The Asylum Seekers Larp: The Positive Discomfort of Transgressive Realism

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores positive-negative experiences (Hopeametsä 2008; Montola 2010) and transgressive realism (Bjørkelo 2019) through discomfort experienced in a live-action role-playing game about asylum seekers. *Asylsøkjarane* (*The Asylum Seekers*) was designed to create an uncomfortable, but meaningful experience for the participants who play asylum seekers and police officers who interview them. Discomfort is creating through stressful social and physical conditions which seek not to simulate, but stand in for the stress experienced in the real world process. In the debrief following the two playthroughs the players describe their discomfort and how it relates to real world issues, which we relate to the concept of play-external seriousness (Jørgensen 2014).

KEYWORDS

larp, bleed, transgressive realism, positive-negative experiences, play-external seriousness, refugees, stress

INTRODUCTION

During the last decade there has been an increasing attention towards games that seek to provide insight into human experience. The idea that interactivity, agency, and complicity can provide a more intimate insight into lived experiences than what noninteractive media can do has inspired designers of digital as well as analogue games to explore how existing and innovative game mechanics can be used to communicate psychological states, emotions, and relationships. Examples of videogames that aim for a more emotionally deep gameplay experience are *Heavy Rain* (Quantic Dream 2010), which involves the player in the grief and loss of two children, *Life is Strange* (Dontnod 2015), which features bullying, suicide and euthanasia, and Papers, Please (Pope 2013), which puts the player with the dilemmas of being a border guard in a fictive totalitarian state. Also in analogue games we see an increasing number of games that attempt to implement similar experiences, from featuring the psychological trauma of the WWI trenches in *The Grizzled* (Ruffaud and Rodriguez 2015) to This War of Mine: The Board Game (Oracs and Wišniewski 2017), in which the players take the roles of civilians during wartime. In the tradition of Nordic larp there is also a trend in exploring sensitive topics, exemplified by freeform roleplaying games such as Gang Rape (Wrigstad 2008), featuring rape, and Fat Man Down (Østergaard 2009), which reflects on bullying and fat shaming, but also larps staging fictional war situations in a modern Europe such as Kapo (Raasted 2012), Europa (Gräslund 2010), and Halat hisar (Pettersson 2014).

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In this paper we are presenting our own work of creating a live-action role-playing game, also known as a larp, that aims for an emotional impactful game experience for the participants. Our game *Asylsøkjarane* (*The Asylum Seekers*), was a short larp inspired by Nordic larp and the game *Papers*, *Please*. Using techniques such as physical discomfort and insufficient information, the game attempts to model the experiences of stress and uncertainty of the asylum seeking process, with focus on the interview process. We will describe the design process and discuss its ability to capture the wanted experience, based on two playthroughs, including "debriefing" interviews with the participants. As a game created in an academic context, we will discuss *Asylsøkjarane* from the perspectives of Markus Montola's description of *positive negative experiences* (2010) and Kristian A. Bjørkelo's concept of *transgressive realism* (2019).

BACKGROUND

Asylsøkjarane is a game developed in an academic context. It is part of a research project where one of the central research topics is to explore player experiences with uncomfortable game content. While most commercial games that intentionally expose players for such content only provides brief scenes or episodes of discomfort, it is challenging to do empirical research on the player's gameplay experiences with such content. For this reason, in the project we are triangulating methods to provide a broad understanding of the subject matter. Among our most important methods are the use of gameplay journals as well as trawling game forums for unsolicited articulated emotional responses to uncomfortable game content. Developing an uncomfortable larp is another of the methods used to secure both the collection of data that actually measures discomfort, and to test some of our hypotheses about what actually creates discomfort in a gameplay context. However, important for our game design project was not to simply create an uncomfortable experience. The risk about creating discomfort in an otherwise voluntary situation, is that if the experience becomes unbearable, the participants will quit. An important consideration was to create a high sense of discomfort, but not one that would transgress the players' sensibilities to the point that they would leave the game (Jørgensen and Mortensen 2016). With this in mind, the game is created in response to the hypothesis that players choose to endure a sense of discomfort in a context that appears meaningful. Meaningful here can mean that the content feels meaningful in the context of the playful situation; and that the player sees that the discomfort is integrated into the game in a way that is of obvious significance to the game either immediately or at a later point in the game (Salen and Zimmerman 2004, 34-35). But meaningful can also mean that it resonates with the player on a personal level by providing new, valuable experiences or viewpoints.

In order to create uncomfortable, yet meaningful experiences in our larp, we employed what Heidi Hopeametsä (2008) and Markus Montola (2010) call *positive negative experiences*. In their research on player experiences with distressing gameplay in liveaction role-playing games, they describe gameplay experiences that are intense, uncomfortable, and sometimes disturbing, yet somehow gratifying because they create new insights or experiences (Jørgensen 2014, 6-7). The idea that media content can be uncomfortable yet gratifying because of its perceived of having experiential relevance in our lives is also explored by psychologists interested in the attractions of what they call non-hedonic entertainment (Bartsch and Oliver 2011, Oliver 2008, Oliver et al 2016). Ron Tamborini and his colleagues (2010) argue that media content that creates a positive sense of discomfort is connected to basic intrinsic needs relating to personal motivations as described by self-determination theory, and in their research Silvia Knobloch-Westerwick and her colleagues (2012) show that people who appreciate

uncomfortable media content tend to find such content to be relevant for reflecting on their own lives. This indicates that for uncomfortable experiences to be interpreted as something positive, the experience must be understood as meaningful for the particular person, thus creating the positive sense of discomfort.

In our game we wanted to explore a particular kind of meaningfulness: that of perceived, or experienced realism. While a game is obviously a very crude simulation that can never claim to be neither authentic or realistic, our intention was to communicate an experience that can be perceived of as reflecting aspects of realism because the emotions it create feel real. This is the essence of what Bjørkelo calls transgressive realism (2019). The realism we here are talking about does not concern photorealism or an authentic simulation of actual processes; instead we are talking about a form of selective realism (Pötzsch 2015); a form of representation in which only certain aspects of the situation represented are included and intended to communicate aspects of that situation. Like the genre of social realism in representational media, selective realism is an aesthetic form of realism, where the techniques used may be stylistic, while the experiential impact on the audience may be that the work is able to convincingly communicate a certain experience or emotion. When we describe this in terms of transgressive realism, we are highlighting the idea that a sense of realism can be communicated by transgressing the player's boundaries by forcing them to step out of their emotional comfort zone. In the design of our larp, roleplay was an important feature. While not a scientific method, it enables the player to take on the role of someone with a particular set of experiences and imagine the world from their perspective, thus receiving new insights. This is further connected to the idea of the bleed effect (Waern 2011), which is the idea that the empathic relationship between player and character in the context of role-play leads to an emotional overlap between the emotions of the player and the character. With insight into this effect, we wanted to utilize the bleed effect to create a positive sense of discomfort in the players.

GAME DESIGN

The game design is strongly inspired by the Nordic larp tradition, a tradition that stresses character involvement, player collaboration, and the idea of games as a medium that can foster artistic and political statements as well as being entertainment (Nordic Larp n.d.). Like many other game genres, Nordic larp has a focus on the possibility for exploring unknown territory within safe boundaries, although the Nordic tradition has a particular interest in utilizing this safe space as a critical tool that can create insight and empower players to make changes in their lives or environments, thereby also offering a tool for exposing obscured structures in the real world (Stenros and Montola 2010, 25, 28). While the project also is inspired by trends in interaction design to create uncomfortable experiences (Benford et al 2013, Brown et al 2015), we did not explicitly employ game design that is intended to make the player act against their own interest, a trend which also is known as *dark game design patterns* (Zagal et al 2013).

In the design of the larp we did not use any formal methods for game or interaction design, although we treated the process with a certain rigidity in terms of creating a convincing and thought-provoking experience. We consider the game a work in progress, still, and an iterative process where we have learned and developed the game after each playthrough. We are both experienced designers of tabletop role-playing game adventures, and the first author is also a published role-playing game author. In the process of conceptualization and design, we also consulted with four experts; one facilitator and designer of role-playing games in a serious environment, an interaction

designer, a project manager at a human rights organization, and a consultant at the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. The two first assisted us in creating interesting gameplay interaction, and the two latter assisted in the creation of character with high-fidelity backstories and with insight into the asylum-seeking process in Norway. Given more time we would have also liked to include former asylum seekers into the design process for the purpose of bringing forth their experiences. Not having had the opportunity to do so thus far represents a minor ethical issue in the design process that we would hope could be remedied in the future.

The game is staging the interview situation for newly arrived asylum seekers at a border crossing. The ideal length of the game is 3-5 hours, which includes an introductory session where characters are distributed, and the players are stripped of their belongings and prepped into the mindset that this is supposed to be an uncomfortable experience; as well as a debrief session. The game is played with 7-10 players, where 2 play government officials doing the interviews, while the rest are asylum seekers in wait for their interview. For the players taking the roles of asylum seekers, the game presents an uncomfortable meeting with an impersonal bureaucracy but it also represents the uncertainty of their situation and whether they will be allowed to stay. For the players in the roles of government officers, the game is an encounter of how to tackle desperate people on the run. The goal of the asylum seekers is to present their case in as trustworthy manner as possible so that they can have their asylum application granted. The character concepts for the asylum seekers are designed to represent different aspects of the refugee crisis, and for this reason they are from different countries, cultures and ethnicities, and fleeing for different reasons, some of which are not valid reasons for seeking asylum. Everyone is willing to go far to get into the country. There are some designed conflict in between the characters that come up naturally, while other potential conflicts depend on player interpretation and enactment. The government officials are also designed with opposite personalities and political views. One is fiercely against immigration with the intention of rejecting as many asylum seekers as possible (referred to as "Bad Cop" below), while the other is an idealist who wants to help as many as possible (referred to as "Good Cop" below). This influence the conversation and the experience of the two players. Their task is to interview each asylum seeker twice, evaluate their cases, and in the end accept the entrance of up until three individuals; the rest are to be returned to their fate. The officers are also instructed to be on the lookout for swindlers and terrorists.

The game setting is two rooms; the interrogation room and the waiting room. There is typically visual connection between the two rooms. The interrogation room will typically have three chairs and a desk, and the government officials will have access to a laptop, on which they can search for factual information about the different regions and situations from which the asylum seekers claim to come. The waiting room is be cold, and only be equipped with chairs for about half the asylum seekers. There are also two game masters who stand in as guards and whose role is to make sure the games move along by performing small tasks, answering questions from the government officials, and making sure that the situation feels tense for the asylum seekers by always "being around" - pacing, hovering over the most distressed characters, and being cold, aloof and passive-aggressive.

The game features more guidelines than absolute rules. There are suggestions for scripted events or interventions that can help create drama and tension. Creating imbalance between the asylum seekers and officers, for instance by providing the asylum seekers with sparse information about their background, while allowing government officials to search for factual information on the internet, is among these. This is to create stress, but also the effect of stress, as it is, according to the people we consulted, not uncommon for refugees to get their story mixed up and suffer from

"stage fright" during these interviews forgetting the most trivial aspects of their lives. This also enhances the sense of role playing and improvisation which are corner stones of this genre of games. This is something the players draws attention to in the debrief after gameplay. Also, language is used to complicate communication between the players. The asylum seekers are only allowed to speak in a foreign language (English), while the two interviewers are allowed to speak in their native tongue (Norwegian) to each other.

Ethical Limits to Discomfort

While live action role-playing lends itself well to both emotional and physical discomfort, there were certain limits to what we could do. There were numerous elements we wanted to put into place, such as surveillance cameras and props that would have helped enhance the game experience, and the discomfort of it, but were beyond our resources. But there were more important limitations that went beyond the limits put on us by the resources available. As larp organizers we have the duty to ensure the safety of our players. We were obliged to avoid physically harming the participants, but we also have to make sure that they have a way to escape emotionally overwhelming situations. If a game becomes to psychologically stressing for any reason, a player should be able to opt out. However, as *Asylsøkjarane* was designed and organized as part of a research project, there is also the issue of research ethics to consider, which limits us even further.

The participants were all required to be 18 years or older, and signed a consent form after being informed about the project and its purpose. We stressed that the research project was not a socio-psychological experiment such as the Stanford Prison Experiment (Haney et al 1973), but a game design project testing the limits of play. It was also made clear that they could leave the game at any time without providing a reason. We still felt obligated to limit how much discomfort we could subject the players to, since a core tenet of research ethics is to subject participants to no harm or unreasonable suffering even when having informed consent (NESH 2006, 11). The positive side of this, however, is that in order to get an explicit informed consent from the participants, we are able to prime them for discomfort. From this they will come to expect discomfort, and experience it that more easily.

PLAYER EXPERIENCES

As of August 2018, we have organized two playthroughs of the game; the first time at a Norwegian game convention in October 2016 with experienced role-players of both genders (group 1), and the second time at a Norwegian youth camp in July 2017 with a group of players with mixed role-play experience, also of both genders (group 2). In the first group there were 6 men and 2 women, while the second group had 4 men and 4 women. All participants were of Norwegian origin, and signed a participant agreement that stressed the fact that the game was intentionally made to be uncomfortable, and that players could withdraw at any time. Everybody who signed the agreement completed the playthrough. As both groups consisted of eight players, not all designed characters were used in either playthrough, though this seems to have had minimal impact on the play as the conflicts between them were not compulsory to make the game work. Only two of the asylum seeker characters had previous knowledge of each other.

Playing as Asylum Seekers

The post-play debriefs revealed that the players experienced a high degree of discomfort during the playthrough. In the two groups, the players taking the roles as asylum seekers reported being stressed by the interrogation, but also by the situation in the waiting room. They were all visibly uncomfortable, both physically and emotionally. Many of them moved around a lot, never being able to relax; not only due to the situation, but also because of the intentional lack of seating and the fact that they were barefoot. In the waiting room, there were long periods of awkward silence and whispering, while players were either sitting on the cold floor or pacing around, and the players reported being torn between being entertained by the game and by the discomfort and the seriousness of the situation as the game progressed. During the debrief, the second group reflected on the experience of a discomforting, repressed mood relating to the long waits and the insecurity about how to act and what to do in the situation of the waiting room, but feeling that they should do something. This was also described as confusing by one participant. The constant presence of the guards looming over them played into their discomfort.

The players also reported the interrogation situations as stressful, as they had to keep both their character in mind, as well as their character's cover story. In this situation they would be confronted with questions they could not know the answer to since they as players did not have the detailed knowledge that the bureaucrats were asking for, forcing them to improvise new fabrications on the spot. According to one player:

"Then in the middle of the argument you [the government officials] asked, what is your first name? And I don't think I've even been this nervous in my life. I was blank. Was this just something you came up with on the spot?" (Group 1)

While the lack of relevant information was an obvious source of stress, this player also experienced that in the process of fabricating a good story, he had forgotten to keep attention towards basic information that indeed was available for him. When then suddenly confronted with repeating his name, and he could not remember it, this increased his stress level.

The players taking the role as asylum seekers also experienced tension with respect to the social dynamic in the group and the drama that occurred between characters. In group 2, the players commented on how the different characters influenced each other, and one of the players was so affected by another character's story that she felt it was more important for her that she could stay than herself. Though one of the players tried to manipulate the situation towards the end, the second group recognized some of the dynamics of the role-playing. They also reported discomfort related to the social interaction in between themselves. One character in particular made the other players uncomfortable with his silent and threatening demeanor. In the debrief, one player admitted, "I was pretty afraid of you. Afraid you were going to bomb something" (Group 2). Another player explained: "He was simply discomforting, when he entered the room, and how he entered the room, all quiet" (Group 2). The player of the character in question, on the other hand, described himself as feeling superior to everyone in the room.

Certain scripted events also put the players out of their comfort zones. In the first group, there were particular tension relating to a raid where the government officials would search the waiting room for contraband and harass the applicants. Another scripted event that was reported as awkward and uncomfortable, was a call to prayer (*adhan*), which affected the asylum seeking characters, as most of them were Muslim, and one

a devoutly practicing one. At a certain point in both playthroughs, one of the game masters would play the adhan on his cell phone, and in both instances the players took the initiative to attempt a performance of the proscribed prayer ritual (Salah), even though they had no knowledge of how to perform the ritual other than through media depictions. Here the reported discomfort can be attributed the unfamiliarity of the rituals and the perceived taboo in trying to replicate them in a game context, and thus both being socially out of place and potentially performing an act of disrespect. This intervention is one of several options we could chose to include or not in the playthroughs, as there are ethical dimensions to provoking players to perform an unknown religious ritual, but in both circumstances the context and knowledge of who the players were made it seem like a reasonable call. However, there is little doubt that this event in other circumstances could be interpreted and experienced not just a playful transgression, but as an actual, profound transgression (Jørgensen and Mortensen 2016). However, for the sake of understanding the boundaries of what can be tackled in a gameplay context, we were willing to explore this even though this may stir some controversy both among researchers and larp designers.

Playing as Government Officials

Whereas the experience of playing an asylum seeker were dominated by waiting and the occasional socializing with other asylum seekers, interrupted by uncomfortable and stressful interviews, the players taking the role of government officials were kept busy and stressed at all times. According to the player taking the role as "Bad Cop" in group 1.

"It would have been more uncomfortable for us too, if the game had lasted longer. You get so tired after a while that you can't process the information. The longer it lasts, the worse we would be at our job" (Bad Cop 1).

The experience is reflected by the player taking the role as "Good Cop" in the same group, who started feeling the effects already during the first round of interviews. The experience also prompted "Bad Cop" in group 1 to reflect on the position of those who do this in the real world as part of their job:

"It must be really confusing for those work with this. It was very confusing for me, at least, to process all this information, and constantly looking for lies. It was exhausting, and really hard" (Bad Cop 1).

The players playing government officials also experienced confusion and stress as they felt their character positions shift toward the opposite perspective. In both playthroughs the players who played the interviewers felt a sense of realignment during play. In particular the "Good Cops" in both groups 1 felt that their sympathies with the asylum seekers started fading, because of the fact that the game objective forced them to make a choice and accept no more than three asylum seekers. In the words of one of them: "They started to become more names on a paper, and not real persons" (Good Cop 1). The second "Good Cop" were even stronger affected as she felt "psychologically influenced" by the Bad Cop, and felt that everyone was lying and that she had to expose them. Further, for this player the sense of realignment ran completely counter to her actual personality, as she considered herself a liberal and tolerant person:

"The further into the role-playing we got, I noticed that I only got pissed off by listening to you. All of you talking about how much you would like to stay here, and all I could think was 'assholes, assholes, assholes, assholes" (Good Cop 2).

Not just the "Good Cops" experienced a realignment of positions. One of players taking the role as "Bad Cops" reported started feeling empathy with the applicants, thus moving closer to the position of the "good cop": "I felt our roles were reversed" (Bad Cop 2). It appears that the bleed effect (Waern 2011) that otherwise would blend together the emotions of the player and the character operates in a different way here. Although the players report a realignment or reversal of roles, this does not mean that the there is no bleed effect. Instead, this may instead be explained as an alienation process, where the players distance themselves from the human aspect of the situation as a coping strategy because they know they are required to treat the asylum seekers objectively and without the bias that emotion may add.

A similar kind of alienation strategy on part of the player can also be identified in the different situation. Over time, "Good Cop 1" felt that there was a shift from discomfort to the routine in the interview process. This sensation that what first appears uncomfortable may be become dull or boring when overexposed is in psychology known as desensitization. While psychology and media studies have discussed whether desensitization to media violence can be attributed to a higher tolerance towards violence in media and beyond (Gentile 2003, Ramos et al 2013, Bennerstedt et al 2011), in this game desensitization appears instead as a coping strategy to be able to endure an emotionally distressing situation, not unlike real-life bureaucratic processing of asylum applications.

Through both debriefs the players reflected on the emotional impact or influence of the game, as well as the realism. Good Cop 1 anguished over how he was supposed to interview a traumatized youth, and this is a sense of discomfort that makes the experience more real for the participants, and it ties the game world experience to a real-world seriousness (Jørgensen 2014). The connection between this discomfort and the experience of realism was mostly left unspoken by the players during the debriefing, but both were an issue they returned to. And their visible discomfort and engagement with the game fiction was evident through the play session, and seemed to stay with them for the debrief as they started to relax and reflect. This is particularly true with the older more experienced role-players of Group 1.

Asylsøkjarane as a Game Experience

When designing this to be an uncomfortable game, we also intentionally included specific ludic aspects. We wanted the larp to be a system that could somehow be "gamed" and that would have certain win and lose conditions. The fact that some asylum seekers would be granted asylum and other not were one; another was the fact that only three could be accepted. By including these we hoped to inspire competitive and ludic interaction between the players. Or in other words: we attempted to design for what Anders Frank has called gamer mode; a mindset where players approach the game as something that can be mastered and won, and where the player focuses on the game's rules while ignoring its fictional representation (Frank 2012). While the players in our study remained in character and thus did not ignore the fictional setting, some put a clear focus on the competitive aspects of the game. In both groups, certain players in the role of asylum seekers started to gather information about other players to use as bargaining chip in the interrogation room. Others considered their options to outmaneuver the other players: "We were cooperating to play the others out. And when we learned that there would be only two people accepted I did everything to get him on my side" (Group 1). One of the players who played a police officer expressed surprise that they saw little of this: "None of you seemed to be trying to influence us!" (Group 2).

While the groups were eager to point out different uncomfortable aspects of the game, they also highlighted aspects that made the game interesting to play. As a player in the first group put it:

"It was exciting how the dynamics developed, and it was a very special experience. Very educational. And I realized how little I knew about the geography of Syria, which you asked me about" (Group 1).

Despite of the discomfort of the game, the peculiarity of the experience made it into a memorable and for this player also an educational experience. While this player points out that they realized the limitations of their own knowledge, other players stressed that the game provided a valuable glimpse into the conflicts between bureaucracy and empathy in the asylum-seeking process, and also into the fact that being an asylum seeker is a traumatic and distressing situation.

Further, the fact that this insight was connected to a game experience also had an impact upon the situation. Both groups commented on how, in spite of the discomfort and seriousness of the game setting, there was room for laughter and fun. "I didn't expect to laugh during this larp, but we did. It was really fun" (Group 1), explained one player. Another pressured herself not to smile or laugh: "It wanted to laugh more than I was allowed" (Group 2). This speaks to a tenuous relationship between play and the world around the play situation and the fact that the play situation contributes to a certain framing (Goffman 1974) of the discomfort that the players experience. In the frame of play and games, players can go out of their comfort zone but still explore unfamiliar experiences safely.

CONCLUSIONS

The insights from the players show us that there is still room for improvement for the game. There are indeed additional techniques that can be employed in order to intensify their situation. However, it is also clear that the players found the experience as it is engaging and meaningful. We have discussed them in terms of positive negative experiences (Hopeametsä 2008, Montola 2010), where the players in hindsight consider their experiences in a positive light, even though they were stressful or discomforting. In signing up for games like *Asylsøkjarane* and more extreme games such as *Gang Rape* (2008) and *Fat Man Down* (2009), the players knowingly subject themselves to difficult or distressing situation, with the possible aim of having a meaningful and maybe learning experience. While guidelines for ethical research kept *Asylsøkjarane* from an *extreme* larp experience (Montola 2010), it was uncomfortable for players in the roles of asylum seekers and government officials alike. And this allowed for the game to be a positive experience, or "fun" and "interesting" as it was referred to in the debriefs.

In Asylsøkjarane, the negative experience is informed by the players' knowledge of real-world situations and processes surrounding the refugee crisis and Islamic terrorism. But it is also enhanced by the lack of information and awareness, which is brought out by the interview process, where this lack of information represents and enhances the stress felt by those seeking asylum. We do not claim to have been able to create a realistic or authentic simulation, but we have created a gameplay situation of emotional and physical stress, which hints at the difficult situation that the characters are in and which provides a cue for reflection for the players. Asylum seekers do not actually come barefoot to the asylum interview, but the stress and discomfort created by this simple mechanic makes the players restless and uncertain, and adds a new

emotional dimension to the gameplay by way of the bleed effect that creates an emotional bond between the player and their character in situations of role-play. As the players relate their game experience to the real world situation of the refugee crisis, we can talk of it as play-external seriousness (Jørgensen 2014), where the play activity somehow reflects serious issues in the real world This is reflected in the players' discussions of how actual asylum interviews must feel to applicants and those who conduct them, of how a child soldier with PTSD can experience the stress of being an asylum seeker, and so on. Likewise we can see how this increases the discomfort of the situation, and that it *feels real* to them. Not just because the gameplay is informed by how they imagine things are in the real world, but because the discomfort that they feel *is* real; and because it reflects an uncomfortable truth. This indicates an experience of transgressive realism (Bjørkelo 2019), where the feelings of discomfort and stress make something feel more real or realistic.

In the end *Asylsøkjarane* proves to be an interesting play experience that would be well served with further development and play, using the feedback from the players to create a game that creates an experience of positive discomfort and transgressive realism.

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