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Medium and Narrative Change

The Effects of Multiple Media on the "Glasgow Girls" Story and Their Real-Life Campaign

Transmediality, introduced by Jenkins, is a relatively recent concept in narrative and media studies. It focuses on narratives and the impact of multiple media on their telling. Jenkins (Jenkins, "Searching for the Origami Unicorn") observes this as a (post)modern trend within the fictional world narratives, which were once confined to a single medium—text or image or sound or motion picture; the novel, the artwork, the theater, the film—now, increasingly use multiple media across their telling. For example, Jenkins cites the Marvel Comics franchise, which has transformed Marvel superhero comic books into film, television, and online contexts (Jenkins, "Searching for the Origami Unicorn" 110–11), with each new medium adding to and expanding the Marvel mythology.

This essay is not concerned with further analysis of Marvel's fictional superhero stories. Rather, its concern is with the nonfictional, and with the story of real-life activists based in Glasgow, Scotland's largest city. The Glasgow Girls' campaign was created in 2005 by a group of secondary-school pupils from both refugee and Glaswegian backgrounds, to protest against the detention of one of their classmates and her family by UK immigration authorities. The campaign later expanded to challenge the practice of dawn raids and child detention by the Home Office, and it

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achieved a number of successes in Scotland. Its story has been told multiple times by the news media, and it has also been the subject of two BBC documentaries (Hill, *The Children Who Disappear* and *The Glasgow Girls*), an acclaimed musical (Bissett and Greig), and a BBC (musical) drama (Barr)—which have all added different details and dimensions to the original story of the campaign. The story of the Glasgow Girls can therefore be said to be strongly transmedial, and it is in this context that we wish to analyze its development and impact.

To do this, this essay departs somewhat from current scholarship on transmedial narrative, which, so far, has been focused on the impact of transmedial storytelling on fictional worlds and draws its theoretical framework from the field of media studies (Ryan). As the transmediality of the Glasgow Girls' story draws on a real-world campaign and its real-world impact in Glasgow and in Scotland, we look to anthropological scholarship such as that of Abu-Lughod, Jackson, and Nic Craith, which considers how the act of story-making, storytelling, and the creation of narrative is rooted in sociality, and is consequently socially meaningful—as Jackson notes, "storytelling is, in the final analysis, a social act. Stories are composed and recounted, their meanings negotiated and renegotiated, within circles of kinsmen and friends" (112). Although the theoretical bases of these two forms of narrative scholarship (media studies and anthropology) may seem epistemologically quite far apart, we would argue there is sufficient room for compatibility. While theorizing transmediality, Jenkins draws on the work of Pierre Lévy to note that a transmedial narrative can be seen as a "'cultural attractor,' drawing together and creating common ground across diverse communities" (Jenkins, "Searching for the Origami Unicorn" 95). However, he develops Lévy's work to argue that transmedial narrative can also be seen as a "'cultural activator,' setting in motion [the communities'] decipherment, speculation, and elaboration" (95). Meanwhile, in commenting on the social lives of narratives, Jackson argues that the "performance of a story reinforces [a] relativity of perspectives, for in requiring the participation of both audience and storyteller in an interactive relationship of call and response, the storytelling event itself realizes both socially and dialogically an ideal of tolerant solidarity in difference" (Jackson 146), and that "it is not the impramatur of individual identity that gives a story value, but the imprimatur of a community" (77).

There are common themes in both these arguments, which recognize that storytelling is a continually contested act between different communities (whether media communities or social communities), and that the final result is indicative of

the collective rather than the individual. There is also an acknowledgment in both theoretical frameworks that such narratives are the result of negotiated meaning, of the "subjective-in-between" (Arendt 182–84), in which "reality" is subject to the storytelling(s), their mediums, and their audience. Of course, this final point has further implications for a nonfictional story such as the Glasgow Girls, which has the potential to become revised or even "fictionalized" as it is mediated and remediated—but this is something we will expand upon later.

In the meantime, this essay turns its focus solely to the story of the Glasgow Girls. Even in its initial incarnation as the campaign, the Glasgow Girls' story was quickly (multiply) mediated. After considerable work by the campaigners to bring their cause to public attention, the Scottish news media began to retell the story of the campaign and the campaigners (see Herald Scotland, "15-Year-Old"; "Children of the Knock"; "Glasgow Girls Who Shamed"; "Kosovan Family"; "Reprieve for Belarus Family"). As some of the campaigners continue to do public campaigning work today, this retelling is ongoing and evolving (Loxton). However, while the corpus of news media coverage is considerable, this essay focuses specifically on the three media that tell the story of the campaign in one cohesive piece of work—the 2005–6 documentary, the 2012–14 musical, and the 2014 (musical) drama.[1] By focusing on these three chronological pieces, we aim to compare and contrast the differences between the media themselves, and subsequently to address the question of what transmediality has done to the Glasgow Girls' campaign—in terms of the story, its narrative, and its social impact, both within and outside the campaign. In doing so we intend also to consider the relationship between nonfiction stories, transmediality and "reality," and by extension, the relationship between the transmediality of the Glasgow Girls' story and public imagination.

Our initial contact with the Glasgow Girls' campaign came through a wider research project, and it was with campaigner Amal Azzudin, who kindly put us in touch with others involved with the campaign, as well as allowing us access to her public-engagement activities. In addition, we engaged with people who developed different versions of the narrative. These included Lindsay Hill (documentary producer), Cora Bissett ([theatrical] musical director and producer), and Kate Cook ([musical] drama producer). We were present at a number of public events (conferences, public seminars, and festival events) attended by at least one Glasgow Girl. Our analysis of the three media is based on close-reading/watching all three mediated tellings in "live" form, as well as the script of the musical.

Glasgow Girls: The Original Story

The Glasgow Girls refers to a group of seven teenage girls living in Glasgow. One of the chief protagonists, Amal Azzudin, begins the story:

> in 2005 one of my friends, Agnesa [Murselaj], who's a Roma Gypsy, she'd been living in Glasgow for five years at that time, along with her mother, her father, and two younger brothers . . . she was basically dawn raided and detained and locked up like a criminal for three weeks . . . she'd done *nothing* wrong. . . . So basically what happened, on a Sunday morning, fourteen Home Office officials with police, wearing bullet-proof vests, went to Agnesa's house, handcuffed her father, put them in detention vans, and drove them to Yarlswood Detention Centre in England and locked them up for three weeks.
>
> —Amal Azzudin, Conference, 2015[2]

Shocked by what had happened to her friend, Amal determined to do something about the situation:

> So when that happened, on the Monday morning, I marched up to Mr. Girvan, our bilingual teacher, my hero, legend, and I said to him, I said, "Mr. Girvan, I know I have my Leave to Remain, I know I don't need to worry about this, I'm not in fear of being dawn raided, but I am *not* going to sit down and do nothing about this, Agnesa is a child like all of us. Why is an asylum-seeking child different from another British child? What have they done wrong? Nothing!"
>
> —Amal Azzudin, Conference, 2015

The teacher's response was to facilitate the girls in telling their stories publicly. Amal continues,

> And he said, "well, we'll see what we can do here," and then before we knew it, my face was on the BBC news and newspapers literally every week, and that's when the other girls, Emma, Jennifer, Tonilee, Roza, and Ewelina, that's when they all came together, and that's when we became known as the Glasgow Girls.
>
> —Amal Azzudin, Conference, 2015

The Glasgow Girls' campaign was formed by (then) Drumchapel High School (Glasgow) students Amal Azzudin and Roza Salih. The girls began the campaign

of activism in reaction to the detention of their friend Agnesa, her two younger brothers, and her parents. Agnesa and her family were Roma Gypsies who had fled the conflict in Kosovo; in March 2005, contrary to contemporary UN advice, the UK Home Office decided it was safe to "return" them to Kosovo and detained the family in a dawn raid. Agnesa was a close friend of Amal (born in Somalia) and Roza (an Iraqi Kurd), who were refugees themselves. They were soon joined by fellow pupils, Ewelina Sivak (a Roma Gypsy from Poland), Emma Clifford, Jennifer McCarron, and Toni-Lee Henderson (all from Glasgow), as well as gaining support both from the Drumchapel teachers—most notably Euan Girvan—and members of the local community, including long-term Drumchapel residents Noreen Real and Jean Donnachie.

Together, the girls petitioned the local and wider Glaswegian population and media and were eventually successful in securing the release of Agnesa and her family (Herald Scotland, "Kosovan Family"). They continued their campaign to protest against the practice of child detention and dawn raids, even as more members of the Drumchapel community were being removed by the Home Office. After gaining significant media attention throughout Scotland through protests, community meetings, and media campaigns, the campaigners attended a parliamentary debate on the issue of immigration. There, they were invited to meet the then First Minister of Scotland, Jack McConnell, and secured a promise of a protocol from him to take action on the practice of child detention in Scotland (a protocol that eventually politically failed [Herald Scotland, "Glasgow Girl Who Shamed"; BBC]). In 2005, the campaign was nominated for and won a Great Scot award; it also won the award for best campaign at the Scottish Politician of the Year awards. The campaign eventually contributed to the cessation (until recently) of the practice of child detention in Scotland,[3] and the campaigners have continued to work together on issues surrounding immigration and human rights in Scotland. Of the original group, Amal, Roza, and Emma remain particularly active, and "the Glasgow Girls" continue to be very well known in Scottish public and political spheres.

Contextualizing the Campaign

The Glasgow Girls' campaign arose under a particular set of circumstances both in Scotland and in the United Kingdom. The campaign was established just over five years after Scotland had gained devolved powers from the UK government in

Westminster (Cairney 431) and six years after the introduction of the Dispersal Scheme, a UK-wide initiative designed to forcibly remove asylum seekers and refugees in areas outside the southeast of England and accommodate them elsewhere (Schuster 615–17; Hynes). While Glasgow (and Scotland) had previously accommodated few asylum seekers and refugees (Piacentini 125; Sim and Bowes 730), there were some tensions between the established and new populations in the city (Sim and Bowes 734) that gained some (negative) media attention. The Glasgow Girls' campaign was the first story about asylum-seeking and refugee people that gained media attention that considered the people behind the "immigrant" labels in sustained coverage. It was also the first major story that articulated, in terms of borders, nation, and immigration, the tension between the devolved and reserved powers of the Scottish and Westminster governments—for while Scotland had powers over the housing and rights of the refugees, Westminster retained powers over immigration (see Cairney). In a wider sense, therefore, as well as being a story about friendship and empowerment, injustice and protest, the campaign was also a story about social identity—about the interaction of new and established populations in Glasgow, about Scotland's new self-governing role, and about Scotland's role in the United Kingdom. These themes are expressed in different ways and to varying degrees in the retelling of the narrative in the three media.

The Glasgow Girls: A Story in Three Media

Unlike the transmediality of fictional franchises, the mediation of the Glasgow Girls' story occurred without cross-media coordination and over the period of a number of years. However, in common with fictional transmedia narratives, each medium of the Glasgow Girls does not simply retell the story; rather, each medium adds a new dimension to the original campaign. We begin here by contextualizing each medium, before considering the effect of the same medium upon the Glasgow Girls' story.

MEDIUM 1: DOCUMENTARY

The first retelling of the story was in the form of a documentary directed by Lindsay Hill. She tells the story of how the girls became involved in her project:

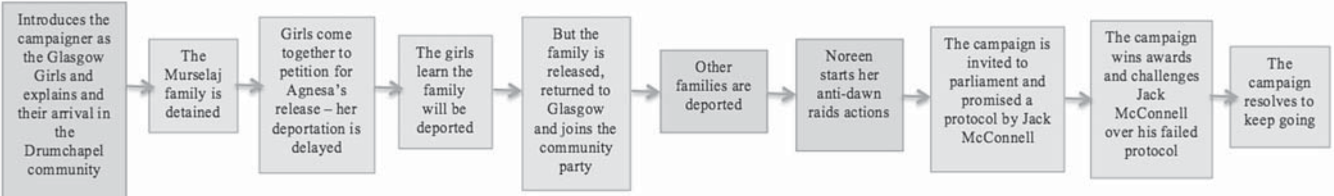
> In the early 2000s . . . I was involved in making a series called *Tales from the Edge* . . . the point of these pieces were to be authored pieces by and about, but mostly by, children and young people living lives that were out of the norm . . . I'd been involved with Drumchapel already and I wanted to make a film about a female child's experience of being an asylum seeker in Glasgow, and that's how I came to meet Amal and Roza . . . they put their hands up, they volunteered to be involved in making a documentary.
>
> —L. Hill, Panel 2015

Lindsay Hill's two-part documentary, *The Children Who Disappear* and *The Glasgow Girls*, initially was meant only to follow the lives of girls at Drumchapel High School who were experiencing the asylum system in Scotland. Soon after Hill began filming, Agnesa and her family were detained—and after some consideration and consultation with Amal and Roza, it was decided that filming would focus on these events. Hill had given Amal and Roza cameras with which to film their experiences; she also filmed events herself and became close to the campaigners, their supporters, and their families. With this combination, the campaigners and Hill were able to capture in detail events in the campaign—such as a dawn raid, and the campaign's resistance to it—in a way and a depth that otherwise would not have been possible (L. Hill, Panel, 2015).

The documentary itself is split into two parts (see figure 1) and is told chronologically. The first part deals with Agnesa's detention and retrieval; the second looks at the aftereffects of her return and follows the campaigners to the Scottish Parliament in Holyrood and the various awards ceremonies. Both parts of the documentary are edited by Hill. Events are explained and narrated by the campaigners: in the first part only by Roza and Amal, but in the second, by more of the campaigners. The documentary is primarily concerned with the experiences of the girls themselves rather than the experiences of the wider population, and it portrays events in terms of what the experiences meant to the campaigners. The documentary was broadcast by the BBC in 2005.

MEDIUM 2: MUSICAL

Almost a decade later, the documentary was followed by a musical. Cora Bissett, the musical director, was determined not to interpret the narrative for the girls and was



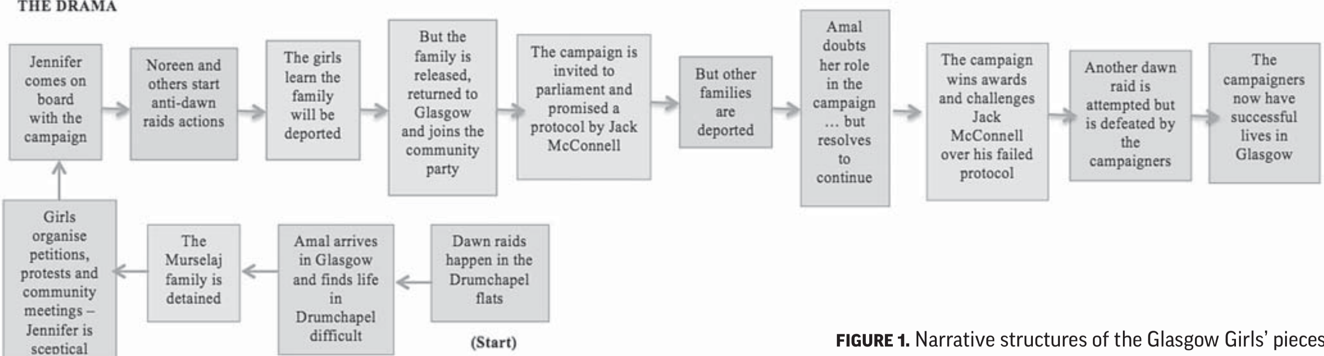


FIGURE 1. Narrative structures of the Glasgow Girls' pieces.

keen to give them their own voice. However, she was also determined to present their story in a new form. In an interview with us, she explains:

> My ultimate aim is not to speak for these people, but engage . . . talk to them, learn about their story and make them part of that story . . . so the first thing I did was meet with the girls . . . they know how to speak for themselves, I'm just presenting their story in a different form . . . using the tools I have to put something on a bigger wider platform . . . so I really got to know them, they were involved in every script, every development
>
> —Bissett, Interview, Spring 2015

Cora Bissett's *Glasgow Girls* musical was inspired by Lindsay Hill's documentary and Bissett's own recollection of the campaign in 2005. Having worked with the Scottish Refugee Council (SRC) on a previous project about human trafficking in Scotland (Bissett and Smith), Bissett was approached again by the SRC to do another production about migration (Interview 2015). She chose the story of the Glasgow Girls' campaign, and after some deliberation and research, decided to fix it in musical form. The choice was not an obvious one—Bissett notes that she herself had reservations about the combination of the typically lighthearted medium and the serious issues of the campaign—but, Bissett notes, "I kept watching the documentary and it kept saying to me, this is what I am!" (Interview 2015). After settling on a medium, Bissett worked closely with the original campaigners to establish a script and a production with which they were satisfied. She designed the production to have popular appeal—"we sold it deliberately as Glasgow Girls: The Musical" (Interview 2015)—so that it would attract a broad audience.

MEDIUM 3: (MUSICAL) DRAMA

The (musical) drama and third version of the narrative of the campaign has mixed provenance. Its director, Brian Welsh, had been in Glasgow at the time of the campaign and had previously been involved with another documentary related to the campaign (Autonomi).[4] Producer Kate Cook had no direct link with the campaign, but had substantial experience of presenting asylum issues in film form, having (along with James Levison) coproduced the *Leave to Remain* documentary (Goodison).[5]

The impetus for the creation of the (musical) drama came from the executive producer Colin Barr, who had seen Bissett's musical and noted the story's potential

FIGURE 2. Artwork for *Glasgow Girls* (Bissett and Greig) from the 2014 performances. (Reproduced with the permission of National Theatre Scotland.)

for television. Although it took it as inspiration, the eventual television version did not work with Bissett's musical, so that, Cook comments, "we could say the musical had inspired it, but the drama was not directly from it" (Interview 2015). When the idea was pitched to the BBC, it was commissioned on the grounds of the story's strong community focus, the (musical) drama combination, and its Scottish context (especially in the light of the [then] forthcoming 2014 Commonwealth Games) (Cook, Interview 2015). The producers consulted with the original campaigners while writing the first drafts of the scripts.

Throughout the drama, the influences of both Hill's documentary and Bissett's musical are evident in the (musical) drama. For instance, the opening scene from the documentary in which a recently returned Agnesa watches the sunset from atop the high rise is reproduced in the (musical) drama and is shot with equivalent camera angles. In the meantime, the musical element in the drama is testament to Bissett's influence on the piece. However, despite these common threads, the musical (drama) perhaps stands most apart from the previous pieces in terms of its narrative structure (see figure 1). It was first broadcast on the BBC in January 2015.

Media and Meaning-Making

The term *medium* can be understood both as a broad term that encompasses the characteristics of an entire piece—the "film/documentary" medium, the "musical theater" medium, or the "television drama" medium—and as a term of specifics—for instance, referring to the elemental media (such as live or filmed people, live or recorded music, poetry, song, speech, or spoken word) that combine to make the meaning of a piece. These macro- and microperspectives might be equated with what Ryan identifies respectively as a piece's "cultural medium," and as a piece's "semiotic" and "material/technological" media (Ryan). Ryan imagines medium as pipework carrying meaning—she comments: "the shape of the pipe affects the kind of information that can be transmitted, alters the conditions of reception, and often leads to the creation of works tailor-made for that medium" (Ryan). In this sense, the (trans)mediality of the Glasgow Girls' story should be seen as instrumental in shaping the narrative itself. In this section, we discuss how the different medial elements of the Glasgow Girls' pieces affect what kind of story is told, and what this does to the wider Glasgow Girls' narrative.

One of the main media of the documentary is the filmed footage of the live events of the campaign, recorded by Lindsay Hill and by the campaigners themselves. The film medium works as a semiotic and as a material/technological medium in that even as it represents and tells the Glasgow Girls' story, it gives the story meaning. For example, there is a scene early in the first documentary, in which the campaigners use the school telephone to try to call Agnesa, who is now detained in Yarlswood Detention Centre. The medium of film means that narrative exposition can be condensed, so that in this scene, two key narrative blocks in the story (the high-stakes and harrowing nature of Agnesa's detention, and the involvement of the Drumchapel community) are made apparent by the campaigners' emotional phone call and the subsequent support of their classmates and teachers.

However, here, even as the film medium has a narrative function, it also gives the narrative meaning. The self-filmed footage of the scene gives it a "candid" quality, which works to assure the audience of the story's integrity, while also allowing them to relive the scene as it happened. In this way, the documentary uses the film medium not only to underline the honesty of its story, but also to act as both testimony of and witness to its events—a role that is extended to its audience as they watch and rewatch the scenes unfold through the camera lenses of the campaigners.

Unsurprisingly, the musical makes use of very different media. In this piece, filmed, "real" people are replaced by live actors, and the story is told through a variety of micromedia, such as song, music, rap, and speech in different cultural forms, including a rendition of Robert Burns's "To a Mouse" set to solo acoustic guitar, an "electronic grime" piece, "Cuff You," performed by Patricia Panther as a Home Office official, the cultural influences of the "Glasgow Girls" theme sung by the campaigners' characters (Interview with Bissett 2015), and a traditional Broadway number performed by the character of (former) First Minister Jack McConnell. Yet while the cultural influences of the musical remained diverse, their combination is used to facilitate a sense of closeness. For instance, in an early scene, the acoustic version of "To a Mouse," is played softly as the campaigners' characters draw images of war to describe their understanding of "home." In this case, the eighteenth-century Scots of Robert Burns resonates poignantly with their modern-day experiences:

> Thou saw the fields laid bare an' waste,
> An' weary winter comin fast,
> An' cozie here, beneath the blast,
> Thou thought to dwell,
> Till crash! the cruel coulter past
> Out thro' thy cell.
> (Burns, "To a Mouse")

The variety of musical and cultural media emphasizes a sense of "multidirectional" (Rothberg) exchange throughout the piece. The audience is asked to find the similarities, or the points of crossover in each scene, while the piece's musical form emphasizes "each person's awareness [of] his or her immediate sense of being-with-others," through the communal act of singing (Jackson 146). In this way, the media of the musical create a different audience experience to that of the documentary: where the documentary asks that the audience bears witness to its story, the musical asks that the audience participates in creating its meaning.

The media of the (musical) drama also (re)alter the tone of the Glasgow Girls' story, and its semiotic and material/technological media give it a parable-like quality. To an extent, this piece combines the material/technological media of both the documentary and the musical: it films actors, who play the campaigners, but uses the "real" Glaswegian setting of the documentary. It also, in its final scenes, features the campaigners themselves. As in the musical, song is also used, but where in the

musical it is used to develop the plot and provide a bridge between scenes, themes, and cultures, in the (musical) drama, it is used to underline a point of heightened drama, as in an early scene in which Amal's loneliness at her arrival in Glasgow is underscored by a cover of US R&B/pop artist, Aaliyah's, 2000 single, "Try Again." By using the musical element to emphasize rather than develop the plot, the (musical) drama makes direct rather than multidirectional links between the music and the action, so that a scene means what the song means—it becomes symbolic of something. This theme of making the story symbolic is continued in the piece's semiotic media, which have urban/retro/pop-culture themes: for instance, Brian Welsh notes that the immigration officials in the piece were deliberately styled to symbolize "fear" (Panel 2015), while producer Kate Cook notes that the characters of Amal and Jennifer were mainstreamed in the story above other characters to produce the opposition between newcomer and resident to Glasgow (Interview 2015). Notably, this medium targeted a younger audience that is typical of BBC3.

Media and Narrative Change

The different emphases and combination of the semiotic and material/technological media in all three Glasgow Girls' productions precipitate reordering in the pieces' respective narrative structures. Perhaps the most pronounced difference in narrative structure can be seen in the (musical) drama. As is evident in figure 1, in comparison to the other pieces, the (musical) drama has more narrative elements—points at which story arcs change or at which changes are set in motion. We would argue that the increase in narrative elements reflects a difference in the "type" of story the (musical) drama is trying to tell; because it has a parable-like quality and is interested in making an example (out) of the campaign(ers), the (musical) drama requires defined points of crises, resolution, and a moral at the end of its story. It gains this through a tightly framed opening (a successful dawn raid) and penultimate (an unsuccessful dawn raid) scenes, and through two story arcs: one that sees Amal arriving in Glasgow, struggling to settle in, and eventually leading the campaign; and one that sees a local girl (Jennifer) progressing from hostility toward the refugees to friendship. Its closing scene shows the "real" Glasgow Girls a decade after the campaign and presents their current successes as the happy end to their campaigning.

This sense of an ending is something of a departure from the trajectory of the

storylines in both the musical and the documentary. The ending of the documentary emphasizes the ongoing issues faced by asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland and the subsequent ongoing work of the campaigners; in a similar vein, in the opening scene of the musical, the characters of the campaigners have a discussion about the unsuitability of the musical form to the campaign because where "musicals are meant to have a happy ending" (Bissett and Greig), the campaign's work is ongoing and has suffered losses as well as victories. With similar endings, the narrative structures of the musical and the documentary are very similar (see figure 1). However, in order to create the story arcs for the (eventual) "happy" ending, the (musical) drama creates a new narrative structure, so that (for instance) where in the previous pieces the campaign's public activism grows throughout the narrative, in the (musical) drama, the campaign is comprehensively active immediately after Agnesa's detention. This creates a much stronger sense of causality in the (musical) drama, which is in keeping with its overall trajectory. In this case, we might argue, the parable-like quality shaped and carried by the piece's "micro" media has a particularly notable impact on the story's narrative structure.

However, media-shaped narrative change is not only evident in the (musical) drama; it also occurs in the musical. While Bissett does not necessarily reorder the narrative seen in the documentary, she adds to it with new scenes that explore both the "Home Office" take on child detention ("They're 'at it'" [Bissett and Greig]), and the Kingsway community's role in combatting dawn raids in the flats (Noreen's "They're my weans" [Bissett and Greig]) (see figure 1). We argued earlier in this essay that the semiotic and material/technological media of the musical work in combination to create a sense of cultural exchange and social embeddedness—we would argue that by endeavoring to present the views of all those involved with the Glasgow Girls' story (including both those who are not school pupils and those who are decidedly unsympathetic to the cause), these new additions to the Glasgow Girls' narrative do the same in a more structural sense and create a sense of dialogue (if not agreement) between the two.

Jenkins notes that "in the ideal form of transmedia storytelling, each medium does what it does best, so that a story might be introduced in a film, expanded through television [and so on]" in order to "create a narrative so large it cannot be contained within a single medium" (Jenkins, "Searching for the Origami Unicorn" 96, 95). In the case of the Glasgow Girls' piece, while these various acts of narrative reordering, or narrative expansion, have implications for the perception of "authenticity" of the Glasgow Girls' story (as we discuss below), the way in which the

media of the three respective pieces work to shape not only *how* the story is told but also to determine *what* is included in it, what might be included in a different medium in the future, suggests that the transmedial nature of the Glasgow Girls' story ensures it an ever-expanding scope.

Transmediation and the "Authenticity" of Nonfictional Narratives

In one sense, a discussion of the "authenticity," "truth," or "reality" in relation to the transmedial nature of the Glasgow Girls' story is somewhat redundant (of course, when considering a "real-life" transmedial story, notions of "authenticity" also become very important, as we discuss below). Storytelling has long been regarded as a creative act of reality-making rather than reality-representing (Jackson 14; Geertz 15). Cheney suggests that storytelling requires the skill of the storyteller as well as the research ability of the reporter, while Clifford considers stories to be "partial truths," located somewhere between the reality of the empirical world and the reality of the story world. In this sense, he argues, stories are "inherently partial—committed and incomplete" (Clifford 7; see also Nic Craith 37–38).

Each of the three transmedial pieces of the Glasgow Girls' story can be considered as both "committed and incomplete." While the documentary shows real-life events, it cannot, in a purely practical sense, show every event that happened in the campaign—it is, through necessity an (edited) selection of footage real-life events (Hill, Panel 2015). In the meantime, both the musical and the (musical) drama play with the boundaries with the realities of their particular story world and the empirical reality of the campaign(ers). In the first 2012 run of the musical, the "real" Glasgow Girls were invited onstage to join their fictionalized counterparts; it also used clothing from the "real" campaigners as props in the production (Emma Clifford, Panel 2015). In the (musical) drama, "new" but true Glasgow Girls' stories are included in the narrative, so that, for instance, the audience sees for the first time Amal's (real-life) experience of racist abuse outside the Kingsway flats. The (musical) drama also made an effort to film at the Glasgow locations that the campaign originally used.

In each of the three pieces, the story of the Glasgow Girls is reimagined and recreated in different ways. In a sense, the story becomes more fictionalized each time it is reimagined, but we would argue that this "partial truth" does not equate with falsity or inauthenticity. Instead, it is a mechanism that allows both real and

fictionalized (but not "untrue") elements to work together to draw out the empathy of the viewer. The dynamics of reality/unreality work on the imagination of a range of viewers, from the people originally involved in the campaign to audiences who are new to the story. Although the story is being retold in an order that is not, strictly speaking, chronological, the audience understand its meaning and impact.

Transformation and Loss of Ownership

In discussions concerning the transmediality of the Glasgow Girls' story then, concerns about whether the story is "true" or "false" might be readily dismissed in favor of an interest in the social and cultural ways the story works. However, while such a dismissal may be appropriate when talking about the transmediality of a fictional world, the nonfictional nature of the Glasgow Girls' story should give pause for thought, as where, for instance, in fictional worlds, "reality" might be an issue in terms of story world or plot cohesion, for the nonfictional story, an unstable "reality" has implications not only for the "facts" of the story but also for those whose story it is. Unlike the fictional worlds cited respectively by Jenkins and Ryan in their work on transmedia, the Glasgow Girls' story has empirical experiences at its roots. This is not to say that there is a singular, "frozen" (Jackson 70–71) "reality" or "version" of the Glasgow Girls' story—since, of course, the experiences of its participants are all subjective themselves. However, using fictionalized narratives to talk about nonfictional realities can be problematic. In one instance for the (real-life) Glasgow Girls, the very mediation of their story caused issues, for example, when secondary pupils decided to write on the musical for their Higher exams, the SQA[6] failed them because it was not a sufficiently "literary" medium (Bissett, Interview 2015). Here, we might argue, while the topic of the campaign is ideal material for secondary school pupils, its message was sabotaged by its medium—not, we hasten to add, because the medium was not of quality, but because of the levity with which the exams board regarded it.

If the transmediation of the story can hardly be regarded as a loss in authenticity there is a real sense of loss of ownership of the story among the girls themselves. Beck (Beck 188) tells the story of a Qashqa'i weaver and the carpet that she had crafted with great love and attention. The weaver fully expected that the carpet would form part of her dowry in due course—but to her astonishment, her brother

used it to secure a loan. Later on, she witnessed a family having a picnic on the same carpet. This is an episode of loss—which tells of the separation of the carpet from the lady who had created it. "The Benjaminian aura is lost, as the woven object is exiled from the act of weaving" (Erami). This loss is the movement of the carpet from its original environment among nomadic peoples to a commodity that is both local and global. The Benjaminian aura is lost as the bonds between the original storyteller and the story of the carpet are broken—although there is also a gain in that there is "a new beauty in what is vanishing" (Benjamin 87).

This sense of loss and gain also applies to the narrative of the Glasgow Girls. While the girls themselves featured strongly in the original documentary, actors replaced them in subsequent iterations—although there was still a strong attempt to retain the "voices" of the girls themselves. More seriously for the campaigners, the televisual medium of both the documentary and the (musical) drama have had implications for their "ownership" of the story. To enable the broadcasting of both stories on public service television, the campaigners assigned copyright of their story to the BBC. In consequence, the campaigners do not have control over two of the three media in which their story is embedded, and any future broadcasting of these productions requires formal permission as well as a fee. Indeed, at a public charity event that we attended in the course of our research in summer 2015, the girls were unable to show either the documentary or the (musical) drama due to the copyright restrictions and related costs.

Hafstein notes that the awarding of copyright to a narrative can be something of a double-edged sword, which controls even as it "protects": "copyright controls and limits the rights to reproduce, distribute, and perform works that fall under the scope of its protection" (Hafstein 15). Hafstein argues that copyright should be seen to acknowledge the "creative agency" of a story's narrators; however, in the case of the Glasgow Girls' story, by limiting the means with which the campaigners can disseminate their story, BBC copyright puts into jeopardy the very agency that it purports to celebrate, and is in danger of reinforcing discriminatory neoliberal structures and discourse that imply that the "*subaltern do not produce. They reproduce*" (Hafstein 25; italics original). With the migration of the Glasgow Girls' story from the private to the public realm, the story and the campaign has benefited from a wider audience, but that gain has been counterbalanced not only by some loss of ownership of the narrative by the campaigners themselves but also some loss of discursive control. While the campaigners are more than capable of taking

on public (discursive) conversations about their representation, the "publication" of their story has a price—one which they are both "prepared to pay" and contest, although not without mixed feelings.

Closure and Imagination

For nonfictional stories, the threat of "loss" in some form is perhaps an inevitable consequence of transmediality. Yet even in this threat of instability, there is potential, for, as Benjamin argues of the Qashqa'i weaver's carpet, "there is a new beauty in what is vanishing" (Benjamin 87). Using Lévy's work, Jenkins argues that transmediality is ultimately about openness—that when presented with a story of adequate depth, "our primary goal should be to prevent closure from occurring too quickly" (Jenkins, "Searching for the Origami Unicorn" 95). The lack of closure in the Glasgow Girls' story—and indeed, its transmediality—is one of its great strengths. The gaps in "reality," media and message between the documentary, musical, and dramatic worlds of the three pieces create a greater breadth and depth of interpretation of the story than a single telling could achieve. In the same way that the different cultural influences of the musical created dialogue rather than distance between the various media, there is dialogue between the pieces themselves, and debate about how the story could be imagined by different people at different times. This expansive quality has allowed the campaigners to continue their activism in a number of different arenas (that is, human rights activism, student politics, and public commentary). It has also given the campaign a significant cultural and social weighting, especially in Glasgow, where it is used to imagine and reimage the city's ever-developing relationship with its social conscience (see McGurk). As the practice of dawn raids again returns to the city (Swindon)—even as their city begins to respond to the ongoing humanitarian crises in the Middle East and Mediterranean (see Brooks)—it is likely that the Glasgow Girls' story will continue to evolve.

Appendix: Matrix of Interviews and Fieldwork

PERSON	PLACE	INFORMATION TYPE	DATE
Amal Azzudin	SWAN Conference (Paisley)	Public speech (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015
	Glasgow	Interview (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015
	Glasgow Girls: 10 year celebration (Scottish Refugee Council: Glasgow)	Public panel (recorded and transcribed)	Summer 2015
Emma Clifford	Glasgow Girls: 10 year celebration (Scottish Refugee Council: Glasgow)	Public panel (recorded and transcribed)	Summer 2015
Lindsay Hill	Dust of Everyday Life conference (Glasgow)	Public panel (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015
Cora Bissett	Glasgow	Interview (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015
	Dust of Everyday Life conference (Glasgow)	Public panel (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015
	Glasgow Girls: 10 year celebration (Scottish Refugee Council: Glasgow)	Public panel (recorded and transcribed)	Summer 2015
Kate Cook	Telephone conversation	Interview (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015
Brian Welsh	Dust of Everyday Life conference (Glasgow)	Public panel (recorded and transcribed)	Spring 2015

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Belonging, and Language: An Intercultural Perspective (Palgrave 2012). Her TEDx talk on Intangible Cultural Heritage can be viewed at https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=d9ZHj4ihTog.

■ NOTES

1. A new production of the Glasgow Girls with new cast-members and new musical arrangments featured at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in August 2016. It also returned to the Citizens Theatre, Glasgow from August 30 to September 3.
2. All sources of primary quotations are listed in the appendix.
3. Although two dawn raids on families in Glasgow appear to have resurrected this practice (Swindon).
4. The *Forgotten Glasgow Girl* focused on the story of Sofia Vucaj, the daughter of another of the family that was deported in the midst of the Glasgow Girls' activities.
5. *Leave to Remain* told a story that had much in common with the Glasgow Girls in that it featured the issue of Leave to Remain in the United Kingdom and the mishaps that can jeopardize permission to remain in Britain. As with the Glasgow Girls, the file was based on real-life experiences.
6. The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) regulates all secondary school examinations in Scotland.

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Narrative Maps, Collective Memory, and Identities: Through an Ethnographic Example from the Southeast Aegean
| MARILENA PAPACHRISTOPHOROU 67

This paper links two distinct representational practices, maps and narratives, with reference to long fieldwork in an Aegean insular community; it investigates how the experience of space permeates collectivity through narratives and how it ultimately, and largely, mediates the community's values in terms of a system. Here, the concept of "narrative maps" acquires the meaning of collective representations and of a complex cognitive function for memorizing and mapping space through bodily transfers and collective memory. To what extent is a community able to preserve collective memory with its maps spontaneously, without imposing "realms of memory"?

Medium and Narrative Change: The Effects of Multiple Media on the "Glasgow Girls" Story and Their Real-Life Campaign
| EMMA HILL and MÁIRÉAD NIC CRAITH 87

This paper is a critical analysis of the impact of transmediality on the story of the Glasgow Girls and their campaign against the practice of dawn raids and child detention by UK immigration authorities. The campaign first came to public attention in the United Kingdom in 2005, when a group of teenage pupils from both refugee and Glaswegian backgrounds (the "Glasgow Girls") mobilized local and national communities to protest against the treatment of refugee families in Glasgow. That campaign is well known in Scotland and is a cultural touchstone for how issues of belonging, migration, identity, and community are expressed in both Scotland and the United Kingdom (themes that are especially pertinent with reference to the current refugee crisis in Europe). Having brought unprecedented attention to their case, the campaigners were the subject of a 2005 BBC documentary. Subsequently, their story was revised and retold in different creative media (in theater and television). The concept of transmediality is usually applied to fictional narratives to analyze the effect of different media on the "reality" of the story world, but using an anthropological theoretical framework, we use transmediality to trace how the real-life story of the Glasgow Girls has been transformed in its mediation across different forms. Drawing on two-years' ethnographic fieldwork in Glasgow as well, as a number of original interviews with those involved with "transmediation" of the story, our research shows that the transmediality of the Glasgow Girls' narrative has given the campaign continued resonance and longevity. Indeed, it has enabled the story's multiple media to work in imaginative and cultural dialogue with one another. However, as we also demonstrate in this essay, the issue of transmediality

has also given rise to concerns about narrative control and ownership—concerns that are especially pressing for the ongoing campaign and are also pertinent to similar initiatives in an international context.

Ecotypes: Theory of the Lived and Narrated Experience
| GALIT HASAN-ROKEM 110

The ecotype, one of the most versatile and productive concepts in folklore studies, denotes a local variation in an international type as theorized by the geographical-historical school of folklore studies. C. W. von Sydow (1878–1952) developed the term in the 1930s for describing a process of cultural adaptation of tradition, emphasizing the relationship between tradition and its environment, based on a contextual, interactional, and functional view of its transmission and change. A. Dundes introduced the ecotype in his influential *The Study of Folklore* (1965); R. Abrahams used it systematically in his analysis of American urban ethnic traditions. L. Honko's major theoretical follow-up of the ecotype (1981) systematized the process of ecotypification distinguishing "adaptation to the morphology of the environment," "adaptation to the morphology of the tradition," "functional adaptation," occurring as new traditions introduced into a system attached themselves to "milieu dominants" and "tradition dominants."

Historically linked to emerging collective identities, especially national identities, the ecotype has characteristically been applied by scholars of small peoples striving to construct a separate national identity, such as S. Ó. Duilearga's Irish, D. Noy's Jewish, and E. Yassif's Israeli ecotypes. Partly deconstructing the nationally constructed ecotypes, T. Alexander has worked with smaller ethnic and family ecotypes, and G. Hasan-Rokem has developed the interpretive aspects of the ecotype by discussing its potential to express relationships across groups in cultural "contact zones," especially in historical, ancient contexts and in long duration. D. Hopkins has introduced the ecotype as the best possible tool to elicit the voices of the otherwise unheard parts of past populations, creating a bridge between cultural history and social history, pointing at further productive interdisciplinary potentials of the concept in folklore studies and beyond.

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