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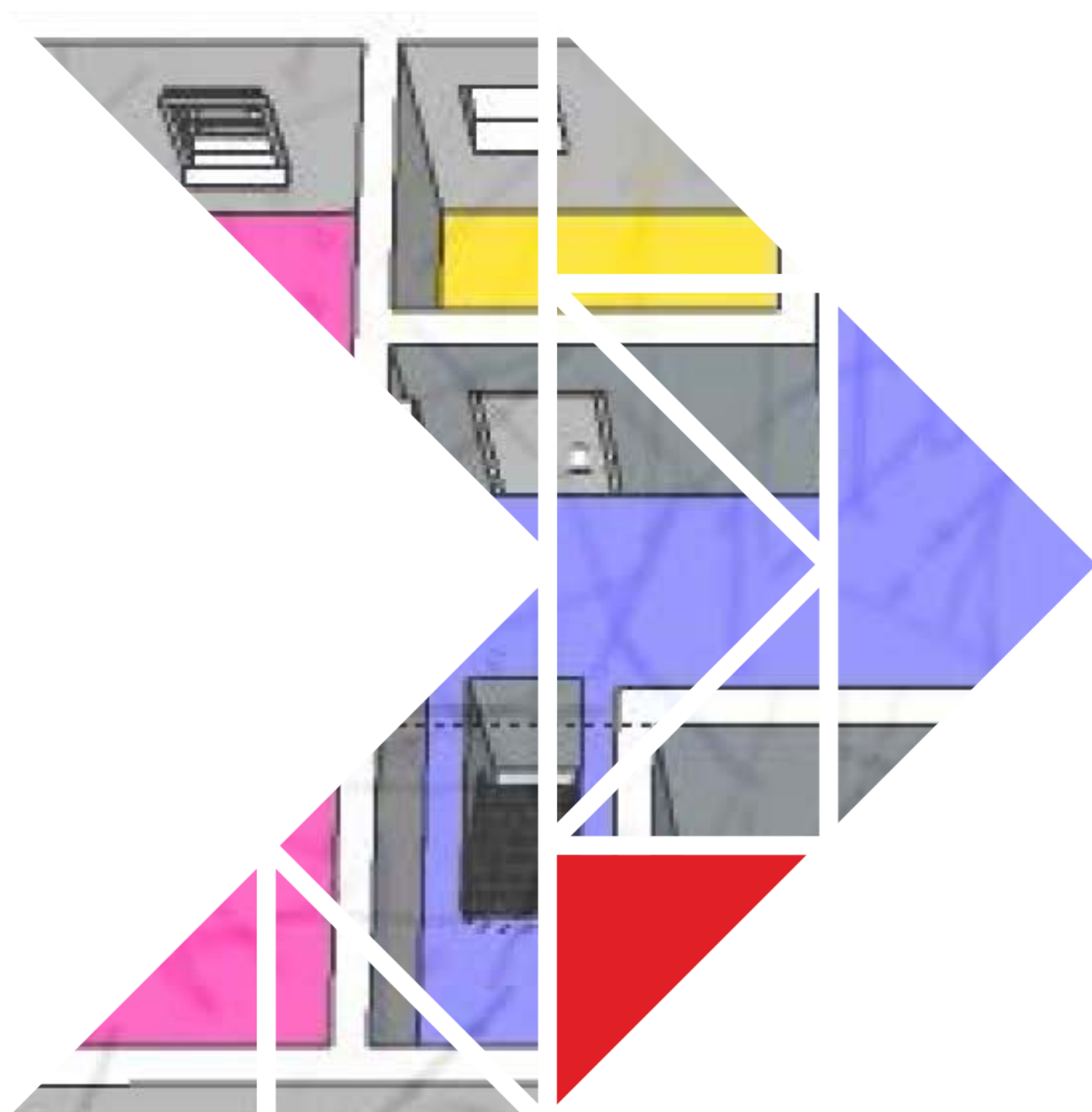
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Meeting the housing needs of multi-generational households

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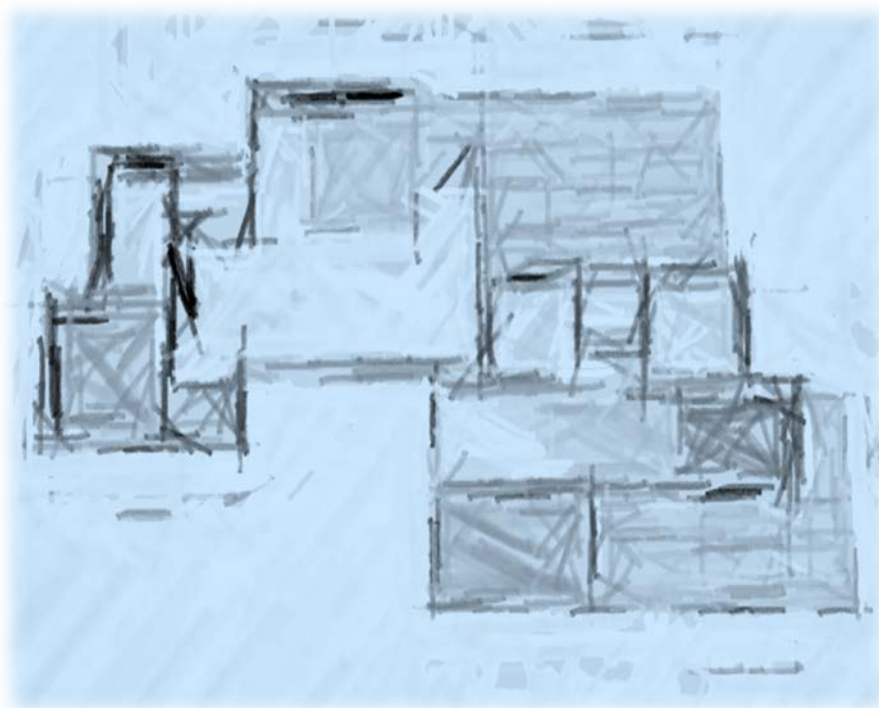
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Meeting the housing needs of multi-generational households



A research report prepared for BRANZ and funded from the Building Research Levy

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Disclaimer

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of the authors, not Statistics New Zealand.

Technical information

All figures in tables presented in this report are randomly rounded to base three to conform to Statistics New Zealand's confidentiality requirements. Figures, percentages and derived data/statistics are produced from rounded data.

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Ann is Associate Professor of Sociology, School of People,

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Carolyn Ward worked in the social housing sector in the United Kingdom for 10 years after graduating with a BA Hons in Housing Management and Policy. She gained fellow status from the professional body of The Chartered Institute of Housing, a global network for housing professionals. After a period of time working as a management consultant she changed career and embarked on research exploring the implications of changes in management and leadership within social housing organisations. Currently Carolyn is lecturing, and studying for her PhD at the University of Auckland. Carolyn continues to maintain links with colleagues and housing providers in the UK and is a keen advocate of globally sustainable social housing.



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Sharyn Wilson has a Bachelor's degree in Counselling. She has recently opened her own practice and works cross culturally. She has lived in a multi-generational household, is of New Zealand European and Samoan descent and lived in Samoa for part of her childhood. Her work with Pasifika people has raised her awareness of the important cultural aspect of families living in a communal/multi-generational household environment. This project has encouraged her to enquire about housing issues with her clients.



We would also like to acknowledge the work of **Harriet Piki Mildon-King** and **Foloke Mapapalangi**. Harriet is of Māori descent, works as a graduate teaching assistant at the University of Auckland and undertook interviews with both Māori and Pākehā multi-generational families living in Auckland. Foloke is of Tongan descent, lives in West Auckland, is studying early childhood education and conducted interviews with multi-generational Tongan families living in Auckland.

Executive Summary

This report sets out the objectives, findings and recommendations from a BRANZ-funded research project on multi-generational households (MGHs), defined as households where more than one generation of related adults live together

Why study this topic?

- Numbers of MGHs are on the rise in countries where this has not been a traditional practice
- Numbers of extended family households are increasing in New Zealand
- In New Zealand the MGH has gone largely unnoticed as an important household type

What were the research objectives?

- To gain an in-depth understanding of New Zealand's MGHs
- Document the incidence and makeup of MGHs in New Zealand
- Investigate the experiences of MGH members
- Document the extent to which the design of their dwellings met their needs and why
- Provide BRANZ and their stakeholders with relevant information on aspects of MGH living

How was the information gathered?

Through a mixed methods research design comprising: a literature review; an analysis of New Zealand Census data on extended family households; and in-depth interviews with MGHers and other interested housing professionals and stakeholders.

What were the main findings?

Census data on extended family households from 1996 to 2013 demonstrated a growth in numbers of these households and of people living in these households.

- There is no typical MGH. Participants lived in many different types of dwellings. Some were overcrowded, others had more than sufficient space. Participants came from a number of different ethnic and age groups and most households in the sample had children under the age of 18.
- Overall, the experiences of MGH living were generally positive, but as in any situation where people are living closely with others there were situations which had to be negotiated and some reported negative experiences.

- Participants expressed a range of reasons or **drivers** for their MGH living including: cultural preferences; care for the elderly; care for children; financial advantages; younger adults staying at home for longer periods or returning to their parents' home out of economic necessity; a familial economic strategy; convenience and safety.
- The prevalence of a '**base generation**', the generation who owns or is responsible for the lease of the house, or contributes more substantially than other adults to household costs, who has greater control than other adults in the MGH.
- The most common **issues** mentioned were privacy, interference (particularly regarding child rearing practices), noise and receiving visitors and providing hospitality.
- The most commonly cited **advantages** of MGH living were financial benefits, care of the elderly and young children, strengthening family bonds across generations, companionship, and practical help with everyday activities and chores.
- **Disadvantages** included a lack of privacy, overcrowding, a lack of control and autonomy, and the disruption experienced when family and overseas visitors constantly came and went.

Forms of MGH living

There is no 'one size fits all' scenario for successful multi-generational living.

- MGHs can comprise small households of just two or three family members or very large households of 15 or more members.

What could be done differently? Recommendations

Much more needs to be done to support both existing and future MGHs. There is a:

- Lack of clarity about what defines a MGH, and a general lack of understanding about their common features such as second kitchens, minor dwellings, granny flats, and sleep outs.
- Confusion about the rules and regulations relating to their establishment and use.

An internet search of MGH topics discovered various discussion forums that highlighted:

- Lack of clarity about what required building consent, resource consent, or both.
- Lack of clarity regarding insurance of additional structures common to MGHs.

- Different Auckland Council requirements for MGHs depending on location in the region.

Current ambiguous and complicated rules and regulations are discouraging MGH living. We hold the view that urban intensification goals focus on increased housing density and smaller houses while overlooking the needs of MGHs. While the discourse of urban intensification refers to the notion of 'housing choice' we have found little evidence to support this choice exists with regard to MGHs.

While the Proposed Auckland Unitary Plan goes some way towards providing greater uniformity in terms of the rules and regulations relating to MGHs, we are of the view that much more needs to be done for the significant and growing number of people living in these households. This recommendation applies not only to Auckland, but across New Zealand generally.

Promoting MGH living and enabling better outcomes

The following three steps should be taken to support both existing and future multi-generational families and ensure successful MGH outcomes in the future:

- Greater clarity around Council and legal rules and regulations for MGH properties.
- Clearer policy and planning dedicated to MGHs in Council and central government documents.
- Increased public knowledge of the different financial and legal ownership options that are available to multi-generational family members.

From our research we believe that planners and policy makers can ensure more successful MGH living primarily through gaining a greater understanding of the experiences of current MGHs.

1. Introduction

The recent focus on urban intensification, apartment living and smaller households (Carroll, Witten & Kearns, 2011; Dixon & Dupuis, 2003) has diverted attention away from the diversity of New Zealand's household types and housing forms. One largely unrecognized household type, the multi-generational household (MGH), is the focus of this report. Broadly defined, MGHs, where more than one generation of related adults live together, tend to contain more people than the average New Zealand household and the dwellings tends to be larger and differently configured than the smaller dwelling units consistent with both the much heralded compact city model, and the iconic kiwi three bedroom home.

The research reported here is a response, in part, to BRANZ's recognition of the ethnic diversity of New Zealand's population; a factor which will continue to impact on housing needs into the future (Building a Better New Zealand, 2013). While in this report we recognise that ethnic diversity has impacted on the growth in MGHs, we go beyond the view that MGH living merely reflects cultural preferences and practices. Instead we show that MGH living itself is characterised by diversity in the demographic characteristics of MGH members, their drivers for living in MGHs and in the types of dwellings they live in. We suggest therefore, that to ensure the success of MGH living those involved in the supply of housing, policy makers and other housing professionals, should appreciate that the physical (the construction and design of MGHs) and the social dimensions of MGH living (the experiences of people living in MGHs) are closely interlinked.. Good design is vital in terms of addressing some of the perceived disadvantages of MGH living, just as it can encourage and support the advantages of living in a MGH.

The duality of focus on the physical and social dimensions of MGH living reflects the concerns of both the funders and the researchers. It reflects BRANZ's purpose to 'research and investigate the construction and design of buildings that impact the built environment ...' and 'enable the transfer of knowledge from the research community into the commercial building and construction industry' (BRANZ, 2015). It also reflects the social science orientation of the principal researchers.

The report is structured as follows. Sections 2 and 3 outline the objectives and the methodological approach taken in the research. Sections 4 and 5 provide the backdrop to the

primary data gathered for the project. Section 4 is a selected literature review of the current state of research into MGHs. Section 5 provides an analysis of Statistics New Zealand Census data on extended family households, our proxy for MGHs. Section 6 presents the main findings from the interviews with residents of MGHs. Section 7 takes a design focus and provides commentary on design examples from this and other projects that could be considered best practice. The final section reflects on the main findings and offers recommendations to key housing stakeholders with respect to better meeting the needs of MGHs in New Zealand.

2. Research Objectives

The overall aim of this research project was to gain an in-depth understanding of New Zealand's MGHs. More specifically the objectives were to:

- document the incidence and makeup of MGHs in New Zealand;
- investigate the experiences of those MGH members whose environments are safe, secure and functional;
- find out from MGH members the drivers for their current living arrangements;
- explore the economic, social and cultural factors that shape the positive or negative aspects of MGH living;
- better understand the trade-offs and compromises that occur in MGH living;
- find out from MGH members the extent to which the physical and design aspects of their dwellings meet their needs and why;
- provide BRANZ with relevant information on aspects of MGH living for dissemination to their stakeholders.

3. Research Methodology

This project utilised a triangulated, mixed methods research design comprising a literature review, the analysis of New Zealand Census data, and in-depth interviews with MGHers and other relevant housing professionals. The research design was intended to provide a more in-depth understanding of the housing needs of MGHs in New Zealand than would otherwise have been gained by using just one of these methods alone.

The project followed a logical research design sequence. The literature review and Census data analysis were undertaken concurrently in the early phase of the project. The information gathered from these activities then informed the subsequent interviews in two ways. First, the statistical material was used to guide the selection of participants to interview. Second, the material from the literature review informed the topics covered in the interviews.

Both the literature review and Census data analysis confirmed the expectation that research participants should come from a diverse range of ethnic and socio-economic groups. In order to provide appropriate cultural and other research-related advice, the principal researchers worked with individual advisors who provided housing expertise and specific Māori, Pasifika and Chinese cultural competence. These advisors were located in Auckland and Christchurch.

Before embarking on the interviews with MGH residents, approval was gained from the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee. Among the ethical issues identified were informed consent and confidentiality. To ensure potential participants had sufficient information about the project to give informed consent the aims of the project were fully discussed with them, as were the various activities required of them. A number of participants had English as a second language, hence the selection of appropriately qualified and experienced Māori, Pasifika, Asian and Pākehā interviewers, allowing participants to choose for themselves the language used in the interviews. Participants were reassured of confidentiality in that there would be no information provided in later written documentation that could identify them personally. The conscientious handling and storage of data followed University of Auckland guidelines. Interviewers also signed confidentiality agreements. Koha was given to each household interviewed in appreciation of their contribution to the research.

Potential research participants were identified largely through personal and community contacts of members of the Advisory Group and the research team. After the first tranche of participants were identified a snowball technique was used to locate and recruit further participants. In all, 53 in-depth interviews were held with people living in MGHs.

A further 17 interviews and discussions were held with housing professionals and other stakeholders. As a consequence of concerns raised in these sessions it was decided to focus only on participants whose living circumstances were safe, secure and functional. While cases such as the two following fitted our definition of MGHs, the criteria of safety, security and functionality were not met:

- the middle aged Christchurch man who moved in with his elderly mother in the aftermath of the earthquake and put her at risk because of his abusive behaviour;
- and the dysfunctional MGH in Auckland where nuclear and extended family members came and went, where drugs and alcohol were routinely consumed and outbreaks of violent behaviour common.

The dysfunctionality of some MGHs therefore positioned them outside our criteria and hence our consideration. This decision was made on the grounds that in circumstances like these, housing construction and design were of secondary consideration to the dysfunctionality of the household. Interviewer safety was also a major consideration.

All interviews with participants living in MGHs were held in their homes. With their permission and assistance a floor plan of their dwelling was sketched. The plan then became the focus for discussion, whereby participants could readily point to positive and negative features of their living arrangements, explain what worked well and what did not work so well, and the trade-offs and compromises made in their various living arrangements. In conjunction with relevant literature, we have used the interview material and floor plans as the basis for our findings on what constitutes successful multi-generational living.

4. Literature Review

The literature review covers the essential elements of the existing international and New Zealand literature. This has allowed for the development of a comparative approach highlighting the similarities and differences among countries regarding the experiences and design aspects of MGH living. Importantly, the paucity of exiting New Zealand research is also emphasized.

The practice of living in MGHs was commonplace in the past in Western societies. It applied historically in New Zealand too, and although by the latter part of the twentieth century it was unusual, particularly for Pākehā families, it still occurred (Pool & Du Plessis, 2012). While the lack of a solid body of contemporary research on MGHs might reflect the small proportion of late twentieth century Western households that fitted this category, the neglect in the literature of MGHs might also be because living this way did not fit with the dominant themes in the family and housing literature, where generational independence, rather than extended household structures, were accepted as the prevailing preference and connected to the structures of modernity and increasing individualism. Hence what research there was on the topic of MGH living tended to frame it as a traditional practice observable in East Asian, Middle Eastern and some Southern European cultures (see e.g. Chui, 2008; Mehio-Sibai, Beydoun & Tohme, 2009; Di Giuio & Rosina, 2007). In New Zealand MGH was associated with traditional Māori ways of living (Pool & Du Plessis, 2012) and more recently with Pasifika migrants.

The tension between traditional practice and the modern preference for independence has somewhat obscured the recent reversal in the trend towards independence and individualism in ways of living. What has been seen instead is a growth in MGHs in countries where this has not been the norm: hence the recent attention housing researchers from countries like the United States, Canada, the UK and Australia have paid to this growing trend (Easthope, Liu, Judd and Burnley, 2015). Before examining examples of this research we discuss definitional issues and set out the definition of MGHs used in this research.

4.1 *Defining multi-generational households*

Within the literature there are a number of different definitions of what constitutes a MGH; and definitions matter. According to the way MGHs are defined and, as a consequence measured, the percentages of MGHs in any population can vary significantly. This can impact on the extent to which the phenomenon attracts attention in housing research, policy and provision.

It is generally accepted in the literature that the term MGHs refers to family households. For example, the United States Census Bureau refers to multi-generational families, defined as 'family households consisting of three or more generations' (Lofquist, 2012, p.1). We too see MGHs as a form of family living. This research therefore did not take account of households whose members are of different generations but are not related (although we recognise that some MGHs do include others who are not related).

The United States Census Bureau also delineates various forms of MGHs including: a householder, a parent or parent-in-law of the householder, and a child of the householder; a householder, a child of the householder, and a grandchild of the householder; and a householder, a parent or parent-in-law of the householder, a child of the householder, and a grandchild of the householder. In a similar vein Statistics Canada defines MGHs as 'households that contain three or more generations, and at least one census family. A census family consists of a married couple (with or without children), a common-law couple (with or without children), or a lone parent family' (Battams, 2013, p. 13).

Australian researchers used two selection criteria for their definition of MGHs: 1) any households where multiple generations of related adults co-reside in the same dwelling; and 2) where the oldest of the youngest generation - be they of the children or grandchildren cohort - is 18 years or older (Liu & Easthope, 2012; Liu, Easthope, Burnley & Judd, 2013). While this definition appears comprehensive the authors recognised that it still excluded some household types that could be deemed MGHs. Further, due to the Australian Bureau of Statistics' classification of dwellings, granny flats were categorised as separate dwellings and were also excluded, thus eliminating this living arrangement from consideration.

For this research we have followed the Pew Research Center definition¹ (Pew Research Center, 2010) whereby MGHs encompass the following family households:

- o Two generations: parents (or in-laws) and adult child/ren aged 25 and older (or children-in-law);
- o Three generations: parents (or in-laws), adult child/ren (and spouse or children-in-law), grandchildren;
- o “Skipped” generation: grandparents and grandchildren
- o More than three generations

An additional factor we have taken from the Pew Research Center work is that each household has a ‘base generation’, determined by a reference person or ‘head of the household’. For our purposes however, and in keeping with contemporary views of equality in relationships, where appropriate we have used alternative terms for ‘head of household’, including base generation couple.

A further term that we draw on this research project is the ‘extended family’ used by Statistics New Zealand. We define and discuss this term in the following section of the report – Census data analysis. While Statistics New Zealand does not collect data in a way that provides a complete match with our definition of MGHs, it does collect data on household composition that can be used as a proxy for MGHs, i.e. data on extended families. As such we have drawn on categories of extended families that were close to, but not precisely matched to our definition of MGHs.

4.2 *The rise in multi-generational household living*

The rise in MGH living in countries, where this has not been a traditional practice, is becoming increasingly recognised. For example: some 57 million Americans, or 18.1 per cent of the United States population lived in MGHs in 2012 (Fry & Passel, 2014); in 2011 approximately 4.3 million Australians, from 1.2 million households, representing one in five Australians lived in MGHs (Liu and Easthope, 2012); and UK statistics show the category ‘Other households’, which includes multi-generational families, had demonstrated the largest percentage increase in all household types over the decade 2001-2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2013).

¹ The Pew Research Center is an influential Washington-based think tank that provides information in areas such as social issues and demographic trends.

A number of reasons have been put forward in the literature to explain MGH living and its rise. These rest largely on demographic, social and economic rationales and include:

- The later age of first marriage (or cohabitation) which makes staying in the family home a more appealing prospect for adults in their 20s and even their 30s;
- The impacts of immigration from countries where MGH living is a cultural tradition;
- The longer time that is being spent in tertiary education and the increased cost of education which can result in younger people establishing economic self-sufficiency at a later age;
- The return of adults in their 20s or 30s to their parents' home after travelling or working overseas, or after a relationship breakdown or change of circumstance. This group is often referred to as the 'boomerang generation', a term which indicates their tendency to move and return, sometimes more than once. Members of the boomerang generation can also bring their own child or children back to the grandparents' home;
- An increase in grandparent families;
- An increase in elderly people living with their adult children;
- The impacts of the global economic crisis which has resulted in severe difficulties for many younger people finding employment and as a consequence, living with and depending on their parents for financial support;
- Housing shortages and the high costs of housing. This can lead to younger individuals and couples returning to their parents' homes in order to save, usually for the deposit for their own house.

The above explanations for MGH living and its rise apply in different ways in different countries and within different groups. For example, Lofquist (2012) from the United States Census Bureau demonstrated the way such factors as 'geographic racial make-up, recent immigration and poverty' were associated with the prevalence of MGHs, focusing on the broad characteristics of population groups and their statistical likelihood of living in MGHs. Publications from the Pew Research Center Research and the UK Office for National Statistics also focused on high level data and statistical trends.

By contrast, the international and national popular press have published any number of human interest stories on MGH living. The catalyst for such stories is frequently the

publication of a report. The journalist will pick up on one statistic from the report and surround that with expert comment and a sprinkling of individual examples which highlight the topic. Suffice for our purposes here is a mention of one such 2012 article from the UK newspaper *The Independent* entitled 'Beating the housing shortage: one home three generations' (Dutta, 2012). After noting the significant increase in the number of MGHs over the past decade and some expert comment, the author provided four different scenarios that fitted the general trend: 'the all-inclusive retirement home', whereby a new home was purpose built to meet the privacy and other needs of an older couple contemplating retirement, their daughter, son-in-law and two children; 'the shared house' of an Asian couple who share a three bedroom house with their two young children and the husband's parents; 'the granny flat' situation, where the three generations comprise a wife and husband, their three children aged between 15 and 21, and the wife's mother who lives in an adjoining annex with a separate entrance; and 'the bungalow extension', home to a couple with one daughter and the wife's parents. The extension was purpose built with its own separate kitchen and living space but also can be opened up for sharing space and time together. One value of articles like these is to publicise the possibilities MGH living can offer and normalise this household form.

Academic research that focuses on the experiences of living in MGHs is sparse. To date the most expansive piece of research is the project entitled 'Living Together: The Rise of Multi-generational Households in Australian Cities'. Emanating from the City Futures Research Centre, University of New South Wales, the project aimed to explore the drivers for the emergence of MGHs in Australian cities and how these affect the day-to-day lives of families (Liu et al., 2015). A range of important points have come out of this project so far including:

- The necessity for housing providers and policymakers to recognise that both recently arrived migrants and their descendants might have different housing expectations and requirements from those deemed to be typical of Australian society;
- Although pathways into MGHs vary, those living in MGHs share similar views on the positive and negative aspects of this form of living;
- Feelings of home are influenced by people's sense of control over their dwelling including property ownership, decision making ability, and control over the use of space;
- The tension between companionship and familial relationships on the one hand, and retaining individuality on the other;

- Stigma associated with living in a MGH is relative to the reasons for, and circumstances of, this form of living;
- While financial reasons was the single most cited driver into MGH only 15 per cent (Brisbane) and 16 per cent (Sydney) of research participants said financial reasons were the only reason for living in MGHs. Other reasons included: care arrangements and support, especially with regard to adult children having yet to leave home and/or them still being in education, or grandparents moving in. Less frequently cited reasons included convenience and practicality and the sense of being a family.

4.3 *The New Zealand literature*

Little direct research has been undertaken by New Zealand researchers on MGH living. That is not to say it has been completely overlooked, but rather it has been a component of other work on housing need, housing problems, cultural values and housing, and especially, the connection between housing and health. The decided Māori and Pasifika focus of this work provides solid discussion that could be used to argue for the value of explicitly building for MGH living for some Māori and Pasifika families and the issues and problems when multi-generational families are living in dwellings that are not fit for purpose.

Hall (2008), for example, describes the different values traditional Māori society and Pākehā society placed on the individual dwelling. For Pākehā the individual dwelling meant ‘home’, with the associated values of family life, self-esteem, security, belonging etc, whereas for Māori these values were provided by the marae.

The literature pays particular attention to good contemporary design to meet the needs and preferences for Māori² arguing for:

- Housing layout that is open plan and flexible and adaptable to changing needs and occupancies;
- The value of indoor/outdoor connectivity to relieve pressure on cramped indoor space, promote health and accommodate large gatherings;
- Large living rooms able to accommodate up to 20 people;
- Large kitchen and dining areas;

² The literature recognises different conceptions among Māori to do with housing and land.

- At least two toilets in a house, separate from bathrooms. Bathrooms, toilets and laundry should be separate from the kitchen as having them in close proximity is considered tapu;
- Bedrooms large enough for two or more children or two adults, including a study space (Hall, 2008; Hoskins, 2002).

Similarly, there is recognition in the literature that much of New Zealand's housing stock does not cater to the needs of Pasifika families, especially the spatial and cultural needs of multi-generational families (Berry, 2014; Gray and McIntosh, 2011), the long-term costs of which manifest in the health sector and in children not reaching their full potential (Gray, 2004). The literature strongly recommends that Pasifika housing should cater for larger households, have suitable space for gatherings and rituals, flexible space to accommodate visiting family members (short or longer-term) and land for a garden (Koloto & Associates, 2008). With a specific focus on Tokelauan migrants, Gray and McIntosh (2011) recognise that extended family living is an economic survival strategy in New Zealand as well as a cultural norm. Elsewhere Gray (2007/2008) has reported on the design and construction of a house, intended to be warm, dry and affordable and also suited to the spiritual and cultural needs of a Pasifika household of 12 people from three generations.

Pertinent material on MGH living is also appearing in building and architectural publications. One such article (Stewart, 2013) refers to future proofing for larger and multi-generational families, claiming housing for such circumstances might be the 'next big thing' in New Zealand building. Stewart suggests that Universal Design is important in homes catering to different generations with different needs and abilities. He also claimed that (at least at the time of writing) there were no builders in New Zealand who were dedicated specifically to providing homes for MGHs. However, he did acknowledge that some architects and builders are aware of the issue and are designing and providing housing that has the potential to be adapted to MGH living. Stewart's observation underlines the point that as yet the market has paid little heed to building specifically for MGHs.

5. Census Data Analysis

An issue when using official statistics like Census data is that they might approximate, but not perfectly match, the phenomenon a researcher is studying. As Cohen and Casper (2002) noted in their research on American MGHs, there are no datasets specifically designed to identify and/or categorise the many different forms of MGHs. A similar situation pertains in New Zealand where there are no datasets designed specially to capture MGH data. However, Statistics New Zealand do collect household composition data, which includes data on extended families, that can be used as a proxy for MGHs.

Census data on extended families has only been recorded since 1996. Hence our extended family data cover four Censuses. While we would have liked to trace the incidence of MGHs back further, data from four censuses is sufficient to demonstrate changes in trends. In analysing the extended family households data we were especially interested in the 2001 – 2013 period, as it covers more than a decade of significant economic change and upheaval which impacted on many aspects of people's lives. The years from 2001 to 2008 were relatively buoyant economically, but the effect of the 2008 global financial crisis and ensuing economic downturn, while not felt as acutely in New Zealand as in many other countries, had considerable social and economic impact that is still being felt in the housing market.

Statistics New Zealand defines an extended family as a group of people who usually reside together:

- either as a family nucleus with one or more other related people, or
- as two or more related family nuclei, with or without other related people (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.(a)).

Although extended family data are available since the 1996 Census, there are some issues affecting the comparability of the more limited data from the 2001, 2006 and 2013 Censuses. In 1996 Statistics New Zealand published the document *1996 Census classification counts – extended family variables* which provided a breakdown of extended family types, incomes and income sources (Statistics NZ, 1996) which has not been produced in such detail in more recent Censuses. Information on Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan extended families was also produced from the 1996 Census. The 1996 classification provided more detail than the 2001, 2006 and 2013 classifications. As well as indicating the

generational span, the 1996 classification had sub-categories that showed the composition of the extended family, such as whether it included siblings, couples, a sole parent, children, or grandparents (see Appendix A). Nevertheless data from the three later censuses, while not as detailed, can still be usefully compared with 1996 data, as illustrated in the graphs below.

The following analysis confirms the expected trend towards an increase in extended family households.

Figure 1

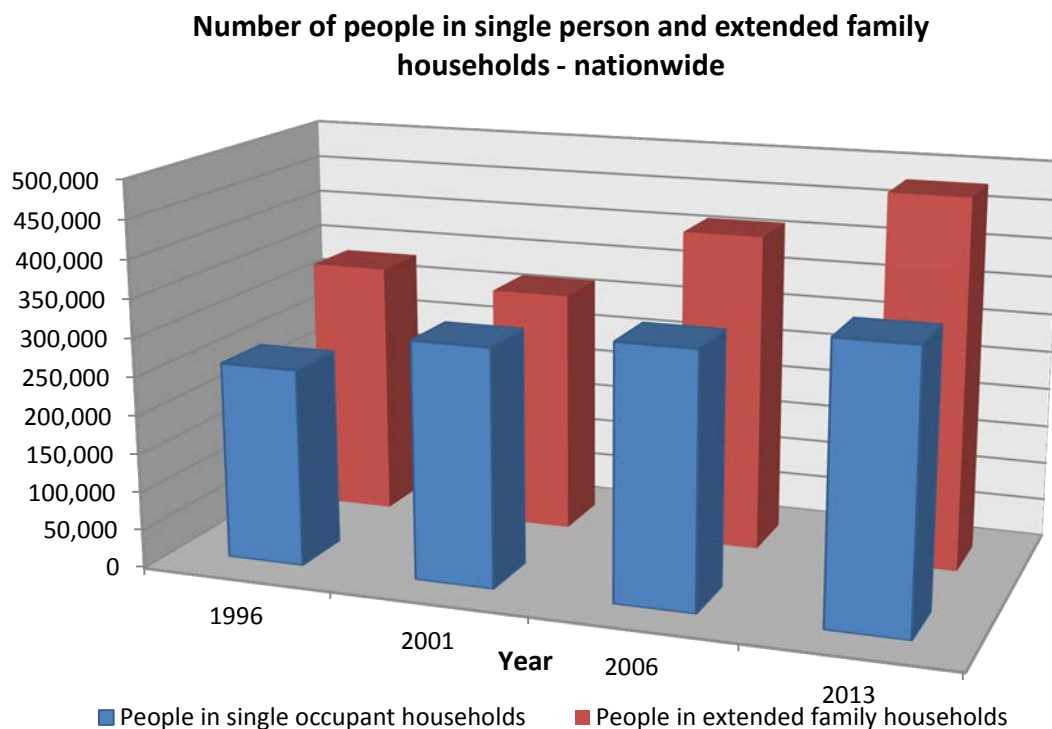


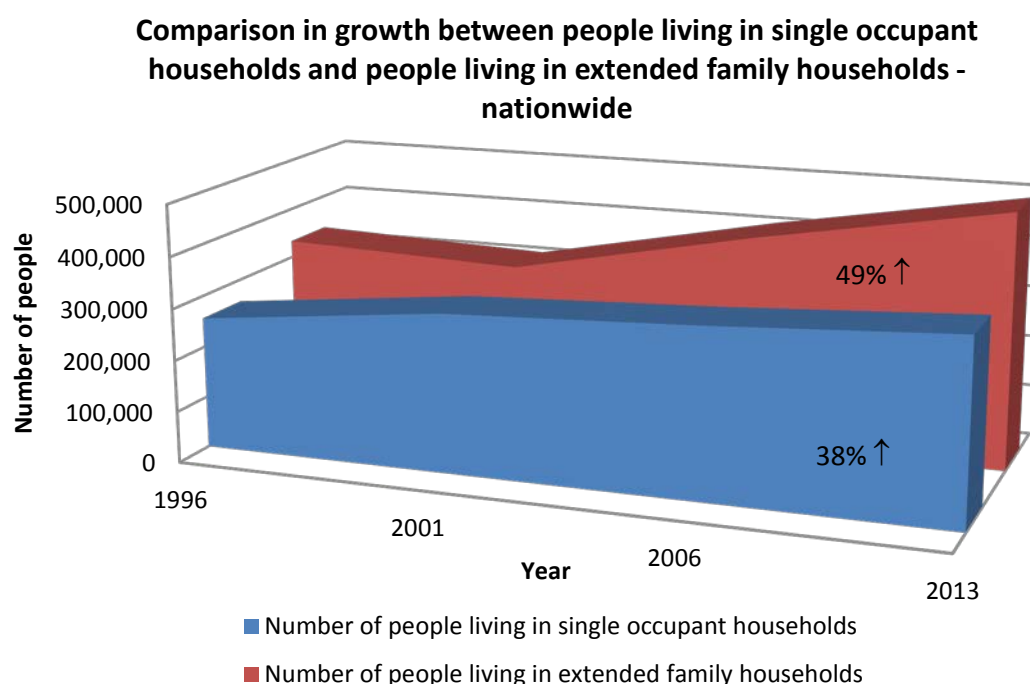
Figure 1 above illustrates a key claim regarding our Census findings; that despite the consideration and attention that is given to the increase in single occupant households in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013;³ Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013;⁴ Auckland Council, 2014; Environment Canterbury, 2014), more people

³ In a 2013 report on New Zealand's ageing population and the property market, Statistics New Zealand note that: "One-person households are projected to grow particularly fast ... Under a mid-range scenario, one-person households will account for 29 percent of all households in 2031, up from 23 percent in 2006. The growth in one-person households will be mainly due to the increasing number of older people, with almost three-quarters of the growth occurring among those aged 55 years and over. Twelve percent of the total population will be living alone in 2031, compared with 9 percent in 2006" (2013, p.8).

⁴ Drawing on subnational family and household projections the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) report that household size is expected to continue decreasing to 2.4 in 2031 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010) and the number of one person households is projected to increase at twice the rate of overall family households (MBIE, 2013).

live in extended family households and therefore warrant the same, if not more attention than single person households. As Figure 2 demonstrates, while there was a 38 per cent increase in single occupant households between 1996 and 2013 (from 256,572 to 355,284 occupants), there was a greater increase (49 per cent) in occupants living in extended family households during the same period (from 333,468 in 1996 to 496,383 in 2013).

Figure 2



It is important to recognise that while there is a greater number of people living in extended family households, and that this group has grown at a faster rate between 1996 and 2013 than those living in single occupant households, the number of single occupant households is greater than the number of extended family households as illustrated in Figure 3 below. It is important that attention is given to the growing number of single occupant households and the long term implications for the housing needs of this group of the population. However, we argue that meeting the housing needs of the greater number of people (496,383)⁵ living in extended family households, compared with single occupant households (355,284),⁶ is of equal if not greater concern. This is particularly the case in terms of the layout and space requirements for larger households, and the issue of overcrowding that is evident in large, lower income MGHs.

⁵ 2013 Census, Statistics New Zealand

⁶ 2013 Census, Statistics New Zealand

Figure 3

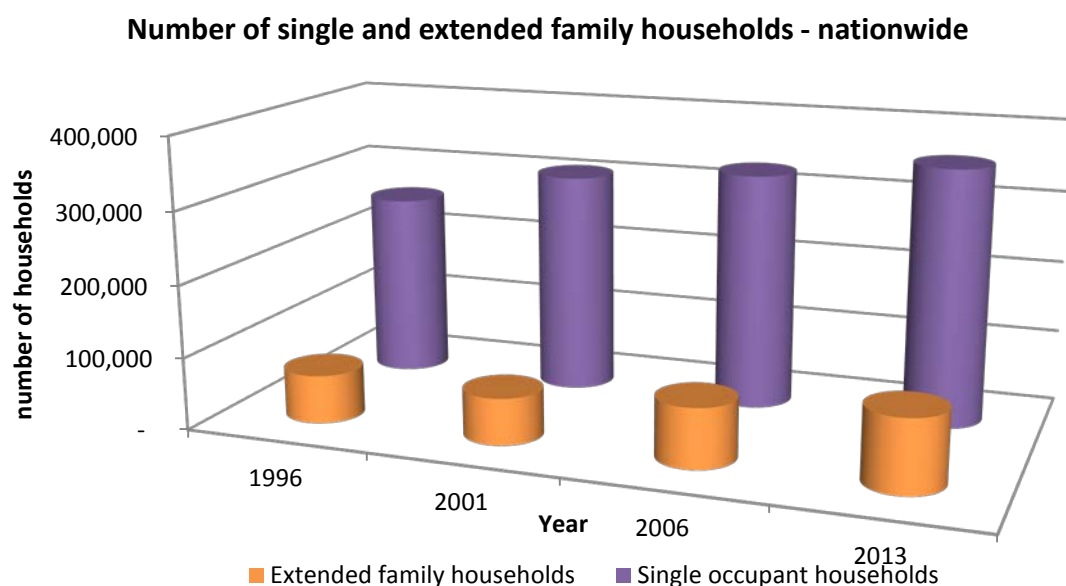


Figure 4 below illustrates the steady increase in people living in extended family households since 2001. Interestingly, the number of extended family members dropped by 5 per cent or nearly 17,000 people between 1996 and 2001. However, since 2001, the number of people living in extended family households has increased by 57 per cent (179,859 people)⁷. As can be seen with extended family households in Auckland and Christchurch (Figures 5 and 6 below), those living in three or more generation households outnumber those living in one (single) or two generation households.

On the following page Figure 5 illustrates the steady increase in the number of people living in extended family households in Auckland since 1996, and the increased growth of three or more generation households in comparison to one and two generation households. One generation extended families can be defined as siblings and their partners with or without other related persons of the same generation (also see Appendix A). While those living in one generation extended family households has increased by 29 per cent (1,533 people) from 1996 to 2013, and those living in two generation extended family households by 50 per cent (26,784 people), the number of people living three or more generation family households increased by 142 per cent (97,684 people). Likewise, in 2013, two thirds (166,407) of those living in extended families in Auckland lived in an extended family of three or more

⁷ As noted by Statistics New Zealand, these time series are irregular. Because the 2011 Census was cancelled after the Canterbury earthquake on 22 February 2011, the gap between the 2006 and 2013 is seven years. The change in the data between 2006 and 2013 may therefore be greater than in the usual five-year gap between censuses. In this regard, caution should be used when comparing trends across different census periods.

generations, compared with 31 per cent (79,893) living in two generation households and 3 per cent in one generation extended family households (6,903).

Figure 4

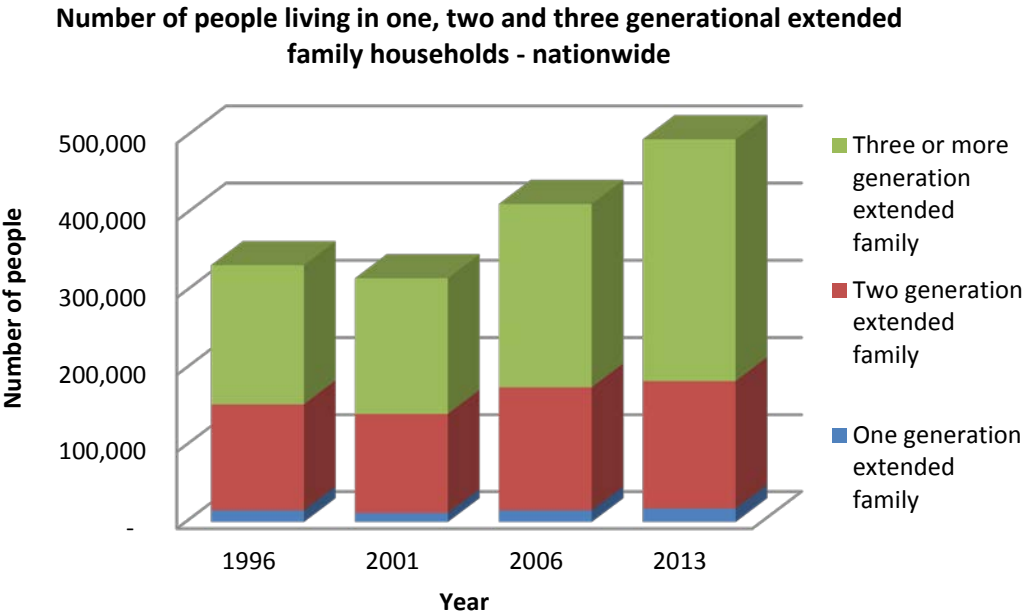
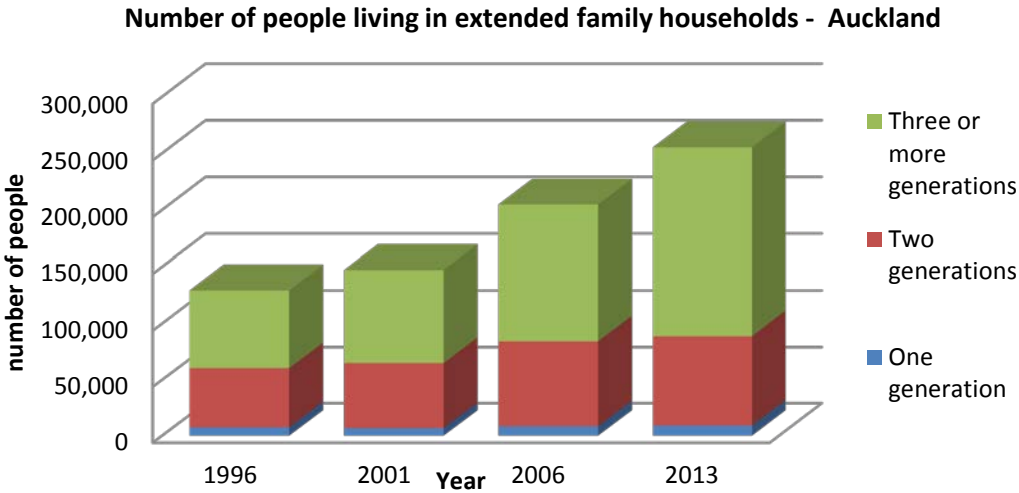


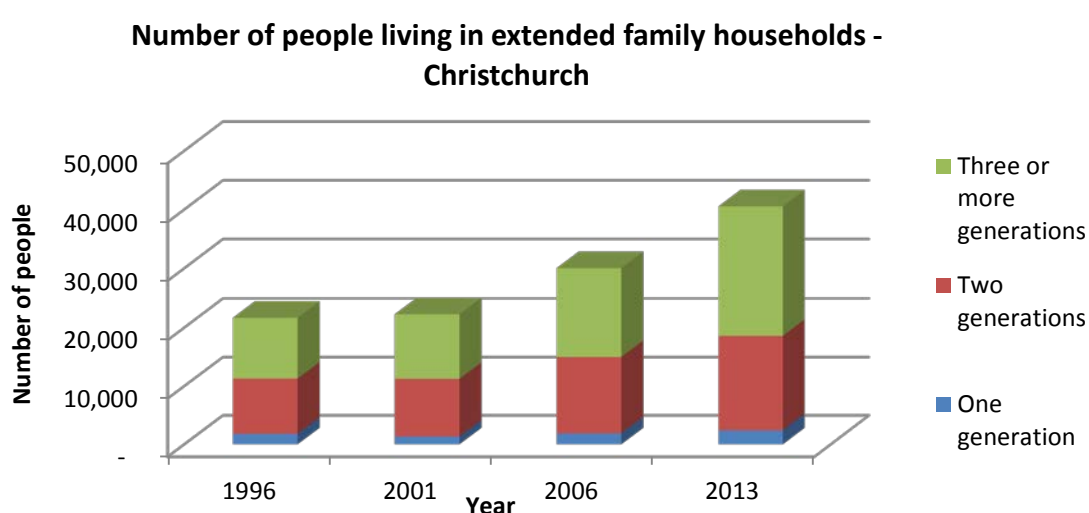
Figure 5



As expected, the number of people living in extended families in Christchurch in 2013 (see Figure 6 below) is fewer than in Auckland (40,530 people in Christchurch compared with 253,203 in Auckland), there is a similar pattern of strong growth in the numbers living in extended families of three or more generations (an increase of 11,559 people, or 114 per cent between 1996 and 2013) and fewer people living in single or one generation extended

families⁸ (1,806 people in 1996 and 2400 people in 2013; an increase of 33 per cent). In 2013 over half (54 per cent or 21,942 people) of those living in extended families in Christchurch lived in a household comprising three or more generations, whereas 40 per cent (16,188 people) lived in a two generation household and 6 per cent (2,400 people) in a single generation household. It is probable that the increase in people living in extended family households in Christchurch shown in the 2013 Census figures is due to the Canterbury earthquakes, But it remains to be seen whether this growth tails off or continues, as it has done in Auckland.

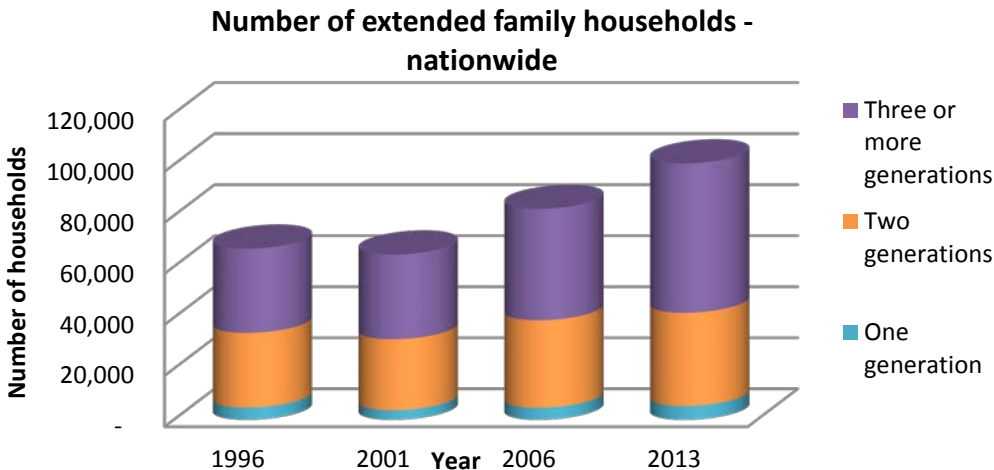
Figure 6



While the figures above show the number of *occupants* living in extended families, those below show the number of *extended family households*. As with the Census data on the number of occupants, data on the number of extended family households (see Figure 7 below) show that extended family households of three generations or more are the fastest growing group of extended family type, with a nationwide increase of over 25,000 households between 1996 and 2013 (77 per cent). In comparison, single or one generation extended households have increased by only 12 per cent, or 576 households. Overall there has been an increase of 50 per cent or 33,426 extended family households nationwide from 1996 to 2013. In 2013, over half of the households (58 per cent or 58,527 households) comprised three or more generations, over one third (36 per cent or 36,558 households) comprised two generation households, and 5 per cent or 5,409 households comprised single generation households.

⁸ Single or one generation households or families consist of adult siblings, cousins or other same-generation family members living together, with or without children of a younger generation.

Figure 7



Figures 8 and 9 below show the number of extended family households in Auckland and Christchurch respectively. As with Figures 5 and 6 above (number of household occupants in Auckland and Christchurch) there has been a significant increase in the number of extended family households. In Auckland this equates to a 98 per cent increase in extended family households from 1996 to 2013 (i.e. 23,898 households) and in Christchurch an 80 per cent increase (nearly 4,000 households). In 2013, 61 per cent of extended family households (29,367) in Auckland comprised three or more generations, 35 per cent (16,899) two generation households, and 4 per cent (2,112) one generation households. For Christchurch, 50 per cent (4,422) comprised extended family households of three or more generations, 42 per cent (3,759) of two generations, and 8 per cent (747) one generation.

Figure 8

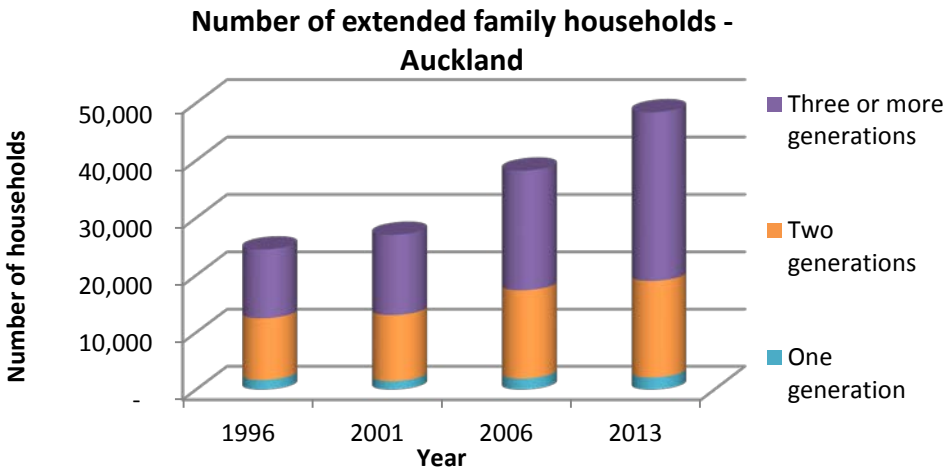
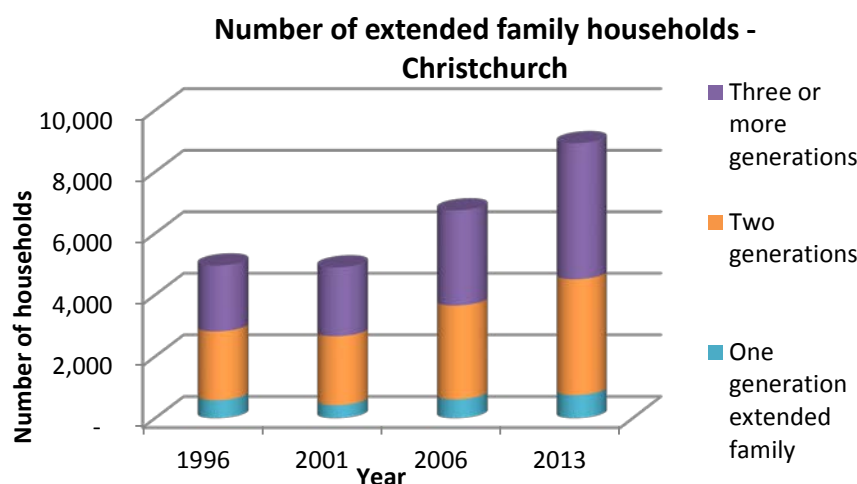


Figure 9



Figures 10 to 15 below provide a breakdown of extended family households by ethnicity, based on Statistics New Zealand Census data. In their 2001 review of the measurement of ethnicity, Statistics New Zealand noted that the concept of ethnicity is an attribute of a person, rather than that of a household or family; this therefore poses considerable problems when producing any type of ethnic household or family statistics. Most of the following graphs are based on data that classifies the ethnicity of an extended family household according to whether at least one adult person of a specific ethnicity (i.e. Māori, Pasifika, Asian and Pākehā) lives in that household. Given this is a somewhat limited way of representing the ethnicity of a household, we have also included graphs that provide the population figures for each of the four ethnic groups interviewed in this research project. These provide an interesting comparison. While Statistic New Zealand uses the term ‘European’ to describe those who identify as Pākehā, New Zealand European and other European, we instead use the term ‘Pākehā’ as a catch all term for all Europeans living in New Zealand counted as usually resident in the 2013 Census. Asian ethnic groups include Chinese, Indian, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, Sri Lankan, Cambodian and Vietnamese.

Figure 10

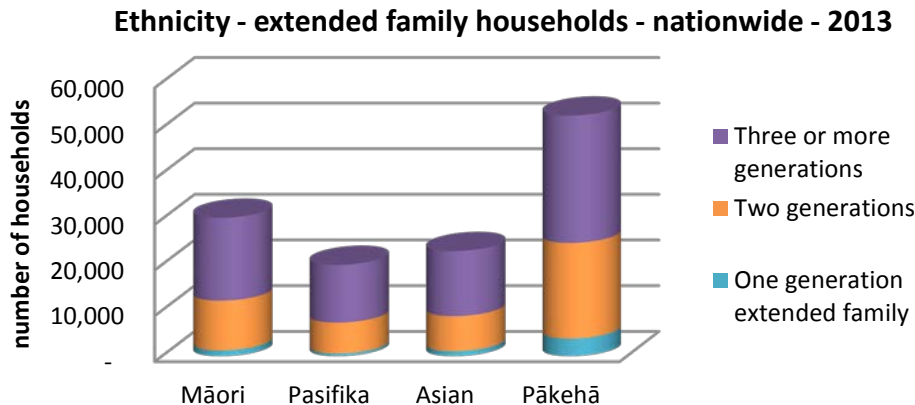


Figure 11

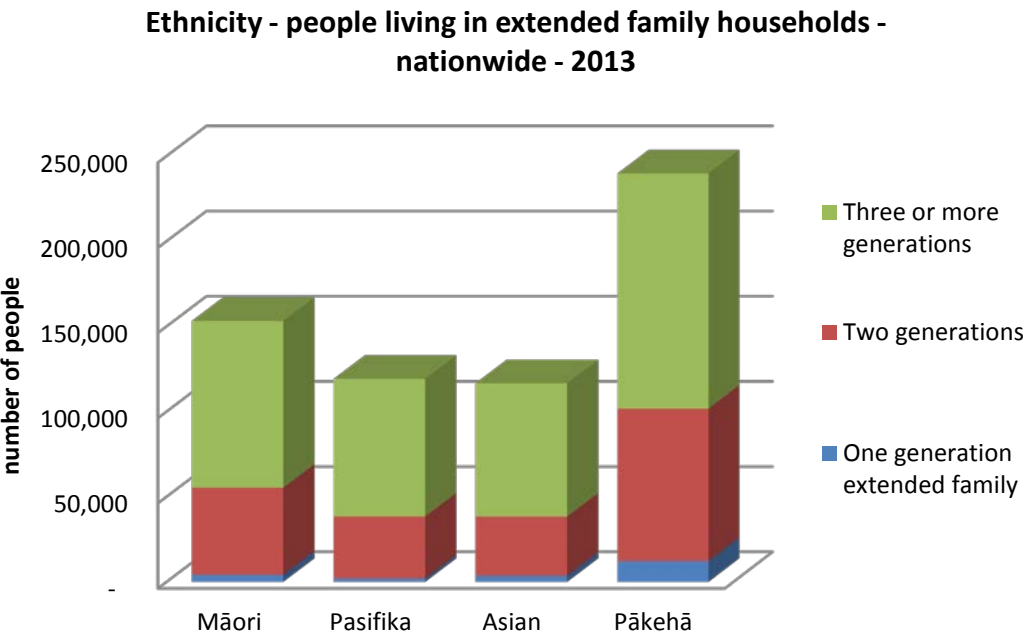
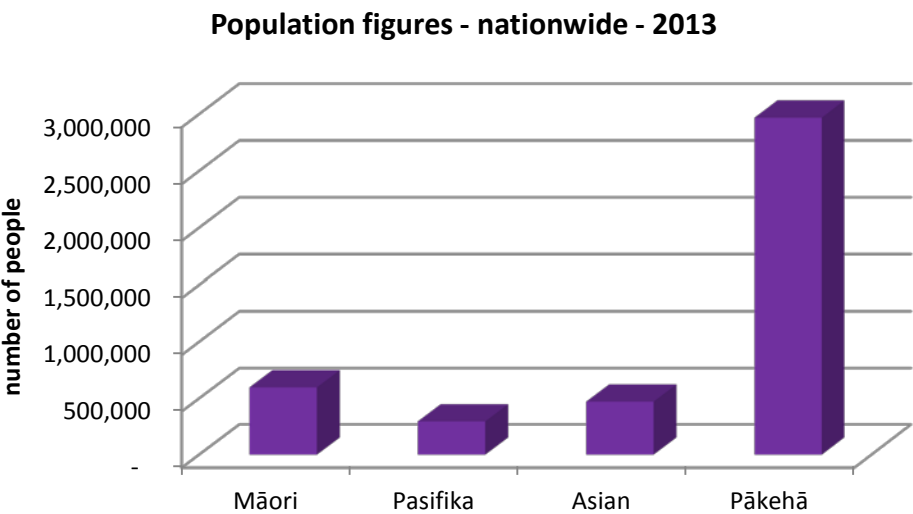


Figure 12



Figures 10 and 11 provide a nationwide picture of MGHs and the number of people living in them. Despite the significant number of Māori, Pasifika and Asian MGHs (Figure 10) and individuals living in MGHs nationwide (Figure 11), these figures also show that there are many more Pākehā MGHs and Pākehā who live in MGHs. Figure 12 provides the context for this by

showing the larger Pākehā population nationwide; 70 per cent compared to 14 per cent Māori, 7 per cent Pasifika and 11 percent Asian⁹.

Figure 13

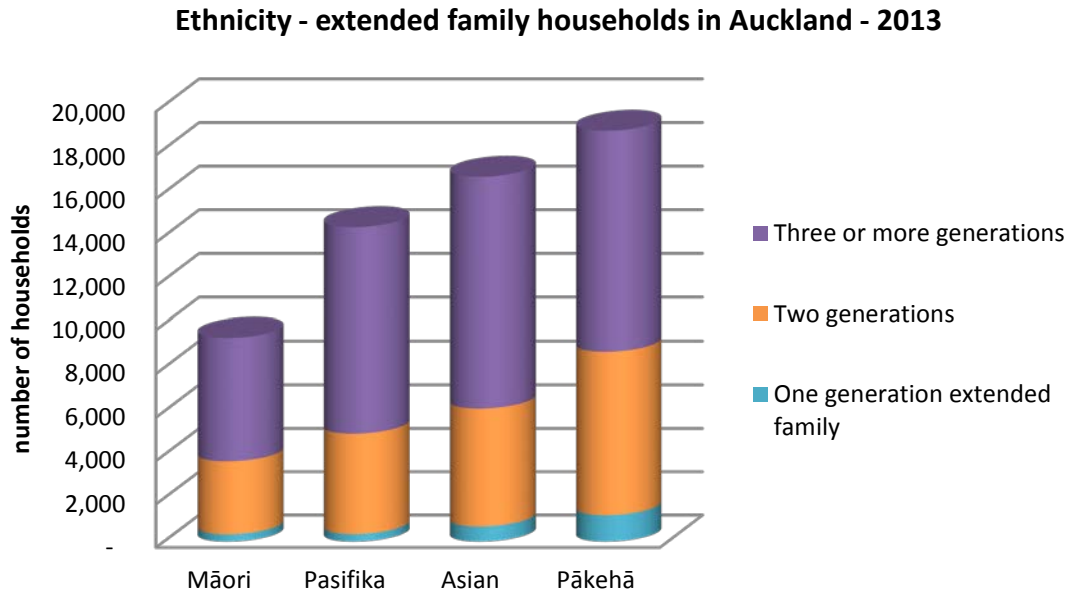
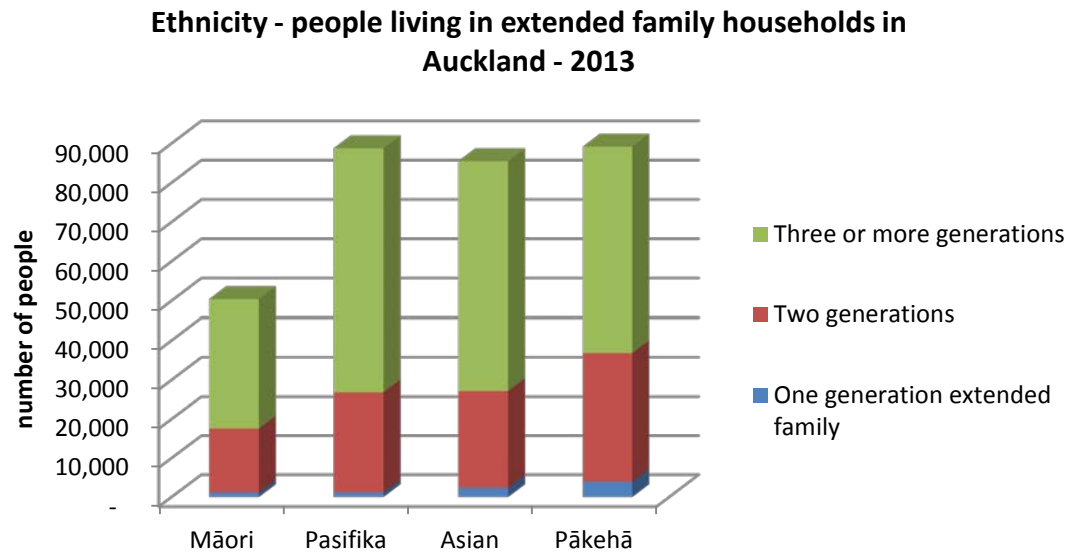
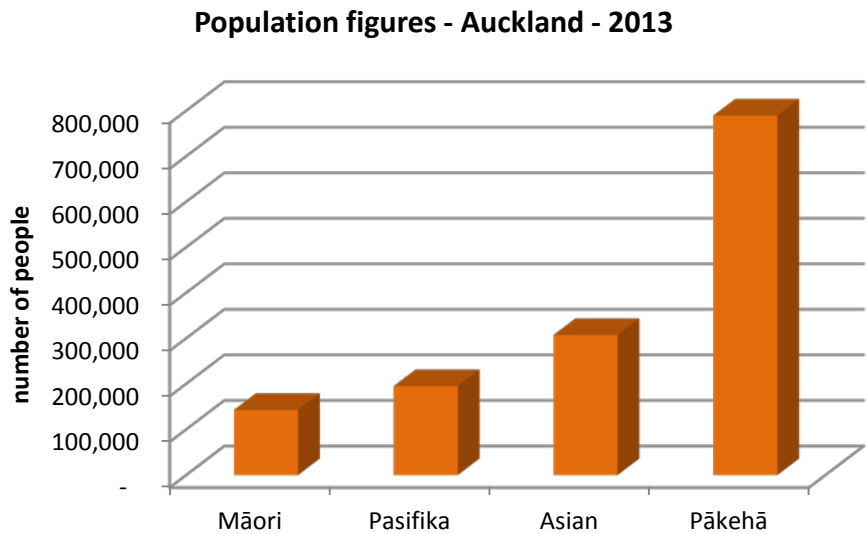


Figure 14



⁹ The data for Figures 12, 15 and 18 have been sourced from Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census usually resident population count, and grouped by ethnicity. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary in different tables.

Figure 15



Figures 13, 14 and 15 tell quite a different story about MGHs in Auckland, in comparison to the nationwide data. Figures 13 and 15 are comparable in that Māori comprise the smallest number of MGHs and individuals living in these households Auckland-wide, followed by Pasifika, Asian and then Pākehā. However, Figure 14 demonstrates the high number of Pasifika and Asian people living in MGHs in Auckland, closely matched with the number of Pākehā living in MGHs. This is despite Pākehā Aucklanders making up 56 percent of population, compared to 22 per cent Asian Aucklanders and 14 per cent Pasifika Aucklanders.

Figure 16

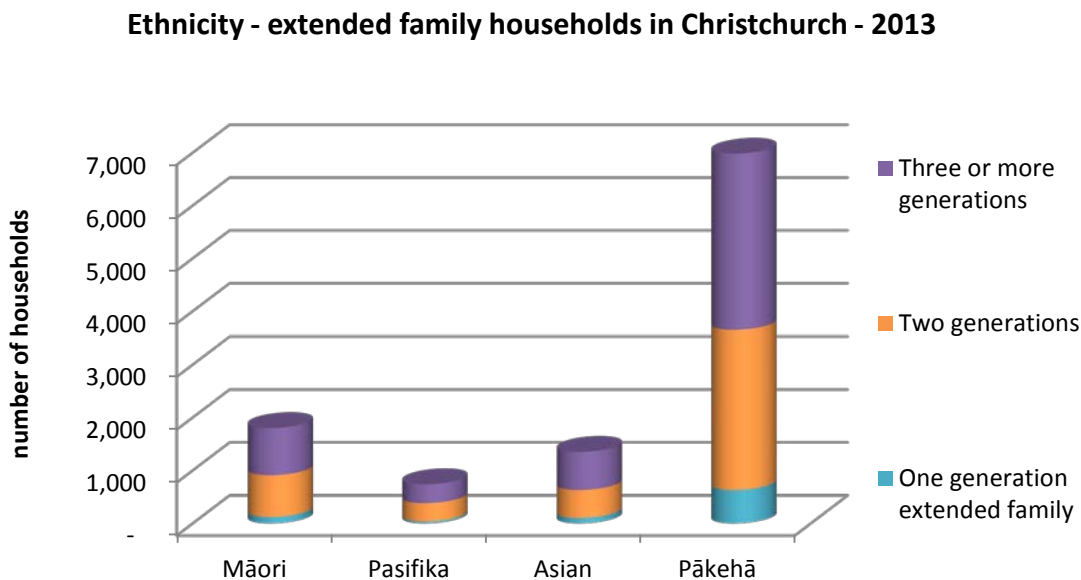


Figure 17

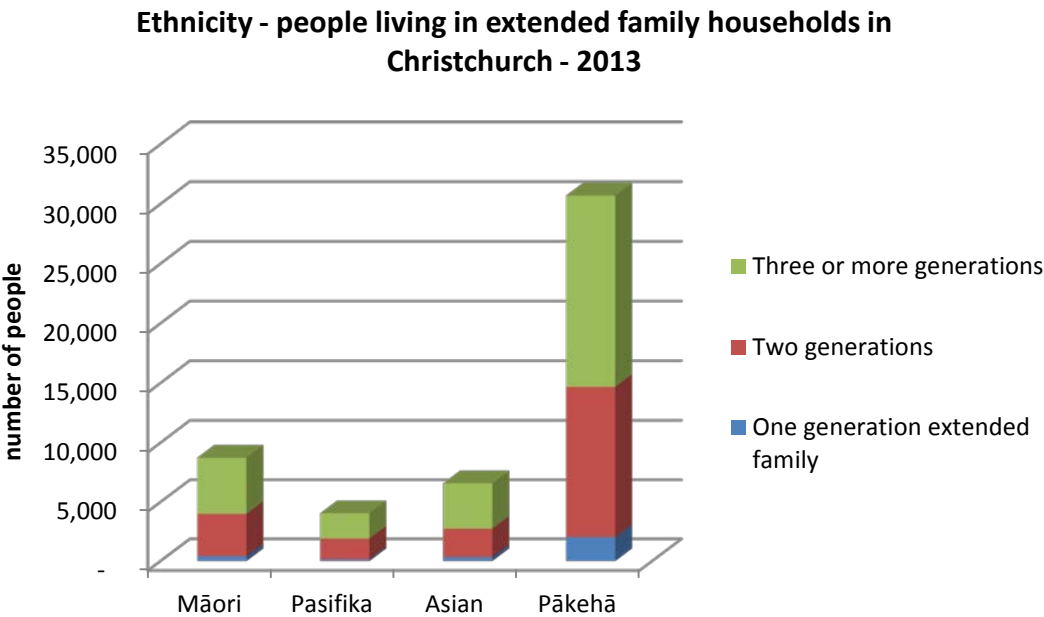
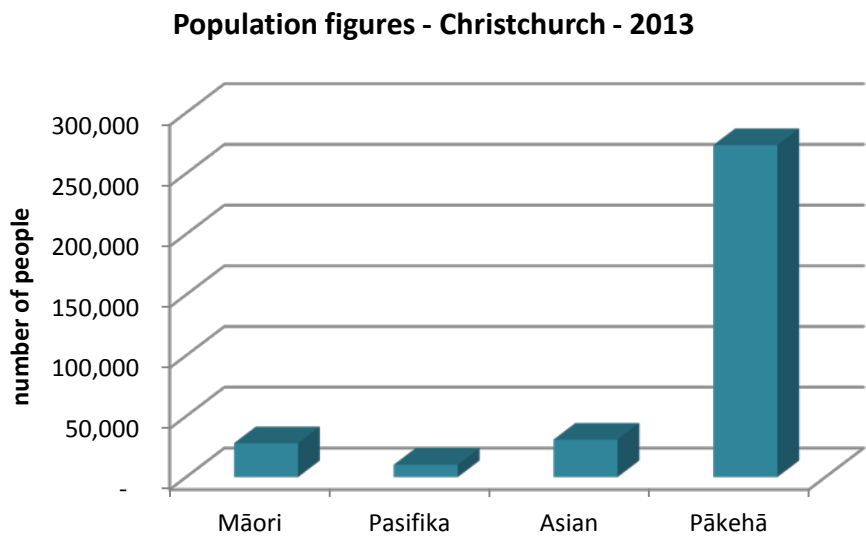


Figure 18



Figures 15, 16 and 17 tell a similar story to the nationwide figures relating to ethnicity and MGHs although, comparatively, a smaller percentage of Māori, Pasifika and Asian live in Christchurch (8 per cent, 3 per cent and 9 per cent respectively) compared to New Zealand as a whole (14 per cent, 7 per cent and 11 per cent respectively). Also, while Pākehā comprise 70 per cent of the population in New Zealand, in Christchurch 80 per cent of the population identify as Pākehā or European. However, regardless of whether we look at nationwide, Auckland-wide or Christchurch-wide data, we find, unsurprisingly, a large number of people

who identify as Pākehā, New Zealander, New Zealand European or European. The data also show that Pākehā comprise the largest of group of MGHs, and also that the greatest number of people living in MGHs are Pākehā.

Summary

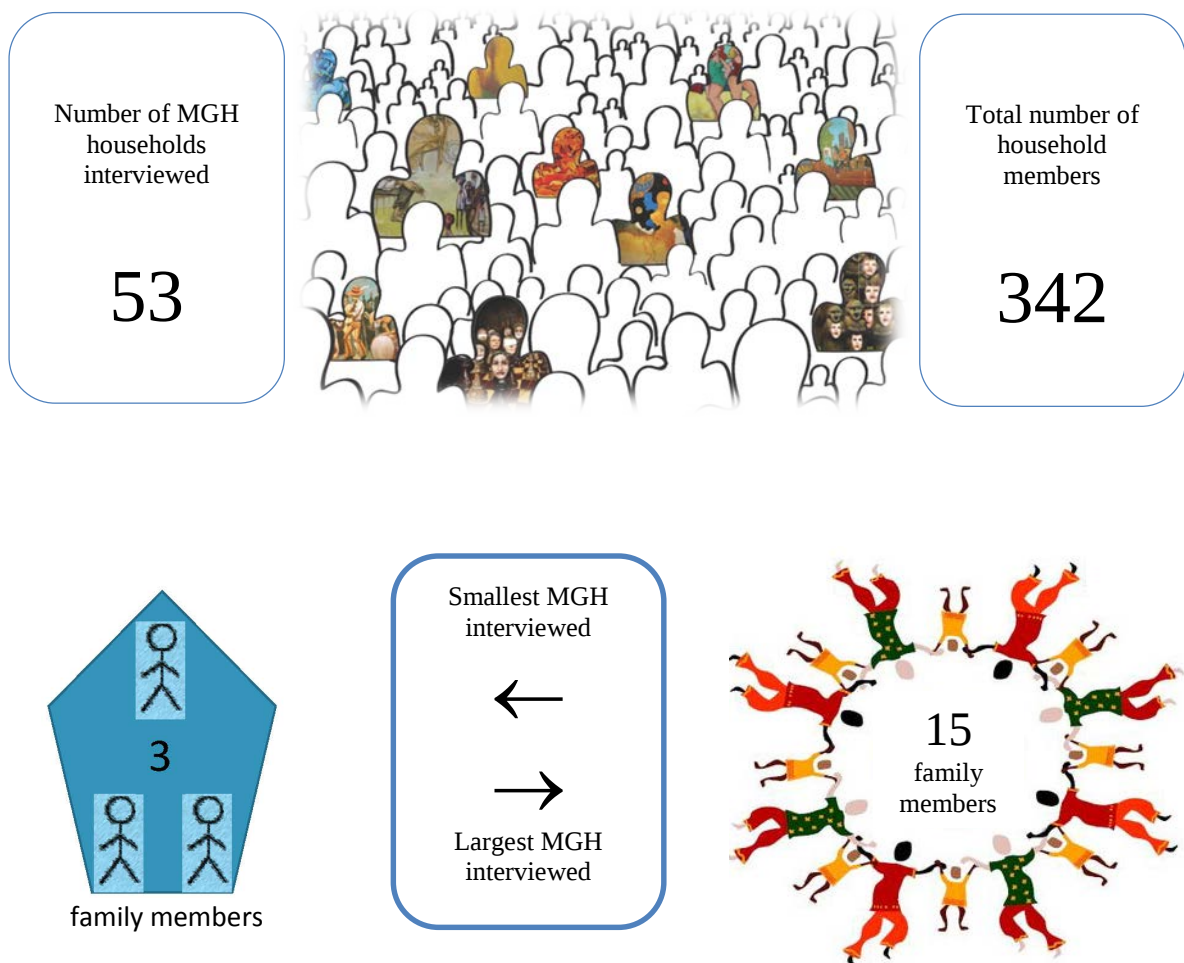
While the data provided above cannot offer causal explanations for the increase in extended family living, we can surmise that given that extended family living covers all major ethnic groups the effect of the cultural expectations of new migrants, the increase in the age when young adults leave their family home, a rise in adult children returning to their parents' homes, an increase in grandparent families, and more elderly parents coming to live with their adult children all add to the increase in extended family/MGHs in New Zealand. The findings therefore cast considerable doubt on the popular, stereotypical view that extended families are a phenomenon associated with Pacific, Māori and Asian communities; in fact it appears they are also a growing feature among Pākehā families.

6. Interview Findings

This section presents the findings from the interviews held with the 53 research participants all of whom lived in MGHs. The key finding was that there is no typical MGH. Although the only criterion used in identifying and recruiting participants was that they lived in MGHs, the participants lived in many different types of dwellings and reported a range of experiences. Some dwellings were overcrowded, others had more than sufficient space. In terms of demographic characteristics there is also no typical pattern. As expected, participants came from a number of different ethnic and age groups and included participants from two to four generations living together. Overall, the experiences of MGH living were generally positive but, as in any situation where people are living closely with others, there were situations reported as difficult.

6.1 Interview sample

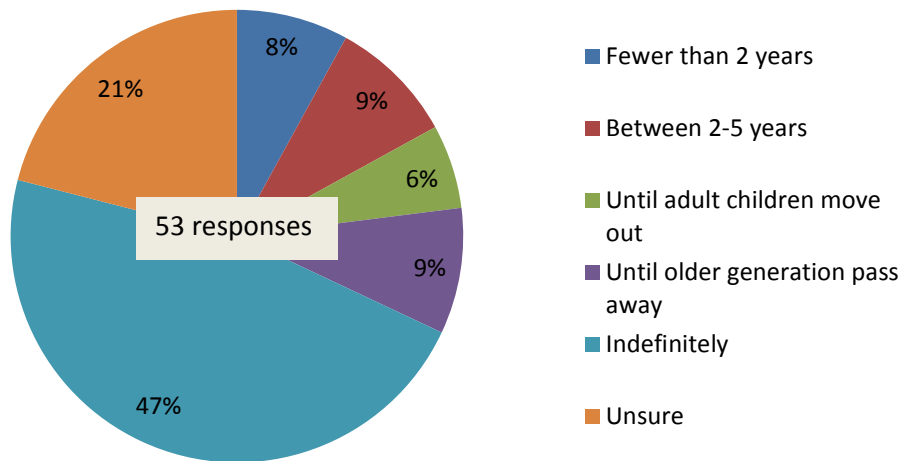
The graphics below illustrate the makeup of the MGHs that we interviewed.



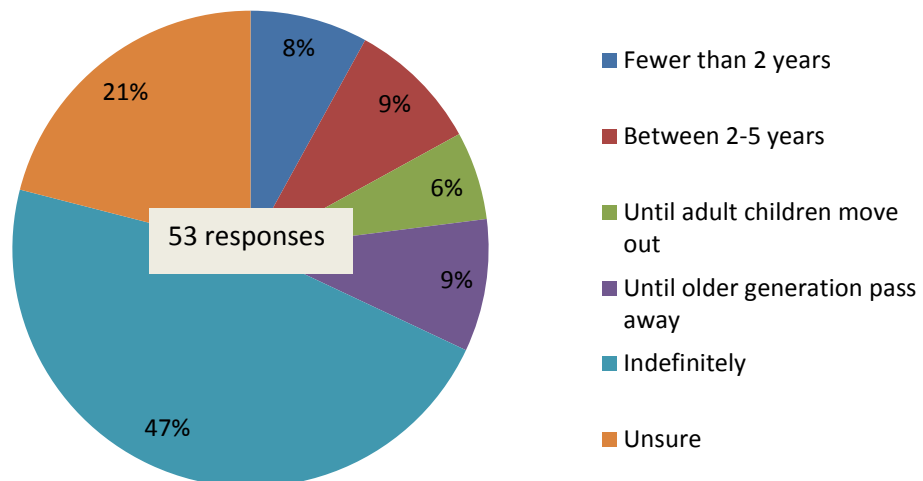
Length of time interview participant has lived in a MGH:

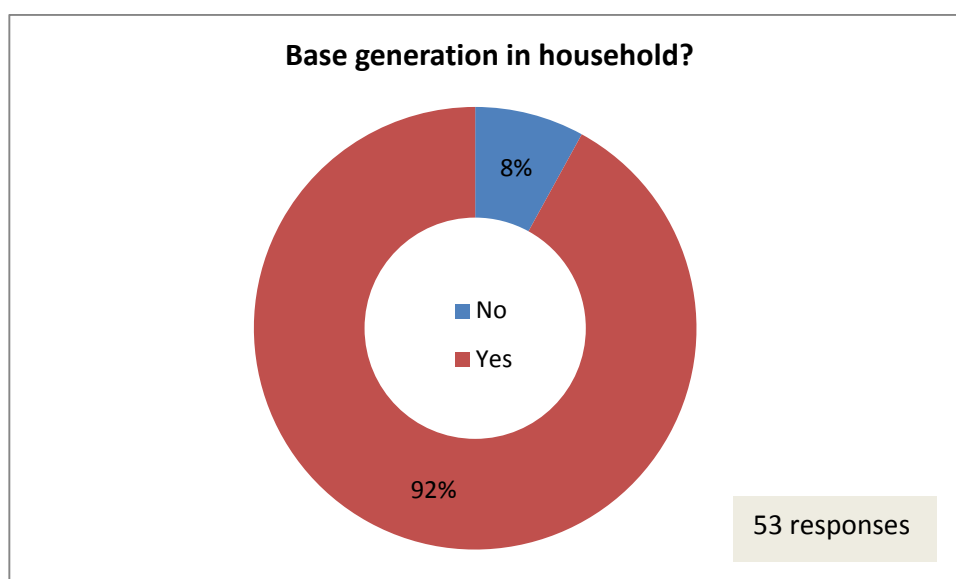
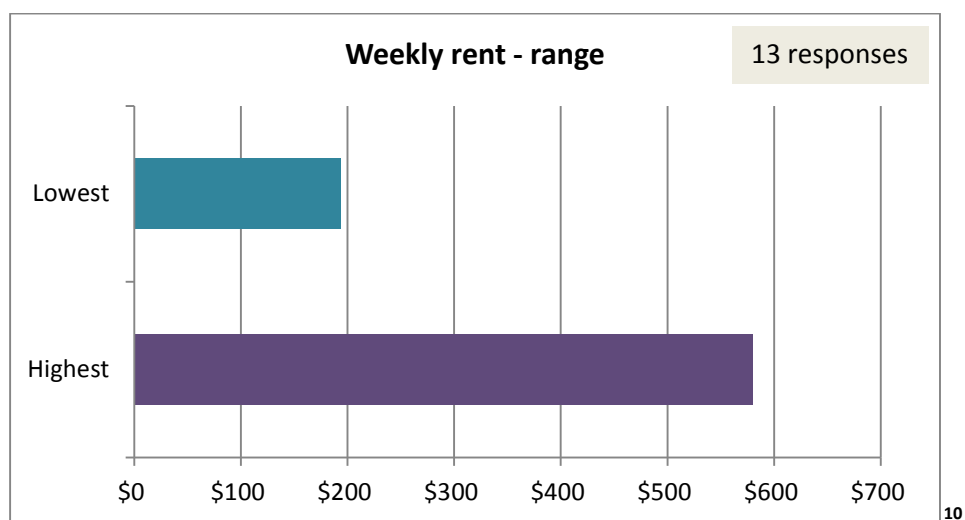
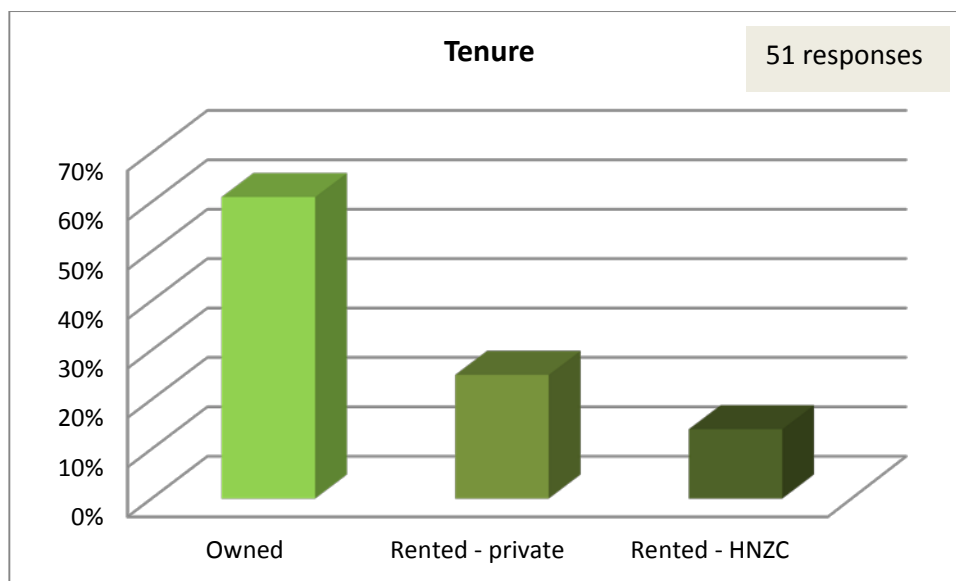


How long occupant expects to continue living in MGH

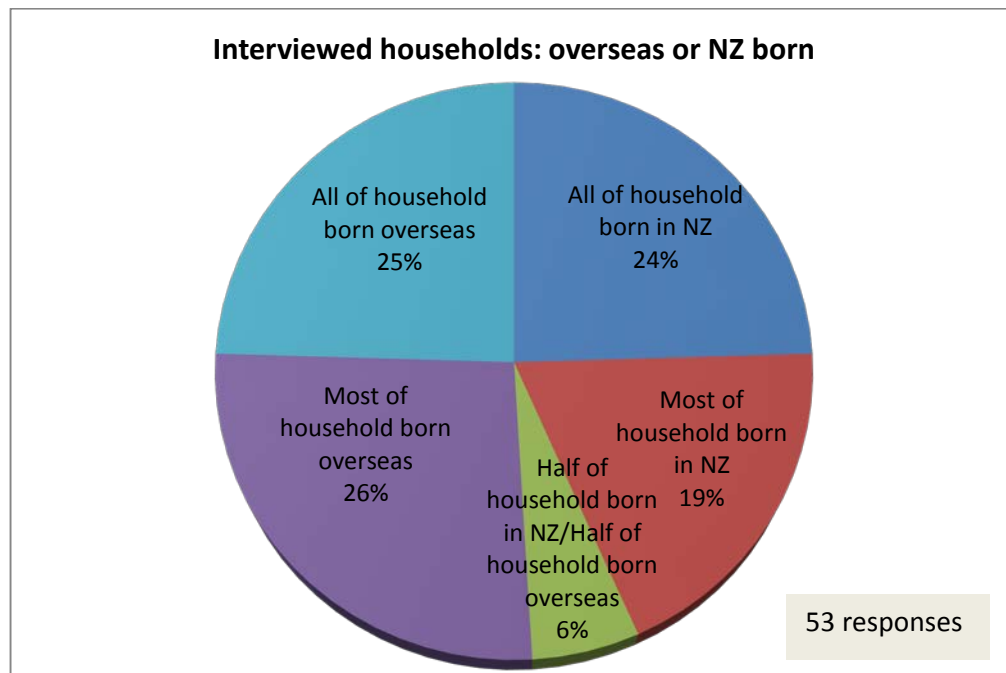
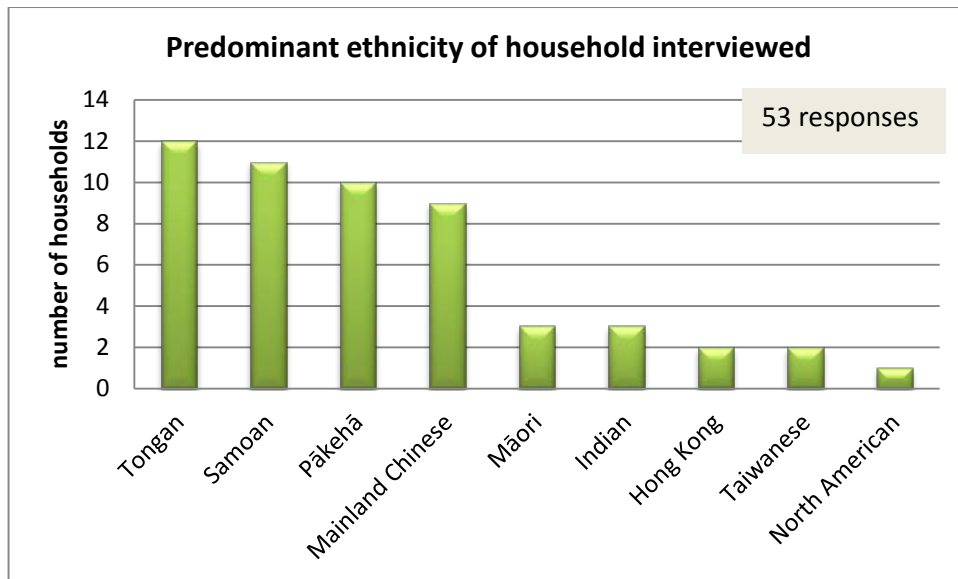


How long occupant expects to continue living in MGH





¹⁰ Of the twenty interview participants who rent their home, only thirteen chose to disclose how much rent they paid.



6.2 MGH living: a range of experiences

Drivers:

This section sets out the key points in relation to the participants experiences of MGH living. Participants expressed a range of reasons or drivers for their MGH living. Cultural preferences based on traditional ways of living were a common driver, reflecting the ethnic make-up of

the sample. A common view among Chinese participants was that MGH living was a 'normal' aspect of Chinese society. As one elderly participant noted:

This is a funny question which should not be questioned in the first place. Maybe Westerners see it as a novelty. For us Chinese, this is the norm. My daughter wants to live with me, I want to live with my daughter. They need me and I need them. As simple as that ...

Reference to traditional Samoan culture as a driver was evident in the similar sentiment expressed by a Samoan participant through the proverb 'A i ai le tagata matua, e malu ai le aiga', translated as 'when there is an elder in the family, that family will always remain protected and sheltered'.

Care for an elderly relative or relatives, usually parents of the base generation individual or couple, also came through as a strong theme. One participant converted the large garage in her mother's home into a private studio type accommodation for herself and her partner in order that she could care for her mother after her mother became unwell. However, the retrofitting of the garage was only done after the daughter and her partner had moved into one of the bedrooms in the house. This did not work out as a long-term option due to different standards of tidiness and the somewhat disruptive experience of living in close proximity. Once the retrofitting was complete the two occupied bedrooms were at separate ends of the house, thus ensuring minimum disruption and maximum privacy.

The obverse of care for the elderly was having a grandparent at home to care for grandchildren when they got home from school or when their parents were working. A number of participants referred to the strong and positive bonds that MGH living established between grandparents and grandchildren.

We as grandparents have become very close to our grandchildren. It would have been impossible if we hadn't lived together.

This was especially important for immigrants who wanted to ensure the younger generation grew up understanding their ethnic group's cultural values of family and community.

Most participants cited financial reasons as a driver. For some it was a matter of economic necessity. An example of this is the household where 11 people were accommodated in a two

bedroom house. This house was the most overcrowded in the sample, and although extended family living was the cultural norm, the situation was extremely difficult with so many people living in such very cramped circumstances. Lack of employment and lack of alternative options led to this situation. Other households fitted the more typical international driver of younger adults returning to their parents' home out of economic necessity.

For others MGH living was part of a familial economic strategy. For one participant the strategy was between a son and his parents who, after deciding to buy their first house together "kept buying houses together". By contrast, for some Chinese families in the sample, who had many more household members, buying and/or extending houses, adding to the family portfolio and building new, purpose built multi-generational housing was part of a larger scale family strategy.

Another driver was convenience. This was often associated with younger people finding that their parents' home was located conveniently to work, study or places of entertainment. Safety was also mentioned, especially by elderly women participants who were happy to have their adult children living with them, or to live with their adult children, because they did not feel safe living on their own.

We turn now to questions of **control** and **responsibilities**.

An important component of the relationships one has with other household members is the relative control exerted over the domestic environment, including the crucial element of decision making. The extent to which household members feel a sense of control over their living circumstances can impact on their feelings of 'ontological security', the sense of feeling at ease and at home in one's environment (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998; Dupuis, 2012). Elsewhere we noted the prevalence of a 'base generation', the generation who owns or is responsible for the lease of the house, or contributes more substantially than other adults to household costs. It could be deemed that members of this generation, often a couple, have greater control than other adults in the MGH. However, control is a complex phenomenon and can be both experienced and manifested in a number of ways.

Almost universally, home ownership conferred control on owners and in almost all cases control was connected with the base generation, a couple or individual, and demonstrated

through greater or total responsibility for major decision making in the household. This was even strongest for Chinese households and well accepted. As one elderly Chinese participant said:

I trust my son to make the best decisions for my wife and myself.

For some participants however, power and control was something of an issue. One participant who lived with his mother and partner referred to the control his mother exerted by saying “Everything is hers”. He also mentioned the numerous hand written signs and notices posted around the house with messages such as ‘do not enter with shoes on’. He added that his mother had “rules for everything”. Nevertheless, none of the research participants claimed to be powerless. What was clear was that participants not of the base generation tended to demonstrate control over some aspects of their daily lives by making a significant contribution to the household through, for example, cooking family meals or having a vegetable garden and providing food.

Responsibilities were divided into financial responsibilities and household duties. In some households the base couple or individual took responsibility for all regular financial payments and costs such as mortgages, rates, electricity and internet charges. In other households all adult members shared costs equally, or some members contributed electricity only or bought food. Sometimes these arrangements had been negotiated. Sometimes they were simply mutually understood.

Duties included housework, house repairs and maintenance, shopping and cooking. While these duties tended to be divided along gender lines, it was not uncommon for men to cook and for women to do some garden work. Particular duties for younger household members in migrant households were to act as an interface between an older household member, often a grandparent, and lawyers, doctors, or government departments, during which time the younger person acted as an interpreter. Another role for younger people was to provide advice and expertise in IT and other technology-related areas.

A number of issues with respect to MGH living were raised by our respondents. The issue of **privacy** came up repeatedly. It was of particular concern for participants who lived in small houses or in cramped conditions. The most common strategy for dealing with lack of privacy

was through 'retreating' behaviour, which in most instances meant retreat to the bedroom. Often bedrooms were set up as mini-houses within a house and were equipped with television sets or other technology. However, retreat to the bedroom was something of a problem for those who shared bedrooms, especially parents who shared their bedrooms with their children.

Noise was also an issue. Noise came from exuberant young children, although tolerant views regarding the noise of young children were widely expressed. The loud music of teenagers and younger adults was largely dealt with through the use of earphones, so other household members were not particularly disturbed. In large MGHs there seemed to be a tacit agreement that young people's behavior was constrained at home. They were able to express themselves more freely when they went out.

Visitors were an important part of the lives of some groups in the sample. The larger Pasifika families had many visitors at one time, for example when family visited or when religious meetings were held. With space being a scarce commodity, gatherings flowed over into the garden, or garages or tents were used to accommodate large numbers of people. By contrast, some Chinese participants mentioned they usually entertained visitors outside the house, mostly at restaurants.

Interference was also mentioned as an issue, particularly interference regarding child rearing practices. Parents sometimes mentioned the difficulties of keeping to routines with their children when grandparents were around. On the other hand, some grandparents commented that they were mindful of their role and pulled back from interfering.

Participants also discussed the **advantages** and **disadvantages** of living in a MGH. A large number of advantages were mentioned in the interviews. The most commonly cited advantage had to do with the financial benefits of sharing costs, or living in arrangements rent free, or making only small contributions to household finances. Care was also mentioned, especially care of the elderly and care for young children. Associated with care was the strengthening of family bonds particularly across generations. A number of immigrant participants also mentioned that living in a MGH ensured that their culture remained strong. Other advantages included companionship, never being bored or lonely and

practical help with such things as housework and cooking which frees time for other household members to study or work in paid employment.

Disadvantages included a lack of space, a lack of privacy and often having too many people around and no place in the house to get away from others. Using the Canadian National Occupancy Standard a number of MGHs in our sample were overcrowded in that the following standards could not be met:

- There should be no more than two people per bedroom;
- Children younger than 5 of different sexes may reasonably share a bedroom;
- Children 5 years or older of the opposite sex should not share a bedroom;
- Children younger than 18 of the same sex may reasonably share a bedroom;
- Those 18 and over should have a separate bedroom, as should parents or couples (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.(b)).

An example of overcrowding from our research is the four generation family of 10 living in a five bedroom house. The elderly grandfather had his own bedroom. The base generation couple's bedroom was a converted garage and their older teenage son also had his own room. However, their daughter and son-in-law shared a bedroom with the younger couple's three year old twins. Their other two children aged four and five, shared another bedroom. According to the definition above this situation is overcrowded in that parents and children share a room and that four people sleep in the same room. However, overcrowding is just as obvious in living as it is in sleeping spaces, as evident in this example where there was only one small living space in the house. With four small children, aged between 3 and 5, there was very little space for the children to play inside and very little living space for the family to sit together, eat together or share time together in leisure activities.

Other examples of either overcrowding, or having insufficient space, included: the grandmother who shared a bedroom with her granddaughter; parents who slept in the living room; an uncle who slept in the garage; children who did not have a place to study; the family who ate in shifts because the kitchen/house was too small; and the need for regimented showers so there would be enough hot water so everyone in the house could shower every day. The lack of space and privacy meant that some participants mentioned it was difficult to get time alone with their partners. Overcrowding and lack of privacy can lead to considerable household tension.

Two other commonly mentioned disadvantages were the lack of control and autonomy experienced when living in houses owned by a family member and the disruption felt when family and visitors from overseas constantly came and went.

Summary

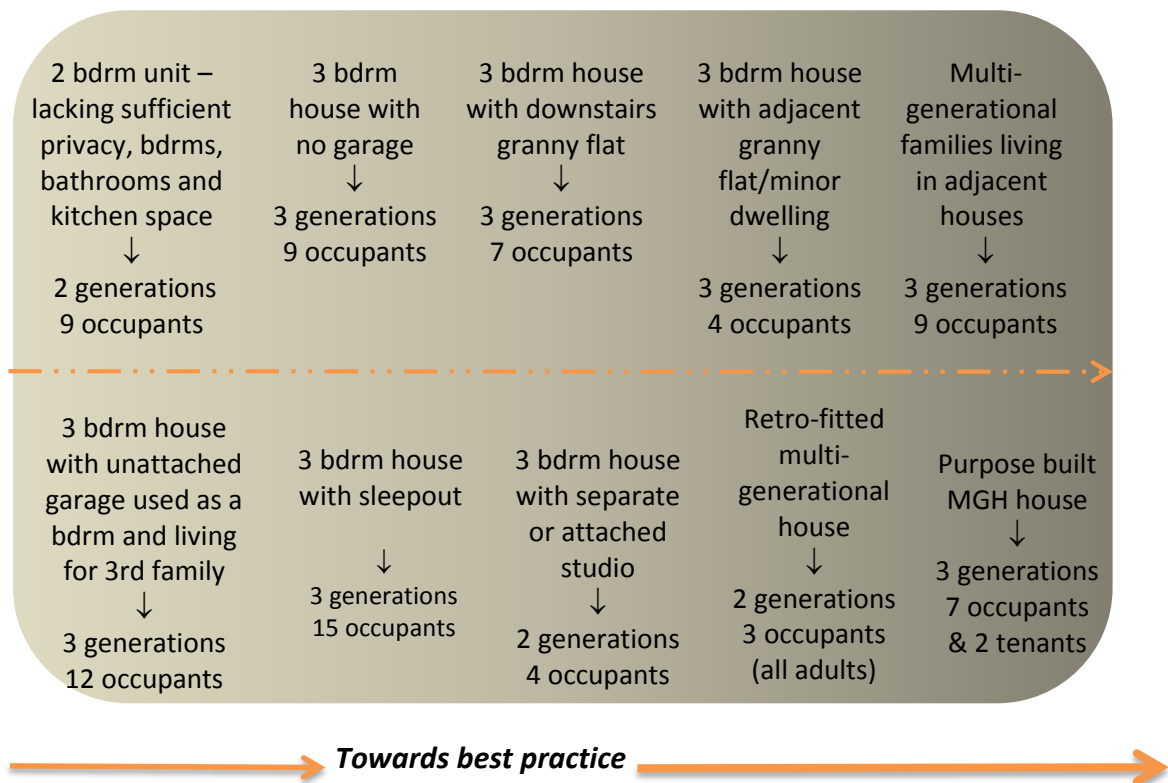
The interview findings, graphs and tables in this section have laid out a range of MGH living experiences and highlighted the way in which the social dimensions of multi-generational living and the physical aspects of the house combine to support or counter successful multi-generational living. This provides the necessary context for the following section 'Designing for Multi-generational Households: Towards Best Practice' where we present a continuum that outlines the range of MGHs that we visited, and discuss the way in which different MGH designs support different kinds of MGH living.

7. Designing for Multi-generational Households: Towards Best Practice

This section provides floor plans of the main house types that we came across during our research interviews, along with descriptions of how various houses did and did not function for the MGHs. We have not provided floor plans of dwellings that were clearly unsuitable for large MGHs such as the two bedroom units, or the three bedroom house and two permanent tents that accommodated a four generation family and visiting family members. In this regard MGHs, as with others, are constrained by what they can afford; so in considering best practice our view is that addressing basic minimum needs for MGHs is the best place to start.

As made apparent in previous sections of this report, there is no ‘one size fits all’ scenario for successful multi-generational living. MGHs can comprise small households of just two or three family members or very large households of 15 or more members. Despite the small household size of some multi-generational families, the living needs can be distinct from similar sized nuclear family households¹¹. These observations led us to the development of the following diagram and the consideration of the way in which design, facilities and function all contribute to successful outcomes.

Figure 19

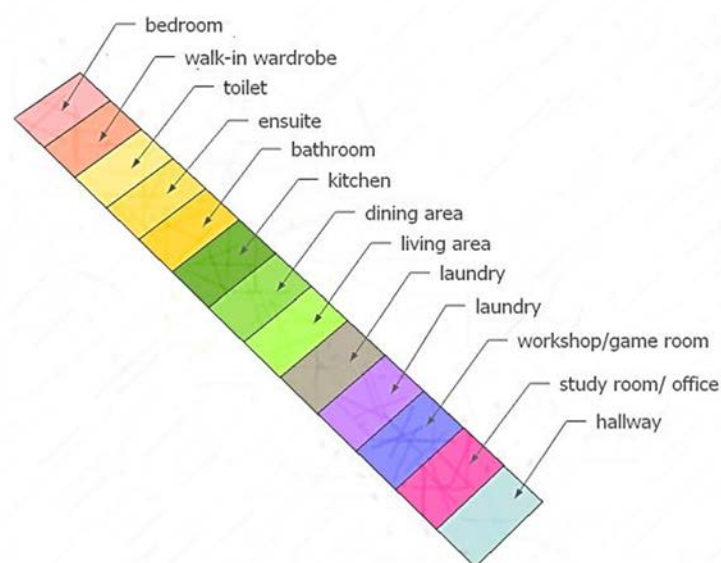


¹¹ For instance, younger or older adults might require greater independence and privacy, and very elderly or frail adults need spaces that provide them with greater ease of access and use.

Each of the house types and number of occupants shown in Figure 16 above match a MGH we encountered in our research interviews. The house types on the left of the diagram describe the less satisfactory house designs for MGHs (particularly those with a large number of family members) whereas those on the right describe more suitable house designs for MGHs. The boxes in the middle denote variations on the theme of multi-generational living. In some instances these house types/designs worked well for the MGHs we interviewed, while in other circumstances the MGH 'made do', with varying levels of success and satisfaction.

Set out below are examples of the more successful floor designs that we encountered during our research interviews. We describe how well the design layouts worked for each MGH, and the make-up of each MGH. However, in order to preserve the confidentiality of the MGH household families we interviewed we have not described the area they live in, the physical condition of the house or the ethnicity of the family members. We have also provided floor plans from the Auckland Design Manual, which addresses design principles and best practice solutions.

The legend below is used for all floor plans. Not all the floor plans contain every colour on the legend as, for example, some houses did not have an ensuite, a study /office, or a garage. Also in some households laundry facilities were combined within the kitchen, bathroom or garage areas and so a grey coloured space (denoting laundry space) is not always evident. It should also be noted that the measurements are approximate and are provided only as a guide.



Purpose built multi-generational home with self-contained unit

Bordered area below = self-contained

Ground level



Upper level

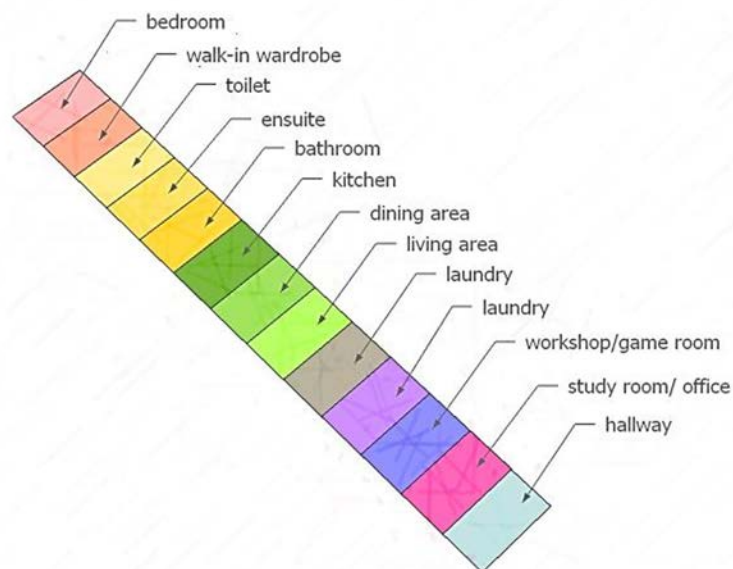
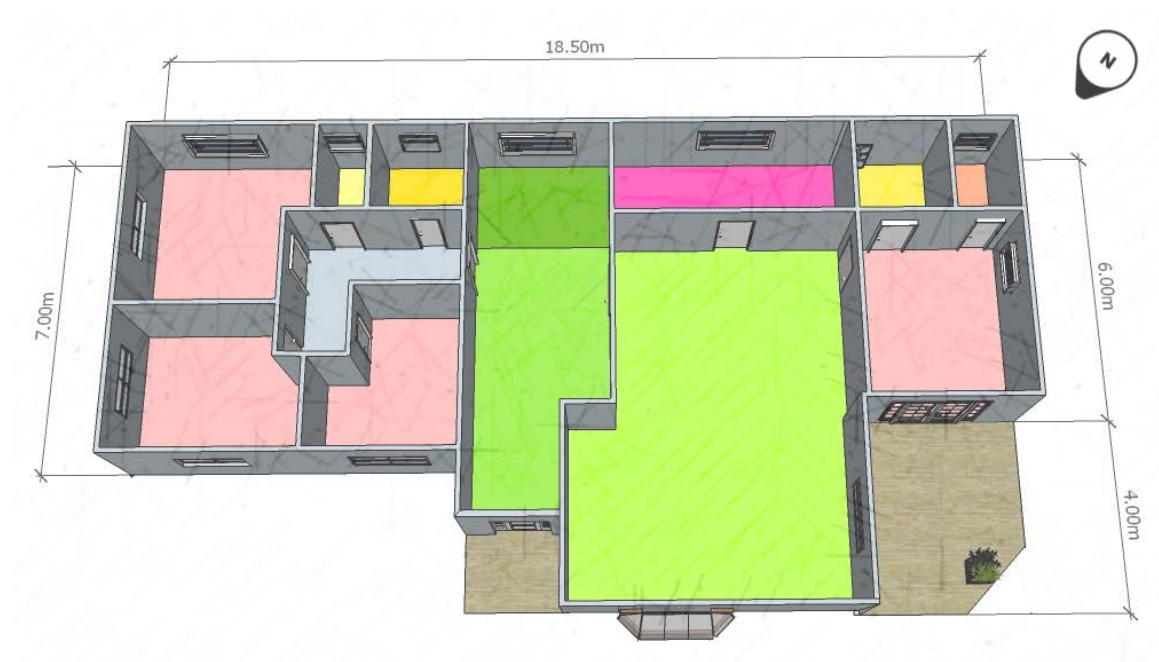
This generous sized home (approx. 400 m²) was built with multi-generational living in mind, and also has a self-contained flat (bordered area, top left, ground level) that is rented out. There are living areas on both levels and large bedrooms for the grandparents and parents. The bedrooms for the children have sufficient study space, and a workshop used largely by the grandfather for storage of business materials and products is attached to the garage. This design worked well for this MGH which comprised a grandmother, grandfather, adult daughter, her three school-aged children, and two tenants.

Purpose built multi-generational home with self-contained unit



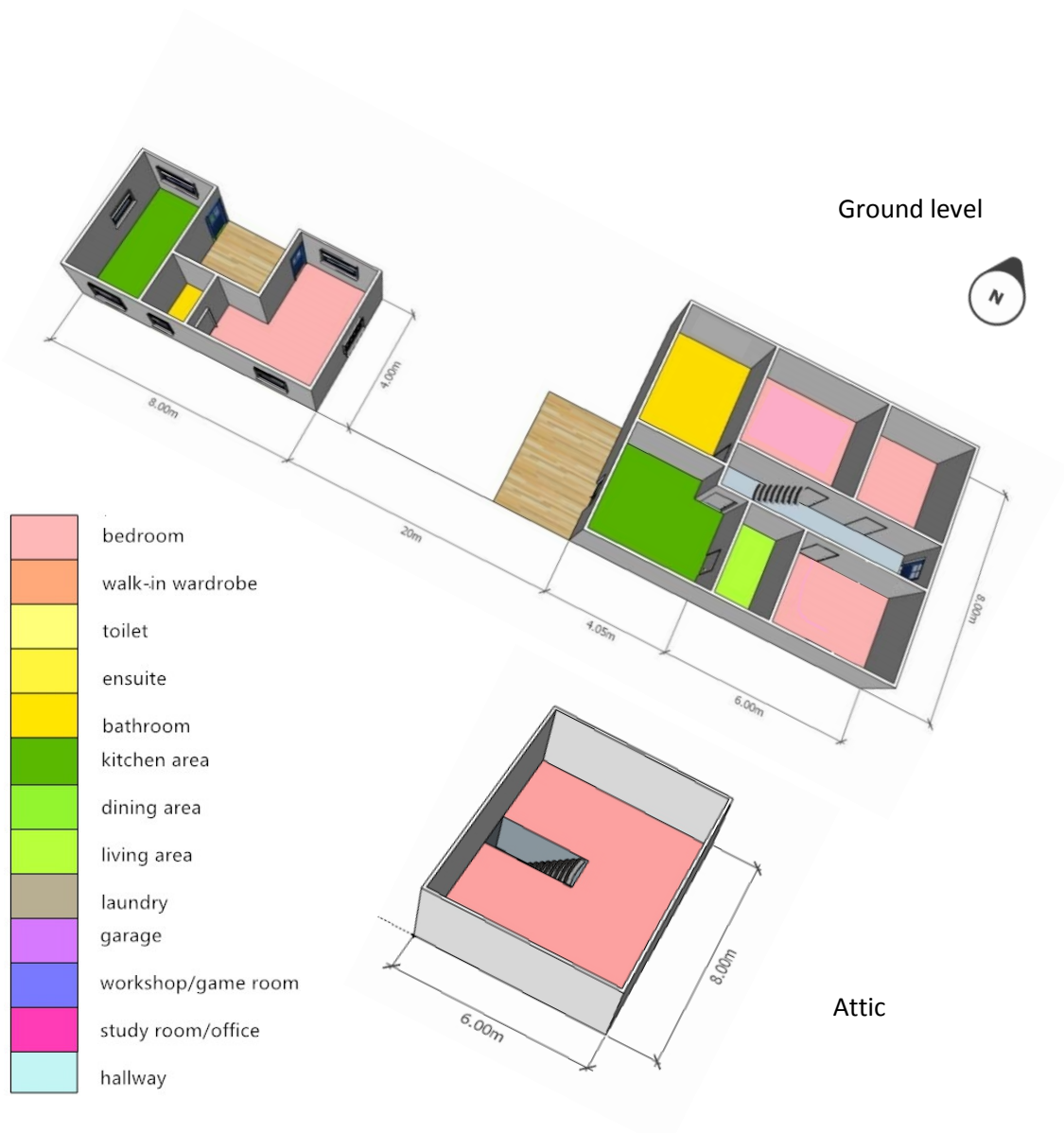
This 250m² single level home was designed by the owner, an older widow. The home originally comprised two bedrooms (including master bedroom and ensuite), a study (with sofa bed), generous living space and a three bay garage. After her adult daughter and partner had moved to the house to help take care of her when she was unwell, the three bay garage was converted to an open plan area with a kitchenette, living and study space for the daughter and partner. The elderly woman has her own ensuite and the daughter and partner use the main bathroom and toilet. The occupants share the laundry area, and while they enjoy having their own spaces, they also move freely in and out of each other's spaces.

Four bedroom, single level multi-generational home



This single level house of approximately 150 m² is home to an older single woman and her two adult children. The older woman enjoys having her bedroom, ensuite and study at one end of the house, while her adult children share the main toilet and bathroom at the other end of the house. This home had a large living space and dining space, and the only disadvantages noted by the owner was that the front entrance opened straight into the dining area where the family gathered to eat, and that noise travelled easily from the living space to her bedroom.

Four bedroom home, with attic and separate minor dwelling



In this MGH an older single woman lives in the main house (approx. 128 m²) with a tenant, and her adult son and his partner live in a separate minor dwelling of around 30 m² about 20 metres from the main house. The minor dwelling began as a bedroom to which a bathroom was added a decade or so later. A deck was then built and more recently a small kitchen has been added. In this case the adult son and partner have forfeited available space in the main dwelling in order to preserve a level of independence and privacy. The adult son commented that despite the small space he and his partner lived in, he was happy to be able to provide support to his mother, and that the central location they lived in suited their lifestyle and allowed them to live reasonably cheaply.

Four bedroom home, with attic and separate minor dwelling

Ground level including minor dwelling



This home (approx. 160 m²) was built with multi-generational living in mind, and contains a separate dwelling (approx. 72 m²) for the grandmother. The couple, who designed this home, live in the main dwelling with their youngest child, and the husband often works from home. When the owners' children were younger the grandmother was able to care for them. While the couple felt it was important to provide independence for the grandmother, she moves freely between her dwelling and the main house. This design worked well for this MGH.

Four bedroom home including downstairs bedroom



This four bedroom house (approx. 200 m²) is home to a middle-aged couple who have two younger children and elderly grandparents, one of whom requires full-time care. The grandparents had earlier been involved in caring for and raising the grandchildren, and more recently had moved to the downstairs bedroom to reduce use of the stairs. However, as there is no bathroom downstairs they still need to use the stairs daily. They also find that the downstairs bedroom is not as sunny as their previous upstairs bedroom. In all, the design of this house is not particularly effective for this MGH, although it does allow this tightknit three generation family to continue living together and supporting one another.

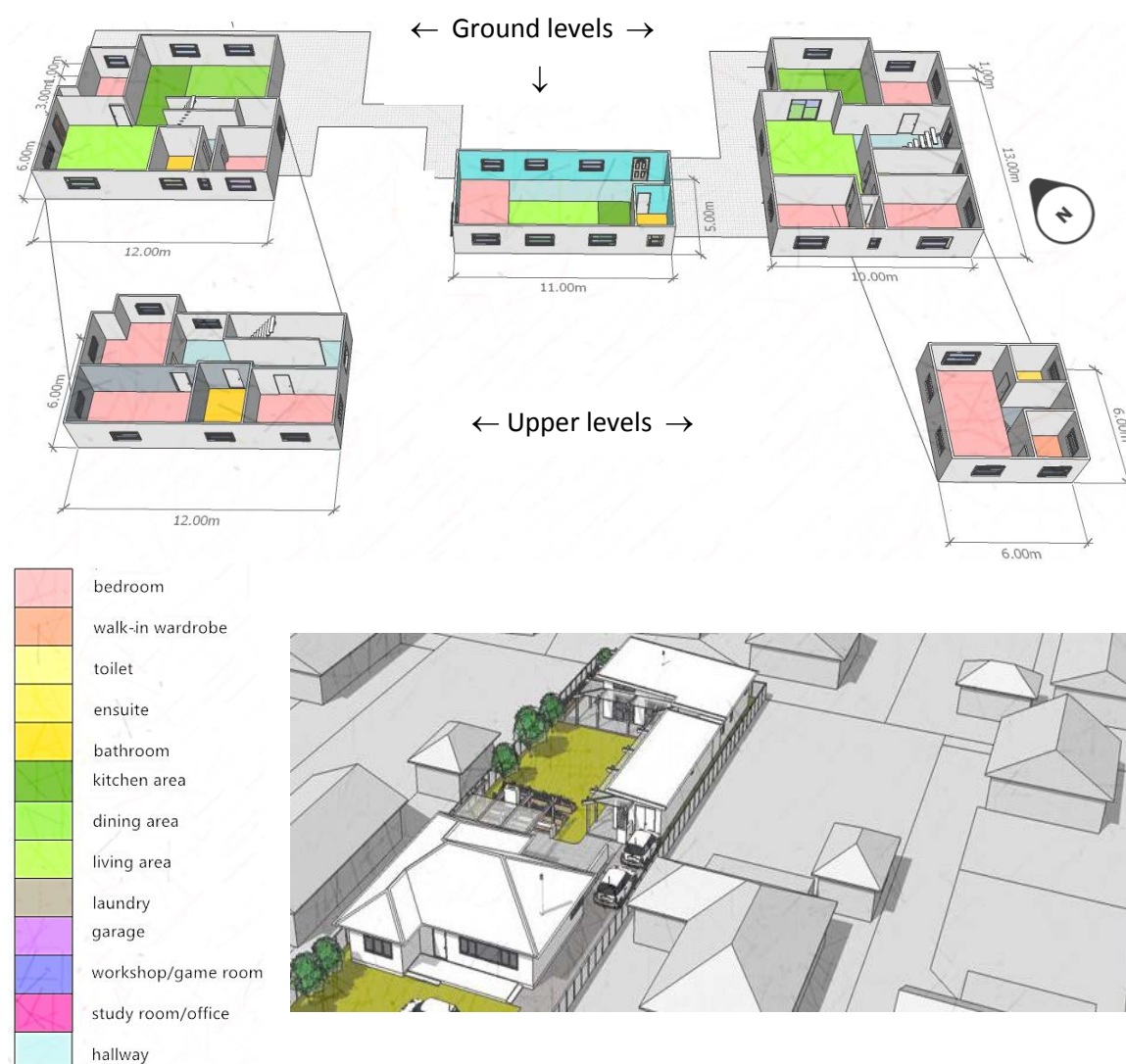
Suggested floor plan for a five bedroom home including downstairs bedroom

Ground level



The suggested layout for this five bedroom dwelling came about as a result of observing the strengths and weaknesses of the various homes we visited, and is not dissimilar to the four bedroom home on the previous page. It provides an efficient use of space and includes a downstairs bedroom with access to a bathroom and toilet. The larger than normal upstairs hall area also provides further living space and one of the five bedrooms could be used for a study/office area. While the floor area (approx. 200 m²) is smaller than some other MGH dwellings we visited, its size would make it more affordable in terms of construction costs.

Suburban Papakāinga – Auckland Design Manual (2015)



This final design is from the Auckland Design Manual (2015) and is aligned to Māori and Pacific MGHs, but is equally applicable to other MGHs. These floor plans provide for one, two and three bedroom units and allow for flexibility in accommodating multiple generations and for changing occupancies over time. The one bedroom unit could be suitable for a grandparent, young couple, or a sole parent who is able to receive whānau/family support while maintaining a level of independence. The plan is based on a 900 m² suburban site (16m wide by 56m long) and retains an existing house while adding additional dwellings to accommodate extended whānau/family. It is also based on the desire to maximise the use of existing medium to large sized suburban sections and to create cost-effective multi-generational living environments. The Design Manual also notes that many original Māori Affairs, suburban homes, are still in whānau ownership and often have large back yards

suitable for accommodating up to two additional connected dwellings located around communal open areas and outdoor dining spaces.

One common feature encountered in the dwellings we visited was the inefficient use of space in dwellings that had not been designed with MGH living in mind (which accounted for 50 out of 53 dwellings visited for this project). The inefficient use of space was sometimes as a result of younger adults seeking a greater level of independence and privacy and so therefore foregoing available space in the main dwelling in preference for a smaller space external to the main house such as a converted shed. In other cases grandparents shifted to downstairs areas in order to avoid using the stairs, or so their adult children and grandchildren could live together in the same space upstairs. However, this often meant grandparents occupied the less warm and sunny area of the house which was not beneficial for their health. Thus, the lack of specific MGH design, which was the case in most of the homes we visited, resulted not only in overcrowded spaces (as was the case in lower socio economic MGH families) but also spaces that weren't utilised efficiently (evident in mid-range socio economic MGH families).

Evident in the diagram on 'towards best practice' at the beginning of this section are further instances of less than ideal living arrangements such as one family unit of an extended family living and sleeping in the separate garage. In another instance a two generation MGH with 9 household members occupied a 2 bedroom unit with some of the children sleeping in the living room. In these cases it is clearly not so much an issue of an uneven use of occupied space, or of poor design, but of insufficient space for the MGH concerned. In the following section we address these issues and other key findings.

8. Recommendations

The final component of our report draws together the material from our literature review, Census data analysis and interview findings and addresses the key elements that we think are essential to ensure successful MGH outcomes in New Zealand. We acknowledge the important work that has been done by others in this area, including the focus on housing needs of Māori and Pasifika peoples. Such work includes:

- the *Our Home Our Place: Report on the Otara Housing Hui* (2001) by Otara Health Incorporated
- the design guide *Ki te Hau Kainga: New Perspectives on Māori Housing Solutions* (2002) prepared by Rau Hoskins et al. for Housing New Zealand Corporation
- the *Pacific Housing Design Guide* (2002) prepared by Faumuina & Associates for Housing New Zealand Corporation
- the *Pacific Housing Experiences: Developing Trends and Issues* report (2007) by Koloto & Associates Ltd, New Zealand Institute of Economic Research and Gray Matter Research prepared for the Centre of Housing Research Aotearoa New Zealand
- the article 'Pacific islands families study; Factors associated with living in extended families one year on from the birth of a child' (2007) by Poland et al.
- the literature review - *Māori and Pacific Peoples' Housing Needs in the Auckland region* carried out by Leilani Hall for Auckland Region Council in 2008
- the article 'Voices from Tokelau: culturally appropriate, healthy and sustainable extended-family housing in New Zealand' by John Gray and Jacqueline McIntosh (2011)
- the article by Phil Stewart on universal design and future proofed houses for multiple generations (2013)
- the review of research on Pasifika housing by Cambrian Berry for Beacon Pathway Incorporated in 2014
- incorporation of multi-generational floor plans in the Auckland Design Manual (2015)

Where relevant we have drawn from the findings above to support our recommendations and, following Hall (2008) we have included in Appendix B a summary of the housing design issues from the Otara housing hui in 2001. These design issues are of relevance not only to Māori and Pasifika households but also to other MGHs in terms of the addressing the needs of large MGH households and the different generations that coexist within them. We also note that while much of the material mentioned above, and also our own research, has

focused on Auckland and Christchurch in particular, many of the recommendations apply across New Zealand.

The current state of affairs

These recommendations come at time when much is happening in the New Zealand housing scene. While public and private housing stock in New Zealand is dominated by three bedroom houses designed for nuclear families, and much state housing has become run down, Auckland is facing the daunting challenge of increasing housing supply and density, central government is planning to make radical changes to the ownership and management of some of its social housing stock, and immigration is resulting in an increased cultural diversity throughout New Zealand.

As stated earlier, we believe that the increase in MGHs has been overshadowed by the growth in single person households. While we acknowledge that this latter growth is significant and has implications in terms of dwelling type and supply, Census data reveals that there are a greater number of people living in MGHs than people living in single person households. Furthermore, the number of people living in MGHs is growing at a faster rate than the number of people living in single person households¹². Not only are MGHs becoming more common amongst Pākehā, many of the new migrant groups¹³ who are making New Zealand home regard multi-generational living as culturally appropriate.

Our recommendations address two key areas: those that are of particular interest to designers, builders and developers; and those that are of interest to researchers and policy makers. Recommendations come under the following two headings:

- addressing the social needs of MGHs through design and function
- promoting multi-generational living through rules, regulations, policy and planning

¹² It is important to note we are referring to 'numbers of people living in households' not 'number of households'. We acknowledge there are a greater number of single person 'households' or dwellings than there are MGH 'households' or dwellings in New Zealand. Recent permanent and long term (PLT) migration data from Statistics New Zealand (2015) shows that New Zealand recorded net gains of migrants in the April 2015 year, led by India (12,200 people), China (7,800 people), the United Kingdom (4,600) and the Philippines (4,000).

Addressing the social needs of MGHs through design and function

Good house design cannot stand on its own without understanding the needs of the people who will be living in the house. While universal design principles and building for sunshine and warmth are integral to successful MGH living, so is designing for the specific needs of MGHs. Our findings highlighted both the commonalities across the different MGHs, regardless of the socio-economic status of the household, as well as the design needs of particular groups.

Commonalities

- the importance of **study space for children** – bedrooms with sufficient space for a desk, or an area in the house that is separate from the main living area
- consideration of the design needs for **older family members** who might need assistance
- consideration of the needs of **younger adults** requiring a level of independence
- the need for **privacy** for individuals living in MGH
- the value of **more than one living area** to allow for quiet spaces as well as spaces for entertaining
- the need for **kitchen** spaces that allow multiple family members to work together, and sufficient storage space for large pots and bulk food
- the need for multiple **bathrooms** and **separate toilets**
- the value of **indoor/outdoor** connectivity

Specific needs

- the design and use of **outdoor areas** varied according to different MGH groups
 - for many elderly Chinese a vegetable garden and fruit trees offered a pleasurable source of satisfaction and reward
 - gardens areas are also important to other MGHs including Pākehā, Māori and Pasifika for both economic (growing of food) and recreational purposes
 - for Māori and Pasifika families large outdoor areas played an important role in terms of hosting large gatherings and enabling traditional outdoor cooking practices
- the necessity for **large dining, cooking and living spaces** for MGH families with high numbers of occupants
- the importance of **natural ventilation** in large MGH families where increased moisture is produced in kitchen, laundry and bathroom areas
- the need to keep food related areas (tapu) separate from laundry, toilet and bathroom areas (noa) for Māori MGHs

- the value of **garages as multi-purpose spaces** for Māori and Pasifika families – these spaces are often used for hosting guests, ceremonies and a place for younger family members to entertain friends
- the importance of **wide and welcoming main entrance areas** for Māori and Pasifika MGHs in order to receive guests, and to provide for the sensitive reception of a coffin during a tangi or funeral.

Promoting multi-generational living through rules, regulations, policy and planning

There is **confusion, misapprehension and a general lack of understanding** about common features of MGHs, such as second kitchens, minor dwellings, granny flats, sleep outs, and the rules and regulations relating to their establishment and use. There is also confusion as to what requires **building consent, resource consent**, or both, and the risk of dwellings not being covered by **insurance** in the event of damage or loss of the building. Within the Auckland region at present, different rules apply to different areas within the region, heightening the confusion.

More needs to be done to support and promote both existing and future multi-generational families in their endeavours to achieve successful MGH outcomes. This includes providing much greater **clarity around the rules and regulations, as well as the support and encouragement of MGH living through policy and planning**. This recommendation applies not only to Auckland but across New Zealand generally.

A fundamental shift is required from the active discouragement of MGH living that has resulted from ambiguous and complicated rules and regulations, towards clear policy and planning tools that recognise the growing trend of MGH and the benefits that well designed multi-generational dwellings can provide.

There is opportunity for **financial and legal** organisations to pay greater attention to the growing trend of MGHs and help provide increased awareness of the different financial and legal ownership options that are available to multi-generational family members.

The current focus on increased housing density and smaller houses overlooks the needs of MGHs and disregards the significant and growing number of people living in these households. While the discourse of urban intensification refers to the notion of **‘housing choice’** there is

little evidence to show choice exists for MGHs. Most are not purpose built or retrofitted to accommodate the specific needs of household members. It is therefore recommended that planners and policy makers give greater consideration to understanding the experiences of current MGHers to ensure that the housing needs of this significant demographic are better met.

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Appendix A

New Zealand Standard Classification of Extended Families –code descriptor

Level 1

- 1 One-generation extended family
- 2 Two-generation extended family
- 3 Three or more generation extended family
- 9 Extended family not classifiable

Level 2

- 11 Siblings and their partner(s)
- 12 Other one-generation extended family
- 19 One-generation extended family, not further classifiable
- 21 Couple only and other related persons
- 22 Couple with children and other related persons
- 23 One parent with children and other related persons
- 24 Siblings with or without partners, and their children
- 25 Other two-generation extended family
- 29 Two-generation extended family, not further classifiable
- 31 Couple with children and grandchildren
- 32 One parent with children and grandchildren
- 33 Grandparent(s) and grandchild(ren)
- 34 Other three or more generation extended family
- 39 Three or more generation extended family, not further defined

Level 3

- 111 Siblings and their partner(s), without other related persons
- 112 Siblings and their partner(s), with other related persons
- 241 Siblings with or without partners, and their children, without other related persons
- 242 Siblings with or without partners, and their children, with other related persons
- 311 Couple with children and grandchildren, without other related persons
- 312 Couple with children and grandchildren, with other related persons
- 321 One parent with children and grandchildren, without other related persons
- 322 One parent with children and grandchildren, with other related persons
- 331 Grandparent(s) and grandchild(ren), without other related person(s)
- 332 Grandparent(s) and grandchild(ren), with other related person(s)

Appendix B

Housing design issues from the Otara Housing Hui (2001)

Concerns	Reasons	Solutions	Emerging Themes
Size of dining rooms	Larger people larger whānau/fanau/aiga	Larger dining rooms	Food as a social dimension
Lack of space for teenagers	Teenagers leave home later than in Pākehā families	Multi use spaces or breakout space	Inter-generational occupancy
Not enough rooms for whānau meetings/gatherings	Whānau are based on collective decision making	Larger rooms	The home is part of the whānau
Cold during winter	Don't make use of heaters because of cost	Passive solar heating	Total occupancy costs
Toilet near public spaces	Odour problems and privacy issues	Toilets in more discrete parts of the house	Public v private parts of the house
Special corners to sit matai	VIGs (very important guests) come into home for cultural practice	Design of house to replicate meeting houses	Social role of house in the wider community (outside extended family)
Limited use of bedrooms – living room preferred for sleeping	Warmer (fireplace) and Sky TV	Larger living rooms	Public v private parts of the house. Living room is wharenuī
House up North or somewhere else	Suburban house is not our turangawaewae	Is there a solution?	The question of having two homes – one in Otara and the other where I was born or where my people are from.
Few cultural events at home	Home is place for the family to live in	None	Cultural practices differ between Pacific cultures

Concerns	Reasons	Solutions	Emerging Themes
Doors and passageways too narrow for coffins	Deceased whānau/fanau/aiga normally come home for a period. Coffins are often large.	Use of French doors or ranch-sliders into living rooms and/or bedrooms	The role of the house at time of death and mourning
Easy access in and out of house	Raised floors less accessible. Wooden floors noisy. Underfloor spaces create a problem with pests	Concrete at ground level floors	At ground level floors – similarity to traditional houses
Additional bedrooms	Extended family living can mean two adults and three or four children per bedroom	More bedrooms in houses	Some preference for living communally as an extended family. Obligations to children = extending obligations
Matai status of some people places additional demands on their homes	Houses being visited continuously from 8am – 1am	Larger social spaces in houses	The use of houses for wider social occasions and cultural practices. For Samoan these practices are house based rather than community facility based.
Outside spaces too small to cater for needs	Space required for outside cooking	More useable outside space – not necessarily more space	Outdoor cooking as a cultural practice and as a response to peak demand from visitors/ non household members
Visitors for people when they are terminally ill.	Cultural practice	Question location of person – living room or bedroom?	Custom of visits at times of stress for support etc. Question of manaakitanga.

Concerns	Reasons	Solutions	Emerging Themes
Children having quiet spaces to sleep and to do homework	Social/Cultural events in the house often make it difficult to for children to sleep or study	Quiet bedrooms or breakout spaces.	Public v private spaces Quiet v noisy spaces
Care for grandchildren	Extended obligations	More space more bedrooms.	Extended obligations – the permanent presence of children in houses.
Teenagers	Inter-generational tensions made worse by small living spaces.	Use garages and sleepouts	Noisy v quite spaces
Location of house	Generally happy with location – close to family friends shops, (cheap food), good neighbours	Otara is a great place to live	Value of location and location factors to make a house a good home
Safety	Road safety for children and security from burglaries are a general concern	Greater emphasis by Council on safe driving and safe streets – all Otara neighbours have children living in them. Security systems to reduce the burglary risk.	Safety is a universal concern
Shared facilities	Some value seen in sharing facilities especially outdoor	Fewer fences and unusable side yards	Need for ample outdoor space. Make outdoor
Ownership	Owning your home gives your whānau/fanau greater security	Encourage more widespread home ownership	Tenure is an important determinant of housing satisfaction

Appendix C: Physical condition of dwellings

As well as asking participants about their MGH experiences, the research interviewers also asked permission to assess the physical condition of each participant's house by means of visual observation. The researchers assigned a rating from 1 to 5 (1 = very poor condition, 5 = excellent condition) for the interior and exterior of the dwelling. The exterior of the dwelling was rated in terms of the quality of cladding, roofing, spouting and gutters, and the cladding and roofing type was recorded. The interior of the dwelling was rated according to the quality of the windows (weathertightness), flooring, walls, and level of dampness. The type of windows frames (aluminum or wooden) and flooring type (wooden, carpet, tiles, linoleum etc) were also recorded. For each of the dwellings rated the exterior and interior ratings were very similar. As such we have averaged the rating for the interior and exterior and given one overall rating for each dwelling. The table below provides a summary of the assessments and categorises the ratings according to whether the dwelling was owned or rented.

Table One: Ratings assigned to dwellings visited

(1= very poor condition, 5 = excellent condition)

	Average	Min.	Max.	Mode
Overall rating (53 dwellings)	3.7	2	5	4
Owned dwellings (31 dwellings)	4.1	3	5	4
Rented dwellings – private (13 dwellings)	3.7	3.5	5	3
HNZC dwellings (7 dwellings)	3.3	2	5	3

The table above shows that, on average, dwellings that were owned by the MGHs we interviewed were in better physical condition than the privately rented dwellings (3.7) and HNZC dwellings (3.3) that we visited. However, it is important to note that the sample of 53 MGHs we interviewed were not a statistically representative sample, and so the results above should not be viewed as representative of MGH dwellings in Auckland or New Zealand. It should also be noted of the 53 interviews we undertook, the question of whether the dwellings was owned or rented was not answered in two cases. As such, in the table above, the total of owned dwellings (31), privately rented dwellings (13) and HNZC rented dwellings (7) is 51 rather than 53 dwellings.

Appendix D: Further resources

Multi-generational household plans (United States).

- Available at: <http://npic-hmit2009.org/multigenerational-house-plans/plan-prestigious-multigenerational-home-24941/>

Are you a multi-generational home buyer? Points to consider.

- Available at: <http://virginiahomesgroup.com/multi-generational-home-buyer-points-consider/>

Aging in Place: senior living and universal design.

- Available at: <http://www.aplaceformom.com/blog/2013-5-15-senior-living-and-universal-design/>

Care of Aging Parent – successfully assisting your parents in the aging process.

- Available at: http://careofagingparents.com/when_living_together_with_your_parents

All in the Family: A Practical Guide to Successful Multi-generational Living (2013), by Sharon Graham Niederhaus and John L Graham. This book offers commentary and solutions based in part on interviews with over 100 people. Topics covered include the financial and emotional benefits of living together; proximity and privacy; designing and remodeling a home to accommodate adult children or elderly parents; overcoming cultural stigmas about independent living; financial and legal planning; and making co-habitation agreements.

- Available at: <http://www.allinthefamilybook.us/>