Report on category 1

1. Introduction

It was very difficult to find interviewees in Britain that matched our criteria for this category. At the initial meeting the projects agreed to look for graduates 'of between 25 - 30 years of age, who had completed a first degree about three years earlier, who were not in settled careers, and who had studies nationally-common, not narrowly vocational subjects, and not social sciences closely related to our own research approaches. We wanted subjects with 'natural attitudes' not attitudes unduly formed by social scientific conceptions like our own.' (Notes from the first Sostris meeting 1996: 6). We also agreed to look for contrasting cases from more vocationally specific subjects who had still not found settled employment.

In Britain we agreed to look for graduates in history, English literature, foreign languages, European studies, joint honours degrees or the sciences. In contrast to continental European tradition the job-market for young graduates in Britain focusses more on the degree in general than on a specific subject (apart from the professions). This 'unspecificness' of the British academic labour market required an approach different to that in the other European countries.

Brennan et al (1993; 1995) in their studies about the 1985 degree cohort, found that there was no serious long-term unemployment among graduates. Most of the graduates found work within two years of graduation. The unemployment rate of graduates is about 4% compared to about 8% for the British population in general. Of the cohort Brennan et al looked at two years after graduation 76.2% of the men and 74.7% of the women were in full-time employment. 10.5% of the men and 8.9% of the women had gone onto full-time study; 4.8% of the men and 4.2.% of the women were self-employed. 2.9% of the men and 5.3% of the women were in part-time work. 1.4% of the men and 3.1% of the women were not seeking work. 4.2% of the men and 3.8% of the women were unemployed. The lowest unemployment rates were among Business studies and Engineering graduates. The highest unemployment rates were among Social Sciences and Arts/Humanities graduates. It is remarkable that from the Business studies graduates only 1.7% of the men were unemployed but 4.4% of the women. In contrast, 14% of the male Social Sciences graduates were unemployed but only 6.6% of the women (figures from Brennan et al 1993: 63).

Because of the variability of graduate employment opportunities there are only a few totally unemployed young academics. Everybody does *something* but not necessarily anything that is appropriate in terms of their academic background, the duties of the job, and the salary.

In Britain there has been a higher education expansion since the Second World War. As the expansion continued new client groups entered the education system, e.g. women and mature students with non-traditional educational backgrounds (Brennan et al. 1995: 65). They found access more frequently to the second tier of the binary system, especially the former Polytechnics. This difference essentially influences the status of their jobs after graduation.

Graduates' perceptions five years after graduation of the level and status of their current jobs
(5 years after graduation; %)

Present job 'graduate level' in sense that	University	Polytechnic
1. traditionally regarded as such	35	27

2. a degree is an essential requirement in this area of work	30	26
3. nature of work requires graduate education	54	44
4. becoming a graduate job gradually	14	16
5. degree needed for this particular job	63	59
6. graduate possesses work expertise based on 'knowledge and skills' from degree	41	53
7. job requires possession of professional qualification	28	28

(Brennan et al 1993:58).

Our search therefore focussed on graduates who were either in an unstable occupational situation or who were unhappy with their jobs. We also looked for graduates from universities as well as from the former polytechnics.

This report is based on the interpretation of five interviews of which one (Steven) was analysed in-depth. The results of this analysis were heuristically used for the interpretation of four contrasting cases. These cases were chosen as contrasts to the main structural components and strategies of Steven: Colin and Morag's biographies were, like Steven's story, essentially influenced by migration but both of them have developed different strategies to Steven. Linda is from a working class background like Steven but with a less upwardly social mobility impetus. In contrast to these four, Neal presented his biography as a 'voluntary exclusion' or independence from the labour market.

2. Steven Wood

2.1. Family background

Steven's family came from a small island in the Caribbean. Both parents came to England in the 1960's.

During the 1950's and early 1960's immigration from the Caribbean to Britain rose from 1,000 in 1951 to 32,850 in 1962 (Thomas-Hope 1986:24). Immigration to Britain followed a British recruitment campaign after WW II for nurses and workers for the transport industry and a simultaneous restriction of immigration to the United States. West Indians experienced the recruitment campaign as a demonstration of welcome. However, after having arrived at Britain they faced hostility. They were discriminated against regarding accommodation, in the labour market and in everyday life (Lashley 1986:139; Caribbean narratives book). People in Britain regarded West Indians as intruders and not as guests or inhabitants with equal rights. Moreover, the West Indian community itself was not as homogeneous as it was stereotyped as by the white British population. There were also differences and prejudices within the Caribbean community. People with rural backgrounds or from small islands particularly were treated as backwards.

Steven's parents were working at London Transport when they met each other. They got married in the mid-60s but didn't start a family immediately, continuing instead with their settling down process. Confronted with the difficult and unexpected difficulties in England Steven's parents didn't develop a 'lone-wolf' strategy but instead formed a tandem.

In 1968 a close relative of Steven's family died in the Caribbean leaving a ten year old boy. He came to London to live with Steven's parents. The family thought that he would get a better education in England than on the small Caribbean island where he was assessed as a good pupil. Steven tells what happened:

... all they ((the teachers)) ever wanted him to do was play football because he was really good at football. And she ((Steven's mother)) reckoned that what he knew when he left A-land at ten years old is not what he knew when he came- when he left England at thirteen. And she just said she just didn't want him to be wasting his time over here.

Steven's cousin obviously experienced a kind of discrimination typical for West Indian children who were challenged in arts and sports but whose intellectual abilities went unacknowledged (Lashley 1986). As a consequence Steven's parents decided that the education system in the Caribbean was more appropriate for their nephew than the British education system.

The family strategy at the time before Steven was born was characterised by the need to come to terms with a discriminating but at the same time appreciated culture. Steven's parents tended to look for mutual support; they had to make their own decisions and not trust the interpretations and solutions offered by society and its institutions. The parents' desire for mobility, including the endeavour for upward social mobility was combined with a desire for steadiness. This attitude could be described as 'mobility, but in a scheduled way'.

2.2. Steven's childhood and early adolescence

2.2.1. Education framed by discrimination

Steven was born in 1971 and his two sisters in 1975 and 1977. Steven's retrospective evaluation of his mother's education strategy reveals the pressure he felt: 'From the time that I was born her whole idea was, well, I'm not mucking about with you.'

Steven experienced that strategy from the moment he went to school. Steven was a very active and expressive child and he had perhaps developed symptoms of hyperactivity. The teachers wanted educational guidance for him but Steven's parents refused. His mother was aware of the risk of stigmatisation and the lack of education which would result from these measures. In Steven's memories his mother's perspective shines through:

They're not teaching you anything they've just got you sat down in this rooms apart from everyone else because they think that you're so disruptive. My mum just looked at me and just said, 'no, that's not what you're about evidently.

Instead of trusting the way proposed by the national education system Steven's parents decided to follow a path which could be interpreted as the Caribbeans' response to discrimination in the education system. They chose a school run by the Baptist Church which was mainly attended by Caribbeans even though they were not religious and they had to pay school fees.

The decision worked well. The teachers realised Steven's abilities and the nine year old boy skipped one year. Steven felt comfortable at this school where he had the opportunity to

learn and the other children had a similar background:

you get in those periods when you're a kid where your brain's just completely just on... and I was just taking it all and because it was a new place and I was really enjoying it, ..., there was a number of us at the time, actually, who was really like doing well, ... that was alright.

Other memories of that period reveal that Steven also felt pressurised. A few years before his cousin was sent back to the Caribbean and the idea of sending him to the Caribbean too hung over Steven like the sword of Damocles:

... I liked being at the school where I was, I didn't have any problems with it, so that's the-that's bas- those are the basic reasons why- I- I went there just because she wanted to make sure that I got something better otherwise I might have ended up at another private school or back in the Caribbean.

The characteristics of Steven's upbringing can be summarised as follows:

- encouragement to develop his intellectual abilities and tolerance towards his artistic interests;
- pressure to do well at school;
- orientation towards his own ethnic community about at the same time acceptance of and orientation towards the values of the white education system;
- awareness of discrimination experienced in the education system.

On the one hand this atmosphere was very productive for Steven and he was not blocked in the development of his intellectual and artistic skills. On the other hand Steven experienced pressure which he could not easily identify. This pressure manifested itself in the threat of being sent to the Caribbean. Also important but less concrete is the feeling of being a part of his mother's system. Steven experienced his growing up and the way he found access to the world as decided by his mother. Moreover, she linked her biographical decisions with her childrens' development. Steven remembers a situation when his mother had to decide about her own professional career. She was offered professional training to get a more qualified position at London Transport but she decided against:

but then she did what she always does. She looked at us and then she thought, well, she'd have to be away a lot. And she thought, 'and I was always giving bother' ..., and I'll be a civil servant or whatever but what's going to happen to these two?'. So she made the decision that she was going to look after us.

His mother's strategy dominated his father's influence, although after some thought, Steven admits his father's influence too:

... she's not like, well, if you don't do this, this is going to happen to you if you don't do. She's never been like that with me at all. ... 'Cos like most things she says it takes me a while to kind of, erm, get 'em. But no, there's never any pressure from Mum and Dad and they're just like-, like I said my Dad's just like-, he's just like, yeah, really cool. It just all passes over him. ... He's not particularly, erm, concerned about it. Er, actually, that's a lie. He is. But he's like-, he's just not as vocal, that's all. He worries. He does all the same things as my Mum does. It's like my Mum will just do it.

2.2.2. Steven's strategy: from escape and rebellion to debate

Steven's reaction to this atmosphere corresponded with his psychosocial development:

1. **Escaping by entering a fantasy world**: Steven became interested in Science Fiction

(SF) stories when he was at school. He soon started to invent SF characters and to write short stories.

2. **Rebellion**: at the Church school Steven met a friend whom he knew from nursery. At school they limited their 'mischievous' behaviour to chatting, laughing and throwing papers but they became much more rebellious at Sunday school. They once prevented a Sunday service by letting off a home made stink-bomb, and at Christmas they burnt the Christmas tree. On another occasion they daubed the Church with paint, and they threw bags filled with colour on other children who they were fighting with. The aggression of their attacks reveals the violence Steven and his friend sensed in their everyday life that they had no opportunity to tackle. Steven's parents chose their community's institutions as a way of escaping the discrimination towards their son. The social world of the community is nevertheless framed by a discriminatory and violent reality. So to speak the children resist the normalisation of an abnormal or violent situation.

3. **Creative and co-operative activities with his peers**: at the age of 13 Steven and his friends planned to publish their own Science Fiction magazine. This rather co-operative strategy followed Steven's holidays in the Caribbean. Meeting his family's origins and a vivid black culture contributed to Steven's self-confidence. He found the confidence to express his ideas through a (sub-)cultural magazine. Steven was very busy with this project but 'it dawned me one day that I was the only person working on the magazine'. This development pulled him back to his mother's arms who told him 'you've got certain talents, you don't need anyone.' Steven's mother intended to support her son but she produced a double-bind reality. On the one hand she had joined a community, she used its institutions and she avoided too much discrimination in everyday life. On the other hand she promoted a lone-wolf-ideology which was not appropriate to her own strategy or to the discriminating reality.

4. **Discursive and intellectual disputes**: at the age of 14 Steven joined a seminar group at school that discussed religious and philosophical questions. He soon started to argue about religious questions. Steven became angry when his teacher's answer to one of his questions was 'oh, stop questioning, just believe'. The teacher obviously had his religious beliefs and his pedagogic ambitions confused. He encouraged Steven to write an article for the school magazine. When parents and teachers complained about it Steven's tutor didn't defend him and subsequently he kept his distance from Steven. Although he was bitterly disappointed about his teacher's behaviour Steven remembers the experience of having his opinion published as 'one of the biggest experiences.'

2.3. College and university: overcoming his family's boundaries

2.3.1. Making a 'mixed bag of friends'

After his O levels at the age of 15 Steven attended a Sixth Form College following the path laid out by his family's ambitions. He continued his intellectual training and combined it with his artistic interests by choosing Design and Literature as two of his A level subjects.

Even more important for Steven was the experience of losing the cocoon of ethnic homogenity:

...there was a lot of white kids, there was Asian kids, there was Chinese kids. And they all had, you know, different ways of, you know, doing things, ..., a long long common room, the black kids were be there like and then in the middle just about there you'd get like all the Asian kids, ..., Chinese kids, all the little mix ups, you'd just keep going round like that. And then, er, right at the front table was always- would be all the white kids.

Steven didn't accept the ethnic segregation. He developed communicative skills in order to make friends with students from other ethnic groups. Steven tells of how he came in contact

with a white student:

... he was really abrupt, ..., such an abrupt nature but I was fascinated by him, I don't know why, ..., I was just like, 'oh, you collect Science Fiction', he was like 'oh, yeah, yeah', and then I started telling him what I liked and he goes oh, that's crap, that's rubbish. But instead of doing like my usual I'd be- I'd have just walked off or something but I just sat there and we just ended up talking, and even though we had totally opposing views on a lot of things it was just really fun being able to talk to him.

Steven learnt to overcome his own preconceptions. Steven implicitly rejected his family's interpretation of inevitable discrimination by the white population. He evaluates this as an important experience for his further development as he experienced a contrast to the milieu of his childhood and early adolescence:

... you just start making friends and you start getting on with people instead of like having preconceived notions and going along with whatever everybody else has been telling you. You just kind of like get on with them. And now I've got such a mixed bag of friends. It is unbelievable.

After Sixth Form College Steven moved to university. He had to choose between following his Science Fiction interests as a hobby and going to university in order to study for another, more scheduled profession. Steven decided to combine his interest in Science Fiction with his ideas about a professional career in the media business:

and I thought, 'yeah, okay, I think, maybe I could make a career down this road', you know. And at- and at the time- we were still er late eighties we were still in the throes of all this money being thrown around at us and it seemed like anybody who was in the media business was just earning tons and tons of money.

He chose a university near London with a rather progressive Literature department and chose a combined degree in Literature and Media Studies.

During his university years Steven followed a twofold strategy. In his studies he preferred a system in which he was tutored. A critical period for Steven was when the intensive tutoring stopped:

... the second year ... was like being swimming in jelly ... the first year was like very well directed. They had a plan for us they knew we was going. And all of a sudden you got to the second year and there was no real- we changed tutors and there was no real direction all of a sudden. All of a sudden you were like 'well, am I here, am I there? What's going on?'

Though Steven did very well and got the highest marks in his class he started to doubt his abilities. He was scared by having lost the scheduled path he was used to. He found the idea of being his own guide threatening. He developed psychosomatic symptoms which corresponded to this fear. Steven began to fear that an unforeseen event might happen to him during an Underground journey. This temporary inability to take Underground trains symbolises his problem:

- the education system: visible schedules and announcements are only part of the Underground system. The plans and work invisible to the passenger represent a hidden agenda for the Underground which are only implicitly known;
- as (professional) life a journey by Underground is characterised by foreseen and unforeseen events;
- every journey by Underground challenges the passenger's skill to manage their way through the Underground system without knowing everything about the functioning that

system.

2.3.2. Following his own path

Steven overcame this crisis at the beginning of his third year. He wanted to finish his studies in spite of his health problems. In addition the tasks he had to fulfil became clearer again. He intensified his work for the university drama group where he focussed on directing. Looking at the development of Steven's strategy we can identify a development from passivity (fantasy world) over powerless rebellion to 'interactivity' (communication with others). This development was completed by manipulating activity: Steven learnt to initiate activities and not only to react on other people's behaviour.

Steven's crisis during his second year made it obvious that the predominant aim of his university studies was less to adapt to the labour market than to develop his 'self'. Having passed the crisis he was able to resist the more or less explicit demands for commercial orientation in his final dissertation:

... I was growing really disillusioned with the direction that they wanted to each as- well, or that they want- they wanted us to do. They want- we had a new tutor in and she was very commercially based kind of making public relations for Marks and Spencers kind of thing ... and at the time I was really into nylon and I wanted to express myself. I wanted to be creative, ..., and I had got back into erm- I'd really back into like the whole idea of like going into Science Fiction again. 'Cos I'd been reading them all the time but I hadn't really taken it seriously.

When he came to chose a topic for his dissertation Steven had a problem because of the split between his attitude towards tuition on the one side and towards his personal development on the other. With the dissertation project it became obvious that he couldn't maintain the split anymore as his tutors expected him to work independently on the project. Steven remembered his desire to write his own SF magazine. He decided to follow the personal development path by writing his own magazine:

... it was cool nobody else was doing anything like that. ... But you know but then I- I was this kind of mode where I was thinking, 'No. I'm at college. College is not about doing real life stuff.

Steven was happy with his decision although he was bitterly disappointed when he got worse marks than those who had chosen a more commercial theme. He remembers the day he learnt about his marks as 'the worst day I've ever had'. This feeling turned into pride again at the graduation ceremony in Summer 1993:

and the graduation was like three weeks later, ..., and I really enjoyed it. I really enjoyed the whole day. Just- Just I d- don't know, I just- I didn't- I don't think I was over it but I just kind of like thought, 'Well, I've got it, I've got a degree. That's what I came here for.

Steven's pride about his degree confirms the assumption that the process of going to university and the chance of developing his personality was more important for him than the 'objective' result of his studies. The degree symbolises his successful development:

... so it was just like a whole cul- culmination of e- e- of everything that had been going on for the last three years and it was just brilliant.

2.4. Confrontation with professional reality

2.4.1. Realising the lack of professionalism

22 year old Steven had succeeded in developing his personality during his university years and he had learnt skills for a job in the media business. However, he had not as yet combined these strands of his life. For the period immediately after his graduation he was able to maintain the split. Steven started to work in a tobacconist and at the same time he contributed to a friend's low budget Science Fiction production as a Reading and Drama Researcher.

In 1994, one year after his graduation, Steven started applying to television companies and public relations agencies for work but he was unsuccessful. At the same time his relationship with his girlfriend whom he had met two years before ended. Steven realised his lack of professional experience:

... I started like having like- a lot of real interviews at the time. And then it was really troublesome 'cos all of a sudden it was like, 'Well, okay, you've got something interesting work but erm, what experience have you got?' And it was- and I found it so uncanny that all of a sudden like, you know, I've gone out of College and I'm going for jobs and stuff and I haven't, of course, I haven't had any experience. I've just left, I've just like- I've just been studying for three years.

His professional problems and the end of the relationship with his girlfriend triggered a deep crisis:

... I was completely numb for about ((sighs)) I think only- that- that whole situation kind of like wrapped itself up around. ... Completely just yombified for about a few months.

After a few months of stagnation Steven recovered with the help of his mother and some friends. He appreciated their support and they convinced him of their faith in him. He overcame his doubts:

... I just didn't realise how strong I could be at certain times and I just was. And eventually I just thought Yeah.

A moment of reflection followed. Steven recapitulated his and his friends' experiences in finding a job. He thought intensively about his opportunities for adapting to the demands of the media business: '... so I started looking at all these things and I thought 'No'.'

2.4.2. An attempt at professional behaviour

Steven rejected the adaptation to the media business as not appropriate to his qualifications and abilities. He was looking for another way to combine his interests in Science Fiction with his professional career in accordance with his mother's and his friends' opinions. He found a new job at a bookshop which specialised in Science Fiction. He expected to get contacts in the Science Fiction business through this job. However, the job turned out very badly. They were not at all interested in Steven's specialised SF knowledge but gave him odd jobs to do like cleaning the floor and the windows. Steven eventually lost the job after a bout of flu caught after he had to tidy up an unheated depot on a chilly winter's day. When he didn't turn up for work he was dismissed. Steven's mother telephoned the shopkeeper to express her annoyance at Steven's dismissal.

This episode reveals that Steven's attempt to combine his SF interests and his professional career was connected with the disadvantage of being drawn back into his mother's system. Steven commented on the experience with the bookshop *and* his mother's intervention by the evaluation: '... And that- that was a bit of a- another little nasty thing that I wasn't too-erm, happy about.

Steven started to realise that this attempt at professional behaviour didn't match his needs. It dawned him that he wouldn't follow his parents' path, that for him creativity was more important than mundane security. After having lost the job in the SF shop Steven felt relaxed.

... it's just- just strange erm, it was really funny. I didn't really feel that bad about it. ... I wanted to feel bad about it. I really wanted to feel bad about the fact that I'd lost this job but I just did- I tried so hard to make myself feel really bad and I didn't. It was really amazing. I was- I was more scared of the fact that I didn't feel bad about it.

After this experience Steven had to make a decision about his further professional and personal development. Based on earlier experiences and strategies he had to choose between:

looking for a 'scheduled' job as a civil servant, or for a job connected with the Caribbean community (his parents' strategy);

adapting to a job in a rather uncreative part of the media business;

pursuing his communicative skills and sticking to the cosmopolitan milieu;

adjusting to the split: building up a career independent of from his creative potential and following his creative interests in his leisure time (or doing both part-time).

2.4.3. Finding his path again

Steven met a friend from university who told him about an interviewing job at a research agency. He applied for this job and they took him because of his communicative skills. Steven's choice reveals that he has succeeded in developing a self which enables him to make his own decisions and not to be dependent on his family's strategies in times of crisis.

There is still an ambivalence about Steven's further professional development. However, the strong self which he has developed through the overcoming of two crises since his graduation enables him to find solutions and to try different strategies. Steven regards his present situation as transitory. He is glad that he is employed on a freelance basis as it has enabled him to postpone his decision about his further professional career. In addition Steven gets along with his colleagues and supervisors at work. This experience may enable him to distance himself further from the strong influence of his mother.

At the same time he is able to pursue his interests in Science Fiction the rest of time. He continues working on SF productions which are mostly unpaid or poorly paid:

... I feel comfortable doing the work that I'm doing and I feel comfortable with the people who are in authority positions. ... And that's where I am at the moment just doing that and just basically all the spare time I have is just making contacts and trying to put together my SF experience. And that's where I'm at the present moment in time.

2.5. INTERPRETATION OF STEVEN

2.5.1. Biographical experiences

2.5.1.1. Family background: framing social reality

The milieu in which Steven grew up was characterised by his parents migration and the strategy they developed to cope with the migration experience and living conditions in Britain. Two tasks are at the centre of such a strategy:

the integration of a Caribbean past with a British present and future, including the adaptation of expectations to reality;

the finding of an identity in the new society somewhere between becoming a 'white' Anglo-Saxon denying his 'black' Caribbean past to a nearly complete closure towards the white culture. A third cornerstone could be the development of a divided identity: becoming 'white' concerning professional identity and being 'black' privately.

The parents' strategy should include fantasies and expectations about the future of their children too.

Steven's parents developed a strategy which is characterised by the integration of orientations from their 'black' past and the 'white' present:

they maintained contact with their families in the Caribbean and they are close to other family members who in London too;

in their professional orientation Steven's parents chose careers which were driven by a 'low risk - scheduled path' strategy, similar to their white working class colleagues' professional orientations;

they regarded their children's education as a vehicle for upward social mobility.

With these orientations they were able to interact with the white-British and the black-Caribbean community.

Steven's parents had their first experiences with the British education system before Steven's birth when their adolescent nephew came from the Caribbean to attend a British school. The parents realised the discriminatory nature of the British education system with regard to the development of the boy's intellectual abilities. As a consequence when considering Steven's education they oriented themselves towards the opportunities developed and offered by the Caribbean community.

2.5.1.2. Steven's socialisation: from framing to reflexivity

Steven was a double newcomer. As the child of migrants he was socialised into his parents' world and at the same time he took part in the process of his family coming to terms with the reality of British society. Steven's parents had developed a strong frame of values, orientations and expectations, including the expectation that their children would attain a better status than the parents had. The parents' frame is characterised by stability and consistency. Steven's 'double' socialisation took place within his parents' frame which he experienced as supporting as well as pressurising. Within this frame his parents were rather liberal and allowed Steven to follow his interests in science fiction.

As a pre-adolescent Steven became rebellious first against the institution of school which represented the 'new' British culture and later against the church which represented his family's Caribbean origins. Concerning his relationship to the church he eventually switched to a more retreatist attitude. After having lost his focus on religion Steven changed his conformist attitude towards school into a more innovative pattern regarding his choice of

subjects and his examination project.

Passing through these stages Steven began developing a strong personal frame to overcome his parents' frame. His frame is characterised by his ability not to close himself off from cultural developments but to approach them. After a phase of enthusiasm when confronted with new ideas, people, or fashions he is able to engage in reflection. He uses his ability for reflexivity to look for and to develop a path for his professional career which is appropriate to his abilities, interests and the demands of the labour market. He neither submitted to the dictatorship of the labour market nor did he remain in a dreamworld.

Looking at Steven we can develop the hypothesis that university education is not a period of moratorium but a necessary phase in which to develop reflective abilities and to strengthen one's personality. This is all the more so for young people who lack 'cultural capital' from their family. Reflexivity enables individuals to maintain continuity when stability in professional and family life is no longer guaranteed.

2.5.2. Processes of social exclusion and inclusion in Steven's biography

The time Steven spent at the Church school can be interpreted as a period of exclusion (in the sense of segregation) from white British society, chosen as a response to discrimination. On the other hand this period was a phase of inclusion into the Caribbean subculture.

After his GCSE examinations Steven and his parents had to decide whether Steven would continue his Caribbean path or whether he would change to a more integrative path. A school in North London attended by many different ethnic groups seemed the appropriate next step for Steven. After the family's initial choice of a Caribbean response to discrimination in Britain they then looked for a British response to the multicultural challenge. The family regarded Steven's future as part of a multicultural reality; they refused a long-term excluding or ghettoised 'Caribbean-only' solution as well as a chameleon-like strategy of whiteness. Steven continued this strategy as his degree in media studies included cultural as well as subcultural subjects.

Steven's development implies an active approach to change in society: he wants to be part of the new culture which transcends ethnicity and he wants to play an active role in it. A period of semi-voluntary exclusion - during primary and secondary school - was chosen to get the education which is fundamental for this active role. Closely connected with this active role is the strategy of being part of a group and not playing a lone-wolf role. Steven regards himself as part of a young group of artists who simultaneously contribute to and change the established culture. Among other things they aim to overcome the idea of an old-fashioned ethnic cultural segregation.

Steven's difficulties during his education reveal that this strategy is not simple and linear but requires a continual choice of options, reflection about decisions and experiences, and tackling of problems. He experiences the requests and challenges which follow from this strategy as a pressure too. In difficult situations Steven tends to close himself off from others who could support him. This self-exclusion could be a consequence of former experiences. Regarding Steven's biography we can see that he has developed the capacity to overcome ethnic divisions but that his ability for team work is less developed.

With regard to his confrontation with a labour market which doesn't provide an appropriate occupation automatically, Steven is able to activate his communicative abilities. Yet it is more difficult for Steven to find partners to set up a business. Though he contributes to friend's and colleague's projects he doesn't develop a long-term perspective towards such co-operation. This problem could be connected with the familial low-risk-scheduled-path-strategy and Steven's close-off strategy under pressure.

Regarding the risk of social exclusion we can conclude that Steven is:

at low risk regarding his communicative abilities;
at low risk regarding his ability for reflection - ability for reflection as a skill to cope with risk society;
at higher risk regarding his lack of co-operative experience;
at higher risk regarding contradictory expectations of his professional future: creative and active jobs are incompatible with the desire for a scheduled path.

Steven's options for overcoming his problems in finding a job could be:

to find a job in a relatively hermetic subcultural milieu (not ethnically homogenous) which will give him the experience of continuing in another milieu (repeating the structure of his education). The problem could be that a subcultural but not ethnically homogenous milieu is rare in British society;
to get the opportunity for improving his co-operative skills (for instance through unemployed-coops);
to remove the strong bond with his mother will enable him to find a partner. His reflective abilities will then enable him to make appropriate decisions to find a job in another field if it's necessary (because of starting a family, etc). However, if he were to marry a black woman more successful than him – black women are often more successful than their male counterparts – it could either give him more drive and ambition, or he could remain subordinate to a strong black woman.

3. OTHER CASES

3.1. MORAG

3.1.1. OVERVIEW

Morag was born in 1968 into a Welsh-Philippine family. She grew up in a rural region in the Philippines where her father worked as an agricultural engineer and her mother was a housewife. Morag wasn't very good at school. She passed her GSCE exams at the age of 16. During the last year at school she suffered from anorexia.

As a 17-year-old girl she came to Wales and continued studying for her A-levels. During that period she became anorexic again. At the age of 19, in 1987, she finished school and started to work as a secretary which allowed her to save money for university. In 1989 she started studying Political Sciences at one of the 'redbrick universities' near London (universities founded in the 19th and 20th century). She became interested in media. After having finished a BA she continued with an MA in journalism where she focussed on television journalism.

During her university years and since having finished her studies Morag has worked on documentaries. In 1994 after university, she started working as a secretary again to earn her living. At the same time she continued working for television programmes. During the last two years she has been involved in the production of a few documentaries and she has worked as a background researcher on a few productions. However, her main financial resource has been her work as a temporary secretary. The pay for her journalistic work was too low and she didn't get enough jobs. During these two years she was twice offered contracts - quite long-term compared to her other jobs - with the BBC but twice the productions were cancelled for financial reasons.

After more than two years of temporary work Morag was rather frustrated. She thought about going to a South Asian country where she expected to find better working conditions though the payment would be rather low.

3.1.2. FAMILY STRATEGY

After Morag's father had finished his professional training the family moved from Wales to the Philippines. There they tried to realise a modern-Western family life where the father takes the role of the breadwinner and the mother gives up her professional career and works as a housewife. Looking at Morag's childhood and early adolescence we find little hints of an integration of Philippine and Welsh traditions and life-styles. The family tried to establish a quasi-colonial way of life. In contrast to this strategy we found in Steven's history where there were more events which proved an integration of Caribbean and European traditions.

3.1.3. MORAG'S STRATEGY

The lack of integration made it difficult for Morag to overcome her outsider status. She experienced marginalisation. Morag described how she felt stigmatised as an adolescent as she was taller and bigger than the other girls. During her anorexic phase she felt better as people didn't criticise her anymore but admired her good figure (but nobody was concerned when her periods stopped).

As a 15-year-old Morag became a 'Christian'. Morag was brought up as a Roman-Catholic and she attend a school run by nuns. However, as an adolescent she joined a group of 'young Christians' which was independent of the Roman-Catholic Church. These religious groups are typical in Third World countries. To become a member of this group was a way for Morag to integrate her Welsh and Philippine origins.

The membership of this religious group became a permanent integrative part of Morag's biography. When she came to Britain she started the life of a young Western woman and continued to attend the meetings of a free Church. Becoming a 'Christian' also enabled Morag to cope with her female identity problems. It has been difficult for her to find a role as a young woman that would satisfy the two cultures represented in her family.

Looking at Morag finishing school, working to earn a living and save money for a future university education, going to university and combining subjects of general education and professional training prove Morag's determination and self-confidence. However, this career also reveals contradictory expectations from her family's side and a split in Morag's ambitions. She had once thought about becoming an agricultural specialist like her father. However, her father didn't approve of the idea. Her parents expected her to take traditional female roles including an early marriage and becoming a housewife. Within the Philippine culture this was a difficult task as Morag didn't match the current female ideal. She was too 'European'.

It was difficult for Morag to develop a positive body identity and to have sexual experiences as an adolescent. Her Christian orientation enabled her to solve this conflict by becoming celibate. 'To be a Christian' enabled Morag to develop a modern Western identity by following her educational career and adhering the ideal of virginity (another Welsh-Philippine integrative factor). However, Morag's strategy of integration is accompanied by exclusion. She is only able to integrate the two different cultures of her family by excluding the sexual sphere of her life.

At university Morag started a relationship with a fellow student. During the relationship she stopped her religious activities and it became harder for her to do well in her exams. The

relationship split up during Morag's last year at university. She resumed her church activities and her celibate life.

Under this perspective Morag's secretarial work has not only been a means to make her living but also expresses her inner conflict about her future as a woman. Her present difficulties leaving the secretarial path could be based in this conflict. As long as she works as a secretary she progresses as her parents hoped for. Following a professional journalistic career corresponds with her father's determination but not with the family's expectation about the social role of a woman.

During and after her university studies the social world of journalism confronted Morag with both sexuality and sexism. Her religious and anti-sexual orientations gained, apart from their integrative character, a second meaning. They contributed to Morag's coping with sexual harassment in the journalistic business.

3.2. COLIN

3.2.1. OVERVIEW

Colin was born in 1972 into a British-Caribbean family in London. He and his two brothers and two sisters were brought up by their mother. The family was very poor as neither Colin's father nor the fathers of the other children paid maintenance. Colin's mother worked hard doing odd jobs, legal and illegal.

Colin started a sports career parallel to his school career. His mother encouraged him not to concentrate solely on sports but to continue his higher education. Colin finished his A-levels and went to university though he was already successful in his sports career. Colin chose Cultural Studies at a red-brick university. Until his last year he also continued his sports training. In his final year he reduced his sporting activities and focussed on his exams. During this period his mother died.

Colin finished his studies. Since his graduation in 1994 he has focussed on his sporting career again. He moved back into the family home which he shares with his brother and sister. Colin has made some money from a few contracts but he hasn't found an appropriate sponsor/contract yet. In addition he offers training units in schools and youth clubs. He earns a basic wage from his part-time work in a bookshop.

3.2.2. FAMILY STRATEGY
As in Steven's case Colin comes from a supportive background. His mother and his older siblings supported his educational as well as his sporting career. Colin's mother was well aware about a specific form of racism in North America and Britain. Black adolescents and young men are appreciated as artists and in sports but they face discrimination and doubts about their talents as soon as they claim non-exotic abilities. But she also realised the long-term importance of a good education in comparison to the short-term promises of sport's 'show-business' world and the risk of a 'black' stereotyped career. She insisted on Colin's higher and further education.

3.2.3. COLIN'S STRATEGY

The hard conditions of Colin's upbringing - without a father, his mother with five children and without a proper job - made him more susceptible to the appreciation he got through his sporting success. But this is not the only reason for the split between the sportive and the

intellectual world Colin experiences and maintains. For Colin these worlds are divided by the expectations he connects with them and by the part of his personality which is connected with them. The world of university and intellectual education represents the world his mother nudged or even pushed him to participate in. It is also the world where he could be successful in a rather distant future and if he develops well. In contrast sport represents the sphere to which Colin found access by himself and where he felt appreciated as the person he was. In addition, the world of sport eventually promises more financial success than the prospects in a relatively low-paid ordinary job.

These two worlds are separated by their different time horizons and the different challenges concerning Colin's personal development. These differences stand in the way of a combination of the two worlds. Colin refuses the perspective of teacher training though he likes the youth work he does sometimes. But in this work he acts as a famous athlete, and not as a young graduate on the way of becoming a teacher.

Colin's case gives us hints about the long-term consequences of social exclusion. Young adults who experienced social exclusion on an important level during their childhood could have more difficulties than others integrating different spheres of interest in their life path. They choose rather excluding than integrative biographical strategies.

3.3. LINDA

3.3.1. OVERVIEW

Linda was born in 1960 into a working class family in South London. As a child she suffered from a serious chest infection. In a similar way to Steven, Linda was very good at school and yet was labelled as troublesome at the same time. Linda was not very close to her parents and often stayed with her Irish grandmother.

Linda left school at the age of 16 and started to work as a receptionist. At the age of 20 Linda had to change her occupation as the work in the draughty hotel lobby was damaging her health. She then started to work as school secretary.

In 1985 Linda married Keith who is a plumber. After Linda had had two children she did her GSCE in Geography. In 1992 she started studying geography at a local university. Linda finished in 1995 with a very good degree and was asked to work as a researcher at the department. She declined and chose to apply to two colleges for teacher training. She was not accepted and has now been working for a few months as temporary shorthand typist.

3.3.2. FAMILY STRATEGY

Linda comes from a rather 'rough' working class background. Although she was very good at school and she learnt easily she was never encouraged to continue to higher education. Linda's relationship with her parents was difficult and she felt neglected. Linda felt close to her grandmother who was a descendant of Irish travellers. The latter gave her emotional support but also didn't encourage her to continue into further education.

Linda's family of origin didn't provide a pattern for a long-term biographical strategy. They were more focussed on the management of their everyday lives within a rather constant environment. In contrast Linda's grandmother represented a family member with a biographical turning point and an orientation towards upward social mobility. Though Linda's grandmother as well as Linda's parents experienced social discrimination they were still included their social milieu. Linda grew up in a frame of relationships where membership and inclusion as well as being an outsider and exclusion were rather clearly identified.

3.3.3. LINDA'S STRATEGY

Linda left home as soon as she started work. She enjoyed working and was quite successful in her jobs. Eventually she used the break in her professional career to continue her further education. Her husband neither objected to her ambitions but nor did he encourage her.

The offer of an academic career triggered a crisis which became manifest when Linda was not accepted for the teacher training courses. Her rejection of an academic career, her failure when she applied for the teacher training and her low-level-work at present reveal a conflict about her professional future.

Linda was very ambitious in following her professional and educational career. Up to the end of an academic grade she was able to manage her life and to follow her interests. Having reached this aim she faced a new situation without an immediately available pattern of behaviour. Her husband's indifference increased Linda's helplessness.

In Linda's case the entrance to university was not the entrance to a new world with the need for a guide (cf Berger/Luckmann 1971). Many of her fellow students came from a similar background and this prevented her from feeling alienated. But Linda has the need for a socialisation agent regarding her professional career as an academic woman. This agent doesn't exist. Without this support Linda's determination came to an end when she got an academic degree.

To accept the offer of an academic career would have had the meaning of leaving her milieu of origin and the world she shares with her husband and her friends. On the other hand she was attracted by the idea of an academic career and the offer was appropriate to her abilities. As a consequence Linda is even unable to take up her professional career before she started her studies. To confirm her membership of her milieu she works in jobs which are even less ambitious than her last occupation as a school secretary.

Linda represents a case which reveals the restrictions and limits of the educational system. To give access to further education to all classes needs an adaptation of the institutions of further education. An academic institution which doesn't integrate the biographical experiences of their members will always be stuck in the reproduction of the white academic middle-class attitudes. It would be more appropriate to the needs of young academics with working class background if there were a smaller gap between the 'academic' teachers and the working class students.

3.4. NEAL

3.4.1. OVERVIEW

Neal was born in 1969. His father worked for a fashion company and his mother was a housewife. Neal's brother was born in 1972. In 1975 the parents divorced. Neal and his brother stayed with their mother. The following years were influenced by the mother's health problems; she suffered from chronic rheumatism. Whereas his father married again and had more children in his second marriage Neal's mother didn't remarry. In the 1980s Neal's father changed his occupation. He is now working as a civil servant in a small village in northern England.

In 1980 Neal started his secondary education at an all boys Grammar school. He was a very good pupil and he was among the best in his year. Since he was a small boy Neal had

been interested in biology and as a consequence he started to study biology at a well-known red-brick university. During his studies he started relationships with women. After his graduation in 1990 Neal went to Yugoslavia for three months where he volunteered in a bird watching project. During this period he came in contact with esoteric groups and alternative ways of life. This phase is also connected with experiments in drugs. Neal stayed for a few years with alternative communes in Europe and in Ireland. He started to qualify and to work as a dowser. During this 'esoteric' period Neal maintained his contacts with the anarchistic grass root movement.

In 1995 Neal started to travel in the former Soviet Union. He wrote stories about his experiences and adventures and is going to publish them. In Georgia he fell in love with a woman. Neal expected her visit to Britain a few weeks after the interview. He plans to go to Georgia for a longer visit in 1997.

3.4.2. FAMILY STRATEGY

Neal's childhood is influenced by his parents divorce when he was six years old. In the following years the boy felt responsibility for his mother's health condition. He became a good pupil who tried not to worry his mother. Neal's father stayed in contact with his two sons but Neal experienced him as rather indifferent. Neal did well at school, and he followed his interest in zoology and biology. However, both his parents were too busy with themselves - his father with his new family and with his professional turning point, his mother because of her health condition - to realise the lack of challenge and development Neal experienced.

3.4.3. NEAL'S STRATEGY

As a consequence of his lack of adventures during his adolescence Neal began to focus on his social life when he went to university. Within his three years course he studied not only biology but also had experiences with alcohol and women. Regarding his lack of social life before university 21-year-old Neal still felt the needs of an adolescent. He didn't continue his further education but decided to leave behind the pressure he had experienced, particularly in the form of responsibility for his mother. He started travelling and felt attracted by other people who searched for an alternative way of life.

Neal managed this period quite well. He was always able to earn the money he needed for his living, he took the time to query self-evident truths, he didn't get lost in his experiments with drugs and he built up social relationships which made him content. At the age of 27, Neal thought about starting a family with his Georgian friend. Neal's problem is that he doesn't really want to and he will not be able to use his degree in biology in order to find work as a biologist. However, he is able to make contacts, he doesn't feel scared of unknown situations and he is writing well. Neal left the path of a successful traditional career a few years before. He will either try to find alternative access to this career option in which case he will follow this path consistently with the energy of a convert. More probable is a future strategy which is based on his ability for looking for his path and only partly accepting traditional values of this culture while integrating subcultural values.

Neal represents a case which experienced the need of his building up a strategy which appears him to be original but which is more connected to an esoteric subculture. This strategy is his response to a upbringing by his parents and his school which didn't respond to the boy's needs in an appropriate way. Neal postponed his rebellion until when he had left home and felt free to experiment in different ways of life.

4. COMPARISON

The main issues which arose through the interpretation of the cases are:

the situation of academics regarding the transition period from adolescence to adulthood;
the experience of risk and individualisation;
the development of reflexivity as part of biographical strategies;
'dynamic' and 'static' biographical strategies.

4.1. specifics of the academics transition period from adolescence to adulthood

The organisation of the transition from youth to adulthood is usually understood as a period in the life course when young people move from a dependent to an independent life regarding their economic situation and their family related status, in particular marriage and parenthood. Since the 1960s the situation of older adolescents/young adults has been seen both as an autonomous stage of life and a postponement of the immediate necessity to take adult roles. Erikson (1968; 1975) introduced the term 'psychosocial moratorium'. This term implies the character of the moratorium as an offer from society for the youth.

To go to university is one of the opportunities to benefit from the reorganisation of the youth-adulthood-transition period. Because of the financial restrictions it is unusual to start a family during one's studies. The years spent at university enable the youth to learn about life outside the home and to experience different forms of relationships with others.

We can identify different meanings and functions of the university years for the five cases. In Steven's case the years at university represent a period where he intensified his communicative skills. He built up intensive relationships with his peers and he developed a relationship with a girlfriend. The effect of the need for a psychosocial moratorium becomes even more evident as Steven had two crises during these years. These crises contributed essentially to the development of his reflective abilities. However, Steven didn't gain complete independence from his home regarding his economic situation and his living conditions. After his studies Steven continued living at home because of both his unsafe financial situation and his insecure future perspective. On the other hand, living at home enables Steven to accept unpaid tasks or jobs with low payment through which he nevertheless gains job experience.

In contrast for Colin the psychosocial moratorium at university had the meaning of a forced break in his sporting career. He accepted his mother's wish for him to do a degree. Though the involuntary character of his further education this experience contributed to his relative independence. Colin is able to earn his living because he took a degree and, even more important, he is more independent from agents and so-called consultants for his sporting career than he would have been a few years earlier.

In Neal's case the university years enabled him to leave the straitjacket of a presumptive career. The years at university were the condition and prelude for his psychosocial moratorium which followed his studies.

Morag experienced the years at university less as a moratorium than as proof of her determination. She had to make it evident that she was able to study and to follow an ambitious professional career. The university period happened within the static frame of her family. She used her energy to prove to her family that their opinion about her future as a woman was wrong. But to prove this she remained trapped in a structural similarly undynamic frame. She couldn't use these years to integrate experiences with different friends and with variable intensive relationships. Her either/or strategy excluded tests with

consummate ease.

Linda studied as a mature woman who had already assumed an adult's role. She had a successful professional career before she started a family life. She used the period when her children were small to continue her further education and eventually she started her studies. As long as she studied she was following her strategy of upward social mobility. Only the fact that she was a very good student and was subsequently offered an academic career made a latent conflict manifest - though she actively prepared for this development by her doing well. That moment she experienced as the step for leaving her working class world in order to enter another world, the academic sphere. This mirrored her grandmother's story who had given up her life as a traveller in order to become a settled member of society. This experience as well as a static frame of group membership and expulsion blocked Linda. Regarding this development we learn that Linda experienced her studies as a moratorium too. She was able to enjoy these years, and she approached a critical stage without being aware of the conflict.

Looking at these cases we learn that further education is no longer a moratorium on a straight route to adulthood. One case, Steven, tells us that it is a necessary period for the development of general skills and a reflexive self which is able to stand the contradictory and trying reality of the labour market. But even with these abilities the taking of adult roles remains a more or less far-away future.

For Neal, Morag and Linda university years were a prelude for a period in which they have had to develop a strategy to come to terms with restricting family strategies. Neal is on the way to approaching the end of this period and starting to include a future perspective as an adult in his strategy. Morag and Linda both arrived at a point where they have to realise and to solve a conflict with their families of origin before they will be able to include the future in their biographical strategy. Our sample is too small to draw further conclusions about gender related aspects. The fact that both women of the sample have become trapped in a family strategy which paralyses them is at least remarkable. It could be proof of the theory that girls and young women experience more contradictory expectations regarding their future than boys and young men.

Colin is an example who experienced the university years as a break within a moratorium period. For him his studies were not a sheltered place for experiments within a much harder world; he experienced university as the 'real' world instead of the dream-world related world of reports. He resumed the life of the latter after his degree and is in spite of economic independence still in a moratorium stage.

Conclusions from these cases

The period of a psychosocial moratorium is a necessary period for the development of an reflexive self. Depending on the family of origin's strategy this development happens either during the years at university - these cases represent a rather dynamic pattern - or after the years at university - these cases represent a rather static pattern.

The psychosocial moratorium is essentially characterised by the time perspective within a biographical strategy. During the moratorium the biographer focusses on the present, a future horizon is not integrated (though a moratorium is often connected with the endeavour for political utopias). The end of a moratorium comes closer the more the person's own future biography comes into the focus.

The development of a reflective self as well as an independent economic situation are relevant for assuming an adult role. As we see in Steven's, Colin's and Morag's cases, an independent economic situation doesn't lead automatically to an adult's life although it is difficult to become an adult without financial independence.

Because of the psychosexual development during adolescence it is likely that young people look for the experience of a psychosocial moratorium. Linda's case reveals that a moratorium is not necessarily tied to a certain stage in the life course. Conflicts triggered by a certain constellation or tradition in the family of origin can either remain idle or become part of the own biographical strategy until the biographer gets the opportunity for further development. These stages can be treated as a moratorium as they lead to a situation where the formerly latent conflict becomes manifest.

4.2. THE EXPERIENCE OF RISK AND EXCLUSION

There are two levels on which to discuss social exclusion in these cases. One level refers to the structural categories constructed by sociology as class, gender and race. The second level refers to the biographical strategies of our interviewees and which spheres of life, perspectives and strategies are included and which ones are excluded.

Steven, Colin and Morag experienced exclusion during their childhood and youth because of migration experiences and race issues. This experience remains active as it became part of their access to social reality. Experiences of discrimination because of poverty, race or gender are influencing the structure of their access to social reality, they are the basis on which further experiences are built.
If Steven and Colin do not find access to the labour market in a satisfactory way they will interpret this experience of exclusion not as caused by the labour market but as caused by migration and racial issues. Morag will interpret the permanent exclusion from appropriate jobs as caused rather by gender issues than by racial discrimination. As we have learnt the gender and race issues are connected within her life history.

To overstate Linda's case we could say that she experienced less exclusion than an overload of inclusion. Growing up within a milieu which neglects ambivalences and differences within its own group but stresses the differences to other groups led to a lack of heterogeneous experiences and to a lack of skills for developing relationships with the outside world and integrating them into her biographical strategy.

Neal experienced a similar overload of inclusion to Linda. However, his milieu of origin was not as homogeneous as Linda's; his being a 'good boy' was more triggered by an emotionally restricting situation than by the milieu in which he grew up. He chose the strategy of leaving the path of a future academic career. Instead he began to participate in the world of outsiders and to search for experiences outside the common sense reality.

Regarding the biographical strategies of the cases we identified an exclusion of future perspectives, and, connected with that, problems in taking the adult role (even in Linda's case we can identify a problem defining her adult role after she is finished caring role as a young mother). Looking at the risk and chances this constellation implies the risk of long-term exclusion if they don't succeed in integrating the future into their biographical strategies. What are their perspectives?

Lower risk regarding the taking of the social role of an adult is implied by a future where they get an appropriate occupation.

From a development-oriented point of view this constellation is likely to produce further static strategies.

The present crises of the cases in contrast implies the chance for change of restricting parts of their biographical strategies. The more they become able to overcome family-founded

restrictions the more they will be able to come to terms with the risk of social exclusion.

We didn't interview graduates who succeeded in finding permanent appropriate occupation. Therefore it is difficult to speak about the differences between them and our cases. If all of the successful jobseekers have overcome their moratorium before finding a job we could identify a 'personal' problem as reasons for our interviewees' unlucky jobhunting. However, I don't think that this is a result of our study. In contrast, I see it as more that most of them got an occupation before probably finishing their psychosocial moratorium, and that they therefore also got stuck in a rather static biographical strategy. Researching the other social groups we will able to identify biographical strategies when people started their professional life and/or a family, and how these strategies later influence experiences of risk and social exclusion.

4.3. FURTHER ASPECTS

During the interpretation of the cases I started to use the terms 'static' and 'dynamic' to describe family strategies and biographical strategies. I use these as heuristic concepts to describe rather restrictive or rather encouraging and liberal strategies. My use of these terms started from the case of Steven whose conditions of growing up suggested the picture of a frame, but a frame which was not rigid but encouraging and oriented towards development.

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