FAMILY PLATFORM

Foresight Report:
Facets and Preconditions of Wellbeing of Families

Olaf Kapella - Austrian Institute for Family Studies, University of Vienna
Anne-Claire de Liedekerke & Julie de Bergeyck - MMMEurope

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1) Technical University Dortmund (Coordinators)
2) State Institute for Family Research, University of Bamberg
3) Family Research Centre, University of Jyväskylä
4) Austrian Institute for Family Studies, University of Vienna
5) Demographic Research Institute, Budapest
6) Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon
7) Department of Sociology and Social research, University of Milan-Bicocca
8) Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn University
9) London School of Economics
10) Confederation of Family Organisations in the European Union (COFACE), Brussels
11) Forum Delle Associazioni Familiari, Italy
12) MMMEurope (Mouvement Mondial des Mères-Europe), Brussels

Contact info@familyplatform.eu or visit http://www.familyplatform.eu for more information.

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Content

1. Introduction

Which living arrangements and family forms will people choose in the future? Will families remain the central place where individuals find fulfilment of their needs? Who will care for our children and elders and how will they do it? What are the uncertainties which could affect the wellbeing of families? What factor or policies improve the wellbeing of families, and how can they be implemented or encouraged? If we think about the future of the family, these questions and many more spring to mind.

One of FAMILYPLATFORM's key activities is to examine future societal factors, challenges and policies that will have a strong impact on families. To fulfil this goal, "Future Scenarios" were elaborated which described possible futures of families in Europe in 2035, as well as key policy and research issues. From the outset it should be made clear that in developing these future scenarios and key policy issues, a very creative technique - known as the "Foresight Approach" - was used. This method does not claim to be a scientific simulation, nor does it claim to foresee the *true* future and challenges of families. It is, however, a unique and creative method of bringing to life *possible* futures for families. Our aim was to describe possible scenarios and kinds of families in the form of narratives and research issues, as well as key policy issues and social innovations for researchers, policy makers, NGOs and all others involved in working with and for families.

Even though this exercise was very creative, its results are firmly grounded on the findings and future trends identified in the Existential Field reports (*see Chapter 2*). Consequently, the construction of future scenarios should be viewed in the context of this work and as a complementary part of the overall set of work packages leading to the eventual elaboration of the research agenda.

This report is the result of wide-ranging discussions between the members of the Consortium and the Advisory Board. Credit is due to each member of the Consortium and the Advisory Board for their creativity, ideas and willingness to maintain the process and discussions for almost a year. The Consortium encompasses different scientific disciplines as well as different organisations, such as universities, NGOs and policy makers. To acknowledge the tremendous work of each one, we present the names of all those present:

Consortium:

> Technical University of Dortmund, Germany
> > Kim-Patrick Sabla, Uwe Uhlendorff

> State Institute for Family Research, University Bamberg, Germany
> > Loreen Beier, Dirk Hofäcker, Elisa Marchese, Marina Rupp

> Family Research Centre, University of Jyväskylä, Finland
> > Kimmo Jokinen, Marjo Kuronen

> Austrian Institute for Family Studies, University of Vienna, Austria
> > Sonja Blum, Olaf Kapella, Christiane Rille-Pfeiffer

> Demographic Research Institute Budapest, Hungary
> > Zsolt Speder

Institute of Social Science, University of Lisbon, Portugal
Mafalda Leitão, Vasco Ramos, Karin Wall

Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan-Bicocca, Italy
Sveva Magaraggia, Miriam Perego

Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn University, Estonia
Epp Reiska

Department of Media and Communication, London School of Economics, United Kingdom
Ranjana Das

Confederation of Family Organisations in the European Union (COFACE), Belgium
Linden Farrer, William Lay

Forum delle Associazioni Familiari, Italy
Francesco Belletti, Lorenza Rebuzzini

Mouvement Mondial des Mères Europe, Brussels, Belgium
Anne-Claire de Liedekerke, Joan Stevens, Owen Stevens, Julie de Bergeyck

Advisory Board:

European Commission, Brussels, Belgium
Krzysztof Iszkowski, Emanuela Tassa

Haro, Sweden
Jonas Himmelstrand, Madeleine Wallin

National Family Planning and Parenting Institute, London, United Kingdom
Clem Henricson

Guests:

Bundesforum Familie, Berlin, Germany
Katherine Bird

European Commission, DG Research
Elie Faroult

2. Scientific background for the work

In our view, it was important to construct future scenarios, key policy and research issues on the wellbeing of families in the year 2035 on a firm scientific foundation. It should be borne in mind that FAMILYPLATFORM and its work packages are all part of a process and not just single isolated steps. Therefore, the first step in FAMILYPLATFORM was to describe the state of the art and major trends in family research (Kuronen (ed.), 2010). To gain an impression of the foundation for constructing the constructing the work, a summary of the major trends described in Work Package 1 of the FAMILYPLATFORM are presented first. Subsequently, the results of a structured brainstorming exercise to identify the key dimensions and facets of the term "wellbeing of families" are summarised.

2.1 Key major trends in the existential fields

Demographic topics and trends such as declining fertility rates and postponement of first childbirth, or the influence of economic crises on individual living arrangements and family forms have a long tradition of in-depth and detailed study across Europe. In the work of FAMILYPLATFORM, the diverse research areas in family studies and family policy have been divided into eight "existential fields". Each existential field has produced a report[1] on its topic. The reports cover the state of the art of scientific studies across Europe as well as describing major trends in each field of research. The construction of the future scenarios for the wellbeing of families in 2035 was based on and rooted in this work. In addition, trends that are visible today were central to constructing the scenarios.

A brief summary of the major trends from the existential field reports will be given as an introduction, because family life in the future will be influenced by these trends.

- Ageing populations across Europe

  The proportion of people over the age of 60 in Western Europe will rise dramatically from 21 per cent in 2008 to 33 per cent in 2035. In Eastern Europe the increase is virtually identical: from 19 per cent in 2008 to 32 per cent in 2035 (Table 1).

- Decreasing marriage rates, increasing divorce rates and increasing rates of re-marriage

- Increasing number of out-of-wedlock births

  Later marriages are also reflected in an increase in out-of-wedlock births. Being married has lost its central role as a precondition for family formation. However, cohabiting relationships are often a transition phase to a later marriage.

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[1] For details see Working Reports: Beier, Loreen; Hofäcker, Dirk, Marchese, Elisa; Rupp, Marina (2010). Belletti, Francesco; Rebuzzini, Lorenza (2010). Blaskó, Zsuzsa; Herche, Veronika (2010). Blum, Sonja; Rille-Pfeiffer, Christiane (2010). Kuronen, Marjo; Jokinen, Kimmo; Kröger, Teppo (2010). Leccardi, Carmen; Perego, Miriam (2010). Livingstone, Sonja; Das, Ranjana (2010). Reiska, Epp; Saar, Ellu; Viilmann, Karl (2010). Wall, Karin; Leitão, Mafalda; Ramos, Vasco (2010).

Table 1: Demographic changes between 2008 and 2035[2]

		2008		2035	
		Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Eastern Europe
Life Expectancy	Female	81.49	77.87	86.75	83.42
	Male	75.26	70.00	80.55	75.55
Total Fertility Rate		1.51	1.31	1.56	1.48
Proportion below age 20		23%	22%	18 %	16%
Proportion above age 60		21%	19%	33%	32%
Proportion above age 80		4%	3%	7%	6%

- Increasing diversity of living arrangements/increase in new types of family life

  The "nuclear" family (often also referred to as the "classical" family) remains the dominant family type across Europe, but its numbers are decreasing and numbers of families of other forms are increasingly prevalent. In particular, growth is observed in the number of lone parents, stepfamilies and cohabiting couples, but also in "new" or "rare" forms such as foster and adoptive families, rainbow families, multi-generational households and families with more than one common household, such as "living apart together" and commuter families.

- The prolonged presence of young people within the family of origin

  Across Europe, young men and women stay longer in their family of origin. The highest rates are found in Central and Southern Europe. For example, young people leave home beyond the age of 28 years in Belgium, Slovakia, Italy and Malta and between 22 and 23 years in Finland.

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[2] Wolfgang Lutz, Warren Sanderson and Sergei Scherbov, IIASA's 2007 Probabilistic World Population Projections, IIASA World Population Program Online Data Base of Results 2008, http://www.iiasa.ac.at/Research/POP/proj07/index.html?sb=5

- The new role of grandparents

  Increasing life expectancy and better health has increased the importance of grandparents in family life. On the one hand they're becoming an important resource for their children and their children's families (e.g. care work), and on the other hand they're increasingly likely to be active subjects in their own lives e.g. deciding autonomously how to spend free time and money.

- The field of family policy has gained importance and expanded

  After decades of insignificance and low prestige, the field of family policy has gained more importance and expanded. In general, it can be said that the Nordic and Anglo-American countries have less explicit family policies than the Conservative, Mediterranean and Post-socialist ones, and they do not protect the family as a social unit in their constitutions.

- In recent years defamilialisation has been more pronounced in national family policies than re-familialisation

  There are ongoing trends of re-familialisation (family is responsible for the welfare of its members) and defamilialisation (social policy takes over welfare and care responsibilities) in Europe, which can be both positive (e.g. increased parental leave benefits), but also negative (e.g. reduced family allowances). This leads to a greater mixing of re-familialising and defamilialising measures, such as Nordic countries introducing re-familialising childcare expansion.

- The most important family policy issue has been reform of childcare services

  Childcare for children over the age of three (up until school entry) is well developed across Europe, with care rates of at least 90 per cent. Childcare for children aged under three is particularly well developed in Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Belgium. In Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Poland and Slovakia the care rates are less than 10 per cent of all children under three. In several countries the last preschool year has been made compulsory.

- Polarisation between families with very low and very high incomes

  The risk of poverty increases in-line with the number of dependent children in the household, but also for lone-parent and single adult households. In Mediterranean countries and in most of Central and Eastern Europe, the risk of poverty among families with two children is higher than if the family had only one child. For example, in Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Hungary at least a third of households with three or more children have an income below the poverty line.

- Growing diversity and instability of work

  Employment patterns are shifting away from full-time, non-temporary employment for men and women. This is not just due to employee choice, but also to employers' preferences and deregulation of labour markets.

- Differentiation in educational levels along the urban/rural dimension

  Differences between European countries in terms of the level of education are not as clear cut as the differences between urban and rural populations within the vast majority of European countries. Since educational facilities are harder to reach in rural areas, and parents' educational levels - as well as the family's financial situation - are related to school performance and the future educational level attained by their children, children in rural areas face multiple obstacles to achieving their full potential in education.

- Mismatch between diversification of the life-course and housing market developments

Europe is on the whole characterised by a reduction in the housing rental stock. There is a wide variation in house ownership across Europe: home ownership rates are generally higher in the new EU Member States (e.g. Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, and Slovenia) but also in Spain, Greece and Italy. There is a tendency for lower levels of ownership in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Poland. The number of people per household tends to be lower in Northern Europe and higher in Mediterranean countries and the new member states. In a comparison of living space and number of rooms per dweller, homes in Central and Eastern Europe are smaller and more often overcrowded.

- Growing responsibilities of local governments

Local authorities (such as regions, municipalities, etc.) are gaining more and more responsibility and autonomy in areas such as schooling, childcare services and taxes. Global solutions have to be fitted to local realities for families and individuals; this trend is also known as "glocalisation".

- Different actors are working together on a local level to reshape realities for families

To fit global solutions and challenges to local realities and family lives there is increased networking on the local and regional level between different actors, such as NGOs, the public sector, private companies, trade unions, and family associations. The intercultural dimension is also increasing in importance.

- Gendered division of paid and unpaid work

Even if the level of female employment has increased (dating back to the 1960s onwards), men still spend more time on paid work and women on unpaid work (i.e. domestic tasks and childrearing). Women spend less time in the labour market and are more likely to take part-time jobs and have more career breaks than men – on average women spend twice as many hours a week in unpaid work. But statistics show that the gender gap in the level of labour market activity is decreasing – the difference between men and women in the level of labour market activity fell from 18.6 per cent in 1997 to 13.7 per cent in 2008 in the EU27 countries.

There are also significant differences in the division of time spent on caring for children. In general, women do the majority of childcare. In the Netherlands and Nordic countries the division of time spent on childcare between men and women tends to be most equal – women do twice as much childcare (around 16 hours per week) as men (seven to eight hours per week). In all other countries, men spend on average only four to five hours per week caring for their children. The largest gap is noted in Anglo-Saxon countries, where women spend 14.2 hours per week and men just 4.1.

- Social care is going public

There is a continuing trend towards the institutionalisation and professionalisation of care work and services for families. This does not mean that social care is provided as a public service, but rather as a mixture of public and private market-based services. Most researchers agree that the main differences in social care arrangements can be found between southern and northern European countries.

Social care still remains a combination of formal and informal care. In particular, the role of women in providing care for children, elders and other dependent family members is remarkable.

Childcare remains the main focus of social care policy on a national and an international level. This is not only related to the needs of the economy, the labour market and gender equality policy, but also expressed in authorities paying more attention to the quality of childcare services and the educational aims and contents of formal services.

The globalisation and internationalisation of care and care work will increase. This development of cross-national care relations, global care chains and transnational care will

lead to an international market for care services. Furthermore, the number of migrant care workers in formal and informal care work will likely increase.

- Extreme vulnerability of migrant families and their children, particularly of non-EU immigrant families in comparison with other families and EU migrant families

There are continued and significant migration flows into Europe, and an increasing feminisation of migration. The vulnerability of migrant families is apparent in several areas of everyday life: they work in lower paid and lower skilled jobs, work atypical hours, are more frequently exposed to poverty and unemployment, predominantly live in segregated urban areas, often have fragile family networks, and therefore have major problems in reconciling work and family life with young children. Consequently, the integration and wellbeing of second and third generation migrants is a major challenge. Immigration policies tend to be restrictive regarding legalisation of immigrants and their children, and ambiguous about family reunion.

- Higher risk of exposure to poverty of some social groups and types of household

The average risk of exposure to poverty for households in the EU27 is 17 per cent. The following groups have a higher risk of exposure to poverty: unemployed households (43 per cent), immigrants from outside the EU (30-45 per cent), children in lone parent households (34 per cent), people with low educational levels (23 per cent), elderly women (22 per cent), young adults aged 16-24 (20 per cent), children (20 per cent), lone parent families (34 per cent), large families (25 per cent), and single person households (25 per cent).

- Increased reliance on new information and communication technologies in our everyday lives

New interactive, individualised and personalised media technologies are rapidly contributing to a diverse media environment in Europe. For example, educational systems across Europe, from school through to university, are increasingly reliant on technology enhanced classrooms. Health, ageing support, and other care and support services are increasingly reliant on new technologies, especially within the home.

2.2 Key dimensions of the wellbeing of the family

Before starting work on the future scenarios for family wellbeing in 2035, the different facets and preconditions of the term "wellbeing of the family" had to be defined. The aim was not to establish criteria for a definition of wellbeing of families in general (that would have been a project on its own), but to identify the key facets and preconditions of wellbeing for families that could then be used for constructing the future scenarios.

To ensure that the perspectives of all the different members and dialogue groups of the Consortium and Advisory Board of FAMILYPLATFORM (researcher, stakeholder, policy maker, and NGO) were taken into account, a systematic method for brainstorming was used.

The participants were divided into small groups and asked to brainstorm key dimensions and issues that define wellbeing of the family. After sharing the results of the group work and refining the results over several rounds of feedback, ten key dimensions were identified:

1. Security for individual members of the family and for the family itself

    On the one hand, security applies to general and material conditions, such as social and economic support for the family. On the other hand, when using security as an indicator of wellbeing of the family, we are also talking about emotional (immaterial) security for individual family members, such as a child's right to be raised without violence. Part of wellbeing is also feeling secure in personal and family life today, and maintaining that feeling in the future by ensuring that there will be a place in society for families with different living arrangements in the future.

2. Individual self-fulfilment

    Self-fulfilment is an issue that cuts across different areas of life for every human being, e.g. work-life balance, partnership, involvement in society. It is strongly related to freedom of choice on an individual level, and at the level of living arrangements and family forms. It encompasses being able to plan and realise choice of a specific family form or living arrangement at a specific time. Self-fulfilment can be achieved not only by use of individual resources, but also through support by family members and society.

3. Health

    Health is a multi-dimensional precondition for wellbeing, and includes (amongst others) the way that health-care systems are organised, access to different health-care services, and the range of health-care services on offer. Additional dimensions include the environment and how it supports the individual to be and stay healthy, as well as information and communication technologies. The issue of health has to be differentiated by gender and social group and status, since access can vary for different groups. In addition to the objective (measurable) dimension of health, there is also the personal (subjective) one: "How healthy do I personally feel? What options do I have to influence my own health and the environment I'm living in?"

4. Involvement in society (citizenship/participation)

    In general, involvement in society can be described along lines of inclusion or exclusion. This is often different for women and men, for individuals and for families, as well as for different social groups. It should not only be understood in terms of active personal engagement in society, but also in terms of how a well person is integrated in (or excluded from) society. Involvement in society may be visible in different areas, such as engagement in NGOs, social associations and voluntary work.

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5. Love, respect and tolerance

    Basic human needs are a central part of the wellbeing of families and the individuals that are part of them. Necessities such as love, respect and tolerance have an impact on the emotional and physical health of each family member and can prevent crises or problems within families and between their members. On the other hand, we have to be aware that if these needs are not present or can't be provided by the family, the family can be a harmful or even violent environment. Furthermore, the intergenerational aspect of fulfilling these basic needs within the family should be emphasised.

6. Balance

    When talking about wellbeing, it seems important to point out both the individual and the societal dimensions of balance. On the individual level, we are talking about the personal balance one finds in life, the ability to manage ambivalent situations, and being able to negotiate in order to establish or maintain balance. Over the life-course this personal balance is likely to change and may have to be re-established. On the societal level, it refers to the work-life balance and opportunities in society.

7. Time

    Modern society is composed of many different 'worlds', each with their own time structure. This makes negotiation and co-ordination necessary. In today's society, time is not only of central importance for individuals, but also for living arrangements and family forms which are becoming increasingly difficult to co-ordinate. Families and individuals should be empowered to spend time together as a family and as a couple, to maintain family relations, and to manage family and personal tasks.

8. Equality

    Equality is a central aim of modern society in Europe, and it intersects with virtually all other issues. It can be understood in a very general sense as each person having the same opportunities to participate in society, in every possible way, and on every level. Equality refers to many dimensions such as gender, sexual orientation, social position, religious or ethical beliefs, and cultural heritage and traditions.

9. Support for families

    Support can come from inside and outside the family. It can be provided by the state, or more locally by municipalities or regions through policies, regulations and services. "Family mainstreaming" should be introduced as a term meaning the attempt to integrate the family perspective into existing and new policies, even if they are not policies explicitly designed to affect families. A central aspect and starting point is the work that families and its members are providing for each other and for wider society: this should be visible and acknowledged throughout society.

10. Living and environmental conditions

    Living and environmental conditions have a broad range of aspects that address the wellbeing of families and individuals, for example educational opportunities and expectations, housing and urban development, intergenerational solidarity, the role of media and information and communication technologies, and the economic situation. Living and environmental conditions should be understood as the central foundation for achieving the other preconditions for wellbeing already mentioned.

3. Future Scenarios for the Family in 2035

Before presenting the future scenarios, we present a short methodological explanation on how the scenarios were constructed and elicited.

3.1 Methodological approach

3.1.1 Methodological background: The Foresight Approach

In order to debate the future wellbeing of the family in 2035, a participative approach involving the different groups of experts in FAMILYPLATFORM was required; the method chosen was "Foresight" – a popular approach for describing future conditions. Using Foresight, possible futures for families and living arrangements can be identified, and desirable and undesirable future scenarios imagined. This provides a basis for developing future strategies.

Foresight is a creative and systematic attempt to look into the longer-term future of society as a means of consulting future policy, and therefore fits perfectly with the project design of FAMILYPLATFORM.

> "Foresight approach is becoming increasingly attractive for governments, national research agencies and businesses in their efforts at coping with the increasing complexity of new technologies and decision environments, in an increased techno-economic competition world-wide (see Martin, 1995; Camerion *et al*., 1996; Grupp, 1998). Since the 1990s quite a number of major foresight exercises have been launched in many European countries." (Kuhlmann, 2002)

Foresight is neither a prognosis nor a simulation of the future. The approach requires participants to take an active role in the whole process. In FAMILYPLATFORM it was used as a tool for creating narratives in order to bring to life possible family forms and living arrangements in the future, and to make these understandable for policy makers, stakeholders and scientists. Furthermore, it was used as a creative means of building a bridge between the knowledge of the individual experts who prepared the existential field reports, and the future agenda for family research and family policy.

> "The majority of experts consider foresight essentially as a collective and consultative process, with the process itself being equally or even more important than the outcome. Foresight exercises are ways of obtaining options, conflicting or otherwise, about future developments, most of which are already established. Foresight in this sense is an essential contributor to the creation, either collectively or individually, of models of the future. Such models are important because they are capable of creating synthesis, they are disruptive and interfere with current modes of thought, thus forming and shifting values." (Kuhlmann, 2002)

Foresight approach is especially useful for policy consulting. Turoff *et al.* (2002) describes the effect of a structured approach like Foresight in generating the strongest possible opposing views on the potential resolutions of a major policy topic. Kuhlmann (2002) describes just some of the important intentions of Foresight in the context of policy making, so as to find out new demands and new possibilities as well as new ideas, to discuss desirable and undesirable futures, to identify choices and opportunities, and to assess potential likelihoods and impacts.

A central technique in the Foresight approach is the Delphi method. This was developed in the USA by Gordon & Helmer in the 1960s. FAMILYPLATFORM also used the Delphi method for its Foresight exercise. Delphi can be pictured as a systematic, interactive approach to looking into the future. It is based on a structured group discussion by a panel of experts. Therefore, it makes use of the implicit and explicit knowledge of experts as well as their experiences. In FAMILYPLATFORM the expert panel was comprised of scientists from different disciplines, stakeholders, and policy makers from across Europe. The experts have to answer questions in different rounds. These questions have to be discussed and a common result has to be found in the group. After the first round, feedback is given to the panel and new groups are formed to further discuss the subject and to comment on the results of the first groups. There can be several rounds of discussion and after each one feedback is given to the panel (see Turoff, 2002).

3.1.2 Methodological approach to constructing future scenarios in FAMILYPLATFORM

To put Delphi into practice, a discussion about possible future scenarios for families and living arrangements in the year 2035 began right at the very start of FAMILYPLATFORM. The FAMILYPLATFORM plenum (Consortium and Advisory Board) was regularly split up into small groups. The work on constructing the future scenarios was shaped by three key questions:

- What **challenges** for the wellbeing of families and living arrangements might appear in the future?
- What are the **key drivers**[3] of these changes?
- Which **scenarios** will be defined, and how will the drivers work together – how do we construct the scenarios?

Figure 2: Cornerstones of the Future Scenarios

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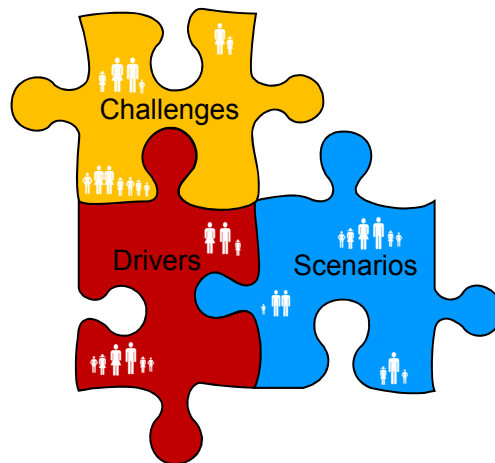
[3] "Driver" is defined as something that will impact in a certain way (positively or negatively) on a dimension of the future wellbeing of the family – it can already be present today.

The future scenario narratives were based on the results of discussion of these three questions. As stipulated by the Delphi method, work on the questions was structured, interactive and involved several 'feedback loops'. Discussions between FAMILYPLATFORM experts took place at several meetings:

- Kick-off meeting in Brussels (26-28 October 2009)

- Major trend meeting in Jyväskylä, Finland (23-27 February 2010)

- Future Scenario meeting one in Witten, Germany (28-30 April 2010)

- Critical Review meeting in Lisbon (25-27 May 2010)

- Future Scenario meeting two in Witten, Germany (9-11 June 2010)

The discussions continued between meetings through feedback loops (participants have been asked several times to give constant feedback on the results) via e-mail. In addition to discussion between the FAMILYPLATFORM Consortium and Advisory Board, all members of FAMILYPLATFORM were invited to participate and give their feedback on the future scenarios at the Lisbon conference and on the FAMILYPLATFORM website.

In the first step, the panel of experts discussed the question of the **key challenges** facing the family in the future. Small groups had brainstorming sessions to identify the challenges, come to a consensus, and prioritise four of them. After the first round the groups were mixed up and new groups with one new member were formed. Each new expert presented the results from their first group which were further discussed in the new group. Then the new group agreed on and prioritised four key challenges. Several of these feedback rounds were conducted, leading to prioritisation of the following challenges:

- Work-life balance and time management;

- Changes in behaviour (family break-up, changing sexual morality, reduction in parenting skills, balancing individual fulfilment within families, individualism/selfishness);

- Ageing/demographic changing;

- Uncertainty;

- Gender roles of father/mother, cultural representations of gender roles, gender responsibilities, denial of gender identity;

- Diversity (of family models, gender, father/mother, cultural, etc.);

- Lack of mainstreaming, families not valued by society, public respect for parents and family values;

- Economic crisis;

- Immigration.

On the basis of these challenges, the second step for constructing the future scenarios was to define the **key drivers**. A similarly structured and interactive brainstorming process was employed. The plenum was again divided into small groups and was asked to collect the trends (drivers) from all existential fields that will have an impact on family in the future. The drivers had to be agreed upon and prioritised by the group. In further rounds, the individual

members of the plenum were again involved in several new groups, discussed the drivers, generated alternatives and discussed these. After several feedback loops each group identified and ranked (1 being the most important) the following drivers:

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
1	Demographic changes	Care Services	Migration	Demographic Changes
2	Education/Values	Demographic Change	Care Systems	Migration
3	Gender	New Technologies	Education/Values	Inequalities
4	Inequalities	Gender Roles	Inequalities	Education/Values

Out of this ranking of different drivers across all the existential fields, the plenum agreed on four drivers that will have a major impact of family life in the future:

- Inequalities (social, cultural, economic, gender, ethical, etc.);
- Migration;
- Education and Values in Society;
- Care Systems.

After defining the key drivers the final step in the creative process could begin: **constructing the scenarios**. It was agreed that four different possible future scenarios for the family and living arrangements would be described in a narrative fashion. This entailed, on the one hand, describing the outline of society on the basis of the drivers identified and, on the other hand, giving examples of different family forms and how they will live in the future societies described in each scenario. As a starting point for the core of the future scenarios - the narratives of families in 2035 - the following outline for each scenario was agreed upon:

Scenario 1: Equal opportunities – open migration – diverse education and values – mix of private and public care systems;

Scenario 2: Increasing inequalities – no migration (very select) – private education and extreme positions in values – privatisation of care systems;

Scenario 3: Increasing inequalities – open limited migration – private education – accepted diverse values – privatisation of care systems;

Scenario 4: Equal opportunities at a low level – restricted migration – rigid public education with very specific curricula – accepted diverse values – public care systems.

3.2 Future scenarios and possible family and living forms in 2035 – narratives

This chapter describes in detail the frames of society of the four different scenarios that were chosen; for each of the scenarios, the group created four narratives of one or more pages. Thus, there are a total of 16 narratives, which can be found in Section 6.

3.2.1 Scenario 1: Equal opportunities – open migration diverse education and values – mix of private and public care systems

Basic frame of society

A positive cultural attitude prevails in society, and integration of immigrants and multiculturalism seem to be working. This is a confident society with few social and economic fears and with a strong welfare system and abundant social solidarity. There is full employment and this scenario's vitality depends on continued economic growth.

Equal opportunities

Governments are responsible for the careful management of gender and social equalities. The state seeks to reduce gender inequality, which is an explicit common goal in Europe, not only by means of family policy, but through policies in other sectors as well. Choices are not linked to the gender or social status of an individual and there is a more equal sharing of child rearing and unpaid work. Parenting roles are valued, both fatherhood and motherhood. Equality in gender roles ensures that men have the right to choose to stay at home, while women have the right to professional self-fulfilment. More flexible time schedules are possible and families can choose to opt for whichever models suit them best.

There is a generous redistribution of resources; equal opportunities exist in terms of education and employment. All children have equal life chances and there is a high amount of social cohesion. Equality exists across the life span, from the pensioned and the elderly through parents and young children. Lifelong learning ensures adult access to education throughout the course of adult life.

In terms of culture, universal access to information and communication technologies ensure that there is no digital exclusion. Digital inclusion to help fight social exclusion is a policy priority. There is linguistic and religious diversity with shared commonalities. There is a gradual assimilation of migrants into society without forced regulations on learning specific languages. The curriculum handles cultural diversity by incorporating these into the teaching itself.

Open migration

Europe is one big nation. People want to migrate within, to and from Europe but also to other parts of the world. There is no discrimination against migrants. They work on a legal basis and are able to obtain social security benefits. There is hardly any black labour market and non-authorised work. Diversity in migrant families' lives enriches the overall diversity of European societies.

Even in a society with open migration, the rates of migration can still be low and accompanied by some kind of regulation. An important aspect of migration is linked to a

person's current position in the life-course. For instance, for educational reasons, young people are a dynamic and mobile group. There are different forms of migration: for employment reason (more relevant for those coming into Europe from outside) or for educational reasons (more relevant for young people).

Another interesting point is that there is a cultural willingness to migrate among certain social groups. Highly educated people with good jobs might wish to migrate; however, one notices less of this type of migration due to new technologies connecting employment opportunities and organisations across borders; new technologies increasingly allow people to stay in their own countries rather than uproot. There is also a rise in female migrants entering the continent owing to work opportunities in the care and social services sector. Consequently, there is a feminisation of migration, with young women coming alone often initially as lone mothers.

We observe an increasing diversity in Europe, creating specific challenges (potential reinforcement of traditional gender roles, for instance) as well as opportunities (changing attitudes to older people). New family forms are emerging, for example, cross-national families. If migrants leave their families behind, negative effects may arise because of the separation, but they are also able, on the other hand, to financially support their families in their home country.

Diverse education

Educational systems are grounded on a general scheme of public education, supplemented by private and non-profit education. Basic standards of high-quality education are assured by a common quality certification of institutions. The system affords equal opportunities and access to education for all. There is some freedom of choice but a greater amount of public regulation and education systems are well resourced.

There is a rise in e-learning and lifelong learning is can be accessed by everyone, helping combat social exclusion. It was a European policy decision to invest in education and make it a priority and the universal availability of e-learning is a move towards this goal. There is investment in digitally enhanced classrooms and traditional learning skills (e.g. going to a library) are being replaced by new digital skills and literacy (greater peer collaboration, 'just-in-time learning', new media literacy).

There is a movement towards more diversity in education, and every child has the opportunity to engage in "open education" independent of parents' decisions, because children's rights to make educational decisions or to spend time at home are respected. High costs for education are no longer relevant, since public funding schemes for public, private and non-profit education ensure that costs are covered. The education system is flexible and can accommodate and support every individual child's abilities. There is a high degree of parental involvement in educational decisions, and a linkage between educational institutions and communities. Schools are inclusive and provide for more than just learning; this leads to the sharing of common experiences as well as some common products of literature, for instance, in turn creating a space for commonality. Linguistic diversity is present in many schools which is important for the integration of children from other cultures. This scenario also sees a greater investment in resources for education, smaller classes, promotion of linguistic skills, more teacher training and higher degrees of parental involvement in school work.

Diverse values

This is a tolerant society founded on human rights that respects diversity and encompasses shared values. A variety of different life-styles, gender roles and family models are widely accepted. There is an emphasis on equality and wellbeing and education is a priority in society.

Mix of private and public care systems

Care systems are primarily organised at the local level by local governments and a pluralistic welfare system has developed. Local authorities provide money directly to families and families can choose how they wish to use it (either directly for care, or to be paid to others for care services). Care is more sensitive to demands and is de-commodified.

In this mix of private and public systems, there is freedom of choice to select between familial care and outsourced care. In this context, it is necessary to differentiate between care for children and for elderly people. For children, the basic emphasis is on early childhood education, while for the elderly, public regulation and state initiatives promote care solutions. Co-operatives build up care services; there is a diversity and flexibility of care systems funded by public money with a common quality standard. New communication technologies help support ageing and sheltered housing which allows the elderly to enjoy the independence and comfort of their own homes. The priority is preventive care which also recognises the rights of the elderly to stay at home.

How is life experienced on an individual level?

Families in this scenario have choices, but they need to be flexible and able to negotiate, which creates spaces and potential for stress. Individual choices are possible in this society, which leads to the question of what this means for children, and for whom and by whom decisions are made.

Individual orientations take focus away from times of family togetherness. Therefore, there are questions about the creation, transmission and sustenance of common cultures, within and across families and generations.

The quality of life, measured by material standards, is rather high and there are hardly any pressing material needs. Hence, other factors emerge as important – the quality of intra-generational and inter-generational relationships which are increasingly complicated, and the question of continuous negotiation between individuals.

Individual choices imply additional responsibilities, for instance deciding on giving more time to the family. Since material needs are quite easily taken care of, the need to stick together (for example, to make sacrifices for mutual goals, etc.) is eliminated. These circumstances might do away with interdependence and might encourage a drifting apart of family members; there are emerging emotional needs for greater family solidarity and support as a result.

Family meetings and conferences may help in terms of conflict management and planning, and support the family to function as a unit. Discussions about housing arrangements are important because there is a perceived need to find communal ways for generations to live together.

3.2.2 Scenario 2: Increasing inequalities – no migration (very select) – private education and extreme positions in values – privatisation of care systems

Basic frame of society

Due to enormous debts in almost all European states that were built up during the 2010s, public provision of welfare (care, health, education) has been sold off and privatised. In effect, governments have withdrawn from providing welfare with the consequence that states' power to shape society has been greatly reduced. Partly as a result of this crisis, nation states' legitimacy is increasingly questioned. To fill the gap in public support, two competing models of welfare provision have developed, each centred on a different ideal of who provides the necessary services:

- Community based support;
- Market based support.

Every family positions itself in relation to these two sectors, though they can and do draw on one or the other - or other family members - for certain services. This positioning is a source of tension in some families.

In this scenario, society is deregulated with practically no government intervention. Deregulation means that everybody is ultimately responsible for choosing how to maintain his or her own wellbeing. Inequalities between different social groups are high and society is increasingly polarised. Furthermore, rapid technological developments have taken place, which also have an effect on family life.

All social services (education, care, health, etc.) are available either through the market (at a price) or within a community (for members). As national government was rolled back it only retained responsibility for a limited range of policies areas (e.g. criminal law and enforcement, trade agreements, providing physical infrastructure). Geographically, borders between societies are increasingly based on self-defined, semi-autonomous regions rather than current-day national borders. These developments are supported by transnational corporations relocating their staff, but also cut along ethnic, religious and lifestyle lines. The EU's right to exist is questioned and continuously scrutinised. But there are still some regulations on an EU and a national level, as well as regulation by international institutions like the UN and the WHO.

In this society there is hardly any mobility between social groups and only limited freedom of choice.

Increasing Inequalities

Inequalities between social groups are continually increasing – and these inequalities are increasingly apparent not only in economic terms, but also in terms of values. The move towards more extreme positions in values and the high segregation of society leads to increasing inequalities between different social, ethnic, cultural and religious groups. Depending on their social, cultural and financial background, families participate differently in the education or care system.

Gender equality or inequality varies according to social position. Whereas the market and some communities do not differentiate on the basis of gender at all, other communities

enforce a rigid - gendered - division of labour and reproduce gender hierarchies. Many communities are positioned between these two extremes.

Migration is severely restricted

The borders within Europe are closed. Mobility between countries is restricted to tourism (and therefore dependent on individuals' financial background), exceptions exist only for higher-educated and wealthy people.

Low-paid work is carried out increasingly by people born in Europe, rather than those who migrated from abroad when the borders were more open, leading to shifts in the gaps between different social classes. A number of ex-migrants still live in Europe, and they still constitute the majority of the caring professions (e.g. nurses, care workers, social workers) but this number has been decreasing since Europe's borders began to close.

In spite of the closed borders, illegal migration from inside and outside of Europe still exists. Illegal immigrants do not receive any social support and have no officially recognised citizenship. They are organised in different informal ethnic networks (often community based), where support is provided, and represent a third dimension of inequality. An increasing number of people are choosing to migrate from Europe to areas of the world which are more favourable to live in, though this is a developing trend.

There is great potential for conflict between social and ethnic groups. A hierarchy among the communities is developing, depending on their proximity to the market-orientated section of society or ethnic/religious/cultural factors. Different migrant and cultural groups try to maintain and defend their own traditions and values, which they seek to transfer to the next generation.

Due to the lack of social exchange between groups, cultural segregation and inequalities are increasing. Further inequalities arise between those who can move within Europe, and those who either cannot or are forced to move (such as illegal migrants). Social mobility within the community or the market-oriented sector of society is still possible, but due to social pressures to belong and identify with a certain set of values of the given community, this occurs infrequently.

National and regional states try to cultivate a sense of 'belonging', due to existence and growth of various competing 'nationalisms' and 'regionalisms', some harking back to 'shared pasts' (e.g. nineteenth or twentieth centuries) and others attempting to create a narrative encompassing all of the different communities within society as it exists in 2035. This has met with some success, but overall the power of the state to shape identity has been curtailed and competing sets of identities are becoming increasingly entrenched – some of which are deeply antagonistic to the state itself, for ideological, practical, or for ethnic/regionalist reasons.

Education is completely privatised

The state no longer has any responsibility for the education system and parents decide where their children are educated. Due to technological advancements and a relatively low number of children, virtual schooling has become standard. Children in different towns, regions and countries can all be present in the same virtual classroom. For this reason, every social or cultural group can offer schooling in accordance with their beliefs and values. Access is either for community members only or, for the commercially-operated schools,

regulated by fees. Very expensive face-to-face private schooling (e.g. Eton, Harrow, Salem, etc.) is still available and serves the purpose of creating international elite networks. Consequently, social, ethnic or cultural groups ensure that their children are educated and raised the way they choose, and this has led to a high diversity and de-standardisation of educational systems and increasing social segregation. The (social, financial) background of families thus affects the educational development of their children and educational inequality between social groups is increasing.

The rapid advancements in new technologies and media have wide-reaching effects on the ways that families organise their everyday lives: the self-cleaning home is a reality and a revolution in information technology has made it possible for much more paid work to be done at home. The result in some families is a spatial concentration on the private home. The way that children use the internet and educational computer programs depends on their family's social, educational and financial status. Additionally, the way that children learn depends on their environment (noise, space, time, guided internet-use, etc.). Alternative media and different types of internets (some free, others commercial) cater to some of the social needs of families with different abilities to pay. Families with greater financial resources can chose whether they want to use or subscribe to new technologies. For sections of the less well-off, virtual communities have become more important and the relevance of direct face-to-face communication and personal relationships has decreased, leading to increased social isolation.

Values vary and extreme positions prevail

Values vary between different social groups, depending on their economic and cultural background. On the one hand, radical groups with very rigid values have arisen (e.g. various perceived forms of traditionalism vs. different kinds of anarchical or libertarian values). Less interaction between social groups and families means less exposure to alternative belief structures and different everyday life practices, resulting in less reflection and change of values. The segregated education system supports this trend and encourages the emergence of extremely varied value systems. On the other hand, in different sections of society, a new process of re-familialisation is taking place, which sees new forms of living arrangements, such as common childcare within the community, support by the community, or neighbourhoods providing care facilities, becoming more widely accepted. In these communities, intergenerational help is widely available and valued.

Care systems are privatised

The state no longer provides any care services whatsoever, and private insurance and market solutions for care have increased rapidly as a response. On the other hand, communities are providing the care services themselves. In any case, responsibility within the families and intergenerational help is increasing.

The privatisation of childcare, for example, has resulted in the emergence of different care markets catering to different financial and cultural needs. Quality and price are directly correlated, resulting in a polarisation between highly-qualified and well-paid carers on the one hand, and poorly-educated and badly-paid carers on the other. Poor families and families with more than one child do not have access to high quality childcare on the market. Many families in this situation who cannot draw on the support of their community deliberately only have one child.

Each community organises childcare in its own way. In more 'traditionally' focussed communities, care is delegated to older women; in more egalitarian communities, everyone takes turns. Those living in communities with non-market values profit from increased numbers of people being active and volunteering within the community, often until they are forced to stop due to ill health. In many communities, volunteers are well-respected and play an important part in society. Care for the elderly is often provided by the "young-old" (mid-fifties to mid-seventies), supported by technical innovations. Robots, for example, play an important role in the mundane care for the elderly, as do alarm and monitoring systems, which means that older people can live independently for longer in their own homes.

With respect to pension systems, the market-oriented section of society invests more in private and company pensions. Many communities have developed their own community insurance schemes that people can pay into, and pensioners are generally either looked after in their families or communities, or by a market based solution. Many people work until they die, and early retirement is increasingly rare and generally confined to market-orientated families and communities. Some community insurance schemes are confronted with the problem of how to ration their funds, i.e., deciding who receives which form of medical care and who does not.

How is life on an individual level?

There is pressure on families and their individual members to conform to the norms and values of their community because being ostracised means losing access to care and other welfare services. This lack of freedom of choice is a source of tension between generations and within couples, and prompts discussions about the family's present and future location within the community and the market.

Intergenerational tensions also exist because more generations have to live together; this is quite a new development that people have not yet adjusted to. Furthermore, tensions between neighbouring communities also exist, particularly when suspicions arise that the other is trying to attract members or create divisions; rumours and hostilities frequently emerge. To counter this, many communities respond to this suspicion and hostility by creating structures and projects which work to promote inter-community understanding and co-operation.

We forecast the rise of the "pragmatic parents" who juggle work and family obligations and duties and have hardly any leisure time or just plain fun. Their relationship with each other is often also pragmatic rather than based on love and affection, which will affect their wellbeing. Tensions within the family may be further increased by having to take in and care for older family members, especially if this situation is unexpected and unintended. In this scenario, employers' policies for supporting families are a decisive factor for the work-life balance.

Community leaders, or indeed the varied forms of community decision-making processes (authoritarian, inclusive, nepotistic, ecological, democratic, authoritarian, etc.) have an increased role in ensuring individual personal development and personal freedom, in order to allow communities to grow and change. The outcomes of these different styles of community governance are varied.

The complexity of this society and the different family forms and backgrounds can, on the one hand, be a challenge for children and, on the other hand, be an enriching experience. The high level of care responsibility in the communities, and demographic change (more

elderly people), mean that care is delivered by dedicated community members and that intergenerational living offers support to many families on many different levels.

3.2.3 Scenario 3: Increasing inequality – open limited migration – private education – accepted diverse values – privatisation of care systems

Basic frame of society

This society is a "contract society", in which individuals cannot rely on a universal welfare state and so enter into contracts for the provision and remuneration of these services. Civil society has a very important role – everybody is an active member of society, and associations and religious groups are intimately involved in the provision of services. A "tribal society" has built up, where individuals have a strong affiliation to one or another group. Integration of individuals occurs by being a member of a specific association or different group (e.g. migrants, poor people). This leads to segregation of young people into two groups: those who are integrated into communities and extended families, and those who are excluded; the result of this is conflict. On the other hand, it can be supportive for young people to be integrated into a community and where conflict can be managed, local authorities have gained influence. However, there are also gated communities.

Increasing inequalities

Inequality exists in all dimensions (gender, economic, social, and ethnic) due to social segregation, which also produces social unrest. Knowledge gaps due to differential access to communication technologies also produce conflict. Gender roles are not generally defined by society, they are negotiated. Negotiation plays an important role in society. Different gender roles are present in all social groups.

Open limited migration

There is limited open migration. People have different legal status and different citizenship rights. Migration is privatised. It is possible to buy national citizenship by paying taxes and there is also European citizenship. For EU nationals, it is very easy to change citizenship to that of another Member State. The public services offered by the Member States to their citizens differ significantly, as do the rates of taxation. As a result, people are free to choose a bundle of services (education, health-care, public pension, etc.) that correspond to the income taxes they are prepared to pay. Market mechanisms provide sufficient employment opportunities and Europe is one vast market. The European Union is mainly concerned with regulating economic markets. Black labour markets and a segmentation of the labour market have developed. Migration is much more greatly influenced by family ties than by economic reasons.

Private education

There is only limited public education and no public crèche. Private schools are much better than public schools. The European Union guarantees a minimum educational standard and there is only basic schooling until the age of fourteen. All universities are private and frequently supported by foundations, such as the Nokia University and the Mercedes-Benz University. Communities have their own schools. E-learning and digital learning have been privatised and knowledge gaps in society are growing. Transnational television (diasporic media) is widespread and brings migrant communities in different locations together in front of the TV.

Accepted diverse values

Values are very diverse. Social equality is not a priority and the most important value in society is freedom. Associations and firms (the market) play an important role in defining values. Social control and cohesion is provided by associations and extended families. Religious organisations also play a leading role. Values are shaped by the groups that individuals are members of, or else they choose to belong to a group that shares their set of values. Consequently ways of life, attitudes, and values vary between groups but not greatly within them.

Privatisation of care systems

Care systems are all private and provided by (for example) charities, or financed by private insurance. There are minimum standards but the private sector does achieve higher quality. There is a minimal level of health-care provided by the public sector, but there is no public childcare at all. The lack of public care is to some degree compensated for by strong and active neighbourhood ties and the growing voluntary sector. Different kinds of associations, religious movements and volunteer organisations intervene to redress the lack of a state welfare, sometimes with additional support from private companies. Childcare provision, for example, is a mix of company and association-funded (private interests) and informal care systems. Despite this, there are strong obligations on families to provide for themselves.

How will life be on an individual level?

In this society, there is growing insecurity among people about their living conditions and relationships. The future is unclear. People demand more public responsibility and a more secure future for families.

There is a high degree of freedom of choice in this scenario and this has its own consequences. There is a higher amount of ambivalence about freedom of choice and choices in general. There are higher levels of social inequality and consequent social unrest.

Social organisations and voluntary groups have increased in importance and there is growing dependence on these organisations. Consequently, there is potential for more neighbourhood support networks. Parental choices about maintaining a work-life balance are crucial, as the state does not play a big role. This is especially important for children, their rights and their best interests.

3.2.4 Scenario 4: Equal opportunities at a low level – restricted migration – rigid public education with very specific curricula – accepted diverse values – public care systems

Basic frame of society

In this scenario, Europe can be described as very strong yet isolated from the rest of the world. The climate has changed considerably over the last twenty years, leaving Europe more hospitable than many other parts of the world, though in many parts of Europe it is much less habitable than it was in the past. Because of the resultant increasing migratory movements, Europe has closed its borders and aims to radically control them.

The European Union has reached the status of an autonomous "mega-state". National borders within the EU no longer exist, even though there are still elections for a European Government and elections at national levels. Among the general population, identification with "Europe" is very widespread. Every European still speaks their native language, but there is one central language in Europe which is spoken by every European. Due to these low barriers, mobility across Europe is high and travel is frequent.

Natural resources within Europe have become scarce, and therefore technologies including minimal-impact and resource-light ones have become more important. Some of these are labour intensive, which has helped alleviate the unemployment problems which plagued Europe in the first twenty-five years of the century.

European policies focus on the individual and everybody is responsible for his or herself, regardless of the family constellation they live in. The state guarantees only basic support and services. There is no family-oriented policy, but the state supports special groups, for example children or older people, as individuals.

Major changes have occurred in reproductive technology. In addition to natural conception and childbirth, declining male fertility rates encourages the development of alternative methods. These include:

- Surrogate motherhood;
- In vitro fertilisation;
- "Growing" babies outside the womb.

One consequence is an increase in women/couples who produce large numbers of children, either to have a large family themselves or on behalf of other couples. A second consequence is the uncoupling of women's employment performance and achievements from their reproductive potential. Employers can no longer (implicitly) discriminate against women on the basis of their childbearing potential. Therefore, women are able to fully capitalise on their better performance in the education system (which began towards the end of the twentieth century) and they have taken over a far greater number of positions of power in all sectors of society and the economy than they have ever had before.

The value of children is very high, because they are considered the foundation of the European population and economy. The state is pro-natalist and encourages the "natural" production of children by linking benefits to children, supplemented by its own measures to "grow" children outside of the womb. The pro-natalist policy is a reaction to demographic change.

As a consequence of pro-natalist policies and advances in reproductive technologies there is currently a fierce debate about genetic engineering. Issues include:

- Should the state control which genes are more frequently reproduced (e.g. best suited to the changed climate, appearance, intelligence, etc.)?

- Should parents be able to choose the phenotypes (observable characteristics) of their in vitro baby?

Wild Card Scenario[4]: The state can "order" the production of individuals according to specific needs (such as military needs or a need for highly-qualified people; genetic pooling facilitates the selection of specific characteristics).

Energy costs are very high so public transport is supported by the state and private transport (e.g. the car) is very expensive and hardly exists anymore. The world is divided into different blocks (e.g. South America, China, ASEAN, Indian subcontinent) that do still trade with each other (by sea) but only in high quality or high price goods. Transport costs are very high (due to a lack of oil) and there is more re-use and recycling than in the past.

Due to the policy of supporting the child, the state empowers children from an early age. Vouchers are provided for many of the things that children need (e.g. nappies, school books, etc.) and children learn very early to spend their vouchers themselves. Child benefits are not dependent on the family situation.

Equal opportunities at a low level

Since the European state provides basic public care services and education with equal access for all citizens from birth onwards, social mobility is in principle possible for all social or cultural groups. In reality however, it is still dependent on the family of origin's social and financial resources. Due to the state's orientation towards the individual, it is up to each person if they take advantage of the facilities offered. Since these public services satisfy minimal needs, there is a baseline to inequality that almost no one drops below. Inequalities nevertheless arise because some individuals start off at a higher level and strive to maintain a higher standard of living.

Due to climate change, the different regions of Europe have been affected in different ways. The state provides basic quality public housing, but often in unattractive regions; nice homes in attractive regions are expensive. Young people often stay at home until they can afford to move to their own place. On the other hand, the state can provide the individual with housing, but often in a less attractive region.

The labour market is minimally controlled by the state. There is a minimum wage but no job guarantee. The public sector is very large (childcare, education, health-care, etc.) and regulated by the state. In the private sector, there is great competition for jobs and good education gives potential employees a competitive advantage.

Support during times of unemployment is no longer linked to the beneficiary's family constellation. Factors which in the past were taken into account for calculating welfare

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[4] Wild card means that an unexpected and not very likely event occurs.

benefits (such as number of children or partner's income,) no longer play a role. However, the state provides basic support in case of unemployment ("Nobody has to live on the street") and children in unemployed households receive direct support.

In terms of gender inequalities, women's higher educational achievements and female networking have brought women into leading and powerful positions in society. Gender inequalities have changed and nowadays a kind of female dominance of society has taken hold, which makes reconciliation of work and family life possible for women. In this female dominated society, motherhood is not a handicap. Since active fatherhood has been encouraged over the last decades, men are much more active in the household and childcare. In this respect at least, gender equality exits.

Regarding social inequalities, the state's involvement guarantees equality on a low level by meeting the needs of the individual. In the wild card scenario, sex and reproduction are no longer linked.

At the level of beliefs and culture, there are almost no inequalities anymore. Different ethnic and religious backgrounds are equally accepted in Europe. However, this does not include tolerance and openness for foreigners from outside of the European Union; illegal immigrants suffer from social and cultural inequalities, and racism towards non-Europeans has increased.

Migration is almost impossible

Europe's external borders are now closed for most purposes, and international trade has decreased. There are fewer opportunities to work outside of Europe, though tourism is still possible. Due to the high level of border protection, militarism is on the rise in the EU and Europe spends large sums on defence.

Within Europe, people can move and work freely. Inter-European trade is free, since there are no internal frontiers left. Because of the high level of identification with the "mega-state EU" and the separation from the "Outside", people have developed a strong common identity, a kind of nationalism which makes them suspicious of everything outside their EU.

Public education is provided on a basic level

A rigid education system is provided by the state that is free for everyone until the age of 16. After this, young people either enter an apprenticeship or stay on at school and pay fees.

Children start school at the same age and until the age of 16, schools teach a common basic curriculum - which is identical across Europe - promoting mobility (e.g. same language education, etc.). This educational framework facilitates social mobility because everybody has the same opportunities right from the start. On the other hand, there are additional school programmes available on the market without public support, which only rich parents are able to afford for their children. These high-cost, supplementary, premium educational programmes reinforce social inequalities.

In each country, children learn components of national history and culture, including national anthems and national languages. Being tri-lingual is increasingly becoming the norm.

In addition to the professional armed forces, all eighteen year olds (male and female) can serve for a year as a European Border Guard on a voluntary basis. As a "reward", participants can study at university for two years for free.

Diverse values are accepted

The "mega-state" Europe, with its common identity, encompasses a high diversity of former country-specific values, identities and backgrounds. These differences within the European population are accepted, true to the motto "We are different and we love it" (– but only if you are European). Europeans are very suspicious of foreigners or migrants who moved to Europe before the frontiers were closed (because they could be here illegally or, in the worst case, terrorists or secret agents from outside Europe). Such fears are frequently whipped up in the popular press

Because of the general plurality and high acceptance of different European values, the acceptance of different family forms is also very widespread. This acceptance is also favoured by the orientation of the state philosophy towards the individual: the family form is not relevant to public care, health, and social services. The individual is responsible for his or her own life.

Care systems are public and cover basic needs

The entire care and social support system is targeted at the individual. The state offers basic facilities and people can choose to what degree they utilise these public services. They have to decide individually how and if they manage to supplement the basic quality care for children and/or older family members. As far as the offer is accepted, the state guarantees basic care for everyone. These policies are not addressed towards families, or designed to support families as an institution, but to support special groups (e.g. children, people with disabilities, older people, etc.). Since there is comprehensive coverage of care services for very young children, parental leave is very short.

Alongside the basic public social support system, a relatively good and functional market has developed, which provides additional services with high costs.

How will life be on an individual level?

Relationships, kinship and networks are an important part of society and are highly valued. The energy crisis and closing the borders have brought people together. Long-term and committed relationships are valued and easier to achieve with greater gender equality and greater personal freedom. But since men tend to be less well-educated than women, it can be difficult for well-educated women to find a partner. The past has shown clearly that in the selection of a partner, the choice is led by a homogametic focus, which means that most people form relationships with someone of the same educational level. Greater acceptance of different family forms and living arrangements can lead to more same-sex relationships (not necessarily sexual relations) and a greater variety of care and living relationships. However, high mobility may negatively impact wellbeing and the work-life balance as well as relationships.

There is more freedom and less pressure in personal relationships, since the state takes care of individuals' basic needs. The pressure and stress of precarious employment can, to a certain extent, be cushioned by the state, which provides childcare, schooling, housing, etc. This reduces pressure on mothers and fathers, as long as they are not employed in a high-

pressure private sector job. With the minimum wage or welfare benefits in case of unemployment, a minimum standard of living is possible and so there is more time for family and personal interests.

The individual is empowered in this society. But masculinity has to be redefined and a new lobby for men's advancement has arisen, working towards gender equality in pay and to campaign against the causes of the inequalities faced by boys in education.

Due to the high pressures on children (being responsible from an early age, constant observation by closed circuit television (CCTV), limited leisure time activities because of high costs of visiting friends and a climate of fear), depression among children is more common. Within the family, relationships tend to be happy; it is the external structures of society and the growing fear in society that induce stress.

4. Key policy issues and research questions

One of the main objectives of "Future Scenarios" was to outline **key policy questions and research issues** regarding the wellbeing of families directly derived from the narratives.

The four scenarios and the 16 family narratives constitute the "possible futures" that were the basis of this discussion. We used them to help answer the following questions:

What are the uncertainties which could affect the wellbeing of families? What research questions directly relate to future wellbeing of families? Therefore, what are the relevant **research issues**?

What factors or policies improve the wellbeing of families, and how can they be implemented or encouraged?

What are the 'dead-ends' or 'bottle-necks' that might lead to a rupture of families' wellbeing and the instruments were preventing it: therefore, identification of **key policy issues and social innovations**.

Discussions of the narratives and scenarios identified the following specific issues as important:

- Intergenerational solidarity and communities;
- Sufficient time for families;
- Unpaid work and care arrangements;
- Children's perspectives (rights, best interests, and impact on wellbeing);
- Periods of family transitions;
- Family mainstreaming and individualisation;
- The impact of technological advancement on families.

These are described in more details below.

4.1 Importance of intergenerational solidarity and communities

A striking element that was brought forward from the scenarios was the importance of intergenerational and community solidarity. In all the scenarios family and community solidarity remain important for families' wellbeing and in some scenarios increase in importance. Indeed, in scenarios with a weak welfare system it becomes crucial.

The scenarios showed that families as well as community networks provided care services for their members, thus freeing the state and the taxpayer from that cost. In a situation of financial crisis or depression, the family and community resources proved vital.

In the vast majority of the narratives, families relied on support and help from grandparents, siblings, cousins, friends, neighbours, etc., as well as from local communities (ethnic, religious, social, and cultural). These offer alternative and reliable solutions primarily for care.

In certain scenarios (especially Scenario 2 and Scenario 3), governments have almost completely withdrawn from provision of welfare in the widest sense (care, health, education). Societies, in these narratives, have become deregulated with practically no government intervention. To fill the gap in public support, strong community-based support has emerged. Societies without public welfare are greatly affected by social inequalities, and tend to consist of segregated local communities focused around common ethnic, religious, class and income related socio-cultural group. As integration in these so-called "tribal societies" (Scenario 2) is only possible by being a member of a specific association or group, there is strong segregation in society between people integrated into communities and extended families, and those who are excluded; this leads to regular (and possibly violent) conflicts.

Quoting scenarios:

"*Each community organises childcare in its own way. In more 'traditionally' focussed communities, care is delegated to older women; in more egalitarian communities, everyone takes turns. Those living in communities with non-market values profit from increased numbers of people being active and volunteering within the community, often until they are forced to stop due to ill health. In many communities, volunteers are well-respected and play an important part in society. Care for the elderly is often provided by the "young-old" (mid-fifties to mid-seventies), supported by technical innovations. Robots, for example, play an important role in the mundane care for the elderly, as do alarm and monitoring systems, which means that older people can live independently for longer in their own homes*" (S2)[5].

"*Childcare is largely organised in the family (siblings and cousins rather than grandparents) and the community. A rotation system was built up where a group of parents take turns to look after each others' children, one day a week for each family*" (S2.1). In this narrative, it is not only to fill-in care support, but also for purposes of education, health, social control and cohesion: "community school[s]…[where] well-educated community members teach for some hours a week as part of their contribution to the community" (S2.1). "*Every social or cultural group can offer schooling in accordance with their beliefs and values. Access is either for community members only or, for the commercially-operated schools, regulated by fees*" (S2).

Some of the results found in the scenarios and narratives include "*[there is a] great pressure within the community…to conform*" (S2.1). Or, "*Because of the lack of public care systems, having children is very important for parents to ensure that they are cared for in old age, in case they don't have enough money to pay for it*" (S2.2). Or, "*We see a "tribal society" which has built up strongly on affiliation to one or another group. Integration of individuals occurs by being a member of a specific association or different group (e.g. migrants, poor people). This leads to segregation of young people into two groups: those who are integrated into communities and extended families and those who are excluded, which is likely to produce conflicts*" (S3). Or, "*Anna…lives in a community of solidarity with some kind of social cohesion. She is happy that her "work" not only brings in money, but also produces some*

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[5] Please note the meaning of the following abbreviations: S2 means Scenario 2, S2.1 means Narrative 1 of Scenario 2, and so on.

kind of commonality and brings people together" (S3.2). Or, "*Relationships, kinship and networks are an important part of society and are highly valued. The energy crisis and closing the borders have brought people together. Long-term and committed relationships are valued and easier to achieve with greater gender equality and greater personal freedom*" (S4). Or, "*Many communities have developed their own community insurance schemes that people can pay into, and pensioners are generally either looked after in their families or communities, or by a market based solution. Many people work until they die, and early retirement is increasingly rare and generally confined to market-oriented families and communities*" (S2).

It appears that intergenerational solidarity and community support have become the backbone of support for families in our narratives. But a society where care and education are only based on community support was also seen as being particularly prone to 'falling apart'. Therefore one important **challenge** for future research and policy in Europe is to study the consequences of different welfare mixes and to balance community solidarity with social welfare services.

Empty neighbourhoods versus lively neighbourhoods during working hours were discussed, putting an emphasis on the difference it makes in terms of security, care, social cohesion and neighbourhood relationships.

This leads to:

Intergenerational policies and community support implemented at an EU level: Family should be considered as an intergenerational unit. Networks of extended family solidarity should be encouraged.

Housing, environment and community development: Given the increase of the costs of housing, there may be a need for thorough and comprehensive urban planning that includes:

> ⇒ Analysis of how families live, work and go to school

> ⇒ Housing and neighbourhood planning

> ⇒ Public spaces (such as playgrounds)

> ⇒ Public and private transportation

> ⇒ Neighbourhood networks

> ⇒ Proximity of care institutions, etc.

One could also look into new housing opportunities and spaces to accommodate several generations that address the needs of families in their daily lives (for example, houses for three generations of the same family). This could help augment social cohesion in neighbourhoods.

- **Family associations:** In the scenarios, we witness increased participation of local, public/private, paid/volunteer, organised/informal communities. Policy should further encourage family-related associations and organisations that can help families.

Ageing and social cohesion: Derived from the intergenerational and community discussion came the idea of a **"skills market"** as a **social innovation**. The group imagined local offices that assemble offers and demands for certain jobs and qualifications. This skill market might be based on paid as well as unpaid work. Besides fulfilling the need for recognition of the elderly after their professional life ends after retirement, this could help foster diversity in urban areas and help create a climate of trust and help share community and family support in a variety of different ways:

⇒ Help increase the recognition of volunteering

⇒ Care-receivers become caregivers

⇒ Be supplemental to a professional care job rather than replacing it

⇒ Enable creation and re-establishment of community connections, thereby preventing isolation

4.2 Importance of sufficient time for families

Another strong commonality across the 16 narratives of family life in 2035 is the aspect of **"time"**. The wellbeing of the families appeared to be related to how much time they spent together as a family. Lack of time often generated stress, tensions, more difficult family relationships, endless negotiations, health troubles, etc.

The narratives showed that in similar environments, the personal choices of parents to allow themselves more or less time for their family played an important role in the wellbeing of each family member, on the stability of the family and on the number of children in the family. It was observed that when both parents worked full-time, it was often made it difficult to find enough time for family matters, regardless of the family form and the economic status of the various families.

This 2035 society still shows that it is composed of different "time zones". One can name it the "institutional" time (school education and work) versus "family" time. There seemed to be great difficulty co-ordinating and synchronising these times. Families and individuals demonstrated that they wanted to be empowered to spend time together as a family and as a couple to maintain family relations, and to have time to care and to be able to manage family and personal tasks.

Quoting the scenarios:

"*Klara works in a private company very successfully. Her job sometimes requires working late and trips abroad. Both of them are socially and politically active outside of their work and family life. In the afternoons, the grandparents usually take care of the children. Since the grandparents are often away on holiday, other forms of day-care for the children are necessary. As a family the main challenge they have to face is prioritising between their career and parental responsibilities, alongside working on the quality of their relationship. This is creating a fair amount of stress within the family and starting to endanger the wellbeing of the family*" (S1.1).

"*[Although their housing and financial conditions are not very good)], They don't want stressful jobs and are quite satisfied with their lifestyle – they have time for themselves and their good friends who support them*" (S3.1).

"*Emily and Phillip are confronted with the challenge of combining two careers with childrearing. They spend a lot of their free time with their children… but the children are still on their own a lot*" (S2.3). And, "*Lesse devotes a lot of time to his family and he enjoys it. He had to give up a lot of leisure activities, but he doesn't feel bad about it, because he is happy with his situation. His colleagues are in the same situation. They value their family time*" (S2.4).

"*There is more freedom and less pressure in personal relationships, since the state takes care of individuals' basic needs. The pressure and stress of precarious employment can, to a certain extent, be cushioned by the state, which provides childcare, schooling, housing, etc. This will reduce pressure on mothers and fathers, as long as they are not employed in a high-pressure private sector job. With the minimum wage or welfare benefits in case of unemployment, a minimum standard of living is possible and so there is more time for family and personal interests*" (S4).

"*Kristel is also pleased with this arrangement, because somebody is now there for her at home and she does not have to be alone so much*" (S4.3). The same immigrant couple was pictured in two different scenarios. When they can spend more time together they have another child and integrate better in Scenario 1 (S1.3), than in Scenario 3, where "*They need to work extra hours in order to save and be able to pay for medical services during pregnancy, including giving birth. They have very little time together. After the child is born Roza is allowed only one month off work, her employers being generous and paying her salary as usual. As they do not want to change the carer, Roza brings the baby with her to work…The Muslim community provides childcare at moderate cost, but in the new situation they cannot afford moving out from a shared apartment with two other couples, as they hoped they would. In these conditions they do not have a second baby*" (S3.3).

This leads to suggestions for policies to ease the "rush hours" in the lifecycle of families:

- Policy makers should consider strategies to ease or slow down the "rush hours" over the course of life and help synchronise institutional and family times. **Based on the needs and objectives of families**, policies of time management and choices are needed as well as incentives for the employers to help employees better reconcile work and family life. Obviously, the main stakeholders - employers - need to be involved in the elaboration and decision process.
- One could question if European policies encouraging the dual-earner full-time household model during the whole course of life are sustainable in the long-term for families.
- The scenarios often highlight the importance of new technologies that can help ease these "rush hours" or "time bottlenecks".
- A possible **social innovation** brought forward in the scenarios that might ease the "rush hours" in the lifecycle of families is **"Time care insurance"** or a "time credit" account of several years designed for individuals to take care of other people (young and old), to be invested over the course of family life.

4.3 Unpaid work and care arrangements

Arrangement of care is another important issue in all of the scenarios and narratives. Unpaid work is closely linked to this issue ("time for work/family") and was very often addressed during the brainstorming sessions of the Future Scenarios. There is a clear need for recognition of the unpaid work (largely care-work) performed within families and communities.

In all of the scenarios the "care work" had to be done by the state with public money, by the market with private money or by families and communities for "no money" (therefore "unpaid work"). In Scenario 2, when the state withdrew and did not provide any institutional care, *"The state no longer provides any care whatsoever and private insurance and market solutions for care have increased rapidly as a response. On the other hand however, communities are providing the care services themselves. In both cases, responsibility within the families and intergenerational help is increasing"* (S2).

Whether or not the state is involved in promoting institutional care or parental responsibility, gender equality showed a certain impact on the different societies explored in 2035.

I. Where **the completely state withdrew** from financing institutional care, inequalities between different social groups were higher and society became increasingly polarised, as in Scenario 2: *"The privatisation of childcare…has resulted in the emergence of different care markets catering to different financial and cultural needs. Quality and price are directly correlated, resulting in a polarisation between highly-qualified and well-paid carers on the one hand, and poorly-educated and badly-paid carers on the other. Poor families and families with more than one child do not have access to high quality childcare on the market. Many families in this situation who cannot draw on the support of a community deliberately only have one child"* (S2).

II. Where **the state was very strongly involved**, there were lower levels of societal inequality and less polarisation. Some tasks of parents could be taken over by the state-paid care institutions in these scenarios and intruded to some extent on privacy and parents rights: *"... state takes the next step in trying to bring the relationship to an end: they want to take Konstantin under Public State Care services, because administrators and social assistants are afraid of the negative effect the father could have on his son"* (S4.3).

III. In Scenario 1 "Care systems are primarily organised at the local level by local government and a pluralistic welfare system has developed. Local authorities provide money directly to families, and families can choose how they wish to use it (either directly for care, or to be paid to others for care services). Care is more sensitive to demands and is de-commodified. In this mix of private and public systems, there is **freedom of choice to select between familial care and outsourced care**" (S1).

In several scenarios, parents struggled, particularly with sick and handicapped family members (young and old). The link between gender and unpaid work and domestic tasks in some scenarios had changed, and this generates a need to negotiate: *"Family life and the relationship between Klara and Joseph will change as they and their children get older. Permanent negotiations take place to ensure an equal share between the two of them, since gender roles have changed into equality and the role as a mother and a father have to be redefined"* (S1.1).

This leads to:

- The "**recognition of unpaid care work**", closely linked to the above topic of "sufficient family time".
- A policy framework which enables families and communities to carry-out care work in an environment of equality, ensuring the right balance between state involvement and parents' and communities' care responsibilities in public care policies.
- Monitoring the impact of **gender equality** policies for effectiveness and unintended consequences.
- Policy which considers **alternative care arrangements**, especially the ones linked to intergenerational (mainly grandparents) and local communities: are they viable and possible? Are they desired by both the care givers and care receivers?
- A societal challenge is how the quality of public care could be assured and how the optimal balance between public and private care could be provided by regional, national and European policy.

4.4 Children's perspectives: rights, best interests, and impact on wellbeing

The majority of the narratives address issues about those receiving care and how it is accomplished, but they do not necessarily take into account the perspectives of the children involved, though this is given a voice in Scenario 1: *"Mum I want you tomorrow at home! I want you or daddy at least!"* (S1.1). As today, the wellbeing and mental health of some of the children in the scenarios is affected by the pressure they face from lack of time for themselves and with their families due to labour market expectations, performance-driven societies, family environments, lack of affection, etc.

We also see situations occurring where parents' wellbeing does not match their children's wellbeing. Rights and interests depending on the parties involved are very different – they usually complement each other but can conflict: for example, in a divorce or custody situation, or in distributed family life situations. See narrative 3.1 where the complicated family situation results in a financial strain for the parents and psychological problems for the children.

This leads to the following policy questions:

- Policymaking and research should look at what is important for the healthy development of children and what is in their best interest - not just children's rights or their parent's best interests.

    ⇒ More psychological research on children's wellbeing and best interest is necessary with regards to the variety of family forms the children live in, and different care arrangements.

    ⇒ Policies need to take into account the balance between the children's interests and those of their parents.

- Policies should encourage social services to empower and support families.

4.5 Family transitions

As today, the families pictured in our scenarios are not static: they go through transitions and their needs and choices vary. Being able to adjust to the changes is an essential part of family wellbeing.

This leads to the need for:

Policies that consider the **life-course**, including the many transitions and phases in the life of a family, taking into account the dynamic developmental processes of families (where families face both selected and unexpected events which have consequences). Families must not be considered as static entities.

- Policies that favour building environments where parents are able to create and select conditions that sustain parent and child wellbeing over their life-course, and at different stages of transition.
- Policies that support actions helping couples prepare for the transition to parenthood. Policy can also support actions that acquaint potential parents with their parental responsibilities and raise awareness of the child's development and needs.

The scenarios reveal dynamic changes taking place within families as they cope with evolving external conditions and the changing challenges faced by family members. Research focusing on families often concludes that specific family forms are disadvantaged, that different family configurations should cope with differing hardships. Many of these discussions do not assume explicitly that the family is a dynamic entity, but indirectly assume that family forms are static. Research should be focused more strongly on the **causes and consequences of family dynamics**.

- Regarding the *causes*: structural and ideational factors should be considered.
  ⇒ Among structural factors, institutional arrangement, family related policies, labour market, housing, the unequal distribution of resources should be considered.
  ⇒ Regarding the ideational factors, value orientations and attitudes, happiness could be considered.
- Considering *consequences*: both the material and immaterial dimensions should be understood. These are: material situation, time pressures, satisfaction, mental health, stable family relationships, etc.
- If considering the dynamics of families, several kinds of *dyadic relationships* in the family reality should be stressed. Namely, research should focus not only on the dynamic character of partnerships (partnering, marriage, separation or divorce, re-partnering, the quality of partnerships) but also on the dynamics of childhood, parenthood, grandparenthood, network-dyads, and their changing meanings.

- The well-known *life-course transitions* (leaving home, leaving education, getting a first job, partnership-formation, the birth of a child, divorce, unemployment and employment, retirement, becoming widowed, etc.) should be also integrated into the family dynamics.

- Further, possible *social innovations* are *mediation and counselling centres*, which support families and their needs during certain intended and unexpected family transitions. Policy could encourage the building-up of such centres.

- Implement pilot programmes to evaluate the specific needs of families, employers and economic stakeholders. Family transitions call for adaptive rather than lifelong employment policies.
- Research should seek to understand the above-mentioned transitions, and *the fragility of the individuals and families experiencing these transitions*. It is also important to understand if these transitions are intended or unintended, and in which cases the communities or/and governments could and should help the families.
- Research should also investigate how to reach the families who especially need help. What are new concepts to support families and prevent and resolve conflict?
- *Comparative research,* using quantitative and qualitative methods are able to reveal the causes and consequences of family dynamics.

4.6 Family mainstreaming and individualisation

The central question of **Europe's family strategy** is the impact on families of all European policies. Moreover, whether a proposed policy is local, national or European, the effect of any policy on families should be studied.

The level and the form of social security rights provided in a society are seen to have an impact on family forms and the family cohesion. In scenarios where the current trend towards individualisation of social security rights has continued and basic social security is provided by the state as the individual right of every family member, we witness more societal individualisation and less family cohesion. As there are more possible life choices for the individual in such societies, people *can* loosen bonds to their family, religious, ethnic or local communities and find independent ways to achieve personal self-fulfillment – but they *can also* put a strong focus on family bonds being relevant for their individual life.

Where there are no or very low levels of social security, family bonds and local, ethnic or religious solidarity are crucial for 'staying alive'. Hence, family and local bonds were strong in those situations but often there was no choice over the matter, which might influence the quality of theses relations.

Therefore, the individualisation of social rights was seen to have ambiguous consequences. On the one hand, individualised social rights foster social mobility, life choices and possibilities, and can improve the wellbeing of family members. On the other hand, there is the risk that policies aiming only at the individual endanger family bonds and solidarity. Therefore there is an argument that the family should be considered as a unit and not only as an addition of individuals, as illustrated in Scenario 4: *"European policies focus on the individual… There is no family oriented policy… These policies are not addressed towards families or designed to support families as an institution, but to support special groups (e.g. children, people with disabilities, older people, etc.)".*

Below is another example of the impact of the individualisation of social security rights. These have an affect on the wellbeing of families regardless of whether they are attached to employment status. The second narrative of Scenario 1 compares two family situations where two types of benefits are described: benefits attached to the individuals of the family

regardless of employment status, and benefits linked to the employment status of the parent. The outcomes on the families are drastically different:

Lily: "*Public funding is attached to the child, so her working full or part-time doesn't affect what is available for her children*".

Cecilia: "*…benefits are all publicly funded but tied to her working full-time… She is waiting for test results for a serious illness and she is worried as to what might happen to her benefits when she stops working. In the event of a serious illness, she would need to switch to private care, which might cause financial problems. She has worked all her life and while she has not had to spend money on care, which was publicly funded, she has had to pay high taxes. She doesn't have lots of savings, which might make it difficult for her if she has to give up her work. She worries about her children and her mother who might need to switch to welfare day-care*".

This leads to needs for:

- Research on consequences to the family as a unit, on the possibility of choices made within the family regarding care arrangements, and on the resulting consequences for different family forms.
- A study of "How the family should be supported?"

    ⇒Should support be means-targeted or universal?
    ⇒What about tax policy? (Considering taxation policy on the family as a unit and taking into account family size (e.g. number of dependents)).

This leads to **"Family mainstreaming"** as the framework of all policies:

- Covers all different types of policies that can have an impact on families: employment, law, education, migration, etc.

- Address the family as a unit**,** address the individuals as people living in a family. Policies for special groups or targeted policies for family members as individuals are not enough.

- Include elderly members of the family.

- Consider all family forms.

- Look at families as agents and assets and not as problems.

- Engage their participatory approach on all aspects, what do families really want: bottom-up process in policy making.

- Clarify the true objectives of policy.

- Include on-going measurement of family wellbeing (i.e. included in GDP).

4.7 Impact of technological advancement on families

As part of our 16 narratives, the emergence of new technologies plays an undeniable role in shaping the wellbeing of family members, even if is not a leading factor. Although technological advances have not been a specific focus in the elaboration of these scenarios, the authors involved in the exercises remain convinced that still-to-be invented technologies will have an impact on the wellbeing of families. The following outline a few of the technological advancements which were briefly discussed:

Surveillance techniques: In Scenario 4, there are many mentions of non-stop surveillance systems and techniques (for example, chips implanted in children under the age of 14 with medical and other identifying information that allow for constant surveillance). Some of the impacts: *"Parents who do not constantly know the whereabouts of their children are considered negligent"* (S4.1) and *"childhood depression [is] diagnosed in a large number of children…There are a substantial number of children at school with such illnesses, which are thought to arise from the constant surveillance and general lack of privacy"* (S4.1). On the other hand, surveillance techniques also support the care task of families, for example with television control or *"assisted living technologies"* for elder people (S1 and S3.2).

Virtual schooling is brought forward in several narratives: *"virtual schooling has become standard. Children in different towns, regions and countries can all be present in the same virtual classroom. For this reason, every social or cultural group can offer schooling in accordance with their beliefs and values. Access is either for community members only or, for the commercially-operated schools, regulated by fees. Very expensive face-to-face private schooling is still available and serves the purpose of creating international elite networks. Consequently, social, ethnic or cultural groups ensure that their children are educated and raised the way they choose, and this has led to a high diversity and de-standardisation of education systems and increasing social segregation. The (social, financial) background of families thus affects the educational development of their children and educational inequality between social groups is increasing"* (S2).

Virtual relationships: Narrative 2 in Scenario 4 is primarily based on the virtual relationship between parents and their left-behind children. What impact do such relationships have, and how different are they from face-to-face relationships?

Communication tools and customisable media: Houses have *"3D media rooms"* where the walls represent the screens (S2.4); video-conferencing is highly developed in some scenarios and nearly omnipresent in others, which enables more working from home and reduced business travel; *"People no longer need to write or type because of voice recognition technology so a good preschool would need to train reading and voice skills"* (S3.1). There are customisable TV programs where the viewer is "virtually transferred" in the program and becomes the hero of the program.

This leads to:

- Policy should hold 'forums of discussion' on using technology to support families, and study their intended and unintended consequences on all family members including the children.

5. Summary and Conclusions

The Future Scenarios exercise based on the "Foresight" technique involving the active participation of over 30 stakeholders, helped highlight crucial policy issues and research questions that have a major impact on family life today and in the future.

We think of how **intergenerational and community solidarity** played an important role in our narratives. Similarly, allowing **sufficient time for families** came up constantly. Other major topics that affected the wellbeing of our families in 2035 were **care arrangements** and how **unpaid care work** is recognised (or not). The group often called for **children's and adolescent's perspectives** to be taken into account as well as the balance between their rights and best interests and their parents'. **Family transitions** over the life-course was another topic that called for the attention of policy makers and further research. Given our scenarios took place in 2035, **technological advancements** were embedded in the day-to-day life of our personages. They also affected the wellbeing of families in many different ways. **Individualisation** of social security rights is another topic requiring careful attention. Across the different discussions, **family mainstreaming** was an underlying element calling for a European family strategy.

Across the different discussions, we identified some potential social innovations, such as:

- The "skills market" (exchange of support) as a factor in social cohesion
- "Time care insurance"
- Mediation and counselling centres

In creating the future scenarios, we described people who did their best most of the time as best they could, making choices, trying to be happy, and "doing families" in their own way. In this way, what we described in 25 year's time are people very much like ourselves today.

While the families that we analysed were very different in form, type and style, overall these families seemed to struggle with the same everyday challenges that families face today. What we could see in the future is that the complexity of the world is not expected to decrease by 2035 – on the contrary, in some of the narratives it very much increased, at least from our perspective.

Intact family bonds remained a crucial element of the wellbeing of the individuals in all of the narratives. The complexity of each family's environment varied, but on the whole most families are valued by their members because, as a safety net, they reduce uncertainty and provide a framework for mutual support in the complexity of their environment. These "essentials" need to be addressed first and foremost when doing research or formulating family policies.

Families need the support of local, national and European policies to build the families they wish for. Policies should help them to have the number of children they desire, have specific assistance when difficulties are faced, and to lead their lives according to choices, whilst respecting their obligations. Ensuring this would enable families to have and raise children that become the responsible citizens of tomorrow's Europe.

Because of the importance of the wellbeing of families for the future of Europe, policy makers should make it a key priority. The EU2020 strategy and most European treaties are centred on the economy: we are calling for more attention to be paid to the families who produce the economic agents of the future.

6. Annex

6.1.1 Living Arrangements and Family Forms in Scenario 1

Family Form 1: Double income family with two children – living in urban area

Names: Joseph (40)
              Klara (35)
              Philip (6)
              Agnes (3)
Country: Germany
Area: Urban, Berlin
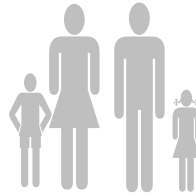
Joseph (40) and Klara (35) live in Berlin, Germany. They have two children, Philip (7), who goes to a public primary school, and Agnes (3), who attends a private kindergarten until noon each day. They own a house and Joseph's parents live nearby. Klara's parents live in a different part of Berlin and it takes around 45 minutes by public transport to get to them. All of the grandparents have already retired and are still very active and not dependent on help or care.

Joseph works as a teacher and returns home around 4 o'clock every day. Klara works in a private company very successfully. Her job sometimes requires working late and trips abroad. Both of them are socially and politically active outside of their work and family life. In the afternoons, the grandparents usually take care of the children. Since the grandparents are often away on holiday, other forms of day-care for the children are necessary.

As a family the main challenge they have is prioritising between their career and parental responsibilities, alongside working on the quality of their relationship. This is creating a fair amount of stress within the family and starting to endanger the wellbeing of the family.

Flexibility is their main resource for coping with daily family life, accompanied by frequent and necessary discussions about shared responsibilities. Their main strategy for solving this problem is to strive for an ever more equal sharing of domestic work and parental responsibility, though this is accompanied by increasing ambivalence about whether this is working out or not. The parents have to consider how much time the children want them to be at home, if they see their parents as happy or not, and what they learn from their parents in terms of work-life balance. The children basically enjoy living in this changing care environment.

To picture these tensions, listen to a typical crisis on Sunday evening:

> **Klara:** "Hey Joseph, have you forgotten? Tomorrow I have to fly to Lisbon for an important meeting for FAMILYPLATFORM, you know I can't miss it, I have an important presentation ..."

> **Joseph:** "Don't say it again, Klara, I know, but Philip is looking a bit ill this evening, and I already stayed at home two weeks ago when Agnes was ill. It can't always be my responsibility..."

> **Klara:** "And why don't your parents help us? They're always on their own!"

Joseph: "Why are you so unfair? They do support us in many ways. And why don't we ask your parents? We cannot go on this way! My job is important as well. In the last three months I had to stay at home four times, but I do want to be a good teacher and I have my pupils every day in my classroom. Now it really is up to you – you are the mother!"

Klara: "Well, let's find a solution. How about finding a babysitter for tomorrow? Don't look at me that way. Ok. Why don't you call the kindergarten hot-line for caring emergencies?"

Joseph: "No, they can't. The teacher stayed at home on Friday and she's pregnant. It's the fourth time this year we've asked for their support. They already look at me in a way that I feel they are wondering if we are still a family and good parents! – Philip, go to bed, you're ill."

Philip: "Mum, I want you tomorrow at home! No, I want you mum, or daddy at least."

Klara and Joseph have several options to solve this crisis:

- They can involve the other grandparents more.
- They can co-operate with a migrant woman with a valid work permit living nearby, who they could employ when they need her support.
- They can negotiate new conditions in the partnership in terms of domestic work and childcare – both take their share in an equal way.

If the conflict can't be solved after a long period of time they might end up getting a divorce.

Family life and the relationship between Klara and Joseph will change as they and their children get older. Permanent negotiations take place to ensure an equal share between the two of them, since gender roles have changed into equality and the role as a mother and a father have to be redefined. New technologies will support the care task of families (e.g. television control for elder people).

Basically, this society generates wellbeing in families because of equalities at different levels. Families can be very happy and enriched by the different opportunities and freedoms to choose, but this situation can also turn into a risk factor if the family is not able to handle negotiating permanently. Families need a wide range of resources (internal and external), services and help, for managing the reconciliation of work and family life.

Family Form 2: One parent family with two children – in a rural area

Names: Andrea (34)
                     Lily (14)
                     Michael (4)
Country: Austria
Area: Rural
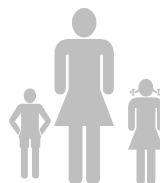
Andrea is an Austrian single mother in her thirties. She lives with two children in a rural area in Austria. She has no family nearby and has a steady job which she wishes to make full-time but can't because of care obligations. Her daughter Lily is in her early teens and at school. Michael, her second child, is in kindergarten and needs to be picked up at lunchtime each day. Michael has a non-life threatening but chronic orthopaedic problem that requires regular visits to specialists. The children's father is absent from the household, so he does not contribute in terms of care duties, but contributes financially, albeit occasionally. Andrea thinks that social networks in rural areas are better than in a city and she likes the quality of life she has where she lives. There is a network of help around her, where informal social arrangements exist between neighbours to help care for the children at certain times.

Andrea's family is facing different challenges. She can live on her income, has a house and a job, so there are no pressing problems, unless there is a sudden new demand on her budget. She needs to have a car as there is no public transport available for going to work. Andrea is happy with her network, but occasionally misses a more active social life, which she cannot manage. On an emotional level, she feels rather lonely at certain points in the day, but nothing persistent.

She fears job insecurity with the borders being opened up. She does not have specific skills and is worried. She thus wants to access lifelong learning programmes to increase her employability and also wishes to gain digital skills to help deal with a potential job loss and to open up her horizons.

She has an ethnically diverse network for her children and for herself, which she enjoys. She is ambitious for her children and herself and to meet many of these needs she should perhaps be located in a more urban setting. She feels that there are better opportunities in a city, and one day she wishes to move once Michael is in secondary school and she can afford it. She has an informal social network, which helps her with care and there are some families in her network with fathers helping in care. She is, however, the mother of a sick child, who needs care and is dependent on her neighbours to a great extent. Increasingly, care becomes a problem. Her father is soon to move in with her, as he can no longer live by himself. While she needs their support for her children, her parents, one of whom has Alzheimer's, need constant care as well. A day nurse visits her father for a few hours in the morning.

Andrea has adopted most of the principles of simple living. She tries to grow different food and vegetables in her garden, and much of the rest of the village does the same. Lily is getting tired of the life around her. She is fourteen and had a father up until four years ago. She has to travel to school in town every day. She has no friends at home and there is a moment of difference resurfacing repeatedly in terms of lifestyle choices. She wants to move out and financially or socially has the same opportunities as her peers to move. Her mother doesn't want to move. Lily has been exploring EU-funded boarding schools that offer integrated learning systems including going out and exploring cities. Since Lily grew up with

Moroccan friends and a Moroccan day-care mother, and has been learning French for many years now, she wants to move to France. After discussions at home with her mother, it is decided that Lily will move to a school in France.

Andrea's father is happy. His disease has not led him to be financially dependent on anyone, as his care and medication are financed by the state. His daughter's house has assisted living technologies and the architecture is one that gives him his own space, while being supported. He also enjoys the company of his grandson. Decreasing stress levels with a feeling of financial independence and emotional independence have helped him fight his disease better.

Andrea is satisfied not just with her own lifestyle choices and support network, which help her cope, but also that she is being assisted financially to care for her father as she wishes, without restraining her daughter who has been able to make a choice for herself. The rural health centre organises regular weekly sessions with specialist doctors making it easy for her to get Michael treated.

Public funding is attached to the child, so whether Andrea works full-time or part-time doesn't affect what is available for her children. So Lily can make whatever choices she wishes. As long as she stays at home, Andrea can also stay home to care for her full-time. Parental leave policy is for fathers and mothers and is one year for the mother and one year during the first twelve years of the child's life for the father. Andrea could also choose to stay at home to take care of Michael herself. The elderly enjoy similar advantages. Andrea's benefits are tied to both parents, so even if the children had a single father, the dad would enjoy similar benefits.

Andrea often thinks of her friend Cecilia, who is also a mother in another European country. Cecilia's benefits are all publicly funded, but tied to her working full-time. Cecilia does work full-time and can manage financially. However, she has to put her sick mother in an old people's home and her small child is in a day-care centre all day. She needs to pick her children up from school and day-care and then visit her mother in her centre. She does not have a proper social network owing to the fact that she works full-time. She is waiting for test results for a serious illness and she is worried as to what might happen to her benefits when she stops working. In the event of a serious illness, she would need to switch to private care, which might cause financial problems. She has worked all her life and while she has not had to spend money on care, which was publicly funded, she has had to pay high taxes. She doesn't have lots of savings, which might make it difficult for her if she has to give up her work. She worries about her children and her mother who might need to switch to welfare day-care.

Family Form 3: Family with migration background

Names: Azimbek (26)
                  Roza (22)
                  Myriam
                  Tarek
Country: Germany
Area: Urban
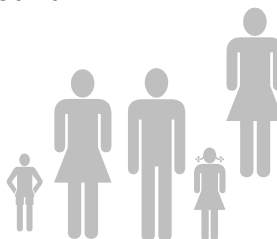
Azimbek is in his mid-twenties, lives in Germany and comes from Kyrgyzstan. He is a first generation migrant and has vocational qualifications as a mechanic. He started out with a temporary working visa. A reception centre helped him to find housing (and avoid residential segregation) and with language classes. After he got all his papers together, he applied for family reunion and six months later his wife Roza (22) arrived. She completed secondary education and can speak English well. She is entitled to work – in 2035 policies are not very restrictive.

Azimbek works at night in a local bus station servicing public transport. The couple's dream is to improve their income, have children and one day own a house. Three days after she arrived, Roza got a job in a sheltered home for the elderly. She cleaned apartments from 9:00-17:00. In the afternoons, they went to a language course together in the hope that it would help them get better jobs.

After one year, they decided to have a child. Roza got twelve months maternity leave, but in the second half was offered an intensive language course with the child being cared for in a crèche. When the baby, Myriam, was one year old, Roza got a job as a kindergarten helper. She earned a little more money and the crèche for Myriam was nearby. Azimbek was trying to get away from night shifts and switched to a five year contract in the car industry. This meant longer commuting, but they still spent more time together than when he was working nights.

Soon afterwards, their second child was born. Having a child born in the receiving county entitled them to apply for citizenship and bring Roza's widowed mother from Kyrgyzstan. This new situation made Roza and Azimbek's lives easier, especially in terms of childcare, shopping and so on. But Roza's mother felt isolated and wished to take language courses herself. At that point, she was in her early fifties, well integrated into society and soon found a new partner.

Meanwhile, Azimbek lost his job because of the economic downturn. They weighed up the possibility of going back to Kyrgyzstan, but since they were receiving support in terms of cash benefits and retraining they decided to stay. Azimbek managed to set up a little firm of his own, and Roza supported him by doing the administrative work.

A few years later, the couple faced the issue of choosing a school for their younger child. The older girl was put in a public secular school, but they could afford to send the younger boy to a private Muslim school with a moderate tuition fee. In the long run they will both go into public tertiary education.

Roza's mother gets ill and the couple is faced with the necessity of providing care for her, but that is relatively easy to arrange.

Family Form 4: Gay couple with two adopted children

Names: Juan
                Abo
                1st child (6)
                2nd child (4)
Country: Spain
Area: Urban
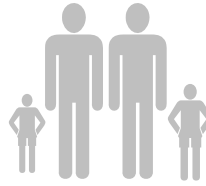
Juan and Abo are a gay couple. Juan works in a consulting company for clients throughout Europe. He can arrange his work from home with video conferences, but also travels a lot. Abo drives a minibus for money and has a flexible schedule.

They both wish to adopt a child, but have been given a low priority on the waiting list. They decide to adopt two black brothers, six and four years old, from an institution. Both of the children are survivors from a sunken boat carrying illegal immigrants. Both partners are entitled to three months of adoption leave that can be taken at the same time.

The older boy has a psychological problem and needs a lot of attention and therapy. Therefore, Abo decides to take a year of homecare leave. Fortunately, the school is very supportive in providing support classes for African children and targeted counselling. The parents' association, which Juan and Abo joined, organises counselling for parents in similar situations, and teaches them about the cultural aspects of adoption and teaching language.

6.1.2 Living Arrangements and Family Forms in Scenario 2

Family Form 1: Family with migration background, two children and grandparents

Names: Kimbacala (30)

                Gladys (29)

                Junior (3)

                Mia (3)

Country: Germany

Area: Urban

As a result of the total privatisation of all welfare services combined with a complete ban on migration into the EU, the society Kimbacala and Gladys are living in is highly segregated – different groups exist alongside each other with very little intermingling. Membership of a group is based on common values, beliefs and culture, and determines the future unfolding of the individual life-course as well as the role and meaning of the family for its individual members and the different communities.

Kimbacala and Gladys are married and have three year old twins, Junior (male) and Mia (female). They live in an Angolan community in Berlin. Both the family itself and the community are the primary providers of welfare services. Kimbacala and Gladys' parents migrated to the EU from Angola before this became legally impossible in 2011. Gladys' parents arrived as teenagers in the mid-1990s and attended a public school for several years. Kimbacala's parents were slightly older and started to work on arriving in the EU.

Kimbacala and Gladys' parents met at a cultural event, fell in love and started living together. Gladys' mother planned the wedding. Shortly after they married, Gladys' parents set up in business as Ethnic Wedding Planners, catering to the needs of the Angolan Community. Sometimes wealthy members of the market-orientated social group buy an Angolan Wedding as a status symbol, leading to some mixing between groups. Soon afterwards, they started having children.

Shortly after Kimbacala and Gladys were born, the state withdrew more and more from the public provision of welfare, turning it over to the market. Kimbacala and Gladys did visit public day-care and a publically-funded primary school for a few years, but due to the increasing privatisation of education their final years of schooling were spent in a community school. In this school, well-educated community members teach for a few hours a week as part of their contribution to the community. As a result of community schooling, Kimbacala and Gladys have an average level of education.

Kimbacala and Gladys work long hours in the family business set up by her parents who are in their mid-fiftees and are still working in the business. Childcare is largely organised in the family (siblings and cousins rather than grandparents) and the community. A rotation system was built up where a group of parents take turns to look after each others' children, one day a week for each family.

The common background of having migrated from Angola is what holds the community together. It is a cultural resource, expressed in festivals and a certain style of dress or decoration. There is still a strong (emotional) connection to Angola. Kimbacala and Gladys' parents are more liberal because they have much better knowledge of what they've left behind. They can view Angola with more objectivity and appreciate the positive aspects of

living in Europe. Kimbacala and Gladys have a more idealised view of their parents' homeland and try to conform to their image of it. The community supports this view and tries to reconstruct the homeland, making its members rather rigid in enforcing what they consider to be the norms and values of their country of origin.

There is great pressure within the community on Kimbacala and Gladys to conform. The business is rather precarious since it depends on the goodwill of the community. Gladys' parents currently enjoy a good standing in the community because they have improved their social status (and increased their wealth) through hard work (social mobility within the community is possible). They are likely to retire in the next ten years leaving their business to Kimbacala and Gladys who have to prove themselves in the eyes of the community. If the community shrinks, changes its marriage values or takes a dislike to the family, their business will fail. It is therefore in Kimbacala and Gladys' interest to support the traditional marriage ceremony and be perceived as good members of the community.

Kimbacala, Gladys and their parents all contribute actively to the community (e.g. caring for other people's children, giving money to the poor, donating food and decorations for festivals, providing training for young people). This could be a source of pressure, especially on Gladys, since they may be able to afford to buy childcare but would risk damaging their standing in the community (and therefore their business) if they did so.

Technological advances play an important role in education. Well-educated community members who live together geographically teach in the community school, but virtual schooling is possible for all members of the community, regardless of where they live. Communication between communities in different parts of the world is in their own language, so real-life schooling or other teaching modules are used to teach the language of the country of residence. All children in this community grow up at least bilingual if not multi-lingual. Language mixing is wide-spread in everyday interaction in the community.

Although Kimbacala and Gladys work and share housework, there is still a gendered division of labour both inside the home and at work. The different types of work are evaluated differently (his is more physically demanding and more "important", hers is "easier") which translates into inequality. Each has more of a say over the upbringing of the child of their own sex. Even at the age of three the twins are treated differently with the boy receiving more positive attention and praise. His sister is often treated as an appendage. The differential treatment will continue in the community school, which is a future source of tension between the parents and their children. Whereas the son will be aware of how rigid and restraining the community is (and may choose not to take over the family business), when the daughter grows up she will reject the community completely and seek out an "alternative" community where anyone can stay so long as they make a contribution to the self-sufficiency of the community.

Family Form 2: Patchwork Family

Names:	Maria (43)
	Erik (45)
	Bosse (12)
	Lisa (10)
	Simon (1)
	Annika (13)
	John (10)
Country:	Sweden
Area:	Rural
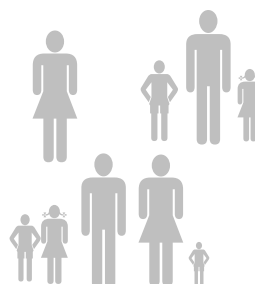
Maria is living with her new partner Erik. They have a child, Simon, who is one year old. Maria has two other children, Lisa and Bosse, from a previous relationship with another man. Lisa and Bosse live with their father. Maria is a ping-pong mother: every second week, she leaves her new partner and son Simon to stay with her ex-partner and their children. At first she wanted to take the children with her, but joint custody is a rule and Bosse and Lisa did not want to leave their familiar surroundings and friends.

Erik also has two children from a previous relationship. They are called Annika and John and live with Maria and Erik. However, every second week when Maria is staying with her older children, Erik's ex-wife comes to live with him, Simon, Annika and John. She has an extra room in their house. This makes it easier for the children to go to a "traditional school" and not be educated virtually. The children don't see their siblings who do not live with them very often, but once a year they go on holiday together to their other grandparents' house. They are adjusting to the situation, even though there are feelings of jealousy and other complications connected with this kind of living arrangement but they are aware of the consequences of their decisions and try to cope with them.

Bosse, Lisa and Annika go to a "traditional school" in a real school building with other pupils and teachers. These schools are said to be better, but also very expensive. Maria and Erik can therefore only afford part-time education for their children. They would like them to go to school full-time and study all the subjects, for example learning different languages, but even now they have to struggle to pay for the education of their children.

John can't go to real school with his siblings, because he has been disabled since birth. That's why he stays at home and goes to virtual school. A carer comes every day and the medicine is very expensive. Simon also stays at home and "goes" to virtual voluntary preschool for a few hours every day.

The grandparents (Erik's parents) come to Maria and Erik's house every day to take care of the children and do the housework while Maria and Erik are at work. Their pensions are too small for living on, and for this reason Maria and Erik pay them a small salary.

Maria and Erik live in a village in a big house with a garden. The grandparents live close-by in a very small house, which they moved into after they gave the bigger house to Maria and Erik. They spend very little money on consumer goods, as do the children, because the services they buy are so expensive (education, care, and health-care). Most of the things they need for everyday life they exchange with other families who no longer need them on online forums.

They travel in little sky trains – every family owns a little train and then they can clink into the rails and type a destination into the board computer. The trains are powered by geothermal energy, as is almost everything today apart from the power generated by the other renewable sources: sun, wind and water. All houses have solar cells on the roof.

Because of the lack of public care systems, having children is very important for parents to ensure that they are cared for in old age, in case they don't have enough money to pay for it. Investments in children and respecting children's interests are seen as very important, but only some communities have policies and institutions supporting these aims. Maria and Erik don't live in such a community, but they try to manage as best they can, for example, by becoming ping-pong parents.

Family Form 3: Dual earner with two children

Names: Emily (59)
                    Phillip (60)
                    Lucia (23)
                    Romeo (22)
Country: Italy
Area: Urban
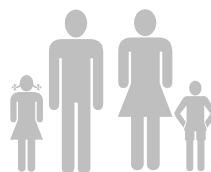
Emily and Phillip live in a big city in Italy and both work as managers. They do an equal share of the housework and paid work. When Emily was in her mid-thirties, she was in her view too old to have children, so the couple decided to adopt. They were lucky and were able to adopt a newborn child from another ethnic group in their country, a baby from a third-generation Columbian teenage mother.

Soon after having adopted the baby, Lucia, Emily became pregnant. With two young children Emily and Phillip are confronted with the challenge of combining two careers with childrearing. Phillip has a good income and it will not be necessary for both of them to continue working. But Emily does not want to give up her job and wants to continue with her career. So they need all-day childcare.

With the help of an agency they find a full-time nanny. The nanny is from a migrant background and is not very well-educated. With two children and a nanny they decide to buy a bigger house with room for everyone. Since the house has a high technical standard and is expensive they have to get a mortgage on it. Emily and Phillip spend a lot of their free time with their children. Usually, Phillip picks up something for dinner on his way home from work, so Emily can spend more time with the children. Both of the children are in good health.

When Lucia and her brother, Romeo, are five and four, the parents decide that the children need more social contact to their peers. They fire the nanny and hire a housekeeper, who they find on the black labour market. Their idea is to save money by employing someone illegally so as to be able to afford private day-care for the children. The housekeeper has no driving licence so Emily and Phillip have to organise taking the children to day-care and picking them up again.

To help them organise their family life better, Phillip and Emily decide to work different hours: Emily works in the early morning hours and Phillip in the late evening. This of course reduces the time they can spend together.

When Emily's father falls ill and requires full-time care, Emily and Phillip have to find a private solution, since there is no public health-care and all services have been privatised. The private solution is very expensive, which puts a financial strain on the family. Phillip works longer hours to compensate for this, but there is an increasing imbalance between paid work and housework: more housework and childcare for Emily. She criticises Phillip a lot for this inequality in their relationship. Phillip feels more and more stressed and is in fear of losing his job.

Their relationship is getting worse. Because of their values and their financial situation a divorce is not an option for them. There is very little social support in society and they find no time to repair their relationship. So they continue with the relationship for different reasons and not because of their emotions for each other.

Emily decides to change her work life: she will stay at home and take care of the children and her father so as to save money. To earn money she has decided to care for three other children. Also they move in a smaller house to save money. Emily is very unhappy with this 'sandwich situation'.

Emily's father dies when the children are twelve and thirteen years old and are going to a good school. Emily starts working again. The children have many activities in the afternoon but they also stay on their own at home and watch TV or surf the internet. The parents have several possibilities to control internet use, but the children's media skills are better and they get access to forbidden areas and content; children are very regulated and scheduled in this society but there is not enough supervision by adults.

Emily gets a very good job offer and the parents have discussions about their careers. They decide that Emily should take the new job and commute. The children stay with their father and the household gets fitted out with the latest technical equipment, but the children are still on their own a lot. The family has just a few social contacts and lacks information about services to support their life. Via internet research they find some services which don't really suit their needs or are too expensive; they already spend a lot of money on health insurance.

Lucia and Romeo continue their education at a good but expensive university. Phillip lives largely alone and has a secret intimate relationship. As previously mentioned, divorce is not possible because of their values.

Lucia's marriage is very costly for her parents. The high expenditure on the children and insurances has lead to the fact that Emily and Phillip cannot save any money for their retirement. They invested in a system that is not good and will not provide help for them. At the end of their working lives, Phillip and Emily have very little money and their children live far away in relationships that are not good. The children can't support their parents so Emily and Phillip have to work until they are 77.

Family Form 4: Single Father with two children

Names: Lasse (45)
                Svea (12)
                Lars (3)
                Grandparents (both around 70)
Country: Sweden
Area: Urban
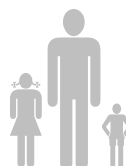
Lasse lives in the suburbs of the capital city of Sweden, Stockholm. The relationship between him and his ex-wife did not succeed. She fell in love with another man and they ended up getting divorced. They were dual earners and he is now the sole provider for his two children. Lasse is disappointed that his ex-wife does not want much contact with him or the children. The family is Lutheran.

To help him out and because of a desire to stop working full-time, Lasse's parents moved into the same street as Lasse and his family. He bought the house for his parents, who are both in their seventies. The grandmother quit her job, following a very demanding career, and has now moved closer to her only son, Lasse. She is now very active in the local community, and has become very close to Svea. The grandfather is a rather distant figure, but works part-time at the community centre.

Svea is twelve years old and goes to school twenty kilometres away. The school was very carefully selected by her father. It is a small school with fifteen students per class. The curriculum is fairly traditional, with a focus on sports, outdoor activities, and religious learning. School hours are 9:00-15:00.

The father insists on taking care of Lars (three years old), even though he has a lot of responsibility at work. He works in the banking industry and is well-off, but is able to take care of Lars and devote a lot of time to him (generally in the afternoons). Lars goes to a Lutheran community preschool a few kilometres away for a few hours a day (run by parents themselves, where older highly-educated people also work). Lars is usually picked up by his grandmother and eats lunch at home.

In the house, there is a kitchen where the family cooks in a traditional way (i.e. they prepare meals by themselves instead of getting them cooked automatically). Lasse cooks a lot and enjoys doing this with his kids. Their meals are still taken together around a table. Lars usually makes a mess and enjoys dinner time, but Svea, who will soon be a teenager, is becoming less keen on this and being more and more difficult.

There is a media room in the house with 3D television (the four walls represent the screen). The family does health/fitness activities together. For example, father and daughter often play football together and they hike in the surrounding hills. Svea is registered in a scouts group. The family typically stays in its neighbourhood, but they also have a summer house where they spend leisure time.

Svea is not allowed to go to the trendy local virtual clubs, nor does she go to the local school which caters to children from the strong, local, less well-off and predominantly Muslim community. In general, there is little mixing between these communities. Communities are socially segregated and in other parts of the city they are geographically segregated. Lasse pays a tax to the local community which offers, for example, its own security and school

system, but he doesn't participate in local decision-making. The father deliberately decided not to use those services as much as others. Despite this, his situation is actually considered slightly "different" by his Lutheran friends – most of these Lutheran friends live in closer proximity to each other and mix far less on an everyday level (shops, neighbours, some local services) with immigrant communities.

Lasse devotes a lot of time to his family and he enjoys it. He had to give up a lot of leisure activities, but he doesn't feel bad about it, because he is happy with his situation. His colleagues are in the same situation. They value their family time.

Some families near them go to church every week, which is a few kilometres away. Lasse and his parents do go occasionally, but generally only attend community related activities rather than religious services. They are surrounded by a strong Muslim community, but they don't actually spend much time with them and don't have particular views about them either. Svea has friends living in the same street and her father and the parents of other Lutheran families at the church are far from keen about this. The grandmother, however, feels her son is a bit isolated in general, not mixing very much with members of the local or other communities. This extends to her thoughts about living in a migrant area – she feels her grand-daughter is being isolated from her peers living in the local area and worries that this will create problems when she becomes a teenager. This is not surprising considering that the grandparents have both become quite involved in the local community through working at local community centres. This fits a bit uneasily with the father's attempts to shield his family from the local community.

The family is used to regular travel though business trips are now less common due to new technologies. The family is stable and they respect each other, though they do squabble frequently. Svea begins to feel a bit frustrated – she is a teenager. Even though Lasse tries to take good care of his family he is a bit aloof. There is the grandmother who has a very close and open relationship with her grandchildren, especially to Svea. The grandfather enjoys family time but is less involved in general. He used to work a lot to give his child a good education and did not spend much time with Lasse. That is also one reason why Lasse wants to spend time with his kids.

They know a few of their neighbours and help each other. Despite the chosen isolation, the grandparents' involvement in the local community has improved relations between the family as a whole and the predominantly Muslim local services and community. Health-care is good in general because the family can afford it. Actually, the grandmother recently had new lungs implanted.

Lasse got to know a Lutheran single mother of one child in Italy who also has a good relationship with her child. She is involved in the local community there. Does Lasse want to get married again?

6.1.3 Living Arrangements and Family Forms in Scenario 3

Family Form 1: Family with four children – living in urban area

Names: Katharina (40)
                   George (40)
                   Aaron (14)
                   Anna (10)
                   Calvin (5)
                   Leo (4)
Country: Netherlands
Area: Urban, suburb of Amsterdam

Katharina and George are unmarried and live in the suburbs of Amsterdam with their four children. All of their grandparents live quite a long way away from them. Both parents have temporary jobs interspersed with regular periods of unemployment. George was born and raised in the Netherlands; Katharina comes from eastern Europe and has neither Dutch citizenship nor legal status in the Netherlands. Consequently, only the father can sign official documents for the children.

Access to citizenship is linked to legal employment and contribution to the taxation system. Both of the parents face a dilemma: either they can carry on working illegally and earn more money, or they can enter the formal labour market with lower incomes but legal conditions and later on apply for some of the benefits, such as higher quality education.

The family has a very tight-knit social network with their neighbourhood, but their housing and financial conditions are not very good. It is cold during the winter and the roof is covered with tarpaulins to stop the rain from getting in. The motorway is nearby and it's very noisy. They have legal access to water and electricity. Their neighbourhood network can't help them financially, so they get some financial assistance from voluntary organisations and church charities.

They don't want stressful jobs and are quite satisfied with their lifestyle – they have time for themselves and their good friends who support them. Again, they are facing the same dilemma as with work: do they remain in an unconventional but good quality of life or do they have to change it because of their exposure to income problems, problems for the children and should they try to enter into more "standard" and legal conditions.

The couple's relationship is very strong (no divorce likely in the future), they choose their lifestyle, they have time for each other and their children, they have a lot of support from friends, and they do manage their problems, even if they don't solve them.

The two oldest children, Aaron and Anna, are in a public school. The school has criminal sub-cultures and Aaron, the oldest son, has started to drink alcohol at school, smoke, and is taking soft drugs. The parents are concerned about him. To support the child, a sort of "family peer-group conference" has been organised by a social worker from the community together with a voluntary organisation. By organising round table discussions the voluntary organisation is looking for solutions for families, not just for families with specific problems but also as a preventative measure for other families.

Anna is a good student and she has the ability to attend a better school, but her parents can't afford to send her to one. They heard during a recent parent's evening at the school about the possibility of applying for some grants for their daughter at a foundation. Unfortunately, more information and support for the parents is needed, because they can't handle the bureaucracy and the procedures to apply for such a grant.

The younger children, Clara and Leo, are not in kindergarten since their parents would have to pay for it. The younger ones are living "on the street" and they are cared for by the informal neighbourhood care system. Clara, the youngest daughter, has asthma, which has become a chronic illness. Since the public health system only offers some medicine and no general treatment, the parents can only help and support her with cheaper short term medicines. They have no easy access to the health-care system and would need more information since some private foundations offer financial support but they don't know how to contact them. More information about the illness and ways of supporting Clara can be found on the internet, but since the family does not have a computer they can't get to that information easily unless they find time to sit down in an internet café.

Family Form 2: Blended family with four children – living in urban area

Names: Kathy (46)
               John (50) – Kathy's second husband
               Mark (52) – Kathy's first husband
               Anna (44) – John's first wife
               Lucinda (17) – Kathy and Mark's daughter
               Martha (10) – Kathy and Mark's daughter
               Thomas (12) – John's son from first marriage
               Vincent (2) – Kathy and John's son
Country: England
Area: Urban, London

Kathy and John live in London and have a two year old son, Vincent. Vincent was born to a surrogate mother because Kathy, who holds a good job, could not possibly afford to take any leave from work. In the "contract society", Kathy decided to go for an intellectual, British surrogate mother. The surrogacy was paid for by Kathy's company.

Both Kathy and John are married for the second time. Kathy was first married to Mark; he is Danish and still lives in Denmark with their daughter Lucinda. Lucinda travels to London quite often to see her mum, Kathy. Mark is a rather unsuccessful musician with financial problems, which was the reason for the break-up of his relationship with Kathy.

John was first married to Anna and together they had a son called Thomas who lives with Kathy and John. Anna also lives in London, and Thomas spends every other week at her place.

Anna is increasingly uncomfortable with the societal conditions which surround her. She lives in a community of solidarity with some kind of social cohesion. She is happy that her "work" not only brings in money, but also produces some kind of commonality and brings people together. She runs a food shop with a network of people. She gets in surplus from elsewhere and she sells enough for it to be just about profitable. The people working with her do so on a voluntary basis and are not paid. She does not need a lot of money, except for half of Thomas' costs. Her network has doctors who contribute voluntary care often for those in the community. In other words, Anna has built up a network of people around her.

Kathy and John have quite a few problems to solve. Financially, the frequent travelling of their children is causing problems. Psychologically, the situation is not easy at all: Thomas doesn't enjoy having to move from one place to the other while his step-sister, Martha, can stay in the same place all the time; she lives permanently with Kathy and John. The sisters Lucinda and Martha are separated and they miss each other. Lucinda wants to move to London where she can be close to Kathy. So Kathy considers buying British citizenship for Lucinda, providing a legal status in Britain for her. Then Lucinda would have the freedom to choose if she stays in Denmark or in Britain.

With technology that enables surveillance and with pressured lifestyles, where both Kathy and John are at work, Martha and Thomas both have mobile phones which can tell their parents where they are. This creates difficulties at home and Martha dislikes it immensely.

Kathy and John are looking for a good preschool for Vincent. People no longer need to write or type because voice recognition technology transfers the spoken word straight into

documents, so a good preschool needs to train for reading and voice skills, so that Vincent is ready for school work.

John is a highly qualified lawyer. He belongs to the local church group, where he is especially involved in the choir where he has many friends. Kathy and John's resources are stretched to the limit because of the constant cash outflow to manage the multiple everyday arrangements they have to arrange, which include travelling, children, and therapy. They spend what they bring in and are not financially prepared for a sudden contingency.

They live in a society which is characterised by social unrest, caused mostly by social deprivation. Police resources have long been stretched to their limits in a society of continuous conflict. Kathy and John have nothing put aside financially, and suffered a strong financial blow after an incident of violence; they did not suffer personally, but it caused a lot of concern. Now they want to move into a gated community. However, they are also worried that the many rules and imposed values in a gated community will be bad for their children. In any case, they must wait for Vincent to be of school age before they can make such a move because he is not allowed into a gated community before a certain age.

Family Form 3: Family with migration background

Names: Azimbek (26)
              Roza (22)
              Child (6)
Country: Germany
Area: Urban

Azimbek works at night in a local bus station servicing busses. He lives in a crowded house with other immigrant men. He fell down some stairs, broke his leg and now cannot work. He has no money saved for further treatment and has no one to look after him. The help comes from a local Muslim community, helping with daily life, but not improving his health. Sometime afterwards, Azembek got a new, less physically demanding though poorly paid job as a night porter in a hotel.

Roza came over from Kyrgyzstan and works long hours caring for an older person in a private home, earning just enough to move into better housing. Roza became pregnant, but did not have a legal contract and hence had no health insurance. They needed to work extra hours in order to save and be able to pay for medical services during pregnancy, including giving birth. After the child was born, Roza was allowed only one month off work, her employers being generous and paying her salary as usual. As they did not want to change the carer, Roza brought the baby with her to work.

Roza's mother became a widow and because so much work needed to be done, wanted to move from Kyrgyzstan to Germany, but this wasn't possible because immigration policies are targeted at reunion of nuclear families and at bringing in young, legally employed workers.

Roza's patient dies and she found new work at a supermarket. This is a legal contract but she brings home less money and cannot take her child with her. The Muslim community provides childcare at moderate cost, but in this new situation they cannot afford to move out of their shared apartment with two other couples, as they hoped they would. Under such conditions, they do not have a second baby.

The child had begun to learn German at Roza's patient's place, but forgot it all because it started spending time at the immigrants' childcare centre. Roza and Azimbek try to speak German at home but this is challenging and does not help much. They have very little time together. When she is six years old, the girl goes to a public school and is the best pupil in the immigrant class. It is an open question whether this is enough to succeed on the long run.

Family Form 4: Gay couple with on adopted children

Names: Jean
              Abo
              Child (6)
Country: Spain
Area: Urban

Jean and Abo are a gay couple who wished to become parents. For that reason they made contact with a private international adoption agency, and had to travel several times to India.

In the absence of public counselling they were not well prepared for adopting a child. With their financial background they could only afford to adopt a child of school age – a six year old child. Legislation in their country does not provide any form of adoption leave, so they had to put a substantial amount of money aside because they wanted to stay home with the child the first few weeks after adoption. The child has psychological problems and the attendance of the parents is necessary, but homecare leave is not available to Jean and Abo.

The couple faces a dilemma: either one partner has to quit work completely, or they have to place the child in an expensive private school with counselling services. They decided for the second option. The child gets better, but the financial stress is damaging to their relationship. Needing to work more, Abo and Jean spend less and less time together. Their lives become more and more disparate. Will their relationship survive?

6.1.4 Living Arrangements and Family Forms in Scenario 4

Family Form 1: Two mothers with five children

Names: Wendy (36)
                Mandy (37)
                Björn (15)
                Vanessa (12)
                Miko (6)
                Stig (6)
                Nelson (2)
Country: Scandinavia
Area: Rural
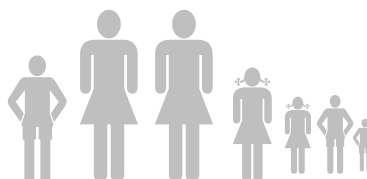
The family comprises two women with five children. Their stable relationship is based on mutual support and care. Wendy's child, Björn, was the unexpected result of an "experimental phase" at university. Mandy is an only child and believes it's important for children to grow up with lots of brothers and sisters. She is the mother of three of the children (Vanessa, Stig and Miko) and is altruistic which is why she wanted to adopt the refugee baby (Nelson) and give him a good home. She trained and works as a nursery nurse.

The two women met when Wendy brought Björn to the day-care centre where Mandy works when he was six months old (public childcare entitlement starts on expiry of parental leave, six months after the birth). At some point, the two women decided to move in together to share childcare, etc. Altogether another four children followed (three through natural or artificial insemination), including an African child, Nelson, who they adopted. There is a Pan-European adoption system for child refugees shipwrecked trying to get into Fortress Europe. There is thorough screening of parents for such adoptions, training by a unit of the European Border Agency, and regular follow-up screenings. It remains to be seen whether adopted children will want to return to where they were originally born because the scheme is quite recent – though it remains a point of contention and concern.

The children are between three and fifteen years old and all are either in public day-care or school. Wendy is a freelance graphic designer in non-standard, precarious employment. She acquires most of her work via the internet, where she is part of a large professional network. She works irregular hours (sometimes not at all) and has an irregular income.

Mandy works in a day-care centre and is therefore employed in the public sector, which is not very well paid. She inherited a country house (to fill with children and cats and one old dog), which means that they do not have to pay rent. Nevertheless, with five children and their low incomes it is a struggle to make ends meet. The preschool children's clothes are either handed down from oldest to youngest, or come from swaps organised in the village or day-care centre. The mums have a garden and grow their own vegetables as well as keeping chickens, although this isn't really done for the small amount of food it yields – more because of the mums' values and the environment it creates for the children.

Technological developments are highly relevant to the work of both mothers. Whereas Wendy organises and lives her professional life on the internet, Mandy is constantly under surveillance during her work in the day-care centre. The centre is full of closed circuit television cameras (CCTV), so parents can always look in on their children via the internet; questions of privacy in such a setting have long since been subsumed by the desire to

monitor and ensure the safety of children; parents who do not constantly know the whereabouts of their children are considered negligent. City streets are also full of CCTV, although they are still less common in the countryside. All cars are tracked by satellite – under the pretext of preventing car thefts (though this is also for crime detection purposes, enforcing speed limits, and for calculating vehicle taxes). Everyone has to carry an ID card that can be read remotely by scanners. Children under the age of fourteen (the age of criminal responsibility) have had a chip implanted just under the skin with medical and other identifying information. The authorities would like the implant to stay there for longer, but have not yet managed to pass the necessary legislation. Parents, however, can use the internet and the chip to locate their children. With this technology it is possible to know where everyone is all of the time.

The family has social links to many people in the village, including older "volunteer grandparents", who occasionally do things with one or more of the children on an informal basis, such as taking them swimming or fishing.

Björn is starting his last year at school and is confronted with the choice of either academic or vocational further education. Unfortunately, his mums can't afford to keep him at school because after sixteen all education is private. The city school is very large with 1,000 - 2,000 pupils. He decides to leave school and do an apprenticeship before joining the European Border Guards to finance his university degree. Together with his mother, Björn is now using the internet to find his biological father. They've located him on Facebook 10.0, but are somewhat apprehensive about how to approach him. Björn wants to find out what sort of a person his father is and Wendy is also curious to see what he has turned into.

Vanessa has been diagnosed as suffering from depression. There is a long waiting list for treatment because of the high level of child depression and limited resources, so it took several months for her to see the specialist. The treatment or therapy is targeted at the individual, not the family, so Vanessa visits a child psychologist outside of the home. There is a child health centre next door to the school with paediatricians and child psychologists who care for children at the school. This kind of situation is fairly normal, with childhood depression diagnosed in a large number of children and recognised as being similar to depression in later life. There are a substantial number of children at school with such illnesses, which are thought to arise from the constant surveillance and general lack of privacy. Due to its high prevalence, however, depression is not as stigmatised as it was in the past.

Vanessa visits the same school as her brother, Björn, which is in the city. They get there with the free school bus but have to come straight back home because they can't afford to stay longer and pay the normal bus fare.

The twins, Miko and Stig, are in their first year at primary school in the village. They walk to school on their own. The first year at school is full of tests, screenings and assessments.

Nelson is just becoming aware that he's different. His mothers are very supportive and his older brother, Björn, is very protective. Nelson has had some racist comments directed at him in the local village – but is still too young to understand them.

Family Form 2: Children living without their parents

Names: Pol (16)
            Sophie (11)
            Gaby (4)
Country: Romania
Area: Rural
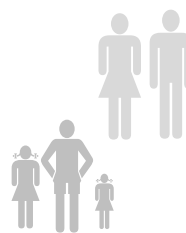
Pol, Sophie and Gaby live in Romania, which is a member of the United States of Europe. In this federation, there are the "first-class countries", and then their respective economic "colonies".

Alexander, the children's father, emigrated to Poland and works as a construction worker. He is married to Josephine, who is also a migrant worker living in Germany as a nanny. They live 100km apart, but meet in a city halfway between the two every other week. Alexander has been in Poland for ten years. Josephine left nine years ago and then came back four years ago to deliver her third child. They used to live on a farm. The children had to stay behind to "keep" the farm. Their grandparents live in the same village on their own farm and usually visit every day. The parents have created a network of carers for their children. The whole community helps them (ex-neighbours, teachers). The family is not the only one abroad. Several other families are in the same situation. That's why they understand each other and there is strong solidarity.

No adults live with the children. Pol has a lot of responsibility and is the main carer of his two sisters. He doesn't go to school anymore (he just graduated and is doing a vocational degree in agriculture) and works on the farm (he feeds the animals, harvests the corn, does the yard work). Before then it was Alexander's brother who looked after the farm.

Every day the children have breakfast together with their parents via communication technologies. The parents have also installed a monitoring system so they know, for example, exactly who visits the house, if something burns in the kitchen, if a water pipe is leaking and what's in the food cupboards and fridge. The parents control the weekly food menu, so they make sure that the children eat healthily. According to a financial agreement between families, dinner is provided by the neighbours.

Parents and children communicate through the basic communication technology set, a 3D camera. Gaby loves the evening bedtime story with her mother, while she tells it to the children of her host family. Actually, Sophie and Gaby have become virtual friends with the children of their mother's host family. After school, Gaby also enjoys the cartoon where the hero is herself.

Josephine's job consists of taking care of twin babies and a school child. The twins were diagnosed with a serious genetic disorder, but thanks to the pre-implant therapy they were able to cure it. The host parents have to travel a lot (even though travel has become very expensive). She implements robotic programming systems to city infrastructures. He is a physiotherapist for actors.

Because energy is so expensive, the number of cars has drastically decreased across Europe. Solar-powered public transport is widely available; however the "cyclo" is a growing mode of transport. It is actually because of long-distance transport being so expensive that Josephine and Alexander rarely go back home. People across Europe typically have a

healthy way of life as a consequence of the energy crisis. Even though pollution levels have decreased in general, there are many UV radiation alerts, during which people have to stay inside.

The father and mother come back in autumn to help with the "big work" on the farm. Alexander comes back more often for a few weeks at a time when he does not have work in Poland.

The father instructs his son on what to do on the farm. Pol is very frustrated with his parents being away, but he deals with it because he has a strong sense of responsibility. In their society, it is very important for women to have a good education (provided for free by the state). When Gaby is sick, the parents ask the grandparents to take care of her.

Climate change has had a huge impact on their family life. It has changed the seasonal type of work of migrant workers. The short-term goal of the parents is to alternate seasonal work between the two of them so as to be able to spend more time with their children. When he gets married, Pol will probably bring his bride home (to the farm). Gaby and Sophie share a room. The father is a bit afraid to permanently come back home because he is not used to living under the same roof as his family. Josephine longs to come back forever. The parents don't have close friends because they are not there often enough to form close friendships.

Even if Gaby receives lots of presents to compensate for the absence of her parents, the additional money earned by her father and mother is used to pay for farm tools and energy infrastructure. Energy has become outrageously expensive and the parents are earning money to buy the infrastructure for their farm to become "energy self-sufficient". Land is very precious because it represents a source of energy. Water has also become a rare commodity. Once the Ramonov family have their energy-generating windmills installed, the family will feel more secure and can retire easily because they will be able to sell the energy.

They are also saving for a better education for their daughters. All facilities are available in the city close by (school, shops, sports activities, etc.). At school, Gaby is learning to sing the European anthem and shares virtual classes with other four year olds from Spain. Sophie and Gaby are also learning to speak several European languages at school.

Luckily, Pol is there to do the physical work at home while the girls are out. There are tools to clean the house automatically, so he does not have to do that much housework.

The family pays a lot of taxes (it is the same level in each country) to Europe which redistributes it among the member states.

Family Form 3: Single Parent

Names: Linda (45)
                Kristel (10)
Country: Norway
Area: Urban

By the year 2035 climate change and dwindling resources have caused Europe to become a closed fortress. A "mega-state" has built up to control migration and all resources, including population. Other parts of the have also been severely affected by climate change. Most of Africa, parts of Asia and South America have become deserts and people cannot live there anymore. Although heavily affected itself by climate change, Europe is still quite a good place to live, because it succeeded in building up a Supranational Organisation (which developed from the current EU). Technological developments (funded by this SNO) enabled sea water to be desalinated and water is currently the most important natural resource.

This is a society dominated by women; they occupy most of the leading positions in government, science, business, and society in general. Men occupy mostly subordinate positions but there are a few in key positions. This was the result of many years of different outcomes in education. Women slowly started to occupy leading positions because of their higher education. It started in science, later in business and politics.

Linda, forty-five years old, is a very well-educated woman, working as a professor at the university in a city where there is a big research centre trying to improve the desalination process. Because of the higher position of women and the lack of men with higher education and a similar social position, it is hard for her to find an equal partner. This gap has led to a marriage or partnership squeeze for well-off women. Also during her education and career, Linda moved a lot all around Europe, which has made forming a stable relationship hard. This led her to be alone a lot of the time.

Diverse reproductive technologies, including genetic cloning, have made it easier for the state to take an increased role in controlling reproductive issues (supporting certain groups of people to have children with certain characteristics, which are needed from the point of view of society). The state chooses who to support based on their genetic material and intelligence. Linda is a perfect candidate and decided to have a child.

The state has offices were you can request insemination and medical treatment. Eventually, she got pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. She wanted to have a daughter (a younger version of herself) because the position of men in society is not so good. It was possible to select the gender of the child as well as many other characteristics. So when she applied, she wanted her daughter to be intelligent and good-looking. The girl was named Kristel. They live together in a city close to the sea in the Northern part of Europe (formerly known as Norway).

Linda does not want to have a man by her side and intends to make this child her own project. She expects to be a good mother with one real strong relationship because she has no other committed relationships in her life. Additionally, motherhood has a very high status, because only few people are formally supported to have children on the basis of their own decision. But the development of the child takes an unexpected direction: Kristel was three when private lessons in music, arts, horse riding and languages began, but despite these and further support she is not very good at anything and makes no effort to learn.

To make things more complicated, the child doesn't even do well at the public school, which is obligatory for everyone. This is frustrating for Linda because of all the unfulfilled dreams she had for Kristel and the relationship becomes worse and colder. They don't interact much, because Kristel still takes part in various activities in children's facilities (school, private lessons, etc.) while Linda is working a lot in order to further her career and to earn the money they need for maintaining their lifestyle. Although they live in an urban area which is culturally rich and offers many opportunities, Kristel lives very reclusively, without friends, without special interests, playing hologram games, watching TV and communicating with a girl from abroad who she can't meet physically. So this is her best friend and she is hungry for another relationship but unable to find and build one up. So she spends her free time in her mother's stylish apartment, being lazy. Linda's frustration is growing and she finds motherhood a burden.

By the time Kristel turns ten, it is clear that she will stay a loser in her mother's eyes. At this point Linda meets a man she is physically attracted to and has a passionate intimate relationship, but at first only in a physical dimension. He has a poor education, low social status and rather traditional attitudes concerning education and childrearing, so they do not have a lot in common. However, the man is orientated to having a "real" family and is ready to build up a stable relationship with Linda and her daughter.

For Linda a choice has arisen. There can be three possible scenarios for this family:

First: she does not want to let the man form any relationship similar to a parental one with Kristel because in this case she would feel that she has failed completely. So she ends the relationship or starts treating it as purely sexual. Kristel is under less pressure, but still lacking close personal relationships. Because of the reduced pressure, she has the opportunity to take part in activities which she likes, but which are not designed to further her career (e.g. cookery courses). As she gets a bit older she can express her own wishes of going to a different school, for example, the boarding school where the only childhood friend she has is going, and since the connection with the mother is not so vital for the mother anymore, she is allowed to do so.

Second: the mother sees the possibilities in a relationship with this man. He will manage the household, care for the child and she will be freer than before. He takes his chance because it is an opportunity for social mobility and to live fatherhood, which does not happen that often to a man with his position in this kind of society. Additionally, he will have a higher level of social insurance and the comfort of a high technical standard in the household. Kristel is also pleased with this arrangement, because somebody is now there for her at home and she does not have to be alone so much.

Third: the mother gets fed up after trying to live together with the man because of different cultural ideals, and ends the relationship. But since the man has played a parental role for Kristel during the relationship and she accepted him as a father figure, they continue to have a good relationship after the break up. This makes it easier for Kristel to cope with all the pressures of doing well in education because of the acceptance and recognition of the "father", which is unconditional (compared to the high hopes of her mother).

Family Form 4: Love related partnership (cohabiting) with one child

Names: Mia – mother (35)
                  Daniel – father (30)
                  Konstantin – son (7)
                  Grandparents (70)
Country: Germany
Area: Urban

Europe's borders are closed to the rest of the world, but within them it is a mega-state, everyone speaks the same language. Many men work as border guards protecting the borders or are housekeepers or do other badly-paid jobs, because they are mostly less well-educated than women. Childcare enjoys high social prestige and if men do this, they have the opportunity to gain a higher standing in society.

People cannot fall below a specific income level, since equality is granted by the welfare state, but on the other hand, wealthy citizens cannot accumulate as much money as they want, because they have to pay high taxes for guaranteeing equal levels of social services. This tax system is very transparent, everybody knows how much each citizen pays in taxes, and so wealthy people are under social pressure to pay tax.

During the time of open borders to the Outside of Europe, Mia met Daniel on holiday in India and they fell in love. Just before the borders were closed, he came as a legal refugee to Europe, because large areas of India were flooded as a consequence of climate change. They have one child (Konstantin), who is seven years old and has already started compulsory school. Mia is now pregnant again. Her parents, who are about seventy years old, are both living in her house. They worry a bit about their daughter's decision to have such a "risky" partnership with a man from the Outside; they would have preferred a European partner for Mia.

Mia is a university professor and has a very good income, enough to support the whole family. Daniel cares for the grandparents, even though the grandfather's care is very time-consuming, so they do not need public services. Because of Daniel's status as a migrant, the family is isolated, since Europeans don't like people from the Outside. Mia also has a younger brother, who is working as a soldier to protect the European borders. He does not approve of his sister's relationship.

Daniel can go out, but he has no friends. Like all legal migrants who came to Europe before the borders were closed, he is allowed to work in a low-paid job, for example, as a housekeeper or cleaner. Thus, at the beginning of the relationship, Daniel was working precariously in the black market as a housekeeper. After Konstantin was born, Daniel and Mia decided that he should care for Konstantin for two reasons: firstly, because Mia is working full-time and, secondly, as a kind of strategy, since caring for the child would enhance Daniel's prestige and social recognition. They think that pursuing this strategy will increase their acceptance by their neighbours and Mia's parents. Nevertheless, Daniel attained no social recognition and the plan failed: Europeans are still taking into account the fact that he is a migrant, which counts more than the fact that he is caring for his son.

Konstantin is a special child, compared to other children of his age: he speaks Hindi as his first language, has a greater capacity for reasoning and a higher emotional intelligence and more skills than his classmates, just because of his family situation and the time his parents

spend with him. At school he is often alone; the other children avoid him, because he is half from the Outside but also because they are a little bit jealous. Also his teachers cannot deal with him, because they do not have the training. Konstantin is not a very good pupil, because he already knows almost everything that he's taught. The school curriculum is rudimentary, because public education does not include more than the minimum necessary, which means there is no education in arts, music or culture and there is no information about the Outside, except that people from there have a worse way of life and could harm Europe.

Mia is forced to choose between giving up her highly paid job or breaking up with Daniel because he is from outside Europe. She quits her job and goes to work full-time in a low-paid job. Because they can no longer afford to care for the grandparents at home, they have to send them into a public home.
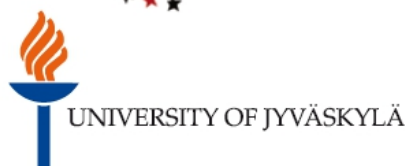
The state takes the next step in trying to bring the relationship to an end: they want to take Konstantin under Public State Care Services, because Administrators and Social Assistants are afraid of the negative effect the father could have on his son. They do not trust him – he could be a terrorist or a secret agent.

Therefore, Mia and Daniel decide to get married as a symbol of their love. Although it is formally permitted, they cannot find anyone to conduct the ceremony; firstly because he is from Outside and, secondly, because marriage has lost its importance and only very few people are permitted to conduct the ceremony.

Then, after a check-up, Mia's gynaecologist predicts a disability of the unborn child. In Europe, children with disabilities are seen as not having a high productive potential compared to others, so in general they should be aborted. But Mia and Daniel want to have this baby, regardless of whether he or she is disabled or not. With these developments and the death of the grandfather in public care, they decide to escape to Asia with the help of Mia's younger brother.

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