

A large, white, serif capital letter 'R' is positioned on the left side of the top section. It is set against a dark green background that features a faint, abstract pattern of horizontal lines and shapes, possibly representing architectural elements like stairs or a modern building facade.

RESEARCH REPORT

INTERGENERATIONAL HOME SHARING AND SECONDARY SUITES IN QUÉBEC CITY SUBURBS

**EXTERNAL
RESEARCH
PROGRAM**



CMHC—HOME TO CANADIANS

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) is the Government of Canada's national housing agency. We help Canadians gain access to a wide choice of quality, affordable homes.

Our mortgage loan insurance program has helped many Canadians realize their dream of owning a home. We provide financial assistance to help Canadians most in need to gain access to safe, affordable housing. Through our research, we encourage innovation in housing design and technology, community planning, housing choice and finance. We also work in partnership with industry and other Team Canada members to sell Canadian products and expertise in foreign markets, thereby creating jobs for Canadians here at home.

We offer a wide variety of information products to consumers and the housing industry to help them make informed purchasing and business decisions. With Canada's most comprehensive selection of information about housing and homes, we are Canada's largest publisher of housing information.

In everything that we do, we are helping to improve the quality of life for Canadians in communities across this country. We are helping Canadians live in safe, secure homes. CMHC is home to Canadians.

You can also reach us by phone at 1 800 668-2642
(outside Canada call 613 748-2003)
By fax at 1 800 245-9274
(outside Canada 613 748-2016)

To reach us online, visit our home page at www.cmhc.ca

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation supports the Government of Canada policy on access to information for people with disabilities. If you wish to obtain this publication in alternative formats, call 1 800 668-2642.



UNIVERSITÉ
LAVAL

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Anthropology

**Intergenerational Home Sharing
and Secondary Suites
in Québec City Suburbs:
Family Projects and Urban Planning Regulations**

Research Report Prepared by
Manon Boulianne
Professor, Department of Anthropology
Université Laval

Report prepared for
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
External Research Program
Project Officer: Luis Rodríguez

February 2004

This project was funded by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) as part of its External Research Program. The ideas expressed, however, are those of the author and do not represent the official position of CMHC.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
1. The Research Question and Objectives	2
2. Methodology and the Research Process	5
2.1 The Selected Boroughs	6
2.2 Recruiting Participants	9
2.3 Home Visits and Interviews	11
3. Results	13
3.1 The Municipal Perspective	13
3.1.1 Municipal Regulations	13
3.1.2 The Perceived Benefits	16
3.1.3 The Perceived Drawbacks	18
3.1.4 Public Programs	21
3.2 The Households' Perspective	22
3.2.1 The Composition of the Participating Home Sharing Households	22
3.2.2 Physical Characteristics of the Dwellings	25
3.2.3 A Multi-Staged Process	28
3.2.4 Financial Arrangements	37
3.2.5 The Perceived Benefits	37
3.2.6 The Perceived Drawbacks	40
Conclusion	41
Works Cited	45

List of Tables

Table 1	
Number of Participating Individuals and Households by Borough	12
Table 2	
The Composition of Home-Sharing Households	24
Table 3	
The Physical Characteristics of the Main Dwellings and Secondary Suites	26
Table 4	
Size of Main Dwellings and Secondary Suites by Number of Bedrooms	27

Appendices

Appendix 1	
Charts for Gathering Data	47
Appendix 2	
Illustrations: Houses Before and After Adding a Secondary Suite	58

**Intergenerational Homesharing and Secondary Suites
in Québec Suburbs:
Family Projects and Urban Planning Rules**

Executive Summary

This research focuses on residential strategies consisting in the addition of a secondary suite to single-family dwellings in suburbs for the purpose of intergenerational homesharing. A secondary suite is defined as an independent housing unit, adjacent to a single-family dwelling or constructed within it. A qualitative survey was conducted with urban planning managers in five boroughs or municipalities [*sic*] in the metropolitan Québec area in order to obtain information on municipal regulations as well as the perceived benefits and drawbacks regarding this type of residential arrangement. As well, semi-directed conversations were held with 36 people from 26 households, members of 15 distinct families who have experimented with intergenerational homesharing in single-family dwellings that have been reorganized for this purpose. The testimonies collected deal with the motivation, the steps undertaken, the difficulties faced and the perceived benefits and drawbacks before and after homesharing.

The study indicates that municipal regulations on zoning and architectural integration are an important element in the decision-making process of households wishing to live together. Moreover, the addition of a secondary suite to house relatives is a reality for households primarily connected by strong emotional bonds. When the project is undertaken in a participatory manner, it usually meets the expectations of the people involved, who see many benefits in terms of security, finances, sociability, daily life, the quality of the built environment, space as well as health. There seems to be one significant drawback: a loss of privacy that can lead to friction if the spaces reserved for each of the involved households are not sufficiently defined. Also noted was the lack of public programs to finance such projects; at this time, the costs are fully absorbed by the households involved.

Intergenerational Homesharing and Secondary Suites in Quebec Suburbs: Family Projects and Urban Planning Regulations

Summary

Introduction

The aging population is an undeniable fact for those currently interested in housing. We know that seniors want to stay in their homes as long as possible, but they also want to feel safe and avoid isolation. With a view to this trend, the purpose of this research was to document informal renovation practices for the existing housing stock, based on empirical data: the addition of secondary suites to single-family dwellings for intergenerational homesharing. A secondary suite is defined as an independent housing unit, adjacent to a single-family dwelling or constructed within it. A review of the literature has identified several potential benefits for senior households, for younger people and for municipalities, as well. However, despite the growing space given to intergenerational homesharing in policy statements, experimental housing innovations, the residential construction sector or the thoughts of the population in general, there are still misunderstandings about the family dynamics that preside over two related households and which follow their decision to live together.

Objectives

The purpose of this research was to identify the motivation of households that have experienced homesharing with a secondary suite, the difficulties faced in completing their project, as well as the impacts of homesharing on the daily lives of seniors and the younger people, so as to provide information for potential public policies regarding this type of housing. This research should also make it possible to see how and to what degree municipal regulations have an impact on the residential strategies of households wanting to experiment with proximity housing in the form of an intergenerational house.

Methodology

The research took place over two periods. During the first stage, discussions were held with five municipal urban planners and inspectors in various areas of the metropolitan Québec area in order to obtain information on municipal regulations as well as the perceived benefits and drawbacks regarding secondary suites. Secondly, 34 semi-directed discussions were held at home with members of 24 households having experimented with homesharing in adjacent dwellings. Two other related people, living in an independent dwelling also took part in the survey, which involved fifteen families. The testimonies collected deal with the motivation, the steps taken, the difficulties faced as well as the perceived benefits and drawbacks before and after homesharing. The sampling was homogenous insofar as it was composed of members of co-resident households, but it was diversified internally in terms of gender, age and household composition, the steps taken, the type of house involved and the motivations of those involved; this makes it possible to analyze the testimonies collected from various angles and to highlight observations that make sense. There was no pretence related to statistical representation.

The survey was conducted in three boroughs and one rural municipality in metropolitan Québec, all characterized by regulations that were somewhat permissive in terms of secondary suites. In one of these boroughs, 1994 changes to the zoning regulations made it possible to add a secondary suite with its own civic address throughout the area; strictly single-family zoning no longer exists. In another borough, secondary suites are tolerated in sectors reserved for single-family dwellings as long as they are destined for relatives. The houses must maintain their single-family appearance and have a single civic address. In the last borough and the one rural municipality included in the sample, the addition of a secondary suite is prohibited in single-family zones, but the borough changed the zoning to permit secondary suites in some sectors after petitions were sent in by citizens wanting to live with a related household.

Results

The Physical Characteristics of the Dwellings

The most recent of the houses inhabited by households participating in the study was constructed three years ago, while the oldest dates back to the early 20th century. Most date to the 1950s and 1960s, when the first Québec suburbs were being developed. They are located in neighbourhoods with diversified landscapes in terms of standard of living, house style (bungalows, cottages, split level) and the environment (trees that are somewhat mature, wider streets or residential neighbourhoods).

Ten of the fifteen houses were originally bungalows that were renovated as follows: construction of a second storey (three cases); lateral addition (two cases), arranging a secondary suite in the basement (two cases) or on the main floor (three cases), where it took the form of an added dwelling, without a kitchen. Three of these houses were two-storey houses; in the two other cases, one was a split-level house and one was one-and-a-half storeys. In eight of the fifteen cases, the original dwelling had exterior modifications. Six of the houses had uniform siding, i.e. the addition had the same siding as the original building. In six other cases, no change was visible from the outside; in these cases, the interior space was renovated by adding rooms: additional kitchen, living room, bedrooms, bathroom. Lastly, one house was recently constructed with two dwellings, with the specific intent of intergenerational homesharing.

In most of the houses, there is a separate entry leading to the secondary suite (11/15). In two of the four cases in which the dwelling can only be accessed from inside, the added portion is situated inside the main dwelling somehow. Lastly, in the vast majority of the cases (12/15), the secondary suite is smaller than the main dwelling.

Residential Arrangements

The homesharing period varied between eight months and fourteen years among the households that participated in the study. The average period is four years, but in half of the households involved, the homesharing period has been approximately two years or a bit less than that.

In most of the cases (12/15), the household that already owned the property is the one living in the main dwelling. In another case, the former owner sold the house to one of her sons and became a tenant. In the last two cases, the co-resident households are co-owners of the house. In ten of the fifteen cases, the household belongs to the older generation, occupying the secondary suite; seven of these households are widows living alone. In six of the fifteen families that participated in the study, the house was purchased or constructed by the current owners with the express intent of intergenerational homesharing with older relatives.

In almost all cases (14/15), the household living in the secondary suite pays a monthly amount to the owners of the house. In nine of these cases, the current owners (the older generation), invested in the additional dwelling; the arrangement allows the younger household to gradually pay their investment share. In some cases, upon the death of the parents, the young co-resident household will become the owner of the house. Notary arrangements have been made so as not to penalize the non co-resident brothers and sisters, from an estate point of view.

The Steps and Motivation of the Involved Households

An intergenerational homesharing project has five to seven steps. The first begins with the project's "incubation" and ends with open discussions with the people involved. Sometimes it takes several years between the moment the idea of living together germinates in the head of a family member and when cohabitation becomes a reality. The testimonies collected reveal that some of the people involved saw homesharing as a far-off possibility, without seriously thinking that it would one day become a reality. In a society where independence and autonomy are highly valued, for most people, this possibility is not part of any desired future scenario. The transition from incubation to the explicit stating of the project is often related to certain circumstances, such as recent or imminent change in the household composition (illness or death of one parent, a

decision to live common-law with a spouse who has his or her own residence) or the occurrence of events that make people see that it is time to think of alternative housing because the current situation presents more drawbacks than benefits.

When it is not possible to add a secondary suite to a house, either because the municipality's residential regulations do not permit it or because the occupants do not own the house, the second step is to find the "right" house or the "right" lot. The third step is to develop the plans, followed by securing municipal permits. Mortgage financing is required when it is an issue of purchasing land or a house, conducting major renovations including the outside of the house or adding a lateral dwelling or adding on to the upper storeys. In these cases, the amounts invested vary between \$22,000 and \$85,000 in families in which one of the co-resident households already owned the house (these amounts refer solely to the additions). When a new house was constructed or a house purchased to accommodate cohabitation between two related households, the investment need is calculated at between \$180,000 and \$200,000. The sixth step is the construction or renovation of the secondary suite. Self-help housing is omnipresent in the steps undertaken by the individuals participating in this study. Several were quite proud to mention that they had done the work themselves and had made use of their own personal networks to get advice on how to do the work or how to save money and the good prices they had secured from construction material retailers. Occasionally, members of the family who would not be living in the house came to lend a hand in completing the work.

The final step is moving the two households into their respective dwellings. Then comes a period of adaptation and adjustment. Even when basic principles regarding the use of common and private spaces were expressed, people realized that some rules of everyday living needed to be more explicit so that none of the co-residents would feel a loss of their privacy. Protecting privacy was a central issue, a *sine qua non* condition for successful homesharing between related households. This issue was problematic for those individuals who were most hesitant about signing on to the project. The seniors were afraid of disrupting, looking as though they were interfering in the lives of the children or wanting to do too much. For daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, the issue of privacy is even more sensitive since in-law relationships in our society are founded on respect and a certain degree of distance. It is certain that good relationships between

the daughter-in-law or son-in-law and the in-laws were seen as a necessary condition to pursuing the project.

The motivations listed fell into various spheres; each of the families that took part in the study made references to these spheres to varying degrees. It may have been an economic situation the households wanted to stabilize, a comfort issue, emotional bonds stemming from interpersonal affinities or a feeling of obligation to give back to parents who are now aging. These motivations are connected to one another and it is not always easy to separate them.

The Benefits

According to the urban planners questioned, the main benefit in adding a secondary suite to single-family houses is rejuvenating the population in the older suburbs. Secondly, a greater population density means better use of the existing collective equipment. Another benefit is the maintaining of the existing built environment since secondary suites contribute to preserving the large buildings in aging neighbourhoods and make the houses more attractive to potential buyers.

For households who have homeshared, the benefits mentioned in the survey fall into six major categories: security, finances, sociability, daily life, the building and space, health. Security is by far the item most often mentioned. Having relatives as neighbours, who can watch over the house in their absence, provides a peace of mind that is greatly appreciated by the members of the co-resident households, young or old. For the older and somewhat more vulnerable individuals, the proximity of younger people who can come to their assistance when needed is reassuring. The financial benefits include the reduction of household costs (acquisition, maintenance, taxes) or the financial security linked to the monthly income provided to the owner household through the rental of the secondary suite. For families with young children, having a larger interior and exterior space at a cost that is lower than the rental market is also a benefit in terms of the family budget. If they purchase or eventually inherit the family home, homesharing provides the younger household with the possibility of easier access to property of greater value than their financial resources would have permitted if they had gone through the real estate market. The financial benefits can also be connected to the sharing of some resources between co-resident

households. The same holds true for those who share a vehicle, on occasion, or who run errands together.

Sociability is an important issue for some of those surveyed. In some cases, they mentioned that co-residence means that neither the older nor the younger members are bored, or have nothing to do. Grandparents who co-reside near the grandchildren were not hesitant to mention they were quite happy to be able to see them regularly. The young parents also appreciate the fact their children can benefit from the presence of their grandparents. In terms of everyday life, the benefits mentioned during the survey dealt with services rendered, the reduction or sharing of some domestic tasks and a better balance in the time allocated to social elements (time dedicated to work, to family, to recreation, etc.). Making optimal use of a large house, keeping the secondary suite in better condition than if it were occupied by strangers, having access to a yard are all benefits stemming from the existing built environment and the space, which were also mentioned. Lastly, some people pointed out that there were improvements to health due to a residential arrangement deemed to be particularly happy.

The Drawbacks

In some Quebec municipalities, elected officials fear the deterioration of the quality of life in residential suburbs if adding secondary suites was permitted in areas zoned for single-family dwellings. For tax reasons, this option has not been adopted often. In fact, property taxes are higher on a dwelling worth \$120,000 than on two dwellings (for example, two adjacent dwellings in an old single-family house) worth \$60,000, since the taxation rate increases with the value of the house after a certain threshold. For the municipality, the addition of secondary suites represents added pressure, an increased demand on services. In terms of traffic, the number of vehicles could increase in suburban neighbourhoods. Lastly, if the implementation and architectural integration standards are not respected—and it is up to the municipality to enforce them—the single-family appearance and the uniformity of the suburban landscape could be affected.

According to the urban planners surveyed, the addition of a dwelling could also present certain drawbacks for the people involved. If the buildings are not designed for possible renovations, if

the plumbing or the municipal water and sewer networks are aging, everything has to be brought up to code, which involves additional costs. Upper-floor additions are not convenient for seniors since the older people get, the less mobile they are and the less apt they are to use the stairs. Lateral additions facilitate their movements, which then take place on one floor. Lateral additions, however, are not possible on all properties due to regulations governing boundaries to be respected. Putting in another floor could be a source of conflict regarding the use of the yard (who can use it and when). In a lateral addition, the shared space can more easily be subdivided or fenced in and its use more easily regulated.

Generally, the informants had a lot more to say regarding the benefits of homesharing than its drawbacks. Only one person mentioned no benefits (it should be noted that she had lived with a very sick person who has since died), but many did not list any drawbacks. It is certain, however, that the people surveyed may have been a bit reticent and avoided mentioning any drawbacks, for fear of their relatives finding out and getting angry, despite precautions taken by the members of the research team to ensure the confidentiality of what they had to say.

The principal drawback relates to loss of privacy or the interference of co-resident relatives in parental roles or some aspects of daily life. Another drawback mentioned by members of two families pertained to the way other people—relatives, friends or acquaintances—looked at their residential arrangement, considered as marginal and in extreme cases “abnormal.”

Conclusions

Testimonies collected during this study confirm that relatives who undertake to homeshare a single-family house to which another dwelling has been added are bound by strong emotional bonds. The members of households who choose to live together appear to have a great affinity and be very close to one another. In these cases, homesharing only affirms the bonds that already existed. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that, with one exception,¹ even before homesharing, all the co-resident households that took part in the study were already living in the Québec City region and saw each other regularly.

¹ This was the case of a woman who, after becoming widowed, took in her sick mother. Up to that point, the mother had been living in the Montréal region.

Overall, the situation seems agreeable to the vast majority of the people encountered. In general their expectations have been met. Life in adjacent dwellings seems to generate its share of joy for co-resident households. For some who took part in the study, their lifestyles have changed very little, while lifestyles of others have been completely transformed, usually for the better.

However some sensitive areas, friction points, even some disappointments were expressed. The occasional friction is due to an incomplete separation of the spaces used daily, whether it be the yard or some common rooms within the dwellings. Some people feel it has impacted their privacy. Disappointments stem from the level of comfort in the dwelling occupied, which is deemed too low, or the dwelling does not meet the expectations of the occupants. Therefore, it appears to be essential to properly define the interior and exterior spaces reserved for each household in order to avoid potential conflicts. Homesharing requires a certain degree of tolerance, as well as a willingness to quickly bring to the table any problems that occur in the course of daily living in order to openly discuss solutions to implement with all of the people involved.

The responses from the urban planners and these co-residents seem to converge. The opinions and experiences of all seem to have many similarities. Intergenerational homesharing is not a panacea for the problems of an aging population, aging homes and the problem of seniors' housing. However, it seems evident, in light of the results from this survey, that it is a viable option for young people to access property and for older people to maintain an interesting lifestyle. The regulatory limitations imposed by the municipalities in terms of zoning and subdivisions are current impediments for some households interested in this possibility. Regulations allowing the addition of a second civic address to single-family houses, and therefore easier possible rental to non-relatives, seem to be hanging in the balance.

Moreover, there are currently no public programs that facilitate the financing of such projects; the costs are fully absorbed by the households involved. According to one of the urban planners met, the lack of subsidy programs is a major obstacle to the development of such projects. Since housing is a private affair that also is of general interest, the addition of a secondary suite for homesharing should undoubtedly be considered as an option likely to receive public assistance at the local, regional or national level.

Introduction

This document is the final report for the research entitled “Intergenerational Home Sharing and Secondary Suites in Québec City Suburbs: Family Projects and Urban Planning Regulations” subsidized by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) as part of its External Research Program (2002–2003).

The research team is composed of team leader, Manon Boulianne, a professor at the Department of Anthropology at Université Laval, and five undergraduate, graduate and post-graduate students in anthropology: Samuel Legault (undergraduate), David Poirier (undergraduate), Charles Bergeron (graduate), Etienne Carbonneau (graduate) and Jean-Frédéric Lemay (post-graduate). These students participated in the collection of data, transcription of interviews or codification and analysis of data. The choice to hire students rather than research professionals affects the speed with which data can be collected. However, it is a practical training opportunity for these future researchers.

A few problems during the research delayed its completion. The first interviews with members of families having experienced home sharing could not be held until September 2002, three months after research began. During the summer, our attempts to schedule meetings with possible subjects were unsuccessful. Then, in the winter of 2003, the project leader had to cease her professional activities for two months due to health problems. During that time, data collection stopped. Finally, it was more difficult than expected to identify households having experienced home sharing. The process used is described in the methodology section. We were required to reduce the number of target households and interviews initially planned; we finally collected first-hand data from fifteen different families. We conducted 34 interviews with members of 24 home sharing families. We also interviewed two non-home sharing individuals related to some of those 15 families. We also collected information regarding urban planning regulations in the metropolitan Québec area from five municipal urban planners and inspectors in various Québec City and Lévis boroughs.

In the following pages, after presentation of the research question, we will describe the methodology used in collecting and analyzing data. The results of the research will then be given.

1. The Research Question and Objectives

The aging population is an undeniable fact for those currently interested in housing. As the percentage of aging households increases, we are seeing a redefining of relationships between government, market, community groups, families and individuals. Based on these broad trends, the purpose of this research was to contribute to knowledge in a priority CMHC research area, that of addressing distinct housing needs—of seniors in this case—by examining a means of redesigning existing housing stock that would seem to have many major benefits, both in terms of their user and from a social viewpoint: adding a secondary suite to a single-family home in the suburb with a view to intergenerational home sharing.

This research project addresses intergenerational home sharing in a secondary suite from an anthropological viewpoint. A secondary suite is defined as a self-contained housing unit, either adjacent to a single-family house, or within it... [it may] share the house's entrance, backyard and parking areas (Leinwand and Després 1999, 3-4). The key research question guiding our work can be expressed as such: what social relationships are expressed by the choice of intergenerational home sharing in a secondary suite when it is viewed as a relationship-based housing strategy? The main goal was to understand the choice and the changes in habits and lifestyles by studying family dynamics, particularly residential strategies based on home sharing and assistance. Based, from a theoretical standpoint, on the works of Bonvalet (1997) and Attias-Donfut (1997), we developed the theory that intergenerational home sharing in a secondary suite is the result of family-housing strategies based on principles of reciprocity (give and take), which must be addressed in light of (1) the ties between the various members of a specific family in time and space and (2) the opportunities and limitations defined by municipal standards.

In the existing literature, two main types of benefits are generally attributed to intergenerational home sharing after adding a secondary suite: economic and emotional. In the first case, adding a secondary suite with a view to intergenerational home sharing can represent savings for the home sharing household (a household can include one or more individuals). In most cases, senior households who own their homes have finished paying their mortgages. It is thus in their best

interest to stay in their home rather than incur monthly rental costs or a new mortgage for an apartment or smaller home or better suited to their needs. (Renaud 1999, 12). With age, however, they find it increasingly difficult to maintain their home and property. The next generation, for its part, often has limited resources for acquiring property (McConnell and Usher 1980, 18). An intergenerational arrangement can thus benefit both households, allowing the seniors to remain in their home and neighbourhood, and the younger household to acquire a house and land. Public authorities see intergenerational housing as helping to avoid urban sprawl and the related costs, and to meet the need for affordable, adapted housing for seniors and younger households (Leinwand and Després 1999, 8-9). The residential proximity of the related households also seems to favour savings in maintaining the home and providing access to certain goods and services offered free of charge between family members, who help each other more when they live close by (Attias-Donfut 1995). For younger households with young children, for instance, there is a certain appeal in having grandparents close by who have free time and can occasionally baby-sit.

From an emotional perspective, we now know that seniors want to stay in their homes as long as possible (Conseil des aînés du Québec 2001; SHQ 2000, 41), but they also want to feel safe and avoid isolation (Rodríguez 2001; Maltais, Robichaud *et al* 2000). To this end, intergenerational home sharing seems an attractive alternative to a small apartment or seniors' residence.

Furthermore, the potential disadvantages raised in literature regarding intergenerational home sharing in secondary suites relate primarily to aesthetic and urban-planning standards (the appearance of the houses and neighbourhoods), preservation of a certain homogeneity in suburbs and the threat of increased municipal taxes (Leinwand and Després 1999, 10). It must also be noted that, even though available survey results indicate that most of the public seems favourable to municipal regulations allowing the addition of a secondary suite to single-family homes in the suburbs (Verret 1999, 32), those interested in investing in redesigning their home by adding a secondary suite and the related households who decide to share a home must be ready to face the possible drawbacks of such proximity. Loss of privacy can be seen as a major disadvantage (McConnell and Usher 1980), particularly at a time when, in the western world, family relationships are increasingly selective; now based more on affinities than a sense of duty stemming from the family relationship (Giddens 1994; Martin 2002). But what is known about

families that have attempted this? Despite the increasing presence of intergenerational home sharing in Quebec, whether in policy statements or experimental housing innovation (Dubé 1998; Gagnon 1998; Giguère 2001; SHQ 2001, 42), in the residential construction sector (Dubuc 2000) or the minds of the public at large (Morin 2000; Pratte 1997; Well 1996), the family dynamics that lead to and follow the decision to have two related households share a home still remain unknown. Very few studies have thus far addressed this issue.

A recent study led by Rodríguez (2001) includes intergenerational home sharing in a fairly wide range of housing options for seniors. It examines these options based on the satisfaction of users. His pan-Canadian study, however, only includes one case of intergenerational home sharing in a secondary suite. A study led by Maltais and Robichaud (2000) compares the perception of the needs and expectations of seniors living in a private residence to those who live and receive services at home. They also examine the perceptions and expectations of professional stakeholders working in both environments. They do not, however, address the relationships between seniors and family in an intergenerational home sharing environment.

Other studies have addressed intergenerational home sharing in shared dwellings or secondary suites as a contextual element in studies regarding support for dependent seniors. This work primarily examines the organization of the care and the impacts, on both the caregiver and the senior, of care for ill or dependent seniors being assumed by family (Lavoie 2000; Paquet 1999).

Our research addresses the question of seniors' housing from a perspective other than that of satisfaction or the care of dependent individuals and home care. It examines the question through family relationships and intergenerational ties, taking into consideration home sharing and informal production of goods and services between family members in the form of give and take, or reciprocity.

The purpose of this qualitative research was to identify the motivation of households to attempt this experience, the difficulties faced in completing their project as well as the impacts of home sharing on the daily lives of seniors, those sharing a home with them (co-resident households) and other related households who do not share a home with them. In other words, it was a question of documenting the social and family dynamics that come into play when the

option is raised of adding a secondary suite for intergenerational home sharing. This research would also identify how, and to what degree, municipal zoning regulations have an impact on the residential strategies of households wanting to experiment with proximity housing in the form of an intergenerational home. A third objective was added to the first two, that of formulating recommendations at the end of the data analysis process regarding possible public programs to support households wanting to add a suite to a single-family home for intergenerational home sharing.

The results of this research should also be of particular use to decision-makers at various levels of government, who must manage public housing supply, legislate the regulatory aspects of urban planning and housing or devise housing adaptation programs. The results could also benefit seniors' associations or young family members who are seeking information regarding housing options available to them. They will also be an additional tool for social stakeholders in the public or community sector who work with the problem of housing and care for seniors. Knowing the social dynamics behind the housing practices of households will add new knowledge that will allow them better adapt their actions.

2. Methodology and the Research Process

During the months of May and June 2002, we conducted a review of literature on intergenerational home sharing in Quebec and other areas around the world, in addition to the research conducted in formulating the project. Various databases were consulted as part of this process. A thematic bibliography was compiled, including scientific articles and articles from daily and monthly publications.

We then contacted urban planning officials from various Québec City boroughs² to obtain information on municipal regulations regarding the possibility of adding a secondary suite in areas zoned as single-family, in order to select the boroughs to include in the research. In addition to these telephone conversations, we conducted and recorded two formal interviews with urban

² On 20 December 2000, Quebec's National Assembly adopted Bill 170, the *Act to reform the municipal territorial organization of the metropolitan regions of Montréal, Québec and the Outaouais*. This act led to the amalgamation of some sixty municipalities (henceforth known as "boroughs") to form five major municipalities: Gatineau, Montréal, Longueuil, Québec and Lévis.

planning officials in two boroughs (Charlesbourg and Sainte-Foy/Sillery). An interview guide was developed for these meetings.

To attain the main objective indicated (to document social and family dynamics that come into play when the option is raised of adding a secondary suite for intergenerational home sharing), we conducted a qualitative survey of members of households who share single-family homes to which a secondary suite has been added. In Charlesbourg, we targeted cases having experienced home sharing over the last five years. For the other two boroughs, as it was more difficult to recruit participants, we decided to also consider longer experiences.

To attain the second objective (determine to what degree municipal zoning regulations affect the decision to share a home and how it is accomplished), we conducted a cross-sectional analysis of urban-planning regulations and the results of field surveys obtained for the three boroughs.³

2.1 The Selected Boroughs

A first stage of data gathering consisted in selecting the Québec City boroughs in which we would recruit families for our sampling. At the outset, the sampling criteria were as follows. We wanted to conduct the study in three Québec City boroughs:

- One in which municipal regulations permit the addition of a secondary suite, whether or not the families living in the main dwelling and the secondary suite are related.
- One that limited the possibility of adding a secondary suite to related households.
- One in which zoning regulations make no reference to secondary suites (meaning that they are permitted).

³ One of the families that participated in the study lives in a fourth sector. Although it is not part of our sampling of boroughs, we found it valuable to include this experience, as it is the only example of construction of a separate building for the sole purpose of intergenerational home sharing that we encountered during our research.

As we were unable to identify a case in any Québec City boroughs in which adding a secondary suite was limited to use by family, we decided to look into the situation in boroughs on the south shore of Québec. In the borough of Desjardins (which covers the area of the former city of Lévis), we found that the *modus vivendi* consisted of an *ad hoc* change to zoning in single-family zones and that it would certainly be possible to identify interesting cases of intergenerational home sharing in secondary suites, as we were permitted to systematically review monthly reports regarding the issuing of building permits.

The field survey was finally conducted in the Québec City boroughs of Charlesbourg and Sainte-Foy/Sillery and the Lévis borough of Desjardins⁴ (Lévis sector), on the south shore of Québec City. These boroughs were chosen following an initial telephone survey of urban planning officials in various Québec City boroughs.

In Charlesbourg, a borough with a population of approximately 71,000 (Ministère des affaires municipales 2002), zoning regulations were changed in 1994 to permit the addition of secondary suites (whether or not for intergenerational home sharing) to any home, in any area of the municipality at that time. This means that municipal regulations in that sector have since allowed the addition of a secondary suite with its own civic address, whether or not there is a relationship between the households living in the main dwelling and the secondary suite. At the same time, standards for the layout and subdivision of two-family dwellings were brought in line with those in force for single-family dwellings. Prior to 1994, the lot was required to be no less than 18 metres wide for a two-family dwelling, while the standard for single-family dwellings was 15 metres. Obviously, by adding a suite to a single-family dwelling, it becomes a two-family dwelling and the standard could not be met, which led to the reduction of the standard for two-family dwellings from 18 metres to 15 metres.

The borough of Sainte-Foy/Sillery (population of 69,000) includes the former municipalities of Sainte-Foy and Sillery. Prior to amalgamation into a single borough, municipal regulations differed somewhat for each. In Sainte-Foy, a suburb primarily composed of bungalows in older areas, adding a secondary suite to a single-family dwelling in a single-family zone was never

⁴ Again with one exception, a newer home built for the sole purpose of sharing with relatives, which struck us as interesting, as it revealed another method of intergenerational home sharing that could interest CMHC.

allowed. Some residents we contacted indicated that they had considered adding a suite for parents, but that their plans had been abandoned once they learned of the municipal regulations. In Sillery, although municipal regulations also did not permit the addition of a suite to homes in single-family zones, a policy of tolerance was practiced. As a result, a number of residents modified their homes by adding rooms for rental, while others added a suite to house relatives. Their requests were approved insofar as the addition did not involve a new civic address⁵ and the single-family appearance of the original home was preserved. Furthermore, in 1993, the town of Sillery amended its zoning regulations to allow large single-family homes to be divided into two dwellings. The city thus added an article to its zoning regulations indicating that the addition of an apartment was permitted for single-family dwellings with an area of 450 m² (4,844 ft²) or more. The idea was to encourage continued occupation of these large homes (in order that they not deteriorate), to allow seniors to live in their homes as long as possible and to improve access to and choice of housing for the rest of the population. Approximately 40 homes in the former municipality meet the conditions set forth in the zoning regulations and can benefit from this regulatory reform initiative (Service d'urbanisme de la ville de Québec 1995). According to information gathered during our study, however, very few individuals took advantage of this possibility of adding a suite for intergenerational home sharing.

Finally, in Desjardins, the third borough selected (population of 48,700), municipal regulations have, for several years, allowed the addition of a secondary suite to single-family dwellings, in that applications to municipal authorities for permits led to zoning amendments, certain single-family zones were changed to two-family or multi-family zones.

⁵ To be considered independent, a housing unit must have a separate civic address.

2.2 Recruiting Participants

The first interviews with members of home sharing households were conducted in the borough of Charlesbourg. In order to identify households that met our selection criteria, we first consulted monthly reports regarding the issuing of building, renovation and demolition permits, which permitted us to identify names and addresses of homeowners who had obtained permits to build secondary suites onto single-family dwellings between January 1997 and December 2001. The urban planning service then contacted six of these homeowners to explain the scope of our research project and to invite them to participate. These individuals indicated their interest in our research and their desire to participate. However, from June to September 2002, during summer vacation, it was very difficult to contact these individuals. Interviews with families in Charlesbourg thus began in September 2002.

In Sainte-Foy/Sillery, we first had an interview with an individual working in land management. Following the interview, this individual provided us with the telephone numbers of two homeowners who had renovated their homes with a view to intergenerational home sharing. The latter declined to participate in our study. As we were not, in this case, given access to monthly reports on building permits, we had to find other ways of recruiting participants. We thus approached, by letter or phone, residents of homes that we had visually identified as possibly having had a suite added, but to no avail (those in question refused to participate). We also published a small advertisement to recruit participants in a borough newspaper distributed free to residents of Sillery and Sainte-Foy. This did not prove very successful, but did allow us to recruit one family willing to participate in the study. In addition, an individual wanting information on the addition of a suite to a home with a view to intergenerational home sharing contacted us and asked that we forward the results of our research once it was completed. Another household that had shared a home with one spouse's mother was recruited after their home, identified as an "intergenerational home," was seen for sale in the real estate section of the daily newspaper. Personal contacts identified three additional families in the borough who were willing to participate in our study. Finally, a notice seeking participants on an electronic bulletin board for staff at the Université Laval recruited an additional family.

In the Lévis borough of Desjardins, as with Charlesbourg, it was zoning regulations, not building regulations, that were amended to accommodate families wishing to transform their single-family home to share it with one or more family members, with the exception, however, that the change was made to the entire municipality of Charlesbourg, while in Lévis, it was more localized and made on a case-by-case basis, at the request of the public. We were able to consult the monthly reports on building permits for the previous five years (1998-2002). We prepared a comprehensive list of homeowners who had applied for a permit to add a suite to their single-family homes, whether or not it was for family. There were 21 names and addresses on the list. We contacted all of these individuals by telephone. Of these, three who had in fact added a suite to their single-family homes for intergenerational home sharing agreed to participate in our study.

Finally, the notice seeking possible participants that was broadcast electronically on a list for Université Laval staff allowed us to recruit members of two home-sharing households in a new home, built for the sole purpose of intergenerational home sharing. That home was located outside the three boroughs chosen, specifically in the municipality of Lac Delage. This small municipality is located north of Québec City, in a rural setting, with a population of approximately 350. We decided to include it, as it is an unseen case that illustrates another type of project put forth by related individuals and families wanting to live in proximity to each other while retaining their privacy. Prior to interviewing members of these households, we contacted staff at the municipality of Lac Delage, who explained by telephone that several neighbourhoods in the municipality have zoning permitting construction of two-family homes. Although, at the current time, zoning regulations do not permit the addition of a secondary suite to homes in single-family zones, the possibility will likely be examined by municipal officials in 2004, as they are receiving an increasing number of such requests from homeowners whose adult children have left home and who would like to earn income and remain in their homes, which are often too big for only one or two people.

2.3 Home Visits and Interviews

Having identified potential participants, we contacted them by telephone to inform them of the objectives of the study and the measures taken to ensure their anonymity and the confidentiality of any information provided by them. We also indicated to them that they could withdraw from the study at any time, without prejudice. As indicated earlier, some potential participants refused to take part in our survey. We respected their decisions, recognizing that discussing family matters with strangers can be a sensitive matter. We attempted, where possible, not only to meet with home-sharing family members, but also with relatives not living with the seniors, which was possible in two cases.

Appointments were then made with those individuals wishing to participate in order to conduct a home interview. During these home visits, the research assistants again explained the research objectives, using a consent form, and reiterated the measures taken to respect the participants' anonymity. Individuals wishing to do so signed a consent form. The surveyors then gathered data regarding the physical characteristics of the main dwellings and secondary suites and the renovations performed on the original home. They also questioned participants about the home-sharing experience, particularly in terms of motivation, steps taken, difficulties faced as well as perceived benefits and drawbacks before and after home sharing. The semi-structured interviews were conducted using standardized guides (included in appendix) adapted to each participant's situation (older home-sharing family member, younger home-sharing family member, non-home-sharing family member).

Generally, we conducted interviews with at least one member of each home-sharing household. With one exception,⁶ interviews were conducted in the participant's home. They lasted an average of one hour. Where possible, we obtained photos of the homes in question before and after the addition of the secondary suite. If not, we took our own photos. We interviewed 36 individuals, mostly from home-sharing households (34) and, to a lesser degree (2), from non-home-sharing households. Table 1 identifies the individuals who participated in the study by senior households (seen as the older generation) or younger households (the younger generation).

⁶ This interview was conducted by telephone. The house in question, however, was visited outside.

Table 1
Number of Participating Individuals and Households by Borough

Borough	Home-sharers, older generation	Home-sharers, younger generation ⁷	Members of non-home- sharing households	Total number of participants (and households)
Charlesbourg	7 (5 households)	8 (5 households)	1 (1 household)	16 (11 households)
Sainte-Foy/Sillery	5 (4 households)	7 (4 households)		12 (8 households)
Lévis	1 (1 household)	4 (3 households)		5 (4 households)
Lac Delage	1 (1 household)	1 (1 household)	1 (1 household)	3 (3 households)
Total	14 (11 households)	20 (13 households)	2 (2 households)	36 (26 households)

The interviews with members of home-sharing households (and two non-home-sharing relatives) were conducted from September 2002 to October 2003, by assistant team members. All interviews were recorded on cassette and erased once transcribed. They were coded by the project leader and a research assistant using N'Vivo qualitative data processing software. The codes used correspond roughly to the headings in standardized interview guides. However, additional categories were added as needed, based on an iterative process, to code latent content in the discourse of participants. The project leader assumed responsibility for analysis and preparation of this report.

⁷ To avoid creating a third category, we have included in this group of households those made up of brothers and sisters sharing a home (family 10 in Table 2), even though they are of the same generation.

3. Results

3.1 *The Municipal Perspective*

Information obtained from officials we consulted revealed, on the one hand, the diversity in institutional points-of-view regarding converting single-family dwellings into two-family dwellings. For elected officials in some municipalities, there was never any intention of allowing secondary suites to be added in single-family zones. For others, such a possibility seems quite positive, as long as architectural and construction standards are respected. Why is there openness in some cases and not in others? Finding a clear answer to this question would require a study of local authority from a historical standpoint. Each suburban municipality was created in a specific context and at a specific time, and individuals with specific academic, professional and ideological profiles make the rules for citizens. The populations of the various municipalities also have specific socio-economic characteristics.

In the following pages, we will present the data obtained from the boroughs in question, particularly the two urban planners who we interviewed regarding municipal regulations, the difficulties encountered by households wishing to share a home, the benefits of adding a suite for intergenerational home sharing, its present and potential inconveniences and impacts on property values and public programs that facilitate or could facilitate this type of arrangement.

3.1.1 *Municipal Regulations*

Zoning, subdivision and building regulations and architectural integration and implementation plans (AIIP) govern to some extent the process of converting a single-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling. In addition, the provisions of the *National Building Code* or the Act respecting The Ministère des Affaires culturelles were mentioned by urban planners or members of home-sharing households as having affected the completion or abandonment of intergenerational home-sharing projects.

Zoning

In one of the boroughs in our sampling, Charlesbourg, there are no longer any solely single-family zones. Thus, it is possible to add a secondary suite to any single-family home, whether or not it is for relatives, as long as the project complies with urban planning standards regarding subdivision and construction, as well as architectural integration and implementation standards. In the three other boroughs in the study, zoning regulations prohibit the addition of a second dwelling with a separate civic address to a single-family dwelling. However, the addition of a non-independent dwelling (without its own civic address) is tolerated in one case (Sainte-Foy/Sillery) for sharing a home with relatives. We were told that, when people seeking a building permit clearly indicate their intent to accommodate one or more family members, the projects are accepted insofar as, here too, they comply with urban planning standards regarding subdivisions and construction, as well as architectural integration and implementation standards. As indicated earlier, in the borough of Desjardins, intergenerational home-sharing projects were facilitated through zoning changes, as the addition of a dwelling to houses in single-family zones in the borough is not permitted.

Parking

Zoning regulations generally include articles regarding parking. In the borough of Charlesbourg, the zoning regulation was amended in 1997 to authorize the retaining of existing parking spaces in cases involving a garage or carport being converted into a secondary suite. This possibility did not apply if an additional room was added. The parking regulation was then also amended. When adding a lateral dwelling, it is now possible to create a second parking space in front of the dwelling, where such was not authorized under the old regulation.

In the former municipality of Sillery (borough of Sainte-Foy/Sillery), as the second dwelling had no civic address (thus not being a second dwelling in the strict sense of the term), there was no obligation to provide a second parking space. Furthermore, as the lots are generally quite large, there was already room for two or three vehicles in the parking areas of existing single-family dwellings.

In the borough of Desjardins and the municipality of Lac Delage, where the addition of a secondary suite is not permitted in single-family zones, parking is not really an issue. In two-family zones, each dwelling is entitled to a parking space.

Subdivision

Regulations regarding the size of lots and side and backyard setbacks are quite relevant here, particularly those mentioned during our discussions with urban planning officials from the boroughs of Charlesbourg and Sainte-Foy/Sillery. Regulations regarding sideyards limit the possibility of adding a lateral secondary suite. However, this would often be the less costly option, as adding an additional storey involves compliance with insulation and fire-break measures that require more alterations to the existing dwelling. As well, a brief review of minutes from borough council meetings reveals that the councils regularly issue variances permitting construction projects that do not entirely comply with standards regarding yards. Nonetheless, these are exceptions and, in terms of adding secondary suites, we were told that it would not be enough to resolve structural difficulties through repeated variances. This is why, in the former municipality of Charlesbourg, when the zoning regulation was amended to eliminate strictly single-family zones, subdivision standards for **single-family ?? // two-family ?? dwellings** were also amended to facilitate the addition of a lateral secondary suite, as adding a secondary suite to a single-family dwelling makes it a two-family dwelling and, while lots at least 15 metres in width were previously required for single-family dwellings and 18 metres for two-family dwellings, the regulated width of the lot for two-family dwellings was reduced to 15 metres. In terms of side yards, prior to the amendment to the regulation in 1994, the standard required 6 metres, at least 2 metres on one side and 4 on the other. These were reduced to 1.5 metres on one side ⁸ and 4.5 metres on the other. In the former municipality of Sillery, properties are quite large, with lots in most sectors being 700 m².

⁸ According to our source, in some cases, one of the setbacks could be reduced to one metre, depending on the situation, but the basic principle is to comply with standards relating to both rights of view and *Civil Code*.

Construction

Here, too, compliance with regulations is required when adding a secondary suite to a single-family dwelling. Architectural integration and implementation plans (height of the building, position of the windows, materials, geometry of the building, slope of the roof, etc.) deal with the appearance of buildings. In other words, a house cannot be changed however one wants. Municipal authorities must ensure that its appearance remains compatible with that of other homes in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, building safety standards are very clear in the *National Building Code*. For instance, according to one of the urban planners with whom we met, the *National Building Code* indicates the obligation to install a firebreak with a minimum resistance of 45 minutes between two storeys of a residential building. That standard has discouraged some from adding a suite on a second storey because of the cost and the work involved (longer, a lot of dust).

3.1.2 The Perceived Benefits

3.1.2.1 For the Municipality

The two urban planners whom we interviewed feel that the main benefit of adding a secondary suite to a single-family home is its contribution to stabilizing the age of the population in older suburbs, created in the 1950s and 1960s, in which populations are ageing. According to one urban planner, parents who share a home subsequently leave that home to their children (who buy or inherit it), thus lowering the average age in the neighbourhood and renewing the urban fabric.

For the urban planner who was quite familiar with Sillery, a second benefit is the maintenance of the built environment, as adding a secondary suite can help to preserve large buildings in older neighbourhoods by making the homes more attractive to future buyers.

Financially, our participants mentioned the benefit, for household members moving in with family, of being able to use existing structures and services (e.g., parks, schools, even churches) that are sometimes underused. In addition, instead of having to build new streets and new houses in new neighbourhoods, contributing to urban sprawl, adapting existing houses, at no

additional cost to municipalities, is another benefit of adding suites to single-family dwellings. Fiscally, there can be some interest, as it creates a second taxation. However, if addition of the suites is part of a precarious framework, it is no longer attractive to the municipality or the individuals in question, as it will raise more problems than benefits.

However, it is clear to our two urban planners that adding a secondary suite to single-family dwellings is not a cure-all because, at the current time, less than 10 per cent of the population may be interested in this type of project. It is, however, an element to be taken into consideration in any broader examination that might contribute to suburbs development.

3.1.2.2 For the Neighbourhood

Because few projects have been completed, it is difficult to assess their impact on the neighbourhood. Some elected officials and municipal administrators are hesitant because they question the possible effects on the neighbourhood. However, in the borough of Charlesbourg, during public consultations regarding the general amendment of the regulatory framework in 1994, no one opposed this type of project. To date, there have been no complaints regarding secondary suites. There have been occasional questions regarding aesthetics, but there has never been any public opposition to the addition of a secondary suite.

Furthermore, our participants feel that having someone at home during the day while others are at work can provide a neighbourhood with a sense of security. This is less of a benefit in sectors such as Sillery, where the population tends to be older (20 per cent over 65) and, as a result, there are many retirees. However, a more varied neighbourhood in terms of age can help to renew the social fabric. In addition, having seniors remain in their homes and in contact with friends helps to maintain social ties in the neighbourhood.

3.1.2.3 For Home-Sharing Households, the Individuals Involved

According to participants, intergenerational home sharing is particularly beneficial for members of older households. It ensures that their families are close by, thus providing assistance and security to ageing family members.

Older homeowners who are retired or almost ready to retire and have no children at home, have several empty rooms, so adding a suite to their single-family home can help to recover existing space and make it useful. This can be a way of allowing them to remain in their home, with the house being better adapted to their current needs (less underused or unused space, thus less building maintenance cost and less housework).

The possibility of home ownership can also be improved by adding a secondary suite, although in Sillery, this remains rare. People who choose to buy houses there do so for themselves and can afford it. It is only later that they may move parents into a secondary suite or buy a home to share with parents, but this is not a financial partnership. In Charlesbourg, however, for many young households, adding a suite is a means of owning a home, of having access to an attractive home, particularly if they do not have the means of buying a new home. Arrangements are often made between family members to reduce the costs for young households. In such cases, there are financial benefits for owners and tenants. In other cases, a suite is added because families want to be closer, and are not motivated by finances.

3.1.3 The Perceived Drawbacks

3.1.3.1 For the Municipality

In some Quebec municipalities, elected officials fear the deterioration of the quality of life in resident suburbs, if adding secondary suites to single-family homes were permitted. For tax reasons, this option has rarely been used. In fact, property taxes are higher on a dwelling worth \$120,000 than on two dwellings (e.g., two attached dwellings in an old single-family house) worth \$60,000, since the taxation rate increases with the value of the home once the ceiling is reached. Furthermore, two suites on a single lot that previously had only one represents an increased demand for services that is not necessarily covered by new taxes.

As a result, municipalities see the addition of secondary suites as additional pressure, increased demand for services and increased traffic, as the number of vehicles could increase in suburban neighbourhoods. Finally, if architectural integration and implementation standards are not

respected—and it is the municipality’s responsibility to monitor them—the single-family appearance and uniformity of the suburban landscape would be affected.

3.1.3.2 For the Neighbourhood

Surveys and interviews of Québec City residents by the School of Architecture at Université Laval clearly demonstrate that people are not opposed to the addition of secondary suites to single-family dwellings, particularly if that suite is for a family member, more often than not the neighbours of those adding a suite watch the children grow up, children who are now “returning” to share the home. They are thus not perfect strangers. This is even more so in Charlesbourg as the mobility rate of the population is much lower than elsewhere in the Québec City region. It is not uncommon for people to live in the same house for 20 to 30 years. There is a certain stability in these areas, which could contribute to a greater openness to adding secondary suites to single-family dwellings. However, if the added suites are not for family members, in some cases, this can be a benefit for owners of the suites, who can more easily rent them after the departure of the home-sharing family members; this benefit can become a drawback in terms of security or simply an unknown for the owners and their neighbours.

In addition, the schedule and lifestyle of teenagers and young children can conflict with those of older people living nearby in the neighbourhood, people who might be less tolerant than family members. Complaints to the municipality of Sillery, for example, are primarily from older residents. Once again, however, this is not a general rule.

In terms of value, some individuals fear that their property values will fall or that the residential nature of their neighbourhoods will decrease. Some are greatly attached to the peaceful and quiet nature of their neighbourhoods. If the possibility of adding a secondary suite to a single-family dwelling becomes widespread, this fear could be expressed, particularly in terms of the effect on the social nature of people living in the neighbourhood on their peacefulness, quality of life and, as a result, property values in the area. In the case of some proposed zoning changes, for instance, residents say, “We chose to live in a single-family residential neighbourhood and we do not want that to change. We made a lot of investment based on that. It is why we chose to live here and I

have been here for 45 years.” These individuals see themselves as victims. Others, however, say that they may later need a secondary suite and will thus change their stance. According to one participant, the idea of allowing secondary suites in single-family dwellings is more acceptable if we emphasize the possibilities that the zoning change offers to seniors rather than the issue of value in terms of quality of life in the said area. This phenomenon can be seen in some cases of agreement to convert conventual buildings, buildings owned by religious congregations. When people understand that there is a housing need for seniors, projects are accepted insofar as people think that they may eventually benefit from the service and be able to remain in the neighbourhood to which they are attached. People must be able to see that their investment will not be lost. Thus, the quality of projects is very important.

3.1.3.3 For Home-Sharing Households and Individuals Involved

When buildings are not designed for possible expansion and interior plumbing in the homes or municipal water and sewer networks are ageing, adding a secondary suite can present some drawbacks for those involved. The building must be brought up to code to avoid these, which involves extra costs. For instance, changing the house’s electrical entry can be unavoidable in providing power to household appliances in the secondary suite. These elements must be taken into considerations, particularly in a case such as Sillery, where houses are fairly old: 40, 50 and 60 years old.

Adding a second storey can have potential drawbacks. First, if seniors will be living on the second storey, it must be remembered that as they get older, they will be less mobile and less able to use stairs. It is better to encourage lateral additions so that services are available on the ground level. Adding a second storey has limitations for the long-term viability of the suites, particularly for seniors. However, it is not always possible to make lateral additions because of lot size requirements. Furthermore, with a second-storey addition, there can be conflict regarding the use of the back yard (who can use it when) and we know that people in suburbs use their back yards more than the front. With lateral additions, the shared area is obviously easy to subdivide or fence off, making its use easier to regulate.

Finally, home sharing in a secondary suite certainly has potential drawbacks in terms of privacy. If space management is difficult or poorly planned, privacy is lost. In addition, relationships vary with individuals; some do not get along as well with their parents or in-laws.

In terms of comfort and quality of housing, our respondents felt that people usually design their space quite well, so that both dwellings are comfortable for those living in them. Obviously, if projects are not well thought out, there is the risk of comfort being lost over time. Once again, it is often the sharing of outside space that becomes the problem.

3.1.4 Public Programs

Earlier in this report, we mentioned what distinguishes the four boroughs or municipalities in question in terms of zoning regulations and the addition of secondary suites to single-family dwellings. Let us summarize. Since 1994, there are no more exclusively single-family residential zones in Charlesbourg. Single-family, two-family and semi-detached homes are permitted in all low-density residential zones. A separate civic number is attributed to secondary suites, which can be occupied by relatives of the main dwelling or by non-relatives. In the borough of Sainte-Foy/Sillery, secondary suites cannot be added in single-family zones. However, in the former municipality of Sillery, municipal authorities were not checking on the number of kitchens in each home. The addition of rooms or a suite was thus tolerated insofar as the single-family appearance of the neighbourhood was retained. The new suite, however, cannot be assigned a separate civic number, which in practice limits the possibility of renting to strangers. In the boroughs of Desjardins and Lévis and the municipality of Lac Delage, suites cannot be added in single-family zones. In Desjardins, however, the zoning regulation was amended in some neighbourhoods to allow secondary suites to be added to single-family dwellings. Some single-family zones thus became two-family or multi-family zones.

There are currently no public programs to help finance the renovation of single-family dwellings into two-family dwellings. According to one of the urban planners with whom we met, the lack of grant programs is a major obstacle to this type of project. If we consider that adding a secondary suite can easily involve an investment of \$70,000 to \$75,000 and that people realize

that they can buy a semi-detached for \$150,000, it is not worth the effort. This participant had also seen several projects fall through for this reason.

3.2 The Households' Perspective

In the following pages, we present the results of discussions held with members of households who have experienced intergenerational home sharing in secondary suites. These results help to confirm or clarify considerations put forth by urban planners and explained in the previous section.

3.2.1 The Composition of the Participating Home-Sharing Households

As indicated in Table 2, the current or past living arrangements of home-sharing households who participated in our study are varied. In 12 of 15 cases, the household who already owned the home lives in the main residence. We also have a case of a former owner who sold the home to one of her sons and is now a tenant, and two cases where the home-sharing households are co-owners of the building.

From a generational standpoint, we see that, in 10 of 15 cases, the older household lives in the secondary suite. Seven of these households are composed of one person, all women. Most are widows, except one case of a woman whose husband is in a health-care institution. Three younger households live in secondary suites. Two of these households are made up of the owners' daughter, her spouse and their daughter, and in the other household, the owners' daughter lives alone. Finally, in two other cases, the home-sharing households are composed of siblings, rather than parents and children. In both cases, the secondary suite is occupied by the sister of the owner of the main residence. In one of these cases, the secondary suite was previously occupied in turn by each of the owner's three children. One child lived there with his spouse and her child.

In six of the fifteen families who participated in the study, the home was purchased or built by the current owners for the express purpose of intergenerational home sharing with one or more older

parents. In four of the cases, only the mother (the father being deceased) shares or shared (if she has passed away) the home, while in the other two cases, the father and mother share their home with their son, his spouse or their child(ren).

It should be noted that, of these 15 families, there are only four cases of home sharing between older parents and a son, while there are eight of older parents sharing a home with a daughter (and her spouse or possibly children). The rest involve home sharing with a grandson and two cases of home sharing by siblings (brother and sister), as indicated earlier. Nevertheless this frequency of parent-daughter home-sharing cannot be generalized too quickly as our sampling is not and does not claim to be statistically representative. When we look solely at older households with people aged 70 or older (eight cases), this imbalance disappears: there are three cases of one or both older parents and their sons (and his spouse and, in some cases, children) and four cases of an elderly mother and her daughter (and her spouse—except one case—and possibly children).

Home sharing lasts or lasted from eight months to fourteen years for families who participated in our study. It averaged four years, but for half of the households in question, it lasted approximately two years or a little less. For three of the families with whom we met, home sharing had already ended as we began our study. For two of these three, the older parent who lived in the added dwelling had passed away. In the other case, having lost her independence (she is now 90 years old), she moved to a seniors residence.

Table 2
The Composition of Home-sharing Households

Family	Community	Main Residence	Secondary Suite
1	Charlesbourg	Spouses F-32 (daughter of owners) and M-31, and their children (M-2, M-4, M-6)	Spouses M-57 and F-52 (owners)
2	Charlesbourg	Spouses M-72 and F-62 (owners)	Spouses F-36 (daughter of the owners) and M-36 and their child (F-9)
3	Charlesbourg	Spouses M-47 and F-50 (owners)	Spouses M-75 and F-75 (parents of the owner)
4	Charlesbourg	Spouses M-40 and F-40 (owners) and their children (M-12 and F-14)	F-76 (mother of the owner)
5	Charlesbourg	Spouses M-60+ and F-57 (owners)	F-30 (daughter of the owner)
6	Sainte-Foy/Sillery	Spouses M-61 and F-48 (owners) and their child (M-26)	F-79 (mother of the owner)
7*	Sainte-Foy/Sillery	Spouses M-63 and F-56 (owners)	F-90 (mother of the owner)
8	Lévis	Spouses M-68 and F-67 (owners) and their son, M-33	Spouses F-32 (daughter of the owners) and M-37 and their daughter, F-2
9	Lévis	F-48 (owner) and her son, M-18	F-80+ (mother of the owner)**
10	Lévis	M-38 (owner) and his son, M-2	F-42 (sister of the owner)
11	Sainte-Foy/Sillery	Spouses M-61 and F-61 (owners)	F-50 (sister of the owner)
12	Sainte-Foy/Sillery	M-20 (son of co-owner) and roommates	F-76 (grandmother of M-20 and co-owner)
13	Sainte-Foy/Sillery	Spouses M-50 and F-50 (owners)	F-80+ (mother of the owner) **
14	Municipality of Lac Delage	M-43 (owner) and his daughter, F-19	Spouses M-66 and F-63 (parents of the owner)
15	Sainte-Foy/Sillery	Spouses M-49 and F-45 (owners) and their children (M-5 and F-7)	F-73 (mother of the owner)

Legend: F = female, M = male; the number following the hyphen is the individual's age at the time of the survey.

* The two households in family 7 were no longer home sharing at the time of the survey.

** Deceased at the time of the survey

3.2.2 Physical Characteristics of the Dwellings

We also see, as indicated in Table 3, a great diversity regarding the physical characteristics of the suites in our sampling. The homes occupied by the households who participated in our study are of varying age. The newest was built barely three years ago, while the oldest was built in the early 20th century and is classified as a “heritage” home by the Ministère des affaires culturelles. Most buildings, however, date back to the 1950s and 1960s, when the first Québec City suburbs were developing. These homes are in neighbourhoods that are internally diverse in terms of the standard of living of residents, the style of homes (bungalows, two-storeys, split level) and the urban landscape (mature or young trees, busier streets or more residential neighbourhood).

In 10 of 15 cases, the original home was a bungalow. In three cases, the secondary suite was added upstairs, i.e., a second storey was built, turning the bungalow into a two-storey; in two cases, a lateral suite was added; in two cases, a basement suite was added and in three cases, a suite was added on the ground floor, particularly in two cases of added dwellings (in these cases, extra rooms were added to the main residence, as the home-sharing relatives were elderly and ill).

Three of the original homes in our sampling were were cottage style. One of these had been renovated by the previous owners and already included two dwellings when purchased by our participants for intergenerational home sharing. The secondary suite is on the second floor. In the other two cases, separate dwellings were added on the second floor by the owners participating in our study, while the main dwelling had previously taken up both floors of the cottage-style home.

Finally, our sampling included a split-level home and a one-and-one-half storey home. The first had had a dwelling added partly in the half basement and partly on the ground floor. The second was built in recent years specifically for intergenerational home sharing. The main dwelling, occupied by the owner, occupies most of the basement, a portion of the ground floor and has a second storey, while the secondary suite, located beside the main dwelling, occupies a small portion of the basement and a portion of the building’s ground floor.

Table 3
The Physical Characteristics of the Main Dwellings and Secondary Suites

Family	Original Home	Location of Main Dwelling	Location of Secondary Suite	Rooms in Main Dwelling	Rooms in Secondary Suite	Access Between Dwellings
1	Bungalow	Ground floor and basement	Second floor	6 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms + balcony	Outside
2	Bungalow	Ground floor and basement	Second floor	5 ½ rooms	5 ½ rooms + balcony	Outside (back)
3	Bungalow	Ground floor and basement	Lateral	6 ½ rooms	3 ½ rooms	Outside
4	Bungalow	Ground floor and basement	Renovated ground floor	5 ½ rooms	2 ½ rooms	Outside (lateral)
5	Bungalow	Ground floor and basement (28 x 38)	Indoor pool (lateral)	5 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	Inside and outside (front)
6	Two-storey	Ground floor and basement	Second floor	4 ½ rooms	3 ½ rooms	2 separate stairways from a hall Inside and outside Outside (back) Inside
7	Cottage style	Ground floor	Half basement	6 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	
8	Bungalow	Ground floor	Second floor	5 ½ rooms	5 ½ rooms	
9	Bungalow	Ground floor and a portion of the basement	Ground floor	6 ½ rooms	1 living room, 1 bedroom and 1 bathroom	
10	Cottage style	Ground floor	Renovated second floor	4 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	Inside or outside
11	Bungalow	Ground floor	Basement	6 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	Inside or outside
12	Bungalow	Ground floor	Basement	5 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	Inside
13	Bungalow	Ground floor	Ground floor	6 ½ rooms	1 living room, 1 bedroom and 1 bathroom adapted for wheelchair access	Inside
14	1 ½ storeys	Basement, ground floor and second floor	Ground floor and a portion of basement	5 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	Inside or outside
15	Cottage style	Ground floor and basement	Renovated second floor	6 ½ rooms	4 ½ rooms	Inside

In most cases (12 of 15), the secondary suite is smaller than the main dwelling, has fewer rooms and a smaller floor area. Seven main dwellings have four bedrooms, six have three and two have two, while only two of the secondary suites have three bedrooms, most (eight) have two and five have only one. In two cases (secondary suites on the second floor), the number of rooms is the same as the main dwelling, but because the main dwelling has a basement, it has a larger living area. In the final case, a cottage-style home in which a dwelling was created on the second floor, both dwellings are the same size.

Table 4
Size of Main Dwellings and Secondary Suites
by Number of Bedrooms

Number of Bedrooms	Main Dwelling	Secondary Suite
1	0	5
2	2	8
3	6	2
4	7	0

In most cases (8 of 15), the original dwelling had exterior modifications. In six other cases, no change was visible from the outside. In these cases, the interior space was renovated by adding rooms: additional kitchen, living room, bedrooms, and bathroom. Finally, in one last case, the house was built with two dwellings. The vast majority of the houses in our sampling (11 of 15) have a separate entrance leading to the secondary suite. In two of the four cases in which the dwelling can only be accessed from inside, the added portion is in some way situated inside the main dwelling.

Six of the eight houses that had exterior modifications had uniform siding, i.e. the addition had the same siding as the original building. In the other two cases, the siding differs from that of the original building. Sidings were varied: wood, parging, vinyl siding, brick and tarpaper. Finally, it should be noted that additional parking spaces were added to those existing prior to the renovation in only three cases.

3.2.3 A Multi-Staged Process

The process leading to home sharing by related households begins with the idea of home sharing and ends with the two households moving into their respective dwellings.

Based on our survey, we were able to identify five to seven steps that each household would take to complete their project: (1) the first stage begins with the project's "incubation" and ends with open discussions with the people involved; (2) the second stage consists of looking for the right house or lot (as applicable); (3) the third consists of preparing plans, giving concrete expression to the virtual project; (4) a permit is then required; (5) financing is often needed; (6) the sixth stage is that of building or renovating the secondary suite; and (7) the last consists of the people moving into their respective dwellings, thus completing the process.

3.2.3.1 Incubation of the Idea and Preliminary Discussions with Those Involved

This stage is with no doubt the longest and most difficult of the entire process. Prior to making a final decision, those concerned consider the benefits and drawbacks of possibly sharing a home with parents or, more problematic, in-laws. Sometimes it takes several years from the moment the idea of living together enters the mind of a family member and when home sharing becomes a reality. In cases of members of the older generation living in the secondary suite, the testimonies gathered reveal that some had long entertained the idea of being able to live near one of their children when they reached a certain age. Among the younger generation, too, this idea of housing an older parent had at times been present for some time as a far-off possibility, about which occasional jokes were made, without seriously thinking that it would one day become a reality. In cases where members of the younger generation were living in the secondary suite, however, the projects do not date back as far. It is obvious that young people only see themselves sharing a home with their parents on a temporary basis. In a society where independence and autonomy are highly valued, this possibility is not part of any desired future scenario. The notion of incubation is used here to emphasize the fairly long process during which the individuals involved consider the possibility of home sharing without openly discussing it.

It is often difficult to clearly determine who first expressed the idea of home sharing. In some of the families who participated in our study, it was possible to clearly identify the person who first spoke of the project. In others, however, the testimony was contradictory. This shows that expressing a desire, a will to share a home, is not easy. It sometimes “stews” for a long time. People beat around the bush, making vague references or jokes before becoming clear enough on the matter to dare share the idea with other family members. Discussions are often held first among the members of one household. By mutual agreement, they then share it with the children or parents involved.

Obviously, as the survey was conducted with families who had experienced home sharing, it provides no data on the undoubtedly more numerous families, who at one time considered the option but did not act on it, whether because, after reflection, the idea was less attractive to them, or because finances or urban planning regulations forced them to abandon the idea. While seeking to recruit participants, we were contacted by a lady who stated that she had been interested in adding a dwelling to her home for her daughter, but quickly had to abandon the project because adding a dwelling in a single-family zone was not allowed in the municipality in which she lived.

The transition from incubation to the explicit stating of the project is often related to certain circumstances, such as recent or imminent change in the household composition (illness or death of one parent, a decision to live common-law with a spouse who has his or her own residence) or the occurrence of events that make people see that it is time to think of alternative housing because the current situation has some drawbacks. (I think here of the affluent couple living in an apartment condominium on the third floor of a building with no elevator whose friends no longer wanted to visit them because they found it too hard taking the stairs to the third floor, or of another retired couple who realized that, if they wanted to leave for a few months to travel abroad, they would have to ask neighbours or family to collect their mail and watch the house, or of a single lady who realized that she was vulnerable when she needed to call a repairperson for her heating system that broke down in the middle of the night in winter). It can also be the result of circumstances that present a somewhat unexpected opportunity.

It would be risky, in cases where participants did not explicitly mention an incubation stage when we questioned them about the origin of their project, to claim that home sharing was not at all premeditated. It seems clear that, in the vast majority of cases, such a possibility had always existed, at least in the minds of those who eventually clearly expressed their intent when the circumstances were right. Others who were then solicited did not necessarily take those first steps; they had not considered the possibility. They then had to be convinced of the feasibility and benefits of such an arrangement for all involved. The project can suddenly arise out of a context of major change in the personal life of an individual involved, as was the case with one man who decided to talk to his parents about his project, in which he heavily invested following a difficult period in his personal life that had lasted several years.

The motivations indicated have several dimensions, each being mentioned to a varying degree in each case. This can include the financial situation of the households, a matter of comfort, emotional ties due to personal affinities, or rights and obligations toward aging parents. Such motivations are inter-related and are not always easy to separate.

Our data suggests that, when home sharing occurs in a home owned by older parents (seven cases, if we include a case where a son bought his father's home and lives there with his sister), the circumstances often involve the ageing of the parents. When parents are fairly financially secure and still active, the main motivations indicated by participants are to help the younger households improve their residential situation by giving them access to a larger, more comfortable dwelling with access to land, and better situated in terms of access to services, in short, more attractive and more expensive conditions than what they are or would be able to obtain on their own. Furthermore, such an arrangement allows parents to stay in their home, in the same neighbourhood and the same environment. In addition, living close to their children and grandchildren permits more contact and a greater exchange of services and assistance (in both directions) as needed. Finally, this also provides a sense of security. In the case of a couple who offered to have their daughter, her spouse and her daughter come live in the family home, while they moved into a dwelling created on a second storey built onto the former bungalow, the parents can remain in the neighbourhood and, at the same time, the younger family have access to a large home and property. Some noted that, in newer neighbourhoods of the suburbs, the lots are generally smaller than in the suburbs that are 40, 50 or 60 years old.

In the other eight cases, the homes were owned by the younger generation and renovated for the purpose of home sharing. In five of these cases, women (all married except one) accommodated their 70-year-old-plus mothers. In the other three cases, sons accommodated parents (two cases) or a mother alone (one case). When parents have lost their independence or are ill, the motivation behind home sharing is primarily the practical aspect of proximity in making them safe and easily helping or providing care when their health requires. For those involved, it is apparently an alternative to seniors homes, or long-term care centres in the case of seriously ill individuals. Many individuals questioned also indicated that there was no way their mother or father was going to live in a home. Some indicated that they had seen their grandparents die peacefully at home and found that preferable to dying in an institution. We also heard testimony from an individual who found it very hard to care for a mother with multiple health problems and who received little daily help from siblings, but nonetheless kept her until the end, saying that she was the only one able to care for her.

Of the five families in which the older parents invited their children to share a home with them, all consisted of a young woman in her late thirties or early forties (with or without spouse and/or children). In four cases, the younger household lived in the secondary suite and, in only one case, in the main dwelling. In the latter case, the young woman has a spouse and three children, constituting the largest home-sharing group in our study.

It must also be noted that, in the four cases where the younger generation lived in the secondary suite, only once was it the idea of the younger generation. In that case, it was a young adult, a student who wished to continue living at home while having his own space and privacy, who proposed creating an apartment in the basement. Thus, he saw the project as temporary. In fact, a few years later, he went to work in another city and his brother and sister in turn lived in the apartment. Today, the owner's sister has taken their place. In this case, she asked to live in the apartment, which could be rented to her at less than market rent.

3.2.3.2 Finding the “Right” House or “Right” Lot

Once the idea of home sharing is expressed, discussed and agreed to by those involved, once some children have declined their parents’ offer but another has accepted, once our parents have been convinced that it is an attractive option, or we have given in to the request from our forlorn mother concerned with her safety since being widowed to be closer to her children, concrete plans must be made if they have not already been made. As indicated earlier, six of the families who participated in our study purchased a home or lot for the specific purpose of intergenerational home sharing with one or more older family members, while in the other cases, the home already occupied by one of the households involved was renovated.

Where the project involves finding a lot on which to build, municipal regulations were overcome by choosing a lot in a two-family zone where having two dwellings on a single lot would not be a problem. For the person behind the project, this meant that, once his parents were gone, he could rent the dwelling to someone else and benefit from extra income. Another participant looked for a home to which he could add a lateral addition, in the same community in which his parents had previously lived. He wanted his parents dwelling to be on a single floor so they would not have to go up or down stairs and so they could have immediate access to the garden. In this borough, adding a secondary suite to a single-family home was permitted. The house chosen permitted a lateral addition as the neighbouring lot was available and was purchased for the home-sharing project.

In one case involving finding the “right” house, both households involved were previously living in the same apartment building. Increased rents following renovation of the building and the poor acoustics in the building no longer suited their needs. After doing the math, they found that buying a house to share was feasible. Thus, one of our participants, 77 years old, started looking for the “ideal house.” Once she found it, her daughter and son-in-law visited it and it met with their approval, too. Thus, they soon purchased a two-storey house with living areas and a bedroom on the ground floor, a bedroom in the basement and living areas and a bedroom on the second floor. The ground floor is now occupied by the participant’s daughter and her spouse, the basement by their 26-year-old son and the second floor, to which a kitchenette has been added, by the participant.

In another case, our participant had already considered inviting his elderly parents to move closer to him and his spouse when they purchased a split level in which it would be easy to add a secondary suite using the half basement and a portion of the ground floor, particularly as it already had a living room and large bedroom. His father's health deteriorated quickly and he was forced to put the project on hold. Following his father's death, they in fact quickly arranged the planned suite in order to accommodate the participant's mother, who was now alone.

The story of another participant also involves finding the "ideal home." She and her spouse had long lived in an apartment condominium. One of her daughters, with her young son, lived in a neighbouring apartment in the same housing project. She babysat her grandson each day while her daughter was at work. After a few years, her spouse's health deteriorated and she was no longer able to care for him herself. She was forced to agree to having him placed in a health-care institution. Seeing this eventually, her daughter—who had sold her apartment to live in the country as she wanted to breed dogs—started looking for a house where she could live with her mother and son. A bungalow was eventually chosen, close to their former residence, with a suite on the ground floor and another in the basement. The mother of the former owners of the home had lived in the basement suite.

Finally, there was no need for another participant to find a house—his mother offered to sell him the family home that her father-in-law had built, where she had lived since she was married and still owned following the death of her spouse, and to prepare a small apartment for her on the second floor. So he purchased the home, at a price well below market, and made major renovations (adding a basement) so that he could occupy the ground floor and basement with his spouse and their two children, while his mother moved into the second floor. She lives independently, but cooks and eats her evening meals with them, as she does not have all the necessary kitchen equipment in her unit.

As regards the rest of our participants, the previous owners retained ownership of the home that they owned prior to home sharing.

3.2.3.3 Preparing Plans

To convert a single-family home for intergenerational home sharing, owners must obtain a permit from municipal officials. A detailed plan of the project must be submitted to the urban planning advisory committee, which must approve it before work can begin.

Preparing of the plans gave rise to various dynamics among the households who participated in our study. There was only one case in which an architect was called upon (the renovations required major structural work in order to add a basement). In all the other cases, where the plans were not entirely prepared by the households in question, which was the case for most families, family members or friends with knowledge in this area helped to develop the plans at little or no cost. Real estate listings and software were sometimes used to guide and facilitate the plans. In general, all adults who would be home sharing were involved in developing the plans, which were discussed several times.

3.2.3.4 Obtaining a Building Permit

In most cases, there seemed to be no problem in obtaining a building permit from municipal officials. Two families were required to redo their plans once or twice before meeting the requirements of the advisory committee on architectural integration and implementation. The process for obtaining permits required round trips (sometimes deemed numerous) to municipal offices, but in general, this stage was recounted quickly in the stories told by our participants.

One participant was required to conduct a survey of some 50 neighbours to obtain their approval of the project and request a zoning change. One neighbour felt that adding a storey to the house would lower the value of his own and openly opposed the project. Most neighbours who gave an opinion, however, did not see any drawbacks and the zoning change was obtained.

3.2.3.5 Financing

In the case of minor renovations inside an existing building to add or renovate a secondary suite or added dwelling, there was no need to borrow to complete the project (amounts varying from \$1,500 to \$10,000). However, in cases involving the acquisition of a lot or house, major renovation including the exterior or the addition of a dwelling on an upper floor or a lateral dwelling, the homeowners were required to take out a mortgage. In such cases, the amounts invested ranged from \$22,000 to \$85,000 for families of which a home-sharing member already owned the home (these amounts thus refer to additions). In building a new home or purchasing a home from strangers, the amounts range from \$180,000 to \$200,000.

It is important to note that these amounts are not necessarily an accurate reflection of the value added to the houses in question, as several owners performed much of the work themselves. In such cases, the time invested is not taken into consideration in evaluating the cost of the work.

3.2.3.6 Construction or Renovation of the Secondary Suite

Self-help housing is omnipresent in the steps undertaken by our participants. Just as recourse to an architect is marginal in our sampling, contractors were only called upon for projects involving the digging and pouring of foundations (two of fifteen projects). Several of the men (in particular) and women questioned were proud to mention that they had done the work themselves and had made use of their own personal networks to get advice on how to do the work or how to save money and the good prices they had secured from construction material retailers. In terms of electrical installations and windows, of course, where required by insurance standards, specialized workers were called in. Occasionally, members of the family who would not be living in the house came to lend a hand in completing the work.

In some cases, the construction period was a source of major stress. It was unclear what the end result of the renovation would be. In addition, the renovations inconvenienced the people living in the home in question. In some cases, they had to move elsewhere temporarily; in others, they endured the disorder and dust for a few weeks. (The duration of the work varied from a few days

to several weeks.) In some cases, the home they were leaving was sold sooner than expected, thus requiring that they find temporary housing elsewhere until they were able to move into the main dwelling or secondary suite with their family.

3.2.3.7 Moving People into Their Respective Dwellings

The project is completed with the households involved moving into their respective dwellings. In some cases, we were told that there was a period of adaptation and adjustment. Even when basic principles regarding the use of common and private spaces were expressed, people realized that some rules of everyday living needed to be more explicit so that none of the co-residents would feel a loss of their privacy. Protecting privacy was a central issue, a *sine qua non* condition for successful home sharing between related households. This issue was problematic for those individuals who were most hesitant about signing on to the project. The seniors were afraid of disrupting, looking as though they were interfering in the lives of their children or wanting to do too much. For daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, the issue of privacy is even more sensitive since in-law relationships in our society are founded on respect and a certain degree of distance. It is certain that good relationships between the daughter-in-law or son-in-law and the in-laws were seen as a necessary condition to pursuing the project. People particularly did not want to be in a position that, without being able to talk openly about it (this is easier between an adult and his or her own parents), can become uncomfortable and risk jeopardizing a good relationship that is based on keeping a respectful distance. In the event of problems, discussions should be with the person who is the link between the parties, which would place that person in a sensitive situation and jeopardize the relationship between spouses and between parents and their children.

Overall, the situation seems to work for the vast majority of persons with whom we met. Several individuals were very happy with the arrangement and very pleased to be able to share their experience. We did, however, note certain sensitive areas, friction points, even disappointments, in the statements of a few participants. Friction stems from the fact that space used on a daily basis (outside garden, land or inside the dwellings) is not completely divided into separate areas for the two households. Some individuals thus feel that their privacy is not being respected.

Disappointment stems from the comfort of the dwelling in which the person lives, which is seen as insufficient or not meeting the expectations of its occupants.

3.2.4 Financial Arrangements

In almost all cases (14/15), the household living in the secondary suite pays a monthly amount to the homeowners. In most cases (9/15) this is in the form of a rent that is below market rates. In others, particularly where the younger household did not have the means of obtaining a mortgage to purchase the home, it is an arrangement by which the amount invested by the current owners (the older generation with good credit) for the renovation of the secondary suite is repaid by means of payments over several years. Where, upon the death of the parents, the home-sharing household inherits the home, notarized arrangements were made in order to avoid penalizing non-home-sharing siblings in terms of inheritance.

3.2.5 The Perceived Benefits

The benefits indicated in our survey fall into six major categories: security, finances, sociability, daily life, the building and space and health.

Security is by far the item most often mentioned. On one hand is the peace of mind that comes with being able to leave for a few hours, a few days or even a few weeks, knowing that there is someone nearby who will care for pets, water plants, collect mail, watch for possible trouble, take the necessary steps if something breaks in the main dwelling or secondary suite, etc. For this reason, having family nearby is appreciated by both those who are in the work force and those who are retired and are often absent because they have the time. There is also, for older and somewhat more vulnerable individuals, the sense of security that comes with having a younger person nearby at all times to help quickly in the event of an injury or illness or simply to discourage by their very presence hypothetical attacks on the person's physical safety. For some, familiar noises through walls and floors that indicate the presence of others are indicators that all is well with the seniors. The opposite is also true. Several people in households with young children feel reassured knowing that, if needed, there is someone nearby who can quickly take the children or lend a vehicle. Finally, one participant raised the idea of security for her adolescent.

The relative living nearby would be able to intervene in her absence should the youth behave inappropriately. This was reassuring to her.

In financial terms, in most cases, participants' living arrangements presented financial benefits for the households involved. This can include reduced housing costs (purchase, maintenance, taxes) or, for homeowner households, the financial security related to a monthly income from a secondary suite. We were told that family members, unlike strangers, will always pay their rent. For families with young children, having a larger outside and inside space for the same cost is also a benefit in terms of the family budget. For young adults who share a home with their parents, housing expenses are less than they would be if they had a completely independent dwelling. They thus have more resources to invest elsewhere. For seniors, moving from a larger to a smaller dwelling means reduced maintenance costs. Where financial arrangements include payment of rent to a son or daughter who owns the home, the cost is below market. Home sharing by two or three generations in a home that was originally single-family can also mean the possibility of acquiring a larger or more valuable property, whether by a new acquisition or because the younger generation sharing the home with their parents might inherit the family home or have control over its future when their parents are no longer there. The financial benefits can also be connected to the sharing of some resources between co-resident households. The same holds true for those who share a vehicle on occasion, or who run errands together.

Sociability is an important issue for some of those surveyed. Certainly, blood relatives who share a home had prior affinity. In analyzing the testimony collected, we see that individuals of the younger generation who share a home with their parents have remained fairly or very close to them, even after having left home as an adult. The benefits mentioned during our discussions, however, deal with the effects of home sharing on greater family sociability. On the one hand, with the new home-sharing situation, the home shared by the households of two separate generations, if large enough, can become a location for family gatherings, the "hub" of the family, as expressed by one participant. In addition, in some cases, the physical proximity of older individuals and youth makes it possible to be involved in activities in the main dwelling, thus avoiding the isolation that they might have felt or that they have experienced prior to sharing a home with their children. In some cases, we were clearly told that home sharing kept seniors and young people alike from being bored or having nothing to do.

Grandparents who co-reside near the grandchildren were not hesitant to mention they were quite happy to be able to see them regularly. The young parents also appreciate the fact their children can benefit from the presence of their grandparents. Many comments had a very emotional dimension: appreciation, a desire to share good times together and help out as needed. In terms of everyday life, the benefits mentioned during the survey dealt with services rendered, the reduction or sharing of some domestic tasks and a better balance in the time allocated to social elements. Exchange of services, for instance, includes sharing a propane tank when a home-sharing family are having friends over and find their tank empty, making adjustments or minor repairs to electronic appliances and babysitting for a few hours. The reduction of domestic tasks relates to two separate phenomena: on the one hand, reduced living space for seniors living in the secondary suite means less cleaning; on the other, the fact that two households share a single home and lot means that building and exterior maintenance can be shared by several people, thus providing more free time for everyone, or can be assumed by one specific person, retired but active men in this case, who see it as an activity to help them to stay alert and occupied, thus providing time for their son-in-law to spend more time with the children, for instance, which can have an effect on social time (time dedicated to work, to family, to recreation, etc.).

Other benefits related to the built environment came out in our survey, but to a lesser degree than those indicated above. One person mentioned that home sharing allowed for optimal use of their large home, providing a sense of being socially useful. For another owner, having family as a tenant meant the secondary suite was kept in better condition than if it were occupied by strangers. The issue of comfort was mentioned twice. Members of families with young children particularly appreciated access to a larger yard, garden and interior space than they could have otherwise acquired due to financial limitations. Finally, it is particularly interesting to note that, in the case of one elderly couple who had been less active for a few years and who moved from a condominium apartment on the third floor of a building to an dwelling added to the side of a son's home, there is a major difference in terms of comfort (no longer the constant need to go up and down stairs) and the sense of freedom resulting from being at garden level.

During our interviews with members of both households involved and a non-home-sharing relative, the same family raised the health benefits for parents living in a ground-floor dwelling. They are no longer bored, they spend more time outside, they are more active and we were even told that they felt younger. Other participants noted the benefits of home sharing on their energy levels. Frequent exposure to and participation in the busy life of younger family members, children and grandchildren, helps to keep older family members young, in both mind and body, to avoid the rapid ageing associated with neighbourhoods or adapted residences where they associate only with the elderly.

3.2.6 The Perceived Drawbacks

Generally speaking, the participants had a lot more to say regarding the benefits of home sharing than its drawbacks. Only one person mentioned no benefits (it should be noted that she had lived with a very sick person who has since died), but many did not list any drawbacks. It is certain, however, that the people surveyed may have been a bit reticent and avoided mentioning any drawbacks, for fear of their relatives finding out and getting angry, despite precautions taken by the members of the research team to ensure the confidentiality of what they had to say.

The principal drawback relates to loss of privacy or the interference of co-resident relatives in parental roles or some aspects of daily life. The issue of privacy is related to the sharing of certain spaces, during which people do not always feel as comfortable or at ease as they would like: the outside yard or, exceptionally (the vast majority of households questioned having a fully equipped apartment), the kitchen. There is sometimes a sense of invasion among sons- and daughters-in law who share a home with their in-laws. The issue of privacy can also be related to interior space, which is often poorly soundproofed. Care must thus be taken to not turn the music or television up too loud, whether living with older or younger individuals. Sexuality is also an issue.

Another drawback mentioned by members of two families pertained to the way other people—relatives, friends or acquaintances—looked at their residential arrangement, which was seen as marginal and in extreme cases “abnormal.”

On occasion, home sharing with an older parent raises suspicion among siblings, who imagine that the person in question is trying to make financial gain or obtain a larger share of any potential inheritance than the others. This is why, whether or not this occurs, or to avoid having it occur, we were told that precautions were taken to ensure that assets were fairly shared by all legal heirs.

One last drawback mentioned is financial. In some cases, home sharing represents additional expenses, rather than savings, but these are largely compensated for by the benefits that are drawn from it.

Conclusion

The main objective of this research was to understand the choices and the changes in habits and lifestyles involved in intergenerational home sharing following the addition of a secondary suite to a single-family home. We speculated that this choice results from family housing strategies based on principles of reciprocity (give and take), which must be addressed in light of (1) the ties between the various members of a specific family in time and space and (2) the opportunities and limitations defined by municipal standards. In other words, it was an attempt to document social and family dynamics before and after the addition of a secondary suite for intergenerational home sharing, to verify how municipal zoning regulations affect the process and to make some recommendations.

The long incubation period and the discussions that usually precede a decision by households in our sampling led us to suggest that intergenerational home sharing is truly a housing strategy, in that it is a thought-out project that is part of a medium- and long-term life project. In terms of the deemed reciprocity rule that, according to our theory, seems to guide the action of the family members involved, we found that it is active when families take in ageing parents who are less independent into a secondary suite added to a single-family home that they own, which was the case in seven of the fifteen families who participated in our study. The importance for younger family members of giving back to their parents what they received, the obligation of reciprocity, could be sensed in their statements and the practices that they described. In short, in these cases, home sharing offers older parents an alternative to seniors' residences; provides necessary care to ill parents while offering a comfortable environment, ensures their psychological and physical security in the event of an accident or illness; protects them from possible attacks by intruders; and, finally, allows them to benefit from frequent visits and to avoid isolation. Help is thus mostly "from the bottom up," i.e., from the younger generation to the older generation. When it is older parents who own their home and "accommodate" younger family members or siblings, the help seems to be "from the top down" or in both directions. In the latter case, it can be said that both home-sharing households help each other. In such cases, representing the other half of our sampling, i.e., eight families, the purpose of deciding to share a home was to ensure better housing conditions and a better life for the children, their spouses and grandchildren, at allowing the older generation to continue to live in a familiar setting, to promote contact and mutual assistance between children and parents (and grandchildren and grandparents, as applicable), and to ensure everyone's physical, psychological and financial security. The relationships between grandparents and grandchildren are also strengthened in home-sharing families with three generations, and older and younger family members say they are lucky to be able to see each other daily or almost daily.

Testimonies collected during this study confirm that relatives who undertake to share a single-family home renovated for that purpose are bound by strong emotional bonds. The members of younger households who choose to share a home with older parents appear to have had a greater affinity with and been closer to their parents than their siblings who do not share the home. In these cases, home sharing only affirms the bonds that already existed. Therefore, it is

not surprising to see that, with one exception,⁹ even before home sharing, all the co-resident households that took part in the study were already living in the Québec City region and saw each other regularly.

It must be mentioned that, in cases where older single women moved in with younger children, it was almost always their daughter rather than their son. This result is consistent with the fact that it is women who still, today, invest more in the care of ageing and ill parents. This care also causes problems for women who work full-time or who have a demanding career, as shown in other studies. This situation raises the question of social responsibility toward seniors and the vulnerable.

Our research confirms that intergenerational home sharing in a secondary suite has many benefits for the households involved. According to the individuals who participated in our study, the benefits far outweigh any real or potential drawbacks. Furthermore, it was the many expected benefits that led them to attempt home sharing. In general, everyone's expectations were fulfilled. Life in adjoining dwellings seems to bring its share of joy for the co-resident households. Their lifestyle is somewhat altered, while in some cases, it is completely transformed (for the better among those who participated in our study). In some cases, the home has become a hub for family gatherings that include family members not sharing the home.

Obviously, home sharing does not just entail benefits. Members of related households who share a home in adjoining dwellings sometimes feel a loss of privacy that is not always easy. It appears essential to properly define the interior and exterior spaces reserved for each household in order to avoid potential conflicts. Home sharing requires some degree of tolerance, as well as a willingness to quickly bring to the table any problems that occur in the course of daily living in order to openly discuss solutions to implement with all of the people involved.

A good prior relationship and a will to be closer together in order to more easily help each other is not, however, enough to launch a renovation of a single-family home for the purpose of home sharing. Municipal regulations must, of course, permit such a project.

⁹ This was the case of a woman who, after being widowed, took in her sick mother. Up to that point, the mother had been living in the Montréal region.

We found no contradictions between the responses from the urban planners and those of co-residents with whom we met. Rather, they seem to converge. The opinions and experiences of all seem to have many similarities, whether regarding the benefits or the drawbacks of intergenerational home sharing in secondary suites for co-residents and neighbours. Among other things, discussions with urban planners more clearly identified the issues that adding dwellings to single-family homes for intergenerational home sharing represent for municipal officials. The benefits mainly relate to revitalizing suburbs. Intergenerational home sharing, however, is not a panacea for the problems of an aging population, aging homes or the problem of seniors housing. In their opinion, this type of project is not likely to increase dramatically in the coming years and the additional pressure created on the sometimes obsolete infrastructure of the first suburbs should continue to be tolerable, even if regulations become more permissive and further facilitate this type of housing arrangement.

The close emotional ties and mutual tolerance required from home-sharing households tends to confirm the theory that home sharing in secondary suites is only for a small percentage of the population over the short- and medium-term. It is, however, a very attractive option for a number of households, as witnessed by the testimonies gathered. The most durable projects are obviously those in which a household with young children moves into the home of one spouse's parents. This helps to lower the average age in the neighbourhood, while helping to maintain the home in question, which could eventually be occupied by someone else when the parents leave, insofar as permitted by municipal regulations.

We also found that intergenerational home sharing sometimes leads to the construction of new homes built specifically for this purpose in growing suburbs. Some construction companies have been offering two-generational homes for many years. To this end, municipal regulations permitting the addition of a secondary suite to existing homes in older suburbs, and the implementation of financial assistance programs for families submitting viable projects would be welcome.

Works Cited

- Attias-Donfut, C. 1997. "Les cycles d'échanges entre trois générations." *Lien social et politiques*. 38: 113-122.
- Bonvalet, C. 1997. "Sociologie de la famille, sociologie du logement : un lien à redéfinir." *Sociétés contemporaines*. 25: 25-44.
- Conseil des aînés. 2001. "L'habitat des aînés." *La Réalité des Aînés Québécois*. 2nd ed. Sainte-Foy: Les Publications du Québec.
- Dubé, G. and H. Steven. 1998. "À Blainville : Miser sur les maisons intergénérationnelles." Municipalité. October-November. pp. 14-15.
- Dubuc, A. "La maison intergénérationnelle gagne en popularité." *Les Affaires*, special section March 2000: B12.
- Gagnon, M. "La loi permet maintenant d'aménager un deuxième logis." *La Presse*. 10 September 1998. p. A11.
- Giddens, A. 1994. *Les conséquences de la modernité*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Giguère, M. "Bientôt à Duberger, des maisons pour deux ou trois générations." *Le Soleil*, (January 27, 2001), p. A11.
- Lavoie, J.-P. 2000. *Familles et soutien aux parents âgés dépendants*. Paris/Montréal: L'Harmattan.
- Leinwand, S. and C. Després. 1999. *Analyse des accomodements réglementaires actuels en rapport avec le logement supplémentaire de banlieue*. Québec: SHQ.
- Maltais, D., S. Robichaud, A. Simard, M. Truchon. and A. Girard. 2000. *Vivre à domicile ou en résidences privées : un défi pour les aînés et les intervenants*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
- Marcil, A. 1999. "Vers une diversité de formules de logements pour un Québec vieillissant." In R. Verret, *L'adaptation de l'habitat au vieillissement de la population*. SHQ, Direction de la planification, de l'évaluation et de la recherche., pp 9-15.
- Martin, C. 2002. "Solidarités familiales : l'illusion du renouveau." J.-F. Dortier, ed., *Familles. Permanence et métamorphoses*. Auxerre: Éditions Sciences Humaines, pp. 107-112.
- McConnell, S. R. and C. E. Usher. 1980. *Intergenerational House-sharing. A Research Report and Resource Manual*. Los Angeles: Ethel Percy Andrus Gerontology Center, University of Southern California Press. 52 p.

Ministère des Affaires Municipales, Sport et Loisir, Government of Quebec. Table of borough populations, 2002. Internet site at http://mamm.gouv.qc.ca/organisation/orga_stru_donn_tabl_arro.htm. [sic] Consulted December 15, 2003.

Morin, A. 2000. "Les familles providences." *L'actualité*. 25. p. 26.

Paquet, M. 1999. *Logique familiale de soutien auprès des personnes âgées dépendantes. Une étude exploratoire sur le recours aux services*. Research Service, Public Health Branch, Lanaudière Regional Health and Social Services Board.

Pratte, A. "Le bungalow réinventé." *La Presse*. (November 15, 1997), p. B4.

Renaud, F. "Logement et vieillissement : une révolution...tranquille!" *Le G érontophile*. 21:1 (1999), p. 11-13.

Rodríguez, L. "User Satisfaction Study of Housing Options for Older Canadians." *Research Highlights, Socio-economic Series*, 83. CMHC-SCHL.

Société d'habitation du Québec. 1999. *Plan stratégique 2000-2003*.

Urban Planning Service, City of Sillery. *Affordability and Choice Today, Demonstration Project, Dividing Large Houses: A Solution for Affordability and Maintenance*. 1995. Online, consulted on October 24, 2003 at <http://www.actprogram.com/English/casestudies/pdf/PB0177.6.pdf>

Verret, R. 1999. "Cohabitation et logement supplémentaire : résultats d'un sondage d'intentions." In *L'adaptation de l'habitat au vieillissement de la population*. SHQ, Direction de la planification, de l'évaluation et de la recherche. pp. 25-34.

Well, E. "Plan de cohabitation entre les générations; Rimouski n'oublie pas ses aînés." *Le Soleil* (May 16, 1996), p. A5.

Appendix 1

Université Laval – Department of Anthropology Research Into Intergenerational Home Sharing in Québec City Suburbs Chart for Gathering Data from Municipal Urban Planning Officials June 2002

1. Municipal Regulations	<p>When did the municipality (pre-amalgamation) introduce regulations allowing secondary suites to be added in single-family zones?</p> <p>What type of regulations are they (zoning, architectural integration and implementation, agreements, reference to the Building Code, commercial licence, etc.)?</p> <p>Could we obtain a copy?</p> <p>How did the municipality reach this decision?</p>
2. Benefits of this type of housing	<p>In your opinion, what are the benefits of adding a dwelling to a single-family home for intergenerational home sharing as regards:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The community—for example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial costs - Environmental costs (e.g., related to urban sprawl) - Aesthetic criteria - Neighbourhood relations - Other <p>Can you provide examples?</p> 2. Individuals and households (the two households sharing the home). For example., as regards: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The dwelling (quality, security, access to services, etc.) - Access to home ownership (for young people) - The time required for travel - Family assistance - Emotional proximity - Other <p>Can you provide examples?</p>

<p>3. Drawbacks</p>	<p>In your opinion, what are the drawbacks of intergenerational home sharing in secondary suites as regards:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The community. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial costs - Environmental costs - Aesthetic criteria - Neighbourhood relations - Other <p>Can you provide examples?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Individuals and households. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The dwelling (quality, security, access to services) - Access to home ownership (for young people) - The time required for travel - Family assistance - Emotional proximity - Other
<p>4. Problems encountered by households deciding to share a home</p>	<p>Can you provide examples?</p> <p>In your opinion, what are the most common problems encountered by households that have experienced the addition of a dwelling to a single-family home for the purpose of home sharing as regards:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial - Compliance with regulations - Emotional or interpersonal - Neighbours' reactions - And so on
<p>5. Impact on property values</p>	<p>How much impact does the renovation of a single-family home to add a secondary suite have on property values as assessed by the Municipality?</p> <p>Can this be an incentive or a hindrance to this practice?</p>

6. Influence of regulations on households' residential strategies	In your opinion, to what degree, in general, can municipal or supra-municipal regulations (e.g., Building Code) hinder or facilitate the projects of households interested in this option?
7. Desirable public policies	In your opinion, is there a way to implement policies that would make it easier for households interested in such housing arrangements (financial, technical assistance, regulations, etc)?
	What type?
	In your opinion, who should offer and/or manage such programs?

Université Laval – Department of Anthropology
Research Into Intergenerational Home Sharing in Québec City Suburbs
Chart for Gathering Data from Members of Households Who Share Homes with Parents (Children)
in a Single-Family Home to Which a Dwelling Has Been Added
July 2002

Initial information to be gathered:

1. Home-sharing situation: homeowner household, household that has come to share the home
2. Physical descriptions and photos of dwellings (before/after, if possible)
 - Main dwelling: orientation, size of lot; size of building; unbuilt space surrounding building; number of storeys, number, location and function of rooms; exterior finish
 - Secondary suite: orientation compared to main dwelling (lateral, offset lateral, upper storey, behind); size of building; number, location and function of rooms
 - Interior access between dwellings?
 - Parking (number, location, size)
3. Description of neighbourhood (lifestyle, when it was first created, types of houses in the neighbourhood, maturity of trees, whether or not there are children, average age of residents, etc.)
4. Number, sex, age and health (whether care is required) of participants and relatives (children) with whom they share a home.

Themes and dimensions	Variables	Questions to Ask
1. Information on members of participating household	1.1 Make-up of household	Who currently lives in the same dwelling as you? (Indicate sex and age.)
	1.2 Professional training	What is your highest level of education? (Specialty, as applicable.) Do you have any other education or specialized training? If so, what?
	1.3 Career path	What is your main occupation?
		What is your spouse's occupation?
		What are your children's occupations? (Who live with you in the same dwelling?)
		What jobs have you held in the past? (Indicate period, if possible.)
	1. 4 Residential path	What jobs has your spouse had in the past?
		How long have you been living in this home?
		When you purchased it, did you think that you would add a secondary suite to the house some day?
		Where did you live previously? With whom?
		Did you live in a house, a rented apartment or a condominium? Where was that house (apartment) located (distance from current residence)? Did you own or rent then?
		How much of your income did you spend on housing prior to home sharing? (Answers may be provided in real figures per month, per year or as a percentage)

2. Geographic and emotional proximity and exchanges between siblings and parents	2.1 Identification of siblings	How many brothers and sisters (sons and daughters) do you have? How old are they?
	2.2 Siblings' (children's) current family situation	Do they have spouses? Children?
	2.3 Siblings' (children's) current residence	Where do they live?
	2.4 Frequency of contact between siblings (children other than those with whom you share a home) and parents (children) with whom you share a home	How often do you see or talk with each of them (or e-mail)? For each: <input type="radio"/> More than three times per week <input type="radio"/> One to three times per week <input type="radio"/> One to three times per month <input type="radio"/> Three to five times per year <input type="radio"/> Less than three times per year
	2.5 Strength of ties with siblings (children other than those with whom you share a home) and parents (children) with whom you share a home	For each, would you say that you are: <input type="radio"/> Very close <input type="radio"/> Quite close <input type="radio"/> Somewhat close <input type="radio"/> Quite distant <input type="radio"/> Very distant
		<input type="radio"/> What do your meetings or conversations with each involve? (Several answers may be given, but must be weighted.) <input type="radio"/> Shared leisure <input type="radio"/> Lunch or Supper <input type="radio"/> Help, exchange of services <input type="radio"/> Babysitting <input type="radio"/> Other (Indicate approximate % for each category.)
	2.6 Strength of ties with parents (children) with whom you share a home	At what age did you (your children) leave your parents' (your) home? Did they continue to help you financially or otherwise? If so, how? Was it on a regular basis or as needed?

	2.7 Impact of home sharing on relationships with immediate and collateral family	<p>Since you started living near your parents (children), have you noticed changes in their relationships with your (their) brothers and sisters? Suggestion, as needed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Frequency of visits o Frequency of services rendered o Types of services rendered
3. Use of outside resources	3.1 Use of public, private or community services	<p>Do you use resources outside your family (community organizations, public services, private home care, school-age care, etc.) for certain services for your parents (yourself)? For your children? Of so, which resources? Explain.</p> <p>Do members of your family (you) provide services or care to your parents or children (e.g., sitting)?</p>
4. Home sharing in a secondary suite	4.1 Decision-making	<p>When did you first consider the idea of living close to your parents (children)?</p> <p>What led you to consider it?</p> <p>Why did it seem like a good idea?</p> <p>Did your spouse agree? Had your parents (child) expressed a desire to live close to you?</p>
	4.2 Steps taken	<p>Explain the process that you followed from the time when you had the idea of home sharing and when your parents (children) moved in. What steps did you have to take (obtain permits, architectural plans, cost estimates, sale of their home, etc.)</p> <p>What difficulties did you encounter (financial, architectural, family, emotional)?</p>
	4.3 Financial information	<p>How much do you estimate your investment to be?</p> <p>How did you financially manage the costs of creating the secondary suite? Do your parents pay rent?</p> <p>What costs do you share and not share (electricity, oil or gas, taxes)? How did you decide?</p> <p>How much of your income do you spend on housing since home sharing?</p> <p>Has the addition of the secondary suite changed the value of your home on municipal rolls?</p>
	4.4 Sharing of space and household tasks	<p>What spaces do you share and not share? How did you decide?</p> <p>What property and home maintenance tasks do you share and not share? How did you decide?</p>

4. Home sharing in a secondary suite (cont.)	4.5 Influence of urban planning regulations regarding secondary suites	Did you enter into a specific agreement with the municipality regarding the use of the dwelling (for family only, dismantle when they no longer live there, etc.)? How did current regulations in your municipality regarding the addition of a secondary suite affect your decision? How did they help (or hinder) you in your process?
	4.6 Perceived benefits and drawbacks	What benefits did you foresee before creating the secondary suite (financial, proximity, assistance, security, access to services, etc.)? What benefits do you see now?
		What drawbacks did you foresee before creating the secondary suite (financial, privacy, possible personal conflicts, assistance, security, access to services, etc.)? What drawbacks do you see now?
	4.7 Impact on social time	Has your use of time (work, family, recreation and social activities, personal time) changed since living close to your parents (children)? How? (Describe a typical weekday, weekend.)
	4.8 Impact on social space	Have there been any changes in where you spend time at work, recreation, helping parents (children) since sharing a home with them? (workplace, clinics, etc.)

Université Laval – Department of Anthropology
Research Into Intergenerational Home Sharing in Québec City Suburbs
Chart for Gathering Data from Members of Households not Sharing the Home
July 2002

Initial Questions

Age and sex of participant
 Address and neighbourhood
 Brief description of residence (house or apartment, size, number of rooms, rent or own)
 Location of residence compared to that of parents (distance, neighbourhoods)

Themes and dimensions	Variables	Questions to Ask
1. Information on members of participating household	1.1 Make-up of household	Who currently lives in the same dwelling as you? (Indicate sex and age)
	1.2 Professional training	What is your highest level of education? (Specialty, as applicable) Do you have any other education or specialized training? If so, what?
	1.3 Career path	What is your main occupation? What is your spouse's occupation? What are your children's occupations?
		What jobs have you held in the past? (Indicate period, if possible.) What jobs has your spouse had in the past?
2. Geographic and emotional proximity and exchanges between siblings and parents	2.1 Frequency of contact between home-sharing siblings and parents	How often do you see or talk with each of them (or e-mail)? For each: <input type="radio"/> More than three times per week <input type="radio"/> One to three times per week <input type="radio"/> One to three times per month <input type="radio"/> Three to five times per year <input type="radio"/> Less than three times per year

	<p>2.2 Strength of ties with home-sharing siblings and parents</p>	<p>For each, would you say that you are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Very close <input type="radio"/> Quite close <input type="radio"/> Somewhat close <input type="radio"/> Quite distant <input type="radio"/> Very distant <p><input type="radio"/> What do your meetings or conversations with each involve? (Several answers may be given, but must be weighted.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Shared leisure <input type="radio"/> Lunch or Supper <input type="radio"/> Help, exchange of services <input type="radio"/> Babysitting <input type="radio"/> Other <p>(Indicate approximate % for each category.)</p> <p>At what age did you leave your parents' home?</p> <p>Did they continue to help you financially or otherwise? If so, how? Was it on a regular basis or as needed?</p>
	<p>2.3 Impact of home sharing on relationships with immediate and collateral family</p>	<p>Since your parents have started living near your brother (sister), have you noticed changes in your relationships with them? Suggestion, as needed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Frequency of visits <input type="radio"/> Frequency of services rendered <input type="radio"/> Types of services rendered
<p>3. Home sharing in secondary suites</p>	<p>3.1 Decision-making</p>	<p>How did you react to the idea of your parents sharing a home with your brother (sister) and his (her) family? Why did you think it is a good (bad) idea?</p> <p>Did your other brothers and sisters agree?</p>
	<p>3.2 Perceived benefits and drawbacks</p>	<p>What benefits did you foresee (for your parents, brother or sister and their family and you and your family) prior to your parents moving into their shared home? (Financial, proximity, assistance, security, access to services, and so on.)</p> <p>What benefits do you see now?</p>

		<p>What drawbacks did you foresee before they moved? (Financial, privacy, possible personal conflicts, proximity, assistance, security, access to services, and so on.)</p> <p>What drawbacks do you see now?</p> <p>Would you do the same thing, share a home with your parents?</p>
	3.3 Impact on social time	<p>Has your use of time (work, family, recreation and social activities, personal time) changed since your parents and brother (sister) share a home?</p> <p>How? (Describe a typical weekday, weekend.)</p>
	3.4 Impact on social space	<p>Have there been any changes in where you spend time at work, recreation, helping parents (children) since your parents and brother (sister) share a home? (workplace, clinics, and so on)</p>

Appendix 2
Illustrations: Houses Before and After Adding a Secondary Suite

Illustration 1
Bungalow (prior to renovation)

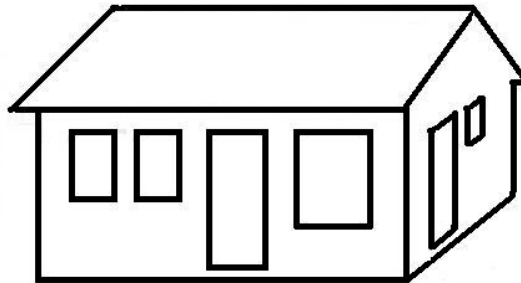


Illustration 2
Addition of an upper storey
The bungalow becomes a cottage-style house

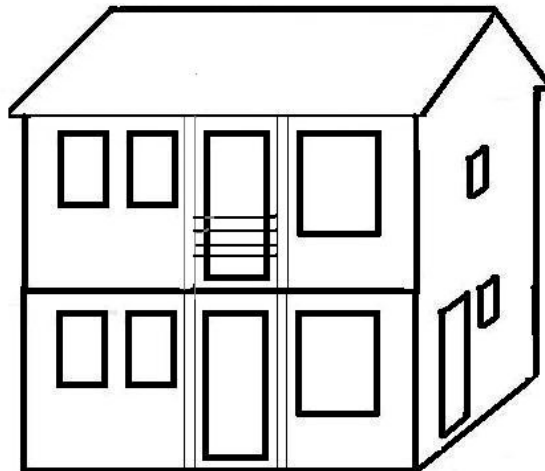


Illustration 3
Lateral addition to a bungalow

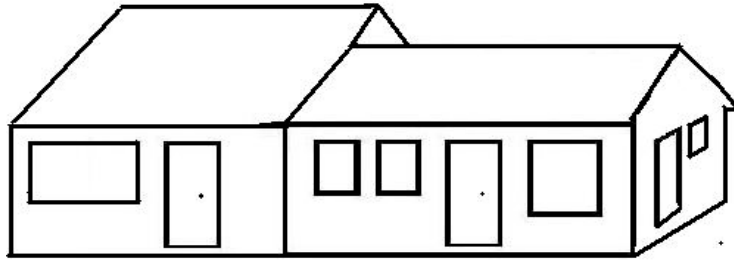


Illustration 4
Home built with two secondary suites
for the purpose of intergenerational home sharing



The main door leads to both secondary suites

Illustration 5
Cottage-style house with a garage (prior to renovation)

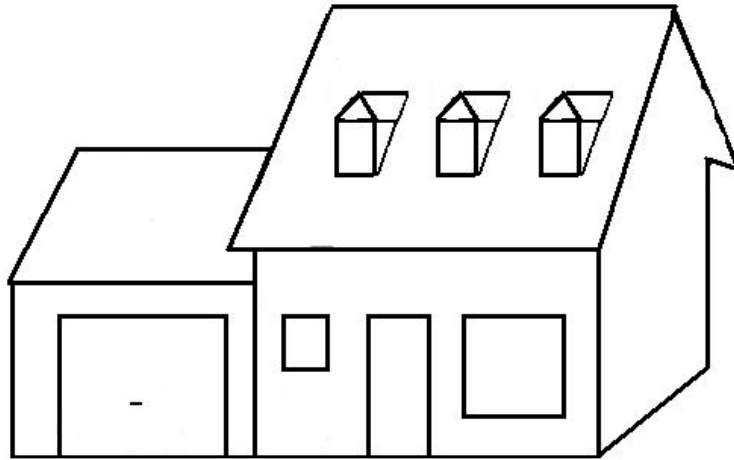


Illustration 6
The garage is transformed into a secondary suite



Visit our home page at www.cmhc.ca