:laims to "possess an unrivalled fund of :nowledge and information about the topics he commission will be looking into—not umour, conjecture or supposition based on rejudice or misunderstanding."

The lack of effective police accounta-ility means that anyone, however unpreju-liced, who wants to establish what happened n a particular case, has very largely to roceed on the basis of "rumour, conjec-ure and supposition." That applies equally o the courts, the director of public prosecu-ons and the police complaints board. Vhether the individual in fact had the enefit of the safeguards introduced for his rotection depends almost wholly on a dis-retion vested in the police themselves, but ithout any independent check. "Rumour, onjecture and supposition" are therefore ıbstantially all that one is left with if one ccepts the word of the police, no less than one accepts the word of a suspect who

ıs been through the interrogation mill. But is much at least is uncontrovertible—that ch safeguards as exist are defective and obably worthless in practice.

The association calls for a number of bstantial extensions of police powers. The ıwer of arrest without warrant, for ample, would be extended to all offences nishable with imprisonment (instead of ly those punishable with five years or ore) and "in respect of all other offences ere should be a limited power to detain." any thousands more suspects would there-re be subject to a system of detention and errogation which affords them only very ıdequate safeguards, and yet, according ACPO, "no further safeguards to the rights suspects need be given." On the contrary, ose there are would be reduced.

The caution, it is recommended, should be olished because, under ACPO's proposals, ere would be no point in it. It informs a spect of his right of silence and ACPO nts the right of silence, in effect, done ay with. In place of the caution there uld be "a new warning . . . about the ssible consequences of failing [to answer ice questions]," namely, that from such lure a jury might be told to draw an erence of guilt. However, the right of nce is often a suspect's only safeguard in ituation in which he now has no one to vise him when he is under interrogation, ause the police fail to allow him to have olicitor present (as the Judges' Rules say has a right to do). This will be a far re serious disadvantage, if not replying police questions later lays a suspect person open to an effective inference of guilt.

It probably goes without saying that ACPO are against making access to a solicitor more effective.

Herbivore

Marginal note

If you walk down 42nd Street, it's possible to see ladies in fur coats and diamonds stepping over beggars on the pavement. But this isn't about New York, it's about Bournemouth and there is plenty of contrast there too.

I visited Bournemouth this summer and found the place a sociologist's paradise. An old lady goes into a shop for a light bulb and bosses the owner around like Mia Kellmer-Pringle talking to a recalcitrant student. "Class but no money," he said when she'd gone.

The foreign students (female) present an impressive array of the tightest fitting jeans I've ever seen. Bra-less, and luscious, they seem to have few problems over cash. One girl had spent £80 on clothes that morning. In the afternoon, I spoke to an English girl who told me that her Arab boyfriend received £250 a week pocket money.

On the conventional beach, Scottish children cover themselves while undressing in deep fear that someone should see something rude; gypsy children, wearing earrings speak in a fascinating accent near me. The attractive Jewish community (it is Saturday) attend the local synagogue. It's all happening: all you need is cash.

A few miles away from the town centre, I popped in to the 896 Club, the manager of which is a youth worker, Pete Criticos. It caters for unclubbables, and is open seven nights a week. Young people living in flats use it; so do motor bike enthusiasts (not welcomed in many of the local pubs); so do youngsters who are homeless and sleeping rough. Here, they can wash, shave and have a cheap meal.

I spoke to Sean, who's 18, and Angie, who's 16, and their baby. I doubt whether they'd spend £80 on clothes even if they had it. They did recommend their local jumble sale to me. The rockers, the itinerants and the regulars all mix very nicely; just as well, since many of them have nowhere else to go, and few of them can afford the bright lights of the town.

I visited Ted Taylor, out at West Howe, to see how his detached youth project was going. The adventure playground, the football and netball teams, were all thriving. Ted talks to his youngsters outside school, in the youth club, at the discos—if they can afford to go. There's an unemployment problem in Bournemouth as elsewhere and, as elsewhere, it's the young people whom it hits the hardest, as some of them told me.

Bournemouth isn't New York, but it has its affluent side and the side that most visitors never get to. When I arrived home from my visit, someone said in the local: "Bournemouth? Costa Geriatrica. Last stop before the grave. All those rich old ladies. How boring." I refrained from saying that we see what we want to see.

Findings

Asians are not all alike

Alison M. Baker

Studies of the Asian community in Britain have often emphasised the high levels of educational and occupational aspirations held by Asian parents and their children. These aspirations are often explained by reference to traditional values. However, these traditional values are not usually specified and neither is it made clear how they operate in the context of modern Britain. A recent small study of Asians in London suggests that:

1. To talk about Asians as a single category can be misleading and overlooks the existence of cultural subgroups.
2. Explanations of educational and occupational aspirations in terms of traditional cultural values are not appropriate when considering immigrant groups whose location within the dominant culture is not always straightforward.

The study was a small sample survey of Asian businessmen. Although the main thrust of the survey was concerned with running the business, some questions were also asked about the businessman's own educational history and his aspirations for his children. The survey covered 60 Asian-run small businesses, divided into two main groups—Indian Sikhs, and Bangladeshi Muslims.

Small businessmen are well known to hold independent attitudes, valuing self-help and individualism. This is commonly reflected in high aspirations for their children. Asian immigrants are also known to be ambitious for their children, so it was predictable that virtually all the respondents in the Asian businessmen study expressed a wish for their children to continue with their education after leaving school. When it came to their occupational aspirations for their children, though, there was less unanimity: whereas well over half the Sikhs hoped that their sons would go into business, only a third of the Bangladeshi sample hoped that their sons would succeed them. Of those businessmen who did not want their sons to go into business, the Sikhs were more likely than the Bangladeshis to want their sons to aim for one of the professions.

It can be misleading to simply categorise all Asians as if they belonged to a homogenous group. Even among a group holding the same economic position, there are marked differences in occupational aspirations for their children. Further analysis

of the survey data showed other differences between the Sikhs and the Bangladeshis in areas likely to have a bearing on educational and occupational aspirations: the educational histories of the respondents showed that 64 per cent of the Sikhs had had some kind of post-school education, compared with 20 per cent of the Bangladeshis. This is likely to be a significant difference when it comes to the likelihood of their children realising the parents' aspirations. Studies of British schoolchildren have indicated that parental experience of post-school education is a contributory factor to high levels of educational achievement.

It might have been expected that the Sikhs, with their higher level of education, would have been more likely to want their children to move out of small business. In fact it is the Bangladeshis who, in this respect, hold mobility aspirations for their children. If the explanation is not to be found in the educational history of the businessman, it might be that their perception of the occupational structure and ranking is relevant. But the two groups had fairly similar perceptions of the relative status of various occupations, including their own, although they had different views on the nature of small-scale entrepreneurship. Sikhs saw it as a job where "people think well of you" and said they had chosen their particular type of business because they thought it was likely to be profitable or because they had a special interest or connection with it. Bangladeshis tended to have gone into a business of which they had previous experience or which they felt would require little effort to establish. Sikhs were more likely to have been in business before they came to Britain.

All in all the Sikhs gave an impression of a very positive attitude to small-scale business and in that sense seemed to have made a real "choice" of occupation. Bangladeshis seemed to have been pushed into their particular business on the basis of previous experience or other economic factors, and many of them had probably entered business as a consequence of migration, through the "sponsorship" of a kinsman or fellow villager. It may have been a feeling of inevitableness about their own position which led them to hope that their sons would choose other occupations.

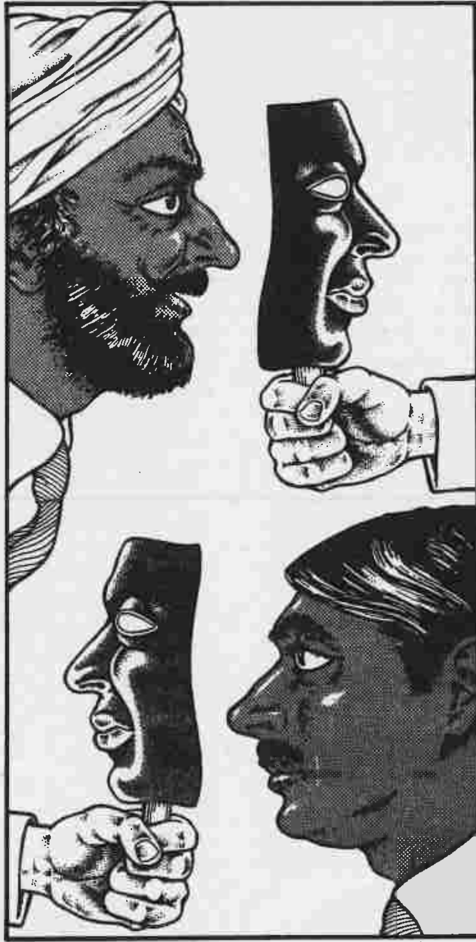
To return to the original point: apparent similarities in the Asian community can mask subtle differences which may have important consequences for their children's eventual entry to the occupational system. The tendency to classify Asians, and indeed other groups of immigrants, into a single category probably is a reflection of the commonsense perceptions of immigrants widely held in British society, whereby "blacks" are thought about and treated as if they were all alike.

Equally problematic is the tendency to explain the behaviour of immigrant groups, including educational and occupational attitudes, in terms of "traditional values." Sikhs are widely described as traditionally placing a high value on education and as bringing up their children in a cultural environment which is conducive to educational achievement. Bangladeshis, on the other hand, are usually regarded as coming from a society with a weaker tradition of education and a comparatively low rate of literacy. However, there were no differences between the Sikhs and the Bangladeshis in terms of educational aspiration for their children.

This might be accounted for as a result of a process of selective migration by which only the most ambitious of both groups have come to Britain, though there does not seem to be a great deal of evidenc to confirm this view, and answers to other questions in the interview did not give this impression. Alternatively, it might be more plausible to argue that traditional values are not simply transplanted into Britain when migrants arrive here, but that immigrants select and adapt aspects of their own and the host culture in response to their new situation. For example, it was not uncommon among our respondents for the same man to say that he would feel an obligation to offer a cousin a job if he needed one, but later on to say that if he wanted a loan he would always approach a bank or financial company and not his family.

The length of time which immigrant families have been in Britain is another variable which may influence their interaction with the host culture. The study showed that the more recent arrivals were least likely to express a preference for a particular type of post-school education for their children. This is easily understood as the newer arrivals have had least time to become familiar with the complexities of the British further education system. On the other hand it also demonstrates one of the weaknesses of the hypothesis about traditional values. British studies have pointed to the importance of parents' knowledge of the education system informing and supporting their children's educational ambitions. In other words, it is probable that a strong "traditional" orientation towards education on the part of immigrant parents is insufficient by itself to help their children to realise their aspirations; an understanding of how the education system works is also necessary.

It seems, then, that any analysis of educational or occupational aspirations of immigrant parents and their children needs to avoid simply invoking 'traditional values' as an explanation and to recognise the existence of significant subgroups within the immigrant communities.



John Storey

Trapped by the road

What happens when you put a multi-lane limited-access expressway, with a traffic flow of 65,000 vehicles a day and sound levels of 85 decibels, through an upper middle class American suburb? Craig R. Humphrey, David A. Bradshaw and John A. Krout detail how the resident's responses move through a sequence of the expressive (conversations), followed by avoidance (taking steps toward moving), the instrumental (making modifications to house and garden) and finally to the aggressive (complaints and political action). But many residents have to put up with it and accept the reality of the road (*Sociology and Social Research*, vol 62, No. 2, page 246).

The study area was located in the suburbs of Washington DC, along Interstate Highway 495. The researchers interviewed 188 heads of households or their spouses in two surveys in 1974. Most (85 per cent) of the residents abutting the road complained about noise, while 39 per cent picked on dirt, 34 per cent mentioned headlights. Residents a few blocks away from the road were less bothered by noise (39 per cent) and little concerned with vibration (5 per cent). But when the researchers looked at the response of residents to the existing road, like moving or house modifications, they did not increase or decrease in proportion to distance from the road.

This, say the researchers, is due to the fact that those on higher incomes had been able to take avoiding action early on or soon after the road was built. Socio-economic status and distance from the highway (and house prices) were closely related. Moreover, since the value of the houses abutting the road had declined relative to others, residents still left suffered "entrapment." People with high incomes had been able to move. The rest "got locked into a location where their expectations were frustrated."