However, this conceptual Take-Away does not supply an input on its flavoursome variety. ‘Identity’ does not conceptually nourish the understanding of what is to follow, and is not part of the emic vernacular of those whose Experience this Campaign is set up to mediate.



stepping bodies. Based on the bodies’ ‘past’ – in experience, meaning etc. – the stepping also generates different futures, as bodies are entangled through time and space (see above). **Different subject-meanings emerge from the seemingly same action** of a human on soil: The land-owner may turn into the stepper; a rogue trespasser would emerge for someone randomly stepping on the grass.

From your previous conceptual intake, you might find that these bites do not go well with the notions that bodies and their meanings are made through what they ‘do’ (how, with whom etc.). This is a valid point, and should not cause you conceptual heartburn: Other conceptual cooks like Butler (2015) provide menus of conceptualisations that cover all appetites for analytically ingesting notions of resistance through practice. She writes e.g. about claiming one’s (right to) representation and identity through what one does, in certain space-times and perhaps against notions of what one should not do, i.e. is not afforded. This Campaign follows Butler’s conceptual cuisine in the bendiness and improvisational liberties inherent in one’s role-performance. However, as a LARP-frame designates certain **rules to be abided by as a specific character**, and an overall gamer, some actions can be deemed as inappropriate. The **out-of-placeness** and **out-of-character** enactments, as illustrated by trespassing, comprise **experiential elements** of what SWP performances imply. Hence, Explorers are given conceptual sustenance to work their ways through the empirical part of the journey. Accordingly: Within the logic of a LARP, the above exemplar means that stepping as trespassing is not ‘impossible’ (because of the historicity of the bodies’ respective emergence when engaging), but illicit (against the game-rules). For an inherent difference in such acts’ meaning to become recognisable in a LARP, furthermore, those acting out various behaviours **need to be distinguishable** characters and/or individuals. This can be done by conceptually ‘taking them apart’. Explorers may, for that purpose, resort to the conceptual cutlery of “**assemblages**” (McFarlane, 2011): Bodies, of smaller or larger scale, can be conceptualised as complexes of variously interacting, constantly changing elements which, via those interactions, **disclose certain features, characteristics or capacities**. Thus, there is no uniform, monolithic land-owner/trespasser-stepper. Bodies’ stepping happens **in context**, which – on a very immediate level – implicates their costumes, and props, which bring them into wider-reaching relationships with certain character-cohorts. The rule-violating stepper and the land-owner stepper might



be differentiated e.g. if the latter was carrying a key. Such a restricted ‘defining’ feature is ambivalent and both helpful as a short-cut to (seemingly) Knowing Others, as well as a shortfall in that one cannot experience Other’s without bias or anew.

place-making 2: assemblages and atmospheres

Props, costumes, role-belonging: All contribute to the emergence of bodies’ particular meanings and the places they co-constitute. The last point specifies space-time is affected differently, i.e. becomes differently (made) meaningful, depending on the bodies that make ‘place’ therein. Relatedly, the perception of place-making human organic body of themselves, by themselves and by others, reflects the place in its various interrelations. Perceiving one’s stepping on land designated as an action out-of-place or out-of-character, and establishing relationships with others against the rules for one’s own body, may create different (behavioural; emotional) responses in steppers. Those arguably correlate with whether or not they carried a key to the land whose meaning was symbolically co-determined by policy-structures of which one may (not) be aware. Depending on that, emerging future imaginaries and steps, too, would be affected by the discursive environment of the stepping. The discursive structures and larger scale affordances and environments at play, here, are components in the conceptual compote of Pink’s “**power-geometries of space**” that you have above dipped into. The conceptual nut of ‘place’ that Pink’s catering contributions have cracked, present such larger-scale factors as inherent **co-constitutive elements in the experiences of place**. Correspondingly, the human bodies’ meaning as place-makers is bound up with those larger-scale bodies. This place-making implies a ‘drawing together’ of elements of diverse qualities and dimensions. There are material bodies e.g. the physical structures to be stepping on and the human organic bodies to become steppers. Other bodies may be intangible, incl. emerging emotions, **meanings attached to bodies that are perceived in certain ways**, historical rules for how to behave in certain space-times, etc. All this drawing-together in a bite-sized chunk comes to you as constant re-**assembling** of bodies to effect contingent, singular meanings (of place). This is a conceptual base from which you may later build an analytical understanding of why and how the assemblage of SWP uniforms with certain other elements, e.g. happy faces or civilian camera-phones, emerge as divergently meaningful. The **historicity of significance**



that adheres to uniforms, e.g. in the form of emotional attachments (c.f. Ahmed, 2004), may also be easier to chomp through if dissected with assemblage-concepts to work with.

The conceptual chunks of bodies entangled through spaces and times may be rather tough to stomach for now, and the taste of places as ‘made’ may be unfamiliar to you. However, you are catered this Take-Away to render transparent how your ally, the Researcher, analytically chopped up her in-role Experiences into digestible pieces. Your own ethnographic place-making, too, is (if indirectly) affected by the conceptual nutrients that sustained the Researcher. This is but one way in which affective engagements that co-constitute places and experience comprise intangible bodies, e.g. discourses and concepts. Others, as the above SWP narratives highlight, can be **assumptions, prejudice and digital data flows that affect how one perceives, and can establish relationships with**, (possible future) **bodies** one encounters.

With and through the conceptual input from assemblage-theory-cooks, you are also provided another nutrient to take in the bulky body of this Campaign’s origin from the studentship’s phrasing. As “Emotional Experiences of and Reactions to Night-time Service-Provisions” were to be understood in city-contexts, the a ‘city’ called for conceptual concern: ‘**Cities**’ can be conceived as **constantly re-assembling** bodies of various types that form relationships with each other through practical enactments and encounters. Accordingly, urban places are **made through practices of city-making**, or dwelling (see above), which are informed by pre-set structures, e.g. policies on how to use spaces. Those predefined structural norms about how to act in and ‘make’ a city into a place, however, can also be resisted through what bodies actually do in cities. In LARP-lingo, this suggests that **cities can be ‘improvised’** in how they are done (Brenner, 2015). Thus, cities can re-assemble differently depending on which potential encounters are actualised in practices of engagements and role-enactments such as those of policing Swansea’s NTE hub. Through entanglements with imperceivable bodies, even what is performed on social media can influence the city-making, as its affective potential co-constitutes places of city-dwelling. Your uniform-following will give you empirical fodder that features such conceptual compounds. However, that is not to say that via assemblage as a conceptual condiment, you can mush the spheres of social media and Swansea into one pot, stir, and are served the same. They are mutually constitutive, but still discernible as different(ly characterised)



places, which register differently and afford different (types of) relationships to be formed, through again differently afforded interactions. **Different places come with different behavioural rules** of ‘proper’ conduct (discourses) (c.f. Bourdieu, 1984), too, as your current conceptual satiation has you understand, alongside their broader structural affordances. It is for that reason that our uniform-following lets us experience specific instances in which the ‘place’ of **emotional** encounters is actualised, online and offline. Those are the ones the Researcher set out to ‘make sense of’, as per studentship prescription. Uniform-following, as a type of ethnographic place-making, also comprises a journey that consists of instances of re-assembling bodies in the larger scale place(-making) of e.g. Swansea as a city. What makes Swansea a specific recognisable place or urban assemblage is what **draws together** the specific Swansea-making bodies. Amongst those bodies, there are intangible elements that cannot be framed cognitively, but nevertheless register. SWP officers whose uniforms you are bound to follow in-character ‘make meaning’ of their intangibly afforded experience through a concept that is echoed in SE. Thus, you can indulge in yet another conceptual canape called “**atmosphere**” to complement assemblages and how they may be ‘drawn together’ to register as experience(d):

affective atmospheres

Situated in the corner of your Take-Away that nourishes you with affective components of place-making, “**atmospheres**” appear to be a rather complicated dish of fickle, evasive qualities that many cooks have tried their skills on. The hard-to-grasp character of atmospheres also seasons how SWP frame experiences of nights they patrol in: Officers invoke the atmospheres of the night and of Wind Street as a place as “something in the air” (Rob). Something that you “can’t put [your] finger on” (Eli), but “...you just feel it” (Rob) in your body.

From a conceptual chef’s perspective, such a contention is dressed in the understanding of atmospheres as bodies with affective qualities that contribute to place-making. In order to become experiential, **atmospheres need to register with** and within **bodies**. Like places, atmospheres are therefore conceptually conceived as being body-dependent, and body-specific. The former alludes to the notion that atmospheres require bodies to be affected by them in order to be ‘felt’ (sensed) and become **realised in actions they inspire** in the affected, transformed bodies. Similar to Ingold’s (2010b) contribution to the Theory-garden



that grew insights about weather, atmospheres engulf and immerse bodies in them, whilst also penetrating¹⁰¹ and connecting said bodies. They can be considered a **‘background affect’** to more consciously registering experience: Although all bodies are equally immersed in them, the body’s specificities (capacities, trajectories etc.) interact with atmospheres differently (Stewart, 2007; c.f. Anderson, 2009).

Whilst conceptual cooks invoke these kinds of thought-aides to ‘make sense’ of atmospheres, SWP have their own tribal vernacular and customs of ‘dealing with’ things that affect them in-character. The SWP use their embodied skill of “instinct” (Kyle) to pick up atmospheric cues that they ‘just feel’, and thereupon adjust their behaviours and role-enactments: They improvise. SWP, experienced in how to perform their roles, have acquired strategies of ‘reading’ people and atmospheres that go nicely with a conceptual snack delivered by the hands of Ash (2013) called **“attunement”**. Throughout the LARP-journey, you may find his contribution’s taste resonant with how SWP police. Ash asserts that human sensory bodies can become attuned to certain space-times and experience them as meaningful places in a state of **heightened sensorial awareness** or alertness. This **“vulnerability”**¹⁰² makes those attuned, e.g. virtual multi-player gamers, more ready to **react flexibly to changes in the environments** they dwell in. Such a readiness resembles the “bracing” (Mick; Eli) our SWP co-LARPerS invoke. Ash’s conceptual nutrition can fuel an analytical consumption of how such sensory hyper-openness readies players to **react to experiences** which are particularly **likely in the space-times** players zone into. Those may be online gaming spaces or NTE assemblages one patrols in, and in which one braces against likely futures based on one’s Experience. What Ash adds before handing over the Take-Away component is that such **action-readiness and alertness come at a price**: It costs energy to tune in (space-times in which some experiences are likely to happen) and zone out (from the experience of other distracting environments) to brace for specific expectable

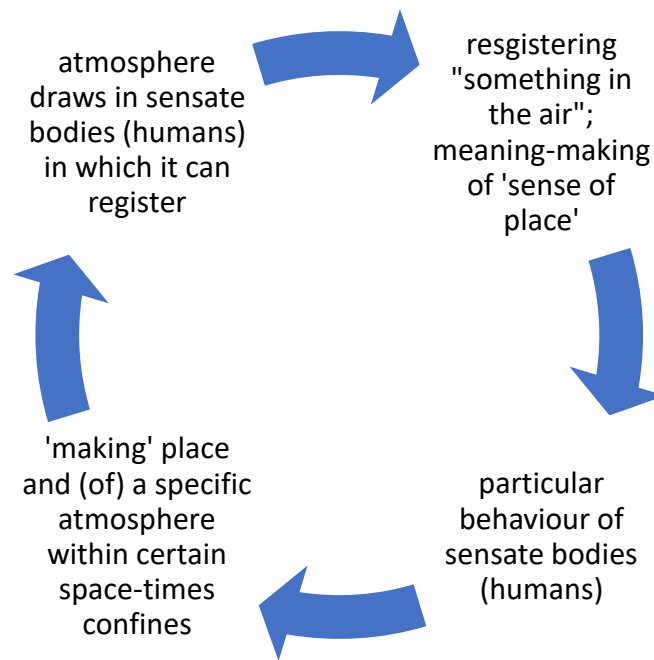
¹⁰¹ *Detour: As a practice of self-reflexivity, keen Explorers may want to search for collocations involving the term ‘atmosphere’ their vocabulary sports. You could be immersed in atmospheres, take in an atmosphere...what else? Gain 3XP for every phrase you come up with and note them down on paper to attach to your companion.*

¹⁰² A conceptual caveat at this point: When Ash (2013b) and the SWP respectively invoke “vulnerability”, they are not referring to the same ingredient in a meaning-making recipe. Find out more in the sub-chapter “Vulnerability” during the main Campaign.



encounters; bodies grow weary in exchange for heightening their capacity to act more skilfully (see “skills”).

Rhys-Tyler dishes up a complementary conceptual delight that links Ash’s Take-Away on attunement to the overall aroma of atmosphere. He, too, considers the heightened likelihood of certain experiences to be made by specific human bodies, in specific space-times. The latter imply the emergence of particularly assembling places through relationship-formations of certain kinds. For Rhys-Tyler, specific affective atmospheres make particular experiences more likely (which is what Ash’s gamers attune to, i.e. become more ready to react to via sensory awareness), if the broader affording structures of place-making are spatially and temporally limited. The concept-cook uses the example of how a food market that **assembles within fix space-time confines, draws in particular kinds of bodies** (stalls, fruit, customers, salespeople, scents...) that are **more likely** to engage in certain practices and have **certain kinds of experience** than others (which is also true once gamers start playing an online game and enter the digital world). Those boundaries around certain experience-potentials create a more intense registering of a place, as your conceptual caterer suggests, because of the ‘affective atmosphere’ that builds (more intensely) through space-time-constraints. In this Campaign, this suggests that the time-capped, mapped-out space of SWP After Dark patrols (see Safe Zone map in the Campaign, p.60) makes officers’ experiences of e.g. “big brawls” (Allan) and taking Selfies with the public more probable because of the bodies that are drawn into the ‘place’ of Swansea’s NTE between 10pm and 4am. Those bodies engage in encounters that ‘make’ the NTE a certain place with a certain atmosphere, which can then register and inspire further engagements that can change or uphold the atmosphere in an on-going process of place-making. The ingredients of spatio-temporal confines, as you learnt before, are structurally afforded by policies like the Safer Swansea Scheme, i.e. larger-scale structures that draw in particular bodies (and are supposed to keep others out).



atmospheric affects - place-making

Through the registering of atmospheres, space-times become meaningful at a level beyond cognitive framing. Whilst they may be picked up by different bodies differently (Jelle & Schwanen, 2013), and draw in certain bodies differently, atmospheres nevertheless **make places 'specific'** and recognisable to those who experience them (c.f. Duff, 2010). As such, this conceptual dish complements what you have thus-far devoured about assemblages because they comprise one body to 'make' a place particular: It could be a city that has a specific 'character', despite featuring many components that other cities also sport. Or it could be a NTE that has no *one* discrete element that stands out, but in their combination registers in a particular way that one may not be able to describe, but has to 'just feel'.

From behaviours inspired because of how atmospheres register in sensate bodies that are drawn in by them and therefore make Swansea a recognisable place, you, too, can co-experience some of the place's affective, atmospheric potentials. Explorers' place-making and being drawn into the 'places' of policing can be accomplished through the relationships with the SWP uniform. The latter re-assembles variously as you can follow it along, and it becomes entangled with sensate bodies in which atmospheres are a(ffe)ctive. Perhaps your engagement with the uniform from your emplaced engagements as an ethnographic place-maker also draws you in a little – beyond what you can express in language. Despite the above-mentioned contentiousness of 'atmospheres', you can benefit



from the conceptual consensus that **atmospheres affect what bodies (can) do and experience** in given space-time assemblages. Consequently, they co-constitute bodies and meanings emerging therein. Illustrated by the above quotes from SWP members, atmospheres are affective bodies that may be ‘sensed’ but **not necessarily cognitively framed**. Such would suggest a lack of honed perception schemes to decode all data one is affected by during e.g. night patrols on Wind Street. Via place-specific atmospheres that partly constitute and are part-constituted by lived experiences and the place-ness of Swansea’s CC on Saturday nights, you can conceptually chew through SWP narratives stipulating the ‘unpredictable nature’ of their job. What happens in-character cannot be predicted, perhaps in part because there is ‘something in the air’ that affects different bodies differently. ‘Something’, some intangible elements of living and LARPing, that emerges contingently as we follow SWP uniforms.

Those emergences include **emotions** in many ways. Prior [historically formed] emotional alignments might have pulled people into the ‘place’ that emerges as Swansea’s NTE and SWP patrols. Emotions may inspire experiences that ‘make’ place as that which registers, once atmospheres engulf human sensate bodies. Thereupon emotional realignments and behaviours transform or perpetuate the atmospheres, to be picked up by and affect other bodies. Mixing together the tasty elements of power-geometries of space, affordances and impressions left on Others, you are now able to enjoy Ahmed’s rich conceptual contribution of emotionality to take away.

emotions

The flavour of the soil-stepping example should still sit dominantly on the tip of your tongue to be refreshed in tasting the following: Ahmed’s conceptual dish of “**emotions**” comprises **touching encounters** between bodies, too. Instead of an emerging stepper and soil, two human bodies (or at least a discursive representative of a human Other, as you learn shortly) ‘touch’. As encountering human bodies do so, they **impress themselves upon each other**, whereon they **leave marks** that reach below the bodies’ surface level: Being touched, figuratively and materially, imprints itself into the bodies and becomes part of those touched-and-touching. Ahmed highlights the creation of **boundaries** around bodies through such encounters: Those boundaries designate a touching subject that is put in place, relative to a touched body; insides/outside; the experiencing I and the experienced Other (for each



body involved, but necessarily experienced from one's own embodied perspective). Such a conceptual nibble arguably resembles perception-based place-making and experience, which catered you conceptualisations of emerging meaningful, altered bodies. Knowing transformations that accompany place-making take on the form of emotions, in Ahmed's Take-Away input. Through touch, the bodies become **emotionally realigned** [put into their respective places alongside the boundaries]: Firstly, each body *emotionally* experiences itself as different and distinct from an Other. On another plane, emotionality repositions the encountering bodies as part of **collective bodies** that are not directly involved in the touching (more, shortly). As the meaning that arises from such encounters is dressed on a conceptual cracker of emotions, you may think of 'emotional framing' to complement the cognitive framing you have previously snacked on. **Emotional experience**, for Ahmed, is accordingly a way of '**knowing**' oneself and the Other relative to each other.

She asserts that emotions are experienced as **instantaneously** re-emerging when bodies touch: **Emotions are realignments i.e. transformations occurring through encounters**. One feels one's emotional experience as though emotions adhered to said Other's body (Ahmed, 2004: 35), i.e. externally caused by and because of the Other who put the 'I' in its place. Similar to perception-based reactions to (interpretations of) one's environment that rely partly on pre-established perception-schemes to make place meaningful and relate to Others, emotions express a body's affectedness by an Other. The touch-based 'sense-data' becomes meaningful in, as and through emotion-experience, i.e. the instant embodied 'knowing' of the Other (c.f. Pink, 2009). Crucially, the embodied knowledge in this touching, is manifold: What Ahmed dishes you up implies that **emotions as experience are 'what the body knows'**, and **what the body does because of what it knows...**and thereupon can (not) do with other bodies. 'The Other' emerges as a meaningful environmental body, to whom one relates from **one's position inside** the boundaries of one's own body. Simultaneously, **the Other is also shaped by the impressions left** on them, like the step that transforms the soil. The soil's feedback to the feet is analogous to marks left on the 'I' (which establish and reaffirm the boundaries) that correspond to perception-schemes for future decoding of seemingly similar encounters. Those imprints include the (perceivable) emotional response, i.e. place-taking, of encountered bodies: Emotional realignments 'make' the boundaries (real) and have been historically Learnt. As with other perception-based encounters,



accordingly, whilst every experience is felt anew, internalised preestablished meaning-making schemes affect it. They are part of the ‘I’ and said body’s trajectories, as much as being co-dependent on the Other’s capacity to trigger emotions.

This serving of knowing emotionally is added onto by how Ahmed garnishes the idea of bodily realignments. Apart from the individual alignment towards one’s possible, imaginable futures (as per place-making; see above), Ahmed’s conceptual course also serves you the notion that touching encounters align “**collective bodies**”. This Take-Away component tastes a little as if it been mixed with perception-schemes and knowing, too. You may recall: As embodied knowledge-emergence relies on historically grown perception schemes for meaning-making, own embodied experience and cultural mediation shapes experience (that can be made). Ahmed uses these ingredients to enrich your taste of the cultural mediation and perpetuation of such practical know-how (‘knowing-how’ to align when touching Others). She argues that touches are **made meaningful through historical imprints of Others on one’s collective body**. For LARPs, the latter invokes one’s tribe, i.e. a collective body of those with the same character-card, who are bound by the same rules for proper performance. Associated codes of conduct that **make and reaffirm** discursive **communities** of practice and belonging, if conceptually fed with Ahmed’s input, also involve how to emotionally re-align when touching Others. Such an emotional knowing partly derives **from historical** imprints and **transformative re-alignments of the collective** body, which are reaffirmed in and through encounters of individual bodies’ emotion-practice. The emotional alignment with one’s in-group (‘Us’, i.e. one’s tribe), towards Others (‘Them’, who play different characters) demarcate where one relationally ‘belongs’. Consequently, acting in accordance with one’s in-group emotion code of conduct also re-enacts the boundaries drawn around the collective bodies, whose in-group values have partly shaped the meaning one has the capacity to make of Others.

The notion of the collective body also highlights another parallel aroma that makes emotional alignment taste like what Pink served you under the ‘perception’-food-label. Culturally encoded, historically formed emotion-reactions to Others imply that the ‘touch’ one is moved by does not necessarily rely on one’s *own* (autobiographic) embodied past experience. Instead, vicarious Learning of how one, as a specific character, is supposed to be positioned towards Others and alongside the ‘Us’ can inspire seemingly emerging



experiences of Others. Those new experiences with and of Others are therefore necessarily not ‘neutral’ but potentially pre-defined. Ahmed (2004) argues this with the example of racialising Others. She furthers that pre-shaped, culturally perpetuated perceptions of Others towards whom one experiences, and has to express, a specific emotional attitude can be hard to overwrite through one’s own embodied experience and re-Learning (ibid., p.30) – also due to the pressure to perform and pass as one’s role aligned with the ‘Us’. For the SWP, this issue is equally relevant: As you have above already tasted ever so lightly, SWP’s emerging encounters are premeditated by perceptions of and attitudes towards police that can be expressed in ‘anti-police’ behaviours. Those also shape the SWP’s experience of the Other – in this case: A member of the public, towards whom the SWP is supposed to feel (experience) and display certain attitudes. Such in-role characteristics may be harder to express in one’s performance, however, if one ‘Bleeds’ emotionally (see Social Contract). This is going to be of key importance throughout the Campaign, which is why you may wish to carefully chew over these conceptual chunks, dear Explorer.

Bringing up the SWP example also highlights another issue that Ahmed’s conceptual serving alludes to: By raising the topic of being misrecognised as ‘the police’, i.e. a generic uniform-wearing ‘force’, the SWP fail to be recognised for their specific role, as the friendly Welsh community service. They are, instead, reduced to the generic police-identity. Ahmed’s conceptualisation course on emotions deals you analytical knives to cut through this, by underlining that **perception hinges on a reduction of the overall Other to certain characteristics**. In her contribution, the simplified identity-marker of skin-colour serves to classify Others. Although a broad variety of roles can be enacted in costumes like skin-colours or police uniforms, the instant emotion-reaction from enculturated Knowing has the potential to overrule reactions to what Others actually do in an encounter. Thus, pre-shaped emotion schemes’ may inhibit classifications of *specific* Others according to their performance. This is corroborated by the re-emerging experience of emotions as attached to Others, i.e. as though they were provoked in and resulting from the touching encounters – even with only a representation of Others, e.g. digitised images, or stories about ‘the police’ to interact with. The absent, generic Other causes emotional realignments as though they were situationally appropriate (c.f. Ahmed, 2004: 27pp; Howarth, 2001:14; Pollard, 2015: 365-6). In LARPing, this suggestion alerts to a major threat of misalignment, and



misinterpretation. This Campaign seeks to compensate for this by understanding the uniforms as one element whose capacities come to the fore in assemblages with other bodies, and by focusing on the interactions without assuming to know what basis the SWP's actions are enacted on.

As historical imprints left on the collective body affect one's experience through what Ahmed calls the “absent Other”, another aspect to this flavoursome Take-Away emerges. The absence of Others towards whom one must be aligned emotionally does not relieve one of the duty to pass for one's role in settings that do *not* feature a representative of the Other. Amongst one's cohort and in-group members, one also has to represent and reaffirm the tribal values that co-shape one's perception, lest one was to suffer Social Death. This would imply a two-fold performative obligation: For once, the expression of one's emotional experience of Others would put *them* in place in interactions, and align oneself with one's in-group. Secondly, **how one felt** towards Others, and towards the ‘Us’ would be equally **following cultural behaviour-codes that express, confirm and create ‘belonging’** based on mutual emotion-practice (see above) amongst community-members.

How is this supposed to nourish your journey's understanding? What you have thus-far been offered to munch on implies that the encounters you follow may be partly influenced by what Others perceive and emotionally know of experiences involving the SWP uniform. Furthermore, the SWP's role-card may affect officers' emotion-practice. Arguably, SWP's in-character interactions with Others express communally shared values of how an SWP officer has to perform towards e.g. members of the public. Similarly, the shared values as SWP would intimate that there are also shared attitudes or perceptions of Others that circulate and are perpetuated amongst SWP members. Those perceptions have emotional value, i.e. Others are emotionally experienced and reacted to in ways that have to conform with group-customs. **Emotions** as practice would accordingly **express and recreate one's belonging** to one's affiliated group by one's **experiences** of Others and one's in-group. Emotional experience, i.e. bodily alignments, can be conceptually grasped as internal ‘practice’ – the doing or performing of belonging, that occurs from one's internalised role-understanding. Mixed into the conceptual curry of perception, the self-understanding of one's character, accordingly, also feeds into how one experiences one's place amongst one's in-group and/or Others. Arguably, this internal work of **feeling in-place** amongst one's in-



group is not necessary to pass for one's role: Despite the mutually shared historical imprints left by Others, those may not be strongly enough internalised to overwrite actual impressions left by Others. However, in order to pass for one's character, one would have to abide by the rules of external **emotion expressions** that align with cultural codes and would sufficiently be entitled a place amongst others who do emotion the same ways. There are, however, conceptual cuisines in which mutual practice creates enough of a sense of belonging generate an **experience** of oneness amongst those who comprise a collective body (c.f. Stephens, 2016; Ahmed, 2004: 26). This comes at the conceptual caveat that no experience is ever 'the same' anyway, even within the same human experiencer (see above). Irrespective of that, one's emotion-expressions towards Others, and the 'Us', would reaffirm one's role or character in relation to those towards whom one externally practices emotion. The latter hinges on expectations set in certain roles that need to be fulfilled to pass for said role, towards an in-group and out-group audience.

Detour: Time to think about culturally coded emotions! Your companion asks you to think about what emotions you know. Can you attach bodily reactions to each of them? Are there certain people, things, situations etc., in which you (always) experience particular emotions? – Could you say, why? Is that a 'common' reaction? If so: For which in-group might it be characteristic of?

Who disagrees? Is there a sense of 'Them' not belonging?

– Listen to the song "If you're happy and you know it"¹⁰³: Do you agree with how happiness is to be expressed in what the lyrics demand?

– Gain 23XP

This excursion has taken you into the territory of conceptually gnawing at the question of how to express emotion 'appropriately'. As the Human race dwells in various spaces and engages with other perceiving bodies, the **emotion-practices** you have been conceptually catered would also occur **digitally**. There, as in the non-digital realm, emotions would be encoded **according to** one's collective **values and conduct norms** (c.f. Howarth, 2001: 13). Apart from the performance of emotions, **digital places can also evoke emotions** in physical bodies 'offline'. Conceptually compressed into a Take-Away bite, this suggest that **emotions**

¹⁰³ One possible place of encounter is found here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71hqRT9U0wg> (last accessed: 17-April-2020, 09:43)



are **affective bodies, trespassing through space and time**¹⁰⁴, to **co-constitute** certain **places**. In their affective capacities and origins, emotions conceptually comprise as some of the intangible elements that (co-)assemble alongside the SWP uniforms as they e.g. patrol Swansea’s city-centre at night, and Twitter.

digital emotion practice

When the SWP perform their role, as you can read from their role-card, this also happens online. The SWP uniform can therefore be encountered as a digitally mediated or digitised body, in the space-times of Twitter which assemble other bodies whom-with the SWP uniform interacts. Those can include and inspire emotions, perhaps based on previously established perceptions of ‘the police’ that have no actual embodied encounters at their origin but instead discourses. The latter may have travelled predominantly through the digital spheres as one would deduce from the SWP’s vernacular wisdom: Your police co-LARPer relate many of the purported misperceptions about ‘the police’ as a generic term to misinformation circulated via social media. They also suggest that misrepresentations of offline happenings can be spread and tampered with by ways of digitising them, and circulating them ‘out of context’. As such, images about police can become the affective bodies that align Others towards (or against) ‘the police’, which then translates into behaviour when e.g. the SWP and members of the public meet on Wind Street.

To analytically digest the brain-food this LARP-challenge offers you, find two more Take-Away chunks to taste: “**Digital Wayfaring**” and “**Digital Affect Cultures**” can help fuel your consumption of the above alluded-to ideas. In more detail, their flavours unfold as follows: The former conceptual snack allows you to appreciate how intimately the **offline and online** spheres of experience are **intertwined**, whilst also adding more tangible, practice-based moments of mediation that interconnect the places e.g. of Swansea’s NTE and Twitter. You follow the SWP uniform through Swansea’s nightscapes into interactions wherein SWP in-character engage with Twitter through components of their professional costume, e.g. their smartphones. This can be conceptualised as a response to the falsified images and representations of ‘the police’ that SWP perceive to be traversing the digital spheres:

¹⁰⁴ The present Researcher is aware of the contentious nature of terms like ‘space’ and ‘time’. For the purpose of playing through this LARP, their conceptual intricacies do not need to be exhaustively deconstructed. The notion of space-times, which recurs, highlights that Experience comprises several dimensions, including temporal and spatial ones. Similarly, this applies to place as per the conceptual basis of these accounts.



Officers’ also-offline actions of inserting their uniforms, and their perceptions of place in Swansea, into the Twittersphere adds another digital uniform body to engage with and be affected by to the overall discursive landscape in which perceptions about police form. Additionally, practices like Selfie-taking are making place in the physical realm, in which smartphones re-assemble with happy people’s faces, the police uniform and the NTE atmosphere. The digital devices thus become a link or **interface** between two **different materialities** of the SWP uniform’s engagement practices. Furthermore, digital wayfaring is one element in the SWP’s overall performance as their character and tribe. It therefore serves their tribal goal of representation and can be interpreted to that end: What it means to be a ‘friendly Welsh community service’, and ‘human’, as you will learnt through following the uniforms in their various instantiations, are expressed through what SWP (can) ‘do’ in-role, with whom, where, and what for.

Consequently, “**digital wayfaring**” conceptually infuses how inextricably the SWP’s offline and online behaviours interrelate and inform each other, as SWP enact their professional role in accordance with what they deem appropriate and perceives to be their responsibility. These practices are conceptually also well-served with the complement of “**digital affect cultures**”. Your conceptual chefs have placed this treat into your array of conceptual supplements to help digest the **emotional re-alignments of bodies** as **online self-representations** into **non-physical** communities. As your conceptual taste buds have already been exposed to: Through social media interactions, digitised representatives (avatars) of the SWP-character can effect emotional re-alignments to match the SWP’s self-perception and their understanding of ‘place’ in the LARP relationship-network. How their digitised uniform is integrated into their work-performance to (in-)form specific relationships with Others and amongst themselves abides by the Social Contract, the SWP character-card, and improvisational liberties within the LARP-logic. SWP-emotion-performance, too, is subject to such coding. Affective capacities of practiced emotions in spaces with different affordances implies that they can **(re-) affirm (collective) boundaries** online, as well as offline. Accordingly, this LARP has you Explore **digitally mediated** codes of **emotion-conduct** through which SWP align with their in-group, as well as towards members of the public. Depending on who they perform for or perceive to be engaging with, those emotion-practices are conceptualised as serving certain goals to their respective



engagements with and as digital bodies (like tweets). From what you have previously conceptually consumed, emotion-practices can create feelings of ‘belonging’, and function as the practical reaffirmation to re-**create communities** (tribes) that share codes of conduct, customs and values. ‘Doing’ emotion online therefore has a representational purpose, i.e. signifies the SWP to be appropriately performing their role to insiders and outsiders. Additionally, online emotion practice can inspire offline realignments via establishing boundaries between the SWP and Others, as well as affirming collective belonging respectively (c.f. Döveling et al., 2009). Those (emotion-)practices shape perceptions of the ‘police’ that is represented and/or ‘the SWP’ as a specific clan – depending on who perceives their engagements, from what positionality, which paves ways into future engagements in various space-times.

The conceptual supplement of affective online communities that Döveling et al. contribute has the potency to sustain your analytical engagements in a variety of ways. One of them refers to the previously introduced inclusion of non-human bodies and sense-/place-makers in this Campaign. The algorithmic perception of what ‘happiness’ online looks like on Twitter might not be the same interpretation of performing happily as SWP thereon: The SWP performs their emotionality according to **in-group customs**, which will **not necessarily match matrices of emotion-identification** that are relevant for e.g. algorithms. Collective co-shaping of emotion-performance also affects **which emotions are deemed proper** conduct in specific situations and engagements with specifically perceived and framed other bodies. In emotionally expressive enactments of one’s role, the **environmental affordances of one’s performance** also affect the emotion-practice: Twitter affords different means, modes and possibly atmospheres in which the SWP practices professionally. In the light of their goals to pass for a certain clan amongst the police family, we may follow their uniforms to understand *how* SWP do *what*, offline and online, to successfully accomplish their tribal mission to recognisably represent their character, and claim their place amongst their in-group. Highlighting emotion-performance in the following marries the original studentship’s quest with a crucial element in the message the SWP seeks to pass on to other tribes, including Explorers: “We are all human.”

This is not a story without conflict, however. Invoking the machine’s perspective and **differently encoded perception schemes to make sense of emotion-practice** already



intimates a tension: There may be **different expectations** amongst those who encounter the SWP, either digitally or materially¹⁰⁵, on how to appropriately perform their role, including emotion-expressions. Furthermore, the SWP's emplacement and the ever-changing nature of experience may impede upon an unambiguous identification of what emotion-practice those inside the uniform perform. In other words: **Situational performance-adjustments** might make officers express emotions differently, depending on what SWP consider appropriate relative to *who* they engage with *where*, *when* and *how*. Without having been dealt the actual SWP role-card, Following the SWP uniform can permit tacit assumptions about collective emotion-conduct underlying the police's varying performances. However, SWP are also allowed to improvise. Some of what they emotionally do, therefore, draws from their 'personality' (Tom; Eli; Allan). It is this (human) inside of their uniforms, too, that holds more conflict potential: As previously pointed to, there may be circumstances under which what the SWP has to do and display does not match what they feel (experience), and what their (also-autobiographically trained) perception schemes have them understand (emotionally, bodily, cognitively). The expectations about what to do may derive from their own 'personal' understanding of their role-cards and be actively expressed through how SWP engage professionally with others (possibly amongst their in-group!) throughout the Campaign.

Despite all the possible conceptual energy with which you could now power through the Campaign, these conflicts might cause you concern. Perhaps it is a relieving notion for you to Learn that you and your Researcher ally are not the only ones struggling with such issues. Before entering the central Campaign, your Researcher-ally therefore suggests you detour through the Academic Garden of Insights, wherefrom the raw materials for your Take-Away have been harvested. It is said garden, into which this dissertation becomes implanted, to sprout and flourish and generate further insights-plants from crossbreeding and engagement with Others. The garden provides the nourishing grounds of Theory that have been plotted by Researchers over generations. Their insight-fruits, despite not being quite thematically grown for this Campaign, are embedding and contextually framing your

¹⁰⁵ Dear Explorers: You may have noticed by now, that the written words your allied Researcher deals you fail to fully express some notions that their content conveys. Thus, blurry boundaries between the spheres of this LARP, e.g. Twitter and Swansea's streets, materialise as inaccurate dichotomies. However, you have been fed enough conceptual calories to aptly identify this shortcoming for what it is: A necessary (?) **heuristic**.



subsequent experience of uniform-following. respect for the Researcher Elders who have kindly handed out conceptual proviant before is due, and must be acknowledged as part of your ally's performance as an transparently accountable Researcher: She picked on those insight-fruits and therefrom Learnt about theoretical quandaries on similar grounds as the empirical ones on which this Campaign stands. One may thus gather potent seeds and growth-impulses to ultimately analytically pamper and prune this dissertation-LARP, as a reciprocally made contribution to the Researcher-gardening project. Understanding where previous Researcher's quests have taken them, too, conveys a suitable place for this LARP-sapling to become rooted and branch off into future engagements.

[handling people safely]

In a more nuanced reflection on how little people 'know' about what policing is like, your ally is explained the interaction-codes that SWP performances rely on. These feature certain elements of the SWP's uniform which afford interactions in ways that are hegemonically deemed appropriate and (physically) safe. Here's how your ally and Phil interact on that matter:

“People say... police are brutal (...) we are not brutal ...”; Phil describes the intense training officers go through that deals solely with how to touch people. In police lingo, that refers to “Use of Force” and how to measure the ‘appropriate’ and ‘proportionate’ amount and type of ‘force’ used. He also shows me the tapes, hand-cuffs, and other props to restrain people ‘safely’, so that they cannot move as much. The more a person can move, Phil explains, the more likely they are to cause harm to themselves. Which also applies to police officer numbers when dealing with a moving body: the more hands you have to secure someone, the safer said person is. “But to the outside... it looks a bit much... excessive.” Which reiterates the message in the above extracts, which serve as official guidelines for appropriate conduct. ‘Force’ does not have to be forceful, and how the police uses it depends on the body that they have to ‘make safe’, as well as the situational context. That does not, however, always visibilise to those who cannot ‘read’ the minute code of safe-making in body-contact interactions between SWP and others. Thus, people ‘who don’t understand’ might interpret confrontational interactions as ‘brutal’, whilst those experiencing it don’t. And Phil also highlights that “they [in this case: civilian observer-



judges of police handling someone; CF] don't know how much [emphasis] force we're legally allowed to use... and how little we do [emphasis] use it." It requires the experience-based skills of 'knowing' how to handle someone safely in "a confrontational job" like the SWP's to instinctively adjust one's own body-practice to what the other's communicates. Without the experience, gained from 'learning from mistakes', one might not be able to read the others' body to the extent that allows for decisions about how to restrain them appropriately to be made. Put differently: the SWP know how to 'talk to people properly' on a non-verbal plane of exchanges, too. Although our uniformed co-LARPer's 'would rather not fight people all the time', assaults can hardly be avoided, as they tell me. 'If people wanna fight you, they'll fight you.' is the grim message Phil, Allan, Dave and others give me on my way to learning about their work-life. And it is necessary, therefore, to understand how this fighting will occur, in order to use the implements and measures to 'control' and manage the others' bodily comport. Which might mean: being strapped up, 'like a package', so that one's extremities cannot move anymore: "... but they can still spit at you. – It happens.¹⁰⁶" (Phil)

[\[Banter, chapter 1\]](#)

Playing practical jokes on each other and 'banter' are practices SWP engage in as part of their 'knowing how to talk to people properly' (to emotionally manage others, themselves and convey their image as 'friendly' community service) on one hand. On the other hand, as argued in detail elsewhere, there are differential ways of bantering and playing practical jokes on other 'others'.

To exemplify this, we will follow the uniform into the park, again. During my shift with Eli and Allan at the BBC's "Biggest Weekend", I was granted insight into when SWP play practical jokes on 'members of the public'. In an amicable way, as Eli emphasises, that expresses the mutual capacity of the 'friendly Welsh' community to 'have a laugh' at everything, in every situation (or so he claims).

Imagine him telling the story, rather than myself recounting it (from my memory protocol & instant self-recording):

[1]

"...there was a guy on his bike, coming up to us [the SWP, who were standing near the toilet house in Singleton Park; CF] – saying that he wanted...to use the rest-rooms. (...) If we could watch his bike? –

¹⁰⁶ Phil also shows me that there are certain props to (try and) prevent being spat at. He is not very convinced of their efficacy, however. To give you an idea: one of them is essentially a woolen face-mask or cloth, like one you would imagine to be used to anaesthetise somebody with chloroform.



Because he thought – he was afraid someone might nick it (...) So, we said ‘Sure. No problem’ and off he went (...) And we thought he might have had...a bit too much to drink, before [to continue on his bicycle]...so we hid his bike in the bush. – When he came back, five minutes later or whatever, nobody knew where his bike had gone – [Eli shrugs his shoulders, pouts his lips, non-verbally expressing cluelessness] ‘Sorry, mate – haven’t got the slightest...someone must have nicked it.’ [laughs] – Of course we gave it back to him later (...) told him to fetch it from the police van.(...) You’ve gotta have a laugh, don’t you?’

From a Researcher-perspective, this narrative epitomises how the SWP ‘manage’ appropriate behaviour in those they deem ‘vulnerable’ by friendly intervention on the (surface-level) foundation of shared ‘good humour’. What appears to be a practical joke, i.e. in-group banter to reaffirm community-bonds, also represents an act of ‘protecting vulnerable people from harm’. Albeit arguably not directly expressed, the man (who was deemed in need of sobering up before continuing to partake in public transport situations) was kept from bringing himself or others in harm’s reach by instantly jumping on his bike, again. The SWP also gave him a bottle of water on the way. They are thus using their policing ‘power ...to take away someone’s liberty’ (as e.g. Mick puts it) to decide about how to proceed and design their (immediate) future, because the SWP judges him to have (temporarily) lost the ‘capacity to make meaningful, good decisions’ about it on his own behalf. Through being assigned a lack of ‘reason’ for the time being, the SWP take on responsibility for the man and his well-being, but execute this professional role-provision (as perceived from their vantage point) in a manner that also reproduces a joking relationship. According to Eli, the man also ‘saw the jest in it’, when he got his bike back. He also admits, however, that ‘at first he [the man; CF] didn’t think it was particularly funny’.

Thus, although the sharing of humour is supposedly a mutual value and capacity of ‘the community’ of friendly Welsh people, the SWP’s use of it simultaneously draws a line of Distinction between those ‘vulnerable’ (Others) and those ‘responsible to protect from harm’, a.k.a. make (feel) safe.

[2]

In another setting, we can follow the uniform into interactions of ‘banter’ that similarly serve the purpose of ‘community reaffirmation. On another plane, they can be conceived of as ‘coping’: a means of emotionally de-briefing, venting off, releasing stress and ‘having a laugh in a job that doesn’t normally give you much to laugh about’ (Mick). There are various instances in which officers ‘take the Mickey out’ on each other; few of which I co-experience during our Campaign. It might be important to highlight that neither these types of banter, nor the example above, can be conflated with ‘waste of time’: the SWP do not engage in joking interactions ‘instead of’ dealing with other issues. Possibly due to the often short periods of time in which a venting-off and ‘black humour’ can occur to improve the mood amongst colleagues, a.k.a. the ‘morale of the team’ (Jane), most banter takes on the form of (rude) jokes exchanged between colleagues. Most of the conversations of



(black) humorous character I have overheard make fun of ‘personality traits’ of the respective officers – they might be exaggeratedly represented and mocked as ‘lazy’, ‘messy’, ‘untidy’, or called out for their ‘unhealthy’ eating behaviour.

Without wanting to go into detail, here (out of respect for my collaborators, who might recognise each other by their personalised ‘vices’, and because I am not part of the in-group that would allow me to tease them about the latter), this personalisation of the ‘abuse’ is crucial. Through invoking characteristics that make the human inside the uniform ‘special’ amongst the team – the police family – officers are reaffirmed in their ‘personality’. This is, as you have learnt throughout the LARP, an important resource of ‘skills’, and under threat in common settings of acting as SWP. Possibly the most striking instantiation of this is the dubbing of SWP members with nicknames that ironically reflect some of the (exaggeratedly bad) habits or traits of an officer’s out-of-role persona. Thus, SWP recognise each other as face-bearing, specific others, rather than only ‘one of Us in a uniform’, as might be the case for ‘Others’ of the out-group. Most of those nicknames partly derive from a modification of the officer’s first or last name. In addition to that, something that rhymes with it would be added, or an ironic title of honour that would invoke the behaviour others smirked at. The latter could also take the shape of an animal or other ‘symbol’ to stand in for a character(-aspect) hidden underneath the uniform. An example (completely fictional, and solely for the purpose of illustration) would be “Broms the Bear”. This could be a nickname for an officer whose surname was e.g. Bromley. Their character might be mocked for a bearish demeanour, possibly because of how they spoke – or even a proclivity to eat a lot of honey. Alliterations (B the B...; A the A....) feature prominently amongst the SWP’s nicknames, too. Alternatively, “Tiny Travis” could be used to refer to someone whose short body size served to amicably tease them. However, the invocation of a bodily characteristics might also be used in an ironic manner. Take the last example: the officer named (a derivative of) Travis might actually be absolutely huge, and deserve the mocking nickname for exactly that stand-out phenomenon. Whatever makes an officer ‘stand out’ from the rest – be it behavioural, or related to their attitudes/outlooks or aspects of their comport, including English accents – will be taken up and mocked to ironically confirm an officer’s ‘belonging’.

The use of nicknames amongst colleagues is quite common throughout our journeys amongst the SWP uniform. However, they never occur when conversations take place between different ranks amongst the SWP clan. Sergeants would be referred to by their title in the majority of cases (although some of our co-LARPer find that uncomfortably), or ‘Sarge’, unless their first names were used (without any mutations to them). If a superior rank was present, too, officers would censor their mockery amongst each other to uphold a more ‘serious’, authority-figure reproducing image. And when I ask Allan about whether or not he was ever played a practical joke on (on the basis of having witnessed how some officers conspired to hide a colleague’s favourite mug from his desk), he negates that without a doubt: “They might do that amongst each other...but never to me, no. (Allan)” ‘Knowing how to talk to people properly’, accordingly, also signifies an in-group code of conduct that reaffirms (and discursively reproduces) the tribe’s internal structures and hierarchies on the basis of rank.

[\[Police and Crime Strategy, 2018-21\]](#)

The following are abstracts from the operational and policy-guidelines under which SWP patrol and have patrolled through the Campaign and its prequel.



Pages 24 to 25 deal with the technology in use to ‘maximise policing efficiency’ and the resources allocated to making South Wales ‘safer’.

“South Wales Police has long recognised technology as an enabler of policing. For over 10 years we have invested time, effort and resources in ensuring that our technology is fit for purpose and meets modern policing requirements. This means for us it is integrated, available and reduces the bureaucracy for officers and staff.

This positive approach has led to both national and international recognition and South Wales Police is seen as a leading force in the development of technology and has been cited as a beacon force by Sir Tom Winsor. At the heart of this approach is our digital policing programme Fusion, where South Wales Police, in collaboration with Gwent, have developed a number of transformation projects that change how we police our communities.

NICHE has been in Force for a number of years and has allowed the Force to effectively manage incidents from the initial call to the court result and beyond. NICHE has also allowed us to develop a mobile data capability providing officers with information and system access to information at point of need. South Wales is seen as a leader within the NICHE community both nationally and internationally with DCC Lewis chairing the National User Group and the crime and occurrence management sub group. This continues to provide the Force with both leverage and influence within the expanding NICHE community.

IR3+ provides live time tracking of vehicles and people providing a complete picture of where officers, PCSO’s and vehicles are at any time. The system enables a task not ask operating environment by directing the closest and most appropriate resource to the call for service. This technology has improved police officer visibility by 20%, PCSO visibility by 30%, reduced vehicle establishment by 20% and improved response times for both grade one and grade two calls for service and delivered £3M of cashable savings.

FIRMS is our Fully Integrated Resource Management System and this integration with mobile data gives us a unique insight into delivering a policing service that is more efficient, effective and productive. This encompasses our rostering, training, finance, procurement and HR systems.

The Force continues to invest in technology allowing the Force and our partners, to share data and create a new relationship with the public to enhance the policing service to meet their needs.

We continue to invest significantly in Field working. All frontline staff and officers have been issued with Samsung Note 4 Smart Phones loaded with a bespoke police app called iPatrol. iPatrol interfaces to local and national systems that includes; PNC, Niche, Control Works and Warrants to provide a fully interactive remote working capability. In addition to the smart phones from the summer of 2018 officers will also be issued with a Windows 10 laptop device.

In collaboration with Dyfed Powys Police, Axon-Taser have been selected to provide Body Worn Cameras, supporting hardware and Evidence.com (Microsoft Azure Cloud hosted)

licenses. Following full deployment throughout 2017 to all frontline officers across the Force, plus 200 JFU officers who have already been issued with body worn cameras.

The next release of iR3 will enable staff and officers to be briefed and tasked whilst out in the field dynamically throughout the shift. The technology also enables Local Policing Teams to set up rules around prioritisation to assist with performance management and the targeting of specific crime types. This will be deployed from April 2018.

We are at the forefront of **Automated Facial Recognition (AFR) technology and successfully used AFR during** the UEFA Champions League in Cardiff, resulting in an arrest during its first ‘Real Time’ deployment in policing. In addition, a static ‘Slow-Time’ Face Search capability has also been deployed and tested based on 500,000 custody images over the coming months.

The Digital Services Division’s aim is to allow us to have a single picture of police resources and demand at any moment in time with officers and staff having the information and systems at point of need. We are aiming towards a capability where we can track and record both demand and activity linked to financial systems to understand the cost of activity in real time. This will allow us to understand the nature of demand in terms of types, frequency, location and time of incidents and understand the skill set and mix of resources to respond to the demand most effectively. This will also enable us to schedule resources in anticipation of demand and to develop a resource profile of the organisation to more closely match the demand and risk appetite.”

The ethical and strategic guidelines which filter into how SWP construct themselves (towards others, but also for themselves) are laid down as follows (page 22):

i. Mission, vision and values

Our mission of **Keeping South Wales Safe** is integral to our day to day business.

Our vision is **To be the best at understanding and responding to our communities’ needs.**

Our operational priority is **Protecting the vulnerable, preventing harm.**

Our values are about the way we work together to achieve our vision and they underpin everything we do:

- We want to be a **professional** organisation with staff that are honest, take ownership and show respect.
- We want our staff to be **proud** of our organisation, of the communities they serve and of themselves.
- We want our organisation to be **positive**, to respond to people and their concerns, to be reliable and to be caring.

ii. Our Priorities

The Police & Crime Plan 2018-2021 sets out the Commissioner’s priorities in support of the mission of Keeping South Wales safe and the vision of **Being the best at understanding and responding to our communities needs.** The Plan was developed jointly by the Commissioner and Chief Constable and their respective leadership teams is based on the Commissioner’s



fundamental principle of *being tough on crime and the causes of crime, tackling and preventing crime by promoting an evidenced based partnership approach to identify ‘what works’ and how he can add value.*

There six priorities in the Police & Crime plan which are to:

- Reduce and prevent crime and antisocial behaviour to **keep people safe and confident in their homes and communities.**
- **Engage with, involve and inform our communities** working with partners in local government, health, fire and Welsh Government to build resilience.
- Work to **protect the most vulnerable** in our communities, understanding the causes and taking prompt positive action as issues arise.
- Work to **make the local criminal justice system the most effective and efficient** it can be to meet the needs of victims and reduce reoffending.
- Contribution to the strategic policing requirement and successfully police major events.
- Spend your money wisely and support our people to provide the best possible policing in your community.

Our operational priority to **Protect the vulnerable, prevent harm** will be achieved through:

1. Tackling **crime on our streets** to keep our communities safe
2. Reducing **non-crime demand** to free up our resources to focus on policing
3. Dealing with **hidden harm** to protect the most vulnerable in our communities

source: South Wales police Information for Assistant Chief Constable Candidates



EXPLORER's Companion:

A Practical Guide Through & Record Of Your Learning Journey

Most of the practical tasks in this Companion are ‘thought exercises’. They challenge you to take a break from the LARP-journey and contemplate. This means: You don’t always have to write anything down, when it suggests you ponder certain issues. As an Explorer, your goal is to hop from perspective to perspective and gather many different takes on and versions of a narrative. However, it is important to always reflect your own position, irrespective of the role you are playing. Hence, this Companion gives you ‘some-body to ‘talk’ to’, to question where your experience of the Campaign is coming from, and where it is taking you. This is your safe **place** for thoughts and feelings of all kind. Go explore!

The Role of SWP

[x1] What do SWP think of themselves, i.e. their role? – What does ‘being a good police officer’ entail?

- How do SWP visibilise, when, where? What do they do, with who? Why; what for?



[x2] Imagine you were speaking in the role of an SWP officer. How would you complete the following statement about yourself?

“As a member of the South Wales Police, my main job is to....”

(There is no right or wrong, but keep track of how your perceptions and understandings change as we proceed. Here, you might want to think about the idea of ‘safety’, and ‘service’-provisions.)

My Experiences With Police

Time to get personal!

[1] Set yourself a time-limit of one minute and write down every association you have with the trope of ‘a police officer’! You can scribble them on an extra sheet of paper and then return here.

[2] Have you ever met police in ‘real life’? – Why? What happened? – Would you say you saw them on an informal errand, or did they ‘intervene’? – Could you still describe the police officer you encountered? *(face, hair, uniform, skin colour, height; were they armed, on foot-patrol, in their car...)*

[3] Have you ever followed or would you ever follow a **police Twitter** account? Why (not); what for?



[optional; add 12 XP]

What is your interpretation of ‘preventative’ or ‘pre-emptive’ policing?

[4] Name characteristics of ‘good police officers’ that come to your mind:

[4, ctnd.] ...and now think about what makes a ‘bad police officer’:



[5] If you were out on your own and happened to meet a police officer at night, in a city-centre with a bustling night-time economy including all of its features, would

(spontaneous split-second response space before you read on)

you...

...feel safer?

...feel uneasy and get nervous?

...avoid them?

...have a chat with them?

...ask them for a Selfie?

Think about what your decisions and behaviours depend on! Does it make a difference who the police officer is, and how they look? Would it matter what time it is, how you feel, whether you had (too much) to drink?

Emotional Officers?

[eO] Imagine you were to draft the character-card for a police officer:

What kind of ‘emotion-kit’ would you hand them? What sorts of emotions do you expect or wish from officers to be displayed to you? What would you consider ‘inappropriate[ly emotional]’, and why? Consider the when and where of situations in which you can encounter or have encountered police. Would the emotion-conduct vary, if the officer was...older, younger, looking like they didn’t care?

You can format your notes like equations:

[situation/incident/reason for call] + [police officer profile, actions] = requires [emotional expression]



What does it do to you, how the officers express their emotionality? Do you think it makes a difference to the ‘result’ of their (good) performance?

(optional) How much (if at all) does your own emotional experience matter in the above equation?

[att1] If you had to give an account of your attitude towards police, what three terms (or short phrases) summarise it best?

-
-
-

[att2 – thought exercise] Have you been taught how to interact with police? If so: how and by who?

The ‘Right’ Place For Emotion and ‘Feeling Safe’

[EM1] Can you think of a situation in which you suppressed or over-wrote what you ‘really felt’, to look like your experience was different? – Why? Who was present, and where were you? – How did you want to be perceived in terms of what you felt?



[EM2] Please finish the sentence:

“When I need to talk about how I feel, I ...”

.....

(You can insert places or people you go to, or anything else that you ‘do’ to ‘vent off’ – how are you ‘dealing with’ emotions, if you were free to express them however you like, wherever and whenever?)

(e2) Can you think of three things that you do when you’re “happy”? – How does it spontaneously register for and on you that you are in a state of “happiness”? *(Maybe think about the sensations ‘inside’ you, as well as what might show on your face. How does your body language change?)*

(e3) If you are on social media: Can you remember an example of a ‘happy tweet’? Please write it down here. Then you can experiment: What does it take to make your post ‘neutral’, ‘sad’, ‘angry’?

safe places

For the police, it seemed to be important that the ‘public’ does not see them feeling anything. Or put differently: the SWP uniform made sure to be protected from public visibility to display and allow themselves to experience their emotions amongst their in-group. Thus, they caved out their ‘safe place’ for emotionality.



Imagine you were asked to describe and paraphrase a ‘safe place’ (for you!), but you were not allowed to use the word ‘safety’ – what would you say?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the user to write their response to the prompt above.

When was the last time you did not feel safe? Can you remember what caused that feeling? – How did you react?

Four horizontal lines spaced vertically, providing a space for the user to write their response to the prompt above.

If you are so inclined: find an extra sheet of paper and draw a ‘safe place’ – possibly one that you retreated to as a child?



emotions

(e1) What are ‘emotions’ for you?

Please scribble down some notes below. You can include emotion-terms, definitions – and also reflect on whether you attach any (positive, negative, moral etc.) value to them.

(e-Xtra) How do you differentiate between ‘emotion’, ‘feeling’, ‘mood’, ‘sensation’ and whatever else you find relates to those terms? - Perhaps it helps to think of the body as the place of these types of experiences?

Could you draw a mind-map to illustrate the relationships between the terms you came up with? Here would be a good place!

Have you ever thought of yourself or somebody else as ‘emotional’? – Would you refer to yourself as an emotional person? – What does that mean? How does



emotionality link with your character or not? – What other characters are there, if they are not ‘emotional’?

Your character/role

As part of the Campaign “Following the Uniform”, you are playing the Explorer-role. However, as previously acknowledged, this required you to abandon any other roles that you may perform outside of Exploring. Since Explorers are recruited from all other tribes, here’s your place to reconnect with one (or more!) of them!

Name three things that are characteristic for/of you:

-
-
-

Would others name the same three things? – Does it depend on the relationship you have with others, how you are perceived, and how you act?

Do you think you are ‘special’? – If so: In what way? If not: what makes you feel that way?

Is there something you are (in-)famous for?

What is your role, i.e. what does it say on your character-card? – What do you do? – Do you have special skills? Are there ‘boring’ and ‘exciting’ parts of your role? – What would you deem to be your ‘responsibilities’?



Skills

[sk1] Complete this sentence about yourself:

“I am really good at....”

.....

How did you become ‘good’ at the above? – Did you have to practice/train? Was ‘repeating’ to do something part of it? Would you say that you ‘learnt’ to become good at it? – Have you chosen to become good, or did you just pick it up?

[sk2] Have a little think and maybe doodle on a scrap sheet of paper: how would you distinguish ‘skills’ from ‘knowledge’, ‘talent’, and what other terms would you link them to?

(It might help you to think about the notion of ‘reflexive’ or ‘embodied responses’ to try and trace out differences. Or you might also take this apart by looking at similarities between the concepts.)

What does it mean to ‘refine’ skills, and how would you do that with regards to the above?

Do you agree that there’s a danger to de-skill, as our co-LARPERs from the SWP contend? – How so? What can you do to prevent it? – Should you? (Why (not)?)

Instinct

Are there any synonyms to ‘instinct’ that come to your mind? Jot them down here:

-
-
-
-
-

Which word would you most likely use, and why? Are there any common collocations, or any associations, that you have with either or all of them?

When do you usually speak of ‘instinct’? – Alternatively: what was the context in which you last spoke about it?



[i1] – [thought exercise] Do you do things ‘instinctively’? – When was the last time you used your instinct to make a decision? Are there certain (types of) things you usually/never /always do based on your instinct? Can you help it, i.e. can you actively decide to (re-)act instinctively?

[i2] – [thought exercise] What is the opposite of or alternative to instinctive deciding, if there is any?

(Considering the Campaign, you might want to ponder this question with regards to the issue of having ‘time’ or not. Additionally, the question of formal training and its access have been raised by our SWP collaborators. Do they matter to your opinion?)

Think about the last time you made a ‘split-second decisions’ – does this coincide with ‘instinctive’ behaviour? – Would you react the same way? If not: what would the alternative have been, and why do you think, did you do what you ended up doing?

Are there any proverbs, colloquial phrases or words of mouth revolving around ‘instinct’ that come to your mind?

atmosphere

When you think of ‘atmospheres’ – what contexts do you place them in? – Are there similarities in what they describe that cross over between fields of application?

What were you talking about, when you last used/heard the word ‘atmosphere’?

Can you describe what an atmosphere is? Are there certain elements to it?

(maybe think about what or how an atmosphere ‘feels’ to you)

You can try and formulate a definition here, and explore how you would go about that by framing as a job advert:



You are ‘searching for an atmosphere’, that needs to bring with it certain characteristics, capacities, affiliations...and needs to fulfil certain jobs:

belonging

Having thought through your ideas of ‘safe’ places – what would you spontaneously reply to a question like “Where do you belong?”

What does it take for you to feel you ‘belong’ somewhere? – Can you experience belonging without people? – Can you ‘make yourself’ belong somewhere?

Please try to recall a situation in which you felt that you didn’t belong. – What were the indicators or ‘clues’ that gave you that impression? – How did you react?

(Think about what/who was there and what/who was not there – how could the situation have been different, to make you feel you belonged [there]?)

Play complete this statement in less than a minute:

“I belong to...”

.....

Now, think about if you also ‘depend’ on somebody (individual or group). What does this imply? How do you experience ‘being dependent on...’? – How does it make you feel to know/ think about this, now? – Is this dependency reciprocal, i.e. would ‘the community’ get along without your part in it?





Community

Do you belong to any group/s that you can name? – Are you identifiable as ‘one of them’? (to group members and those outside of the group) – If so: How? Why (not)?
– Do you have certain ‘insider’-rituals, in-jokes, secret codes?

How would it feel to be dismissed from the group? (Also think about who has the authority to ‘dismiss’ you, and how this would be expressed.) What could, or would, you do?

Find an extra sheet of paper and draw your own tribe or clan-tree! If you want, you can also edit it with other tribes, and annotate relationships (e.g. friends, foes, relatives)

This is the place for you to build and reflect your own community of belonging!
Bearing in mind what you’ve thought through above –

Design a character to represent a prototypical member of your ‘tribe’!

Think about characteristics costumes, props, where they do what they are doing. Do they have a collective goal? Maybe you could even come up with an origin-story? You can use the role-cards from our LARP-Campaign as an inspiration, but feel free to ignore, advance and modify as you please.



Where are the ‘boundaries’ of your community? – Can you be a member of multiple communities at once? Why (not)? – How do you, as a community member, differ from others, in other communities? – Who needs to approve of your membership, how?

(You might find that some of the things going through your head are similar to the notions of belonging. What does that mean, in terms of which word you would more likely use?)

Acting ‘out-of-character’

Having thought through some of the communities you may affiliate with – [...did you think about offline and online ones? – If not, take a moment to revise: does anything change about what you have pondered above, if you transfer it into the digital realm?] – can you now return to your character-card and specify your own ‘Social Death’?

What does it mean for you to ‘act out of character’?

Has anybody ever accused you of ‘not being (quite) yourself?’ – In what situation did that happen? – What did you do; what did others expect you to, and why did you not meet the expectations? – Have you ever felt like that yourself, i.e. that you are ‘not quite yourself’ at any given day? Again: what made you make this assessment?

Could you name a number of people, who have the ‘right’ to declare your Social Death? Please also think about ‘why’ they should be empowered to do so.



Alternately: if you do not think Social Death can be declared on your character, explain why you think so below.

Have you ever told someone that they are ‘not themselves’? How did you come to that conclusion? What did you mean? – How did the other person react? – What did you intend to achieve by telling them they were not acting in accordance with what you deemed ‘appropriate’ for them?

In about a minute’s time: which props or costumes would certify your being ‘out of character’?

-
-
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-



Social Media

[s1.1] Are you on social media? – Why (not)? – What made you decide to join?

[s1.2] Based on your experience of Twitter: How would you complement this sentence: “Twitter is a/n place.” ?

What makes you think so?

Go back to your recent posting history. If you could rephrase, edit, or delete any of the posts you published: which ones would you pick? Or are you still agreeing with everything you said and did?

Are there certain topics you do not talk about on Twitter? – Why (not)? – Do you talk about different things with different digital ‘people’? – Does it make a difference to your experience and behaviour how you go online, i.e. from a desktop computer or a mobile device?

If you were to post something on social media right now: What would it be?

Could you play through the ranges of emotion that you thought about in the Emotion segment with the above Tweet? What would it look like as e.g. an expression of anger?

Imagine you are the Twitter police: What are the do’s/don’ts?



How would you enforce sanctions on Twitter?

(Maybe think about the last time you saw an ‘inappropriate’ Tweet. What did you do? – Why was it inappropriate in your opinion?)

Go back to your contemplations of ‘safe places’. – Does Twitter meet the necessary criteria to be one for you? – If not: how would you revolutionise it, to make it safe/r?

– If it does tick off enough boxes, write a safety certificate for Twitter, here:

Vulnerability

Imagine you were asked to tell someone about ‘the last time you felt vulnerable’.
What would you respond?



What is your understanding of Dave’s assertion that “We are all vulnerable...in our own ways”? – Do you agree? – If so: in what way? If not: why not?

Can you think of somebody you know, who you think of as ‘vulnerable’? – What makes them vulnerable, and to what? – What does their vulnerability mean for your relationship with/to them?

Here is a bit of space for you to try and be a Researcher: Define ‘vulnerability’ according to what you know.

Vulnerability is....

On the basis of your definition: Can you think of an opposite to vulnerability? What term/s would you use?

Is your concept of vulnerability linked with ideas like...

...safety?...emotions?...responsibilities? If so: feel free to draw an illustration about their relationships, here:



When you think of ‘vulnerable people’ – do you think of groups of people or individuals? Are their spaces or times in which some people are (more) vulnerable than others?

Can only humans be ‘vulnerable’? – What or who else might have that title?

Is vulnerability something that can or should be overcome? – If so: why, and how? If not: what makes you think so? – Could vulnerability be prevented?

The SWP seem to highlight the interrelatedness of ‘unpredictability’ and chaotic lifestyles with ‘being vulnerable’. What do you think?

Respect

[RX1 – thought exercise] How do you express your respect for somebody (towards them)? –

What makes you respect people? – How can they lose your respect?

[RX2 – thought exercise] Can you remember an instance when you felt you were treated with disrespect? If so: what happened; who was involved? – How did you react; what did you feel? – Could you picture the situation differently, so that you would have felt appropriately treated?

[RX3 – thought exercise] Play the scenario through with different people in the role of the disrespectful person: Does it matter how ‘close’ or ‘like you’ the person is?



Please complete the following sentence:

“I want to be respected for....”

What does it say about yourself (i.e. your character or personality) what you inserted above? – Did you mention ‘values’, ‘deeds’..? – Who is supposed to respect you, and how are they supposed to show it? Why?

Can you think of someone ‘impressive’ in your life, or the wider world? – What have they done to impress you? – Have you ever impressed (upon) somebody? If so: did you do it on purpose? (Why?) – How did it show that you left a mark? And why would that be important?

Try and find out what the algorithms in your internet browser consider “impressive”! Write down the search results below.

Trust

[t1] What does it mean for you to ‘trust’ someone? – Do you trust anybody in your life ‘one-hundred percent’, even ‘with your life’?

How can trust be established; how does it break?

Take a few moments to scribble down what comes to your mind.



(optional) When you think about somebody you fully trust: does this imply any ‘responsibility’ on your part? Or theirs?

Can you ever only ‘trust’, or does this have to be specified? In other words: Can you just ‘trust someone’, or do you always have to say ‘*I trust you to...[do this and that (not)]*’? Is ‘trusting someone’ linked with any (shared) values for you? Do you think ‘depending on each other’ necessarily involves ‘trust’? – Can you trust a stranger?

(A mind-map that includes the words “trust”, “dependency”, “responsibility” etc. might help you think this through – but remember: there is no absolute answer to all of this! You ‘know’ what you know.)



[t2] ...How does all this thinking about ‘trust’ link with (and affect) your perception of police officers?

Waste of Time

“This is a waste of time.” – From the top of your head: picture the last time you said/ thought this statement!

What did it refer to? – Where did it (not) happen? – How did you come to the conclusion that your time was wasted?

Try and rebuild the scene, by thinking the scenario through like this:

“If....had (not) happened, then..... which means: I would have not wasted time.”

Did you think about wasting your own, or someone else’s time?

Can people disagree on what a waste of time is, and what not?

Are there certain activities that are always/never a waste of time? Try and list some below:

always a waste of time	never a waste of time



Against the backdrop of this table: what have you learnt about your general idea of time-wasting? Do you think that the above links with certain values you hold, or the character you ‘play’?

Imagine you were wasting somebody’s time. If you had to invent a scenario – where and how would you start? Do you think about ‘waiting’ and ‘respect’, as our SWP co-LARPer do?

If you have ever wasted someone’s time (according to your own feeling/judgment): remember the situation. Try to call into your recollection who it was, whose time you did not use suitably well. – **What did you feel** (about yourself; towards the Other)? – Did they give you feedback about having wasted their time? – If so: how did *that* make you feel and respond? If not: why would they have not done so? And, if they never told you so: why did you think you could have wasted their time?

Human

[H1] “I’m a human, because...”

Take a minute to complete the sentence for yourself.



[H3 – thought exercise] Have you ever thought of someone as ‘inhumane’? Or perhaps it was a situation that struck you as such? – Can you say what made you feel and think that way?

[H3 – Xtra] What does it mean to lose one’s humanity? – Who can decide that? What can one do, if ‘human’ is no longer available as one’s character-card? (+ 13XP)

Good-Bye For Now

You are now allowed to step out of your Explorer-role and re-enter into the Campaign that’s titled ‘Life’, outside of this role-play.

In order for you to shake off the after-effects that might negatively affect your future comport, it can be helpful to ‘de-role’. In LARP traditions, this usually comprises an element of taking-off-the-costume. For you, it might be worth switching off the computer, getting away from the Explorers’ native screen, and instead confronting some less digitised elements of the world you move through.

What could be your ritual?

Have a little brain-storm here and then choose your favourite/s:

Before you’re heading off, to go through the de-roleing, however, this is the place to de-brief.

How do you feel, now, after having learnt alongside, and through the uniform you followed?



Did the quest meet your expectations? – How (not)? Can you still remember what you initially thought, when you were first dealt your role-card? Was it difficult for you to surrender the other characters you hold in your deck?

over-all XP-score: