



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

# **SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES**

## **SESSION 3A**

### **COUNTERING THE CANON/S**

**Living Cultures: Recovering Indigenous  
Narratives in Architectural History**

TO CITE THIS PAPER | [Maram Shaweesh](#). "The Future of Mainstream Australian Housing: Insights into Multigenerational Living of Australia's Lebanese Community." In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand: 37, What If? What Next? Speculations on History's Futures*, edited by Kate Hislop and Hannah Lewi, 435-444. Perth: SAHANZ, 2021. Accepted for publication December 11, 2020.

#### **PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND (SAHANZ) VOLUME 37**

Convened by The University of Western Australia School of Design,  
Perth, 18-25 November, 2020

Edited by Kate Hislop and Hannah Lewi

Published in Perth, Western Australia, by SAHANZ, 2021

ISBN: 978-0-646-83725-3

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# **THE FUTURE OF MAINSTREAM AUSTRALIAN HOUSING: INSIGHTS INTO MULTIGENERATIONAL LIVING OF AUSTRALIA'S LEBANESE COMMUNITY**

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*Australians are challenged with housing affordability problems and the growth of ageing populations. To accompany this, there have been a rise in studies beginning to investigate multigenerational living and the economic benefits associated with the practise. It is argued that multigenerational living could contribute to resolving housing affordability problems while supporting Australians who require care or those with caring responsibilities. I propose that migrants' utilisation of their houses to cater for multigenerational living could potentially hold solutions to housing-related issues confronting - or will confront - Australian society as a whole, not just the migrant communities. However, for this be achieved, radical changes to the spatial organisation of mainstream Australian houses becomes imperative. It requires changes to assumptions about household structures, domestic privacy, and personal space requirements of the occupants; and therefore to cater beyond the needs of Anglo nuclear families with few children. Families practising multigenerational living - particularly those who have distinct cultural requirements - face a the lack of housing diversity, especially that the foundation of the Australian suburbs was to deliver one-family detached houses. This potentially leads to conflicts, stress, and dissatisfaction with their living arrangement.*

*This paper takes multigenerational Lebanese Australian families as a case study. Lebanese Australians practise multigenerational living not just for its economic benefit, but as a cultural and social need associated with their settlement in Australia. Investigating Australian Lebanese families sheds a light on the suitability of Australian housing layouts in catering for the needs of multigenerational households. It presents an empirical analysis of data collected through in-depth interviews with 17 Lebanese households across Sydney and Brisbane. The paper documents and analyses various types, motivations of multigenerational living, and implications on the residential experience of multigenerational Lebanese households. My study of home adaptations to cater for the needs of multigenerational Lebanese families will partially fill the gap in understanding the relationship between multigenerational living and the dwellings' spatial layouts. It accentuates the need for further future investigation of multigenerational living practices among the various migrant and ethnic communities in Australian society.*

More research—and debates—emerged during the last two decades on migration as a global phenomenon across different research disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, geography, planning and human behaviour.<sup>1</sup> Much of the research was dedicated to understanding changes to cities, and the built environment, in response to the influx of migrants from culturally diverse backgrounds.<sup>2</sup> Mirjana Lozanovska explained that architecture—as a field of research—serves as an implicit background to these debates, as architectural artefacts foster the intersection between migrants’ identities and their localities.<sup>3</sup> The setting of migrants’ houses have particularly become central to understanding the migrants’ experiences of settling in new countries/societies.<sup>4</sup> However, with minimal regard to the migrant house in architectural discourse,<sup>5</sup> Cathy Key asserted that “[t]he inclusion of Indigenous and migrant architectures into Australian mainstream architectural histories is long overdue and challenges existing narratives”.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of studying the migrant house/home stems from home environments serving as a reflection of historical and geographical factors, as well as aspects of social differentiation associated with the process of migration.<sup>7</sup> Paolo Boccagni asserts that migrant houses mirror social inequalities experienced by its occupants, reflecting on both material and relational arrangements of migrants’ domestic environments.<sup>8</sup> Drawing on Boccagni’s research, I propose that migrants’ utilisation of their houses could potentially hold solutions to problems of social inequalities confronting—or yet to confront—Australian society as a whole, not just the migrant communities. By examining Lebanese migrants’ utilisation to cater for multigenerational living in their Australian houses/homes, the following discussion partially fills the gap in research on the migrant house, and speculates on future changes to mainstream Australian housing in response to current financial conditions challenging Australians.

Multigenerational living is tightly linked to the historical, social, and financial conditions surrounding the Lebanese settlement in Australia.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, it is hard to estimate the percentage of non-nuclear families in Lebanon since the last census was conducted in 1932. However, a shift in Lebanon from traditional family structures into a nuclear one has been recorded by Lebanese researchers. Nancy Jabbara’s study in 1972-1973 estimated that 75 percent of Lebanese households were nuclear families,<sup>10</sup> with a slight increase recorded by Hassan Hammoud in 1997 estimating that 78 percent of the Lebanese households were nuclear families.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, I emphasise that the practise may not necessarily mimic living arrangement in Lebanon, but it reflects familial relationships and responsibility in the Australian context. I propose that adaptation of the Australian house to cater for the needs of Lebanese multigenerational households might hold potential solutions to contemporary problems confronting many Australians today, those who are struggling with housing price spirals, declining affordability and ownership, and a shortage of low-cost housing stock.<sup>12</sup>

Drawing back to the migrant house, neither the financial and housing accessibility struggles, nor the practice of multigenerational living, are recent experiences to Australia’s post-WWII migrant communities.<sup>13</sup> Migrants adopting multigenerational living (whether due to financial reasons or as a continued traditional practise) are confronted with a housing stock that does not cater for their needs.<sup>14</sup> Especially given that the foundation of the Australian suburbs was to deliver one-family detached houses.<sup>15</sup> Hazel Easthope and colleagues’ study on multigenerational households in Brisbane and Sydney provides insights into the implication of unsuitable dwelling designs on families practising multigenerational living.<sup>16</sup> Design-related issues recorded by the study include a lack of privacy or interference (the most common concern among the study respondents), negative effects of multigenerational living on the relationship between the family members, disagreements over sharing chores, lack of space, lack of flexibility, and noise.<sup>17</sup> The study recommends improving dwelling designs to cater for these living arrangements by considering separation of living spaces, zoning of bedroom areas, and providing multiple dwelling entrances to facilitate privacy, personal control, and opportunities for individual socialising by the different generations.<sup>18</sup>

However, multigenerational living arrangements remain largely neglected in housing research during the last three decades, which is partially caused by multigenerational living being unrecognised as a distinct household type by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.<sup>19</sup> Hazel Easthope and Edgar Liu proposed a definition of multigenerational households to include “Households where two or more generations of related adults live in the same dwelling, with the oldest of the youngest generation aged 18 years or older”.<sup>20</sup> However, I believe that generalising a set definition of multigenerational living in Australia’s multicultural context might exclude the different types of cross-cultural multigenerational living that are traditional practice for many cultures.<sup>21</sup>

Australians are being offered a housing stock that reflect assumptions about the model Australian way of life, which revolves around the nuclear family.<sup>22</sup> In the 1990s, young adults widely assumed they will have families and live with their families in their homes.<sup>23</sup> However, an outcome from the studies discussed above is the current and future changes to these assumptions with potential increase in multigenerational living. This raises the question of whether this will reflect on future changes to the housing stock that is being delivered to Australians. My study calls to broaden what constitutes “A model Australian way of life” to include non-nuclear families. The analysis below of home adaptations to cater for the needs of multigenerational Lebanese families will partially fill the gap in understanding the relationship between multigenerational living and the dwellings’ spatial layouts. It accentuates the need for further future investigation of multigenerational living practices among the various ethnic communities in Australian society.

The analysis presented in this paper is based on empirical data collected through digitally-recorded in-depth interviews with 20 respondents from 15 different Australian Lebanese household across Sydney and Brisbane metropolitan areas. The interviews took place between 2016 and 2019, mainly in the respondents’ current residences,<sup>24</sup> (see Appendix 1 for detailed information about the respondents). The paper investigates the types, motivations and implications of multigenerational living among Australia’s Lebanese families. It unveils the role of a dwelling’s layout of internal and external spaces in shaping the families’ experiences with multigenerational living.

### **Multigenerational Lebanese Families in Australia: Types, Motivations and Implications**

There are two reasons that make Lebanese families a rich source of information on the difficulties and opportunities associated with multigenerational living arrangements. The first is the social, historical and political context surrounding their settlement in Australia. Lebanese Australians migrated to Australia in three migration waves. First, a small number of Lebanese migrants settled in Australia, prior to the outbreak of WWII. The second was induced by the Arab-Israeli war and it lasted from 1947 to 1975. After 1975, the Lebanese Civil war induced a third (and largest) wave of Lebanese migration to Australia.<sup>25</sup> However, Lebanese migrants who were part of the third Lebanese migration wave had a tough start in Australia, as they faced financial and social difficulties associated with their refugee status including lower home ownership and employment rates, lack of community networks, and a sense of being marginalised by mainstream society.<sup>26</sup> In fact, some of the study respondents believe multigenerational living might be the only option to accommodate young Australians in the future. Ali<sup>27</sup> (S11; a 33-years-old respondent, see Appendix 1) stated, “We feel like our children are not going to move later on in life, because it’s already so hard financially”. Thereafter, the Lebanese families’ experiences provide insights on multigenerational living in the context of experiencing social inequalities.

The second stems from multigenerational living also being part of their Lebanese culture. Village-based chain migration was a prominent characteristic of Lebanese migration to Australia,<sup>28</sup> which made the extended family a main source of emotional and financial support for those Lebanese families.<sup>29</sup> As a result, sustaining the needs of extended families in mainstream dwellings emerged as a particular concern for third wave Lebanese migrants.<sup>30</sup>

In consideration of the cultural specificities of the Lebanese community, I propose different types of multigenerational living to be considered in the analysis beyond those proposed by other researchers as explained above. These types of multigenerational living are not only detected among the interviewed families, but also in general observation developed through my personal contact with Lebanese Australian families as well as the respondents' perception of their own community. This research recorded four main types of multigenerational living among Australia's Lebanese families: single adults living at their parents' homes, multi-family households, multiple related families occupying adjacent dwellings, and the continued use of the parents' house by the subsequent generations (Bayt Al-Ayleh; بيت العيلة).

#### *Type 1: Single Adults Living at their Parents' Homes*

The first type of multigenerational living includes adults (regardless of their age) living in their parents' home, usually until they marry. Although this type has become common among young adults in Australia for financial reasons,<sup>31</sup> the Lebanese practice differs from the general population in two significant ways. First, Lebanese families perceive it as the norm, not as a consequence of 'not being able to move out', particularly for women.<sup>32</sup> Second, it is not only related to young adults; children (regardless of their age or financial independency) are not expected to move out before marriage unless they are relocating to study or work in another city or country. When asked questions such as "Do you expect your children to move out before marriage if they are financially independent?" or "Would you consider moving out of your parents' house before marriage?", all respondents responded as if I was asking a question with an obvious 'no' answer (considering I am from a Middle Eastern background myself). The respondents agreed that adults move out of their parents' homes before marriage because of necessity rather than it being the norm in their community. Examples to responses to these questions were:

Maram: Do you think your daughters [aged 16 and 21] will stay with you until they get married?

Firyal (B01): Yes of course, without a doubt. My eldest daughter is now studying in the Gold Coast. We had a huge issue with that when she initially wanted to stay at a student's accommodation. We then allowed her to stay with her aunt. We are a very strict family and I am raising them the way I have been raised. (Interview with Firyal [B01])

Maram: Thinking about your children getting older, and how it impacts your living arrangement, do you think they might leave the house when they are adults (regardless [of] their marital status)?

Rania (S07): I don't think they will leave until they get married, unless there are certain circumstances like me and the father wanted a smaller place, or they study somewhere else. It will be hard for them to move out that young anyway; rent is so expensive unless they got a job. (Interview with Rania [S07])

This indicates that despite the economic benefit for adults staying at their parents' home, the reason behind the continuity of this type of multigenerational living emerges from the cultural expectations rather than the financial gain. This leads families to choose houses that are more likely to cater for children's needs as they grow or adapt their houses in response to changing needs such as:

1. Constructing additional bedrooms to allow each adult child to have their own personal spaces.
2. Constructing additional structures to compensate for the inadequacy of internal spaces in meeting their children's growing needs, such as granny flats used as study areas.
3. Converting the use of some internal spaces to emerging needs of the children. For example, transforming an internal area to a music room or an atelier.
4. Allocating a separate social space within the dwelling to maintain the privacy of their children's social activities.

However, respondents reported some conflicts arising from this arrangement. These usually occur when adults do not agree with their parents upon practices related to their everyday

activities. These conflicts were revealed during group discussions when multiple generations were present during the interview. One example of these conflicts was brought up during a group interview with three respondents from Household 10: Fatina (a 46-year-old mother), Ameen (her 29-year-old son) and Amal (her 28-year-old daughter). When asked about their experience with living with their parents, Ameen pointed out his mother's sensitivity if he (or one of his siblings) decides to eat out or order food. They discussed:

Ameen: If I want to order some food home, I often do that after 11 pm to make sure my mum has fallen asleep. Otherwise, she will be very upset. She cooks for us multiple meals daily, which we really appreciate, and they are very tasty, but we still enjoy ordering some food, McDonalds for example; she can't cook that.

Fatina: Can you believe that? Sometime[s] I wake up to drink some water [and] I find him and his siblings eating some junk food. Do you think this is okay? I cook for them every day; sometimes I might even cook four dishes in one day, only to wake up and find them eating some junk!

Ameen: [approached me with his phone to show me photos of some of his mother's dishes] Look at what she cooks for us; no one makes better food than her. Eating out has nothing to do with my mum's cooking skills; it is an entertainment thing.

Fatina: You know my Australian neighbour [referring to her Anglo neighbour]; I asked him the other day what he had for lunch; he said a tuna sandwich. I told him this is not food, this is snack. You eat a sandwich after lunch, before dinner, between breakfast and lunch but it is not lunch. Yet my children complain; they should be grateful [Ameen and Amal assured their mum they are very grateful at this point].

#### *Type 2: Multi-family Households*

The second type of multigenerational living is multi-family households. Most commonly, this type includes parents, their children, their children's spouses and their grandchildren sharing a dwelling. This does not necessarily mean that children stay in their parents' homes after their marriage; it also includes parents moving into their children's homes as they age. The respondents also reported a less common type involving adults staying with their siblings' families; this is more likely to take place in the case of newly migrated adults relocating to Australia. They share dwellings with their siblings' families until their financial situation improves and they can move out.<sup>33</sup> Although married children and their families (spouses and children) are related to the rest of the householders, they form a nuclear family with separate and different needs. This transforms the dwelling into a multi-family dwelling. Families adopting this type of multigenerational living need to share most of the dwelling's internal spaces including social areas, outdoor spaces, kitchens, and occasionally toilets.

The respondents acknowledged multiple advantages to adopting a multi-family living arrangement. Adult children (or their parents, depending on who owns the property) save rent, which comprises a major expense for most families. Unlike the first type, financial needs are the strongest motivation for families to adopt this type of multigenerational living. Additionally, living in an extended family situation allows the occupants to share chores and caring responsibilities such as childminding. This also reduces the families' expenses as childcare centres are not affordable for some families.

However, respondents who are currently living in multi-family situations (S02, S03 and B03) and those who previously experienced it (respondents S05, S05, B01 and B02; see Appendix 1 for detailed information about the respondents) described this type as their least preferable compared with the other types. They adopt this living arrangement out of necessity rather than preference, and experience discomfort because the dwellings' layouts are unsuitable to cater for multi-family households.

The respondents' main source of discomfort is the lack of privacy in the dwelling. Married couples feel that they cannot achieve their desired level of privacy from other family members with whom



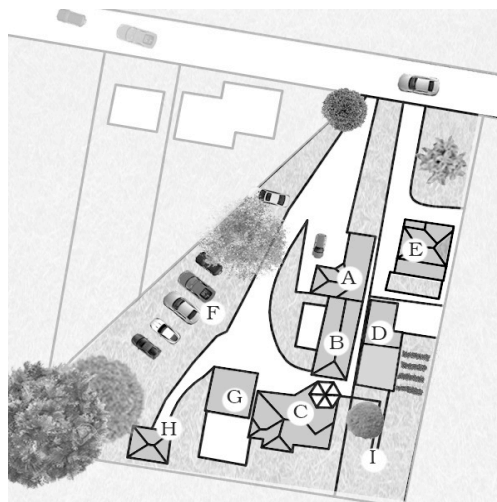
they share the dwelling, such as when they spend time outside and when people visit them. Disputes between the couple are also hard to contain without intervention from the rest of the family. Additionally, when families share social spaces, they need to coordinate their social activities (such as hosting friends) with the rest of the family, possibly leading to disputes among the householders when the coordination does not work out. Noise is another major complaint among the respondents, particularly those with children. They explained that sharing the dwelling means that they have no control over the householders' daily routine. Respondents also complained about the lack of amenities in multi-family dwellings. Having to share bathrooms and kitchens means that the householders need to coordinate their daily activities with the rest of the dwellers.

In summary, the discomfort of respondents living in multi-family dwellings arises from the inability of the dwellings' layouts to cater for this type of multigenerational living. The spatial layout of the dwellings does not meet the needs of the families in relation to privacy and personal space. They also lack adequacy in relation to the number of available amenities to meet the needs of larger households, causing conflict in the daily activities of the occupants. Respondents linked this experience to constantly feeling 'crowded' in their dwelling.

*Type 3: Multiple Related Families Occupying Adjacent Dwellings*

The third type of multigenerational living is when multiple related families (such as parents and their children's families) live in adjacent dwellings, where they share one or more facilities (such as outdoor spaces and storage areas). For example, many Lebanese families construct granny flats at the back of their dwellings to accommodate their elderly parents or their children's families. Another example is siblings purchasing land and constructing multiple townhouses next to each other (often a more affordable option than adjacent detached housing). While each dwelling might have its own amenities, the daily routines of these families usually overlap where the different generations share the daily chores on the property, including food preparation, garden maintenance, childminding, and care of elderly family members.

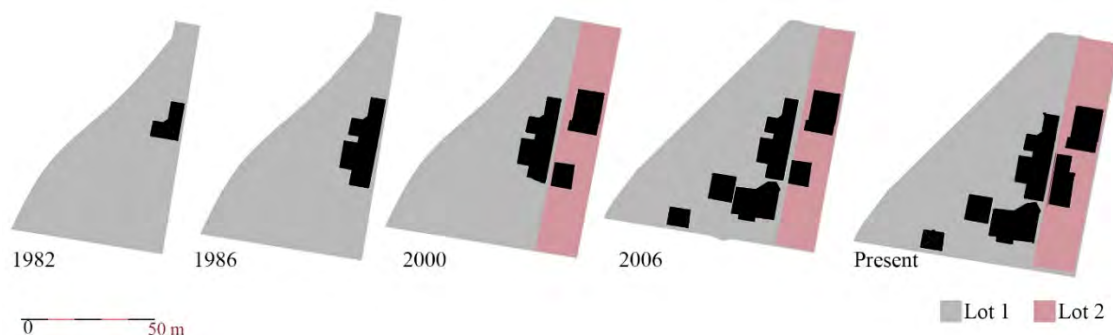
The respondents reported this type as an ideal alternative to type 2, a multi-family setting. Being in close proximity to other family members allows them to maintain the economic and social advantages of living in multi-family dwellings, yet helps them to avoid the negative implications of that living arrangement. Families have better control of their daily routine when they do not have to share internal spaces with the extended family, allowing them to achieve better privacy and personal space in the domestic space. This type allowed the respondents to host guests without clashing with the other occupants' daily routines, reduces interruption of the daily routine caused by noise in the internal spaces.



**Figure 1.** Site plan of the Cherif family complex in Granville, Sydney: A–E, residences; F, parking area; G, office; H, shared storage; I, respondents' backyard.

The scale of this type ranges dramatically in the Lebanese communities of Australia. It can be as small as occupying two adjacent residences or as big as constructing/occupying complexes, such as the case of the Cherif family participating in my study (Household 3). The layout of the family's complex—which accommodates 19 occupants—consists of multiple structures: five residences, an office, a storage room, a parking area, and multiple outdoor spaces (see Fig. 1). Two family members participated in this study: Basem and his wife Manar, who live in residence D with their three daughters. Basem's parents, brother, sister, and niece live in residence C. Basem's brother, sister-in-law, and their five children live in residence B. Residences A and E are rented out to an elderly extended family member. Basem described their living arrangement as “Creating their own Daia'a [ضبيعة ; or village] in Australia”.

The Cherif family moved to Australia in 1981 and the current complex's layout is a result of the series of changes in response to accommodating their multigenerational living needs (see Fig. 2). Those needs included creating additional personal space for growing children, and accommodating their families' after marriage and after having children.



**Figure 2.** Figure-ground diagram produced based on Basem's narrative as well as images obtained from Google Earth historical tool. The illustration features the Cherif family's complex development over time.

#### *Type 4: Continued Use of the Parents' House by Subsequent Generations: The Concept of Bayt Al-Ayleh (بيت العيلة) or the family's house)*

According to the study respondents, the concept of Bayt Al-Ayleh (بيت العيلة) refers to the ongoing relationship between children and their parents' house after moving out (after marriage). For example, many children continue to drop by for a meal or a coffee without prior arrangement, store their personal belongings in the dwelling, stay the night at the house, and use the house as a place to meet their family. I considered this a type of multigenerational living because the dwelling continues to be used by multiple generations for extended periods regularly. The respondents agreed that the notion of Bayt Al-Ayleh (بيت العيلة) is prominently linked to a dwelling being the main place of gathering; they described it as 'everybody's house' or 'my home, regardless [of] where I actually live', and as a place that fosters treasured memories with the family, especially cousins of their age. This explains the importance of social spaces for Lebanese families. Young adults with young or no children who consider their parents' (and grandparents') homes Bayt Al-Ayleh (بيت العيلة) believe that their own dwellings will eventually become Bayt Al-Ayleh too for their children and grandchildren in the future.

The respondents perceived this practice as an important way of maintaining the familial relationships, which influences the respondents' residential preferences, particularly when they consider purchasing a property. Consequently, the house's size requirements may not change significantly after the adult children move out.

However, this continued use of the dwelling by non-permanent occupants can cause some discomfort to the permanent occupants or disputes between siblings about what their rights are in their parents' house after moving out. The disputes emerge as a consequence of having no set



rules to identify who has the authority to manage the domestic spaces in the case of Bayt Al-Ayla [بيت العيلة]. For example, this experience was reported by Amani (S03) as follows:

My sister moved out but she didn't remove all her belongings... We still have her study table, her husband's work tools, and bits and pieces everywhere ... We even got the gate changes [sic], and my siblings asked 'Why did you change the gate?' My mum told them the old gate doesn't lock and we need to lock the house properly. They said, 'Well you can't lock us out of the house'.

Disputes also occur when the daily chores are increased for individuals living Bayt Al-Ayleh (بيت العيلة) because of the increased use of the dwelling by non-permanent occupants of the dwelling. They reported that sharing the dwelling with the parents-in-law is acceptable except for the increased amount of domestic duties due to expecting their siblings-in-law on a daily basis. These include cooking larger quantities and an increased amount of cleaning to be done when "Everybody leaves home at night".

The continued use of dwellings by children or grandchildren means that multigenerational living is practised among Lebanese families beyond the permanent occupants of the dwelling. Hosting family gatherings is one major activity that Bayt Al-Ayleh is expected to accommodate.

## Conclusion

The study provided multiple perspectives on the experience of multigenerational living as both a cultural practise, and a decision induced by the social and financial situations of those adopting it. At this stage, I question if the perception of catering to nuclear families will remain dominant in the housing stock being delivered to the Australian market or if the recent attention to multigenerational living will reflect on a diversity of needs being catered for? The study findings accentuate the need for further future investigation of multigenerational living practices among the various migrant and ethnic communities in Australian society.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Iris Levin, *Migration, Settlement and the Concepts of House and Home* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).
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- <sup>7</sup> Robyn Dowling, and Suzanne Fitzpatrick. "Home and Homelessness." In *International Encyclopedia of Housing and Home*, ed. Susan J. Smith (Amsterdam, Oxford and Waltham: Elsevier, 2012), xx-xxii.
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- <sup>13</sup> Greame Hugo, *Understanding Where Immigrants Live* (Canberra, Australia: Australian Government Publishing, 1995).

- <sup>14</sup> Bruce Judd, "Housing design for multigenerational living," In *Multigenerational Family Living Evidence and Policy Implications from Australia*, ed. by Edgar Liu and Hazel Easthope, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 14–37; Maram Shaweesh and Kelly Greenop. "Aesthetic Anxieties in the Migrant House: The Case of the Lebanese in Australia," *Fabrications* 30, no. 2 (2020): 2017-240.
- <sup>15</sup> Robert Freestone, "Planning, Housing, Gardening: Home as a Garden Suburb," in *A History of European Housing in Australia*, ed. Patrick Troy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 125-141.
- <sup>16</sup> Hazel Easthope, Edgar Liu, Bruce Judd, and Ian Burnley. "Feeling at Home in a Multigenerational Household: The Importance of Control," *Housing, Theory and Society* 32, no. 2 (2015): 151–170.
- <sup>17</sup> Judd, "Housing design for multigenerational living."
- <sup>18</sup> Easthope, Liu, Judd, and Burnley. "Feeling at Home in a Multigenerational Household," 168.
- <sup>19</sup> Hazel Easthope, Edgar Liu, Ian Burnley, and Bruce Judd, "Changing Perceptions of Family: A Study of Multigenerational Households in Australia," *Journal of Sociology* 53, no. 1 (2017): 182–200.
- <sup>20</sup> Liu Edgar and Hazel Easthope, "Living with the Family in Australian Cities," In *Multigenerational Family Living Evidence and Policy Implications from Australia*, ed. Edgar Liu and Hazel Easthope (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 1–13.
- <sup>21</sup> Liu Edgar and Hazel Easthope. "Multi-Generation Households in Australian Cities," AHURI Final Report No.181, Melbourne, Australia, 2012.
- <sup>22</sup> George Morgan, Cristina Rocha and Scott Poynting. "Grafting Cultures: Longing and Belonging in Immigrants' Gardens and Backyards in Fairfield," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 26, no. 1-2 (2005): 93-105.
- <sup>23</sup> Lyn Richards, "Suburbia: Domestic Dreaming," in *Suburban Dreaming*, ed. Louise Johnson (Geelong, Victoria: Deakins University Press, 1994), 114- 127.
- <sup>24</sup> A small number of respondents chose to meet outside of their residences.
- <sup>25</sup> Paul Convey and Anne Monsour, *Lebanese Settlement in New South Wales: A Thematic History* (NSW: The Migration Heritage Centre, 2008).
- <sup>26</sup> Katharine Betts and Ernest Healy, "Lebanese Muslims in Australia and Social Disadvantage," *People and Place* 14, no. 1 (2006): 24-42.
- <sup>27</sup> Names used in this paper are pseudonyms in accordance with ethical clearance requirements for this project.
- <sup>28</sup> Ian Burnley, "Lebanese Migration and Settlement in Sydney, Australia," *International Migration Review* 16, no. 1 (1982): 102–32.
- <sup>29</sup> Trevor Batrouney, "Lebanese-Australian Families," In *Families and Cultural Diversity in Australia*, ed. Robyn Hardey (St Leonards, NSW: Alien & Unwin, 1995), 191–215.
- <sup>30</sup> Helen Armstrong, "Cultural Pluralism Within Cultural Heritage: Migrant Place Making in Australia." (PhD diss. The University of New South Wales, 2000).
- <sup>31</sup> Edgar and Easthope, "Living with the Family in Australian Cities".
- <sup>32</sup> For example, see Hyndman-Rizik, "At My Mother's Table".
- <sup>33</sup> This aligns with Neila Hyndman-Rizk's observation of the Lebanese Hadchite community in Sydney. Pre-settled Lebanese families sponsored other family members for months or years until they establish themselves in Australia; Neila Hyndman-Rizk, "No Arranged Marriages Here: Migration and the Shift from Relations of Descent to Consent in the Lebanese Diaspora," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37, no. 3 (2016): 303-319.

## Appendix 1: The practice of multigenerational living among participating households

Household Suburb	Respondents (pseudonym) Gender/Age/Place of birth	Number of householders	Multigenerational living				
			Current experience (Types of multigenerational living)				Previous experience (Type 1, 2, 3 and 4)
			Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	
<b>Sydney-based households</b>							
1 Yagoona	<b>S01 (Deena)</b> Female/56/Lebanon	6					
	<b>S02 (Maha)</b> Female/33/Australia		√	√		√	
	<b>S03 (Amani)</b> Female/20/Australia						
2 Yagoona	<b>S02* (Maha)</b> Female/33/Australia * Maha is a previous occupant of Household 1)	3					√ (1 and 2)
3 Granville	<b>S05 (Basem)</b> Male/35/Lebanon	5 (Living in the dwelling)			√		√ (all types)
	<b>S06 (Manar)</b> Female/32/Australia	19 (Living in the complex)			√		√ (1 and 4)
4 Chester Hill	<b>S07 (Rania)</b> Female/39/Australia	5					√ (1)
5 Guildford	<b>S08 (Samiha)</b> Female/50/Lebanon	4 (Living in the dwelling) 9 (Living in the complex)	√		√	√	√ (all types)
6 Chester Hill	<b>S09 (Jessica)</b> Female/39/Australia	6					√ (2)
7 Guildford	<b>S10 (Nadine)</b> Female/24/Australia	5			√	√	√ (1)
8 Punchbowl	<b>S11 (Ali)</b> Male/35/Australia	3					√ (1 and 4)
	<b>S12 (Riham)</b> Female/29/Australia						√ (1 and 4)
9 Bankstown	<b>S13 (Alia)</b> Female/30/Australia	5			√		√ (1)
10 Bankstown	<b>S14 (Fatina)</b> Female/46/Lebanon	5					
	<b>S15 (Ameen)</b> Male/29/Australia		√		√	√	
	<b>S16 (Amal)</b> Female/28/Australia						
<b>Brisbane-based households</b>							
11 Rosedale South	<b>B01 (Firyal)</b> Female/39/Lebanon	4	√			√	√ (2)
12 Slacks Creek	<b>B02 (Ameera)</b> Female/ 25/ Syria	4					√ (all types)
13 Woodridge	<b>B03 (Nehad)</b> Female/36/Syria	8	√	√	√		
14 Indooroopilly	<b>B05 (Zaynab)</b> Female/37/Lebanon	5					