

RUNAWAY ASIAN GIRLS IN GLASGOW: THE ROLE AND RESPONSE OF THE COMMUNITY

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The problem of young runaways is not an uncommon one in Glasgow. Increasing unemployment, poverty, family break-ups and cuts in social security benefits contribute to a number of young people running away from home. The Asians of the city have also witnessed the emergence of this problem within their community.¹ Instances of youngsters, especially girls, overthrowing parental authority and control and defying norms are on the rise.²

In this paper I look into the problem of young Asian girls who runaway from home and thus reject the established socio-cultural patterns of their community. At the outset, it is important to clarify that the problem of runaway girls affects only a very small part of the Asian population and is an exception rather than the rule within the community.³ Small numbers notwithstanding, the significance of studying such a group cannot be denied

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¹*The term 'Asian' refers to the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants to the UK from the subcontinent and their descendents.*

²*An exploratory research showed that Asian boys by and large did not run away from home because their needs and aspirations were met within the family framework.*

³*The total South Asian population of Glasgow was approximately 15,000 of which 10,945 were Pakistanis, 3,374 were Indians and 191 were Bangladeshis. See Dalton and Hampton (1994) for further details.*

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given the dearth of academic research on young Asian girls in Scotland. The importance of conducting this research was also reinforced on account of the fact that apart from a few professionals and academics the general population remained unaware of this problem.

The sample of this study included 42 runaway Asian girls. It was limited to single runaway girls belonging to families which originally emigrated from the subcontinent. As far as their ethnic background was concerned, there were 27 Pakistanis, 13 Indians, and two Bangladeshis. Fourteen members of organisations and agencies who were directly involved with the runaway Asian girls or who dealt with the homeless population were interviewed. The data was collected through a combination of methods including questionnaires, interviews and case studies. The fieldwork for this study was conducted in the years 1994-95 in the city of Glasgow. Though the data is nearly ten years old, I believe that the issues discussed below remain relevant and important.

The selection and recruitment of study participants for this research was difficult given its sensitive nature. It involved the study of private behaviour and also behaviour that is widely condemned. The research became difficult to execute as the potential participants had a need to hide their involvement. In order to overcome these problems, I used the strategy of drawing respondents from a number of different sources, realising that the resulting sample would not be random but might include diverse segments of the runaway population. The approach was a combination of a) recruitment from diverse sources, which included hostels and refuges for the young and homeless, social workers, community and outreach workers who worked with this group and Sahara, an example of a community initiative and b) personal referral into the sample by these individuals recruited through these sources. Personal referral is a method whereby respondents who have already participated in the research send other individuals, who are a part of their personal network, to participate in it. The rationale for using this combination of methods was that recruitment from a variety of sources would help to ensure a broad cross-section of respondents, while personal referrals provided by the individuals recruited through these different sources would give a more diverse sample.

Two main findings emerged from this study. While ascertaining the main differences between runaway girls from the Asian community and the indigenous Scottish runaway girls it became apparent that the influence and

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the role of the family and the community was far greater in the lives of the former than the latter. Further, the incidence of an Asian girl running away had far reaching consequences for the family and the community when compared to the indigenous Scottish family and community. The second finding pertained to the failure of the Asian community to come up with a solution to the social problem of young runaways. The inability of the community to organise themselves either through formal projects, or even informally, could be attributed to issues of migration, settlement, racism and language. The problem is further compounded by the inherent divisions in the community that hinder cooperation and communication within the sub-communities and prevent the forging of inter-ethnic alliance to tackle common problems.

This paper is divided into five sections. The socio-economic background of the girls and the reasons that caused them to leave home are highlighted in the first section. The second section points out the differences that emerged between the Asian and the indigenous Scottish runaway girls. The third section outlines the developments that led to the formulation of the Sahara Project, and cites the reasons that were responsible for the project's failure. The fourth section focuses on the reaction and response of the community towards the runaway girls and their families. Some concluding remarks are presented in the last section.

THE RUNAWAY GIRLS

On the basis of the data collected it became evident that most of the runaway Asian girls belonged to families which were structurally nuclear but were numerically large. Girls whose parents had either received no formal education or who had a little education in the subcontinent, before their arrival in the UK, seemed to leave home more often than those whose parents were educated. The economic condition of the family also had its influence on the phenomenon with most girls coming from families which belonged to a low or middle income group, where the heads of the families were shop owners or retailers.

Girls born and brought up in Britain, who formed the second or the third generation of the community living in the UK, were more likely to leave home than those whose formative years were spent in the subcontinent. Also the incidence of running away from home was higher among girls who were

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not the first born or the eldest in the families.⁴ These variables reveal some of the factors that determine the decision of the girls to leave home. Some of the reasons as reported by the girls for running away from home were oppression, breakdown in communication, and a need for independence.

Oppression within the family was by far the most common reason cited for leaving home. It was reported that parents, especially fathers, were strict authoritarians who adhered to a belief system that demanded the acquiescence of their children to their values and principles as a matter of right. Breakdown in communication between the girls and their parents was the second most common factor that forced the girls to leave home. The relationship was not based on mutual understanding and trust and the respondents reported that there was a constant need to lie and hide even trivial matters from their parents. A large number of girls also left home because of their need for independence and the power to exercise a greater control over their lives, be it personal, social, their desire for higher education or their choice of employment.

While these were the three main factors, there were other reasons as well for girls from Asian families to leave home. These included involvement in sexual relationships unacceptable to the family, or the threat or possibility of arranged or forced marriages and physical and sexual abuse within the family.⁵

THE INDIGENOUS SCOTTISH AND ASIAN RUNAWAYS: A COMPARISON

It is generally believed that when young Asian girls run away from home they completely defy the Asian code of behaviour and this defiance is prompted by western influences. The indigenous Scottish friends of Asian children and others who leave home are somehow seen as responsible for starting this trend among the Asians. Even when one takes into account the

⁴ *Interestingly, in my sample there were at least four cases where the eldest daughter who was born in India did not leave home but their younger sisters who were born and brought up in Britain did.*

⁵ *High profile court cases of forced marriages support these factors. For a brief report, see Khawaja (no date).*

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strong impact that peer pressure and popular culture has on the youth, to put the onus of runaway Asian girls squarely on western influences would be unreasonable. Besides, the circumstances and experiences of runaway girls from indigenous Scottish background are often very different. The significance of pointing out these differences also lies in the fact that the state of homelessness is sometimes seen as affecting the entire homeless population uniformly. One does not dispute that leaving home is a traumatic experience for all young people. However, to a great extent the individual's background determines the strength or vulnerability of her coping mechanism. It is in this regard that certain differences emerged between runaway girls from an indigenous Scottish and those from an Asian background.

The first major difference between the two groups stemmed from the fact that the indigenous Scottish girls did not always leave home of their own accord. Divorce of parents, and parents taking on new partners, often created tensions within the domestic environment. Many young people were asked to leave or were abandoned to defuse a conflict situation at home. Parents also asked teenagers to leave home when their behaviour was considered unacceptable, especially if they were involved with drugs and alcohol. Some left when they turned 16 as parents could not afford to bear their expenses, especially if they themselves were dependent on state funds. This had become increasingly common since 1988 when the government stopped providing Income Support for 16 and 17 year olds.⁶

In contrast, for Asian girls, the decision to leave home was their own. In fact many kept their plans a secret as they foresaw strong opposition to their decision from other members of their family. Some respondents claimed that even after they had left home, their parents continued to exert pressure on them to return. Illness of parents and humiliation of the family within the community were two common forms of emotional blackmail used on the girls in order to force them to change their minds.⁷

⁶ *Income support was the main non-contributory benefit that people on low income received. To qualify for income support (under section 20 of the Social Security Act 1986), the claimants had to be 18 or over, not be in full time employment, be 'available for' and 'actively seeking' employment, and their income and capital had to be below a prescribed amount.*

⁷ *For similar attitude of the Asian parents in Bradford, see Khawaja (no date).*

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The second difference between the young runaway girls among the indigenous Scottish and the Asian population concerned a higher degree of awareness and a greater exposure to the social security system among the former compared to the latter. Many indigenous Scottish girls came from families which had already been through the system and so were well versed with the various channels that could be approached for help and support. Asian girls, on the other hand, belonged to families that kept their distance from social workers and other agencies of the government and so had little information about whom to approach with their problems.

Even when agencies were identified, Asian girls still faced a dilemma in seeking their guidance. Many felt that even well-meaning white officials failed to understand their predicament because of their lack of first-hand information about Asian culture and tradition. Some thought that stereotypical images of Asians among the whites made matters worse as it led to over-simplification of issues. Asian social workers too failed to evoke confidence among the Asian runaway girls as they found them less professional and more prone to sympathising with their parents. The indigenous Scottish runaway girls were more aware of their rights and the benefits that they were entitled to than their Asian counterparts. As Asian girls were not well acquainted with the workings of the Social Work Department and usually did not have social workers to assist them, they tended to lose out on hardship loans and grants that they would otherwise be entitled to.

Leaving home is a traumatic experience for girls from both communities, but Asian girls seemed much more vulnerable especially when we address the burden of guilt that they carried for dishonouring their family. The concept of 'izzat' or honour has been discussed in many works on Asians in Britain (Pettigrew 1972, p.20, Wilson 1978, pp.103-106, Ballard 1979, pp.116-117, Helweg 1979, pp.10-11, Afshar 1989, p.213). Honour is respect and its recognition by the community of individuals and families when their behaviour is in accordance with culturally acceptable standards, as opposed to shame, which is the public condemnation of behaviour that goes against cultural norms. The family honour or izzat is determined by the lives and actions of its members, more so by those of the girls and women than the men of the unit. The dress of the daughters, the friends they have, their behaviour in the presence of strangers, their education, the jobs and careers that they aspire to, the age of their marriage, and the family they marry into

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are all aspects of a girl's life which are related to her izzat, and through her to that of her family. Any action that goes against the prescribed norms damages the family izzat. Wilson (1978, p.104) reports that though a girl can have izzat, it is not her own but only a reflection of the male pride of the family as a whole. So izzat is essentially a sensitive and many-faceted male family identity which can be damaged easily by irresponsible behaviour or behaviour which is perceived as such.

If deviation or even temporary aberration from aspects of general behaviour is seen to bring disrepute to the family honour, one can well imagine the calamitous consequence that running away from home would have on the family. Members of the family, relatives, friends and neighbours would all see this action as irrevocable damage done to the izzat of the family, which in turn would lower their status within the community.

So an Asian girl who ran away from home took into account the broader consequences that her action might have on her family. She had to take responsibility for changing the lives of the other members of her family. Her sisters would be subjected to greater restrictions and any small liberties that they previously enjoyed would be clamped down upon. Matrimonial alliances from well-respected families would not be forthcoming for them. Her mother might be blamed and humiliated for not having brought up the daughter in an appropriate manner, not only by friends and relatives but also by the father and the elders in the family. Cousins would also have to face social repercussions. All these issues which were perceived as somehow related with the izzat of the family had to be considered by an Asian girl who contemplated running away from home. These considerations of family honour and pride, of course, did not touch the realm of the existence of indigenous Scottish girls who left home.

Another difference that emerged was the fact that when an Asian girl ran away, she not only dissociated herself from her family but in the process also got dissociated from her community. Many respondents who participated in this study maintained that after leaving home their community completely ostracised them. They were condemned and treated as outcasts. They were not welcome at the homes of their relatives and friends. In fact some reported that their friends were asked by their parents to sever all links with them as any association with them might lower their own family honour. Some girls were subjected to malicious gossip and verbal abuse by members of their community. Those who received some help got it from young cousins and

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friends who had perhaps left home themselves. As far as the indigenous Scottish girls were concerned, their community was not involved in condemning them or ostracising them.

SAHARA: AN ORGANISED RESPONSE

Most of the members of the Asian community of Glasgow, especially men, refused to admit that the problem of runaway girls affected their community. This attitude of denial had resulted in attempts to trivialise the issue. However, various Asian women, especially those directly or indirectly involved with social work, community development and outreach work, who encountered these cases in their profession, had often tried to highlight this issue in various forums. Though individually many of these workers provided support, help and advice to young runaways, a collective response from them came in the form of the Sahara Project.

The Sahara Black Women's Homeless Project, with an executive committee of 6-10 members (the membership fluctuated), endeavoured to establish a hostel to provide safe, secure and supportive accommodation for young black women aged between 16-25, who were homeless or were at risk of becoming homeless.⁸ It aimed to empower single homeless young women of black and ethnic minority community and offer support and assistance to enable them to gain a measure of control over their lives. It proposed to employ workers who shared similar linguistic, cultural, religious and social backgrounds with the clients and thus could understand and empathise with their problems to a greater degree.

The *raison d'être* for this project was the increasing number of young black homeless women and the fact that there were no existing services, statutory or voluntary, which catered to the specific needs of this group. Although Gryffe Asian Women's Aid, a project initiated by Scottish Women's Aid in Glasgow, offered help and refuge to young Asian girls, it was essentially an organisation which provided aid to Asian women in the city who were victims of domestic violence. As for the other hostels and supported accommodations, the Sahara executive committee believed that they did not

⁸ *The broader term 'black women' was used to include girls of African and Afro-Caribbean descent along with Asians as the target population of Sahara.*

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reflect the ethnic mix of the population that they had been set up to serve in terms of both residents and staff, and so would be unable to recognise and respond effectively to the differing needs of young ethnic minority girls.

Another reason, though not discussed openly, perhaps provided the basic rationale for the promotion of this project. Many Asian workers were alarmed at the drastic transformation the runaway girls underwent after leaving home. One worker narrated the case of a young Sikh girl who came from an extremely conservative background and had run away to escape the oppressive atmosphere at home. When the worker first met the girl, she was dressed demurely with a headscarf or dupatta. After a couple of weeks, when the next meeting came up, the girl's appearance had undergone a complete change. Her hair was coloured and cut short and she was dressed in the shortest of miniskirts. Though this change could possibly be a temporary reaction against the strict and oppressive life-style the teenager had led earlier and could be explained as a celebration of her new-found independence, for the Asian worker this was an indication of the young girl going astray. There were also reports of young girls running away to London where in order to survive they had to work on the streets. It was also said that girls in other hostel accommodation often got involved in drugs and alcohol and went to discos and nightclubs.

It was commonly believed that young runaways on encountering unlimited freedom often led an indulgent life-style which brought about self-destruction. Therefore, a hostel such as Sahara, staffed by members of ethnic minority communities would be more vigilant regarding the safety and well being of the girls. Though not stated in public, it would have stricter rules, so that the girls could lead a disciplined life and be protected from 'corrupting influences'.

It was also felt that runaway girls, usually ostracised by society, by staying in Sahara would be able to maintain some links with the community, however feeble these might be. They would be provided with a diet that they were used to, prayer facilities would be made available and there would be no pressure on them to change their life-styles. By living in this hostel they would be ensured a place at least in the periphery of their community and would be able to maintain their 'Asianness'.

The Sahara executive committee was formed in 1991-92. Studies and surveys were conducted to establish and demonstrate the fact that there was indeed a

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need for this project as there was a gap in the provision of supportive accommodation for young black women. A research project was funded to assess levels of homelessness experienced by them, and to assert the fact that young women from a black and ethnic minority would use such a service if it were available. A model project was chosen ('Havan' in Leicester) on the basis of which Sahara would be established.⁹

But in spite of all the efforts the Sahara executive committee failed to raise funds for the proposed hostel. Its applications for grants to sponsoring bodies were rejected thrice in three consecutive financial years. The third rejection completely demoralised the members and in late 1995 the committee was disbanded.

There were five main reasons for the failure of the members to raise funds for Sahara.¹⁰ First and foremost, one has to bear in mind the fact that there was an acute shortage of resources for such projects. Even Gryffe Asian Women's Aid often had to hold fund-raising events because of the severe resource crunch.¹¹ In 1992-93, the refuge survived one whole year without any financial help from Strathclyde Region.

Second, both Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Region, which were the main funders for such projects, were perhaps influenced in their rejection of Sahara by Asian male councillors. As mentioned earlier, Asian men had never been very sympathetic to the cause of the young runaway girls. And providing funding for such a project would have been tantamount to encouraging and enabling young girls to run away from home.

There was an overall lack of professionalism in the approach to establishing the project. Complex forms for acquiring grants and funds from the local

⁹ *This project in Leicester provided long term supported accommodation to young black women aged between 16 and 25 who had left home. It was chosen as the model because of its appropriateness and similarities to the proposed project.*

¹⁰ *I was invited to join the executive committee of Sahara in the year 1994. I was a member of this project for a year.*

¹¹ *This project offered temporary, supported accommodation for abused Asian women, their children and sometimes young girls as well. It provided information on social security benefits and legal and housing rights and arranged for permanent rehousing of its residents.*

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bodies were filled out without any preparation or discussion. Members, most of whom were Asian girls and women, often missed meetings and the membership itself changed constantly. Some unemployed members would stop attending meetings after acquiring jobs. In fact there was an allegation against members that they were associated with the project for the promotion and advancement of their own careers.

Furthermore, there was an undercurrent of personal animosity between some of the members which led to the formation of cliques within the committee. This acted as a divisive force among the members when there was a need for a strong and united group that could articulate its demands coherently in meetings.

Finally, existing services and agencies failed to extend their support to the project, after showing an initial interest. Although the survey and research showed that there was a need for such a hostel, doubts persisted in the minds of many who were involved in the field of homelessness. It was acknowledged that a separate refuge for older Asian women (Gryffe Asian Women's Aid) was necessary as these women did not speak English and had very basic cultural differences with the indigenous population in terms of food, clothes, values and beliefs. But for young Asian girls, who were educated in Britain and were relatively westernised, a separate hostel did not appear to be logical. Reservations about the establishment of Sahara also existed on the grounds that most young homeless Asian girls explicitly demanded to see white social workers while visiting Social Work Departments. These were perhaps some of the reasons which undermined the efforts of the Sahara committee members to mobilise support for a black women's hostel.

In spite of their failure on the hostel front, many of the members were involved in providing help and support to young girls who were either homeless or were undergoing a crisis at home. Information about social workers and other agencies and organisations was provided. They were encouraged to join youth clubs and participate in cultural events in order to broaden their horizons. They were advised to attend workshops, courses and vocational training classes that would help them qualify for jobs. However, all this was done at a personal level, as the organised effort to establish Sahara remained unsuccessful.

REACTION AND RESPONSE OF THE COMMUNITY

In this section we turn our focus towards the reaction and response of the community towards the families of the runaway girls and the girls themselves. The idea that a girl's reputation is important is almost universal, but for Asian girls it is a great conservative force that controls any unconventional action. The extent of its control covers everyone in Asian societies since it is directly related to family honour or izzat. As the main essence of izzat with its various connotations has already been discussed in the second section, suffice it to say that the act of running away compromised the family to a great extent. By placing individual desires and interests above those of their culture, their community and their family, a runaway girl was seen to have disgraced her family. Families were stigmatised, their izzat was lost, and the parents were subjected to contemptuous behaviour in Asian gatherings. Parents were expected to strictly supervise their children, especially their daughters, and the act of leaving home testified to the fact that they had failed in performing their duties. The community was hard and unforgiving on such parents.

Though the families suffered, it was the young runaway who actually bore the brunt of the community's social sanctions. Parents of other Asian youngsters prevented them from interacting with girls who had left home. The constant righteous gossip, a common feature of the Asian community, painted a loose and immoral picture of these girls. Even when the reason for leaving home was something else, there were always allusions to boyfriends, parties and late night outings. While most runaways avoided Asian gatherings of their own volition, some were discouraged from attending such functions because of the overt hostility that they faced there. Some respondents were reportedly subjected to verbal abuse and were even threatened with physical violence. One respondent reported that after leaving home she used to be followed by Asian boys of her neighbourhood and got the feeling of being under constant surveillance.

Relatives and neighbours of the runaway girl reacted by supervising their own children more strictly. The strictness often depended upon the level of confidence they had in their own children. Sometimes the runaways returned home and this was either temporary or permanent depending upon the external circumstances and the degree of change the family itself had undergone. In order to retrieve the situation the primary objective of the

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parents then was to arrange their marriage. To marry them locally would indeed be a formidable task given the small size of the community and the fact that the girl's past would be well known. So alliances were sought either from the subcontinent or among immigrant communities in countries like the US and Canada.

Usually the acceptance of the girl's return depended upon the extent of the loss of credibility suffered by the family. High status families with high profiles in the community went to great lengths to bring their daughters back. Community leaders were contacted and male relatives were often involved in tracing the girl's whereabouts. One of the community workers reported the existence of groups called the 'bounty-hunters' in the English Midlands who helped parents in tracking down the girls.¹²

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Asian community has struggled to organise itself, but has failed to tackle the problem of runaway girls due to a lack of cohesion among the different ethnic communities. This lack of cohesion can perhaps be attributed to the separate sub-ethnic, national and religious identities that mark the intra-Asian relations in Glasgow. The complex interplay of religion, caste and language mediate via cultural, political and economic dimensions to forge group identities.

Class differentiation also plays an important part in Asian identity formations. There is a small but highly successful upper middle-class Asian population that lives in the most affluent suburban locations. The slightly larger middle-class is composed of owners of small business enterprises and the small shopkeepers who eke out a living on narrow profit margins. The rest of the Asians in Glasgow belong to the working class, many of them unemployed or threatened with unemployment. While the Indians (including the Hindus and Sikhs) are predominant in the first two classes, the Pakistanis

¹² *The 'bounty-hunters' were basically Asian men who were paid by families to track down runaway girls and bring them back. The men reportedly went to great lengths to trace the girls and sometimes even assaulted them in the process. However, for the families they remained the 'rescuers' and 'saviours' of the family honour.*

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figure heavily in the middle class and the Bangladeshis are concentrated in the middle and working classes.

These divisions within the community are further reinforced through policies of multiculturalism with its ill-defined notions of culture. Culture, in the purview of multiculturalism, is seen as a set of traits and customs which are distinct to a certain group of people and which instil in them certain values and feelings that stay unaffected by history or a change of context (Vertovec 1996, p.224). Populations are categorised culturally and cultural differences that separate them are considered insurmountable and unchangeable. This assumption on the part of administrators necessitates special collective representations by appointed or self-appointed 'leaders' who may not be the true representatives of the communities. This, coupled with the fact that there already exists fierce competition among the communities for the limited resources, subsidies and provisions that are available, leads to a situation where instead of inter-ethnic alliance there is an air of suspicion and non-communication among the communities.

In such a scenario, it is sadly the case that the Asian communities of Glasgow, in the face of adversities, have been unable to organise themselves and act in unison. When faced with problems as in the case of runaway girls they have failed to adopt a single unified strategy. While the upper classes responded with hiring men to trace the girls, the working classes ostracised and excommunicated them. Some tried to emotionally blackmail their daughters into returning home. As a result, none of these disjointed half-measures have provided a lasting solution to the problem of runaway Asian girls.

There is an urgent need for Asian communities to bury their differences and inter-community rivalries in order to solve common problems. The issue of runaway girls cannot be hidden or trivialised any further. It has to be faced directly in a straightforward and uncompromising manner.

Policies of multiculturalism where cultural differences were celebrated should give way to an integrated approach that promotes a greater sensitivity to other cultures. There is a need to develop strategies where Asians, born and brought up in the UK, are empowered so that they can provide alternatives to reactionary elements who sometimes act as representatives of the Asian communities.

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The respondents in this study, that is, the runaway girls, were unanimous in their view that Asian workers had failed in their role as service providers. In this context, it might be argued that separate service provisions for young Asians may not be desirable. The need perhaps is for members of the staff of the service industry, whether indigenous or Asian, to show a greater commitment to their clients. Instead of being judgemental and discriminatory, they should be supportive of the group that they are paid to serve.

Hostels and refuges for young runaways could be staffed by both Asian and indigenous workers. Though many respondents expressed their reservations about Asian workers, they felt that their presence was useful in hostels as they belonged to a similar socio-cultural background to the girls and shared a value system unique to the Asian community. So they would be able to understand the complexities of issues involved. There is also a need to specifically employ Asians born and brought up in the UK as they would be able to empathise with the girls easily. It is important that they have an attitude which is neither disapproving nor condescending. Indigenous workers are necessary for their professionalism and the fact that they offer a different outlook and perspective.

Many of the Asian workers who were involved with their community at a professional level, and who were also acquainted with the problem of runaway girls, were of the opinion that the families and the parents needed to play a more positive role in addressing this issue. One of the key areas of focus was the need for parents to be enrolled in adult education programmes and be involved in group work training. It was acknowledged that girls left home even in families where the parents were educated, but the incidence was higher where they were illiterate. It is likely that education would promote a greater understanding of the problems that caused distress among Asian youth. The other benefit of education would be that it would bring about a higher degree of exposure to the indigenous culture which would then be regarded with less suspicion. A tolerant attitude would result in a healthier family environment where the members would be more content, and less likely to leave home.

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