

GRANDFATHERS

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

EDITED
BY

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ANNA
ROTKIRCH

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN STUDIES
IN FAMILY AND INTIMATE LIFE



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Ann Buchanan • Anna Rotkirch
Editors

Grandfathers

Global Perspectives

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Ann Buchanan
University of Oxford
United Kingdom

Anna Rotkirch
Heidelberg, Baden-Württemberg,
Germany

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This book is dedicated to the late Jean Stogdon, who, in 2001, together with Michael Young, co-founded the charity Grandparents Plus, now amalgamated with the Grandparents' Association. The UK has 13 million grandparents, many of whom are involved full-time or part-time in caring for their grandchildren. At one of the last research meetings that Jean attended, when the extent of grandparent care across Europe was being discussed, the question arose as to what we know about grandfathers. Most of the researchers present went along with the assumption that 'grandparents' meant 'grandmothers'. This volume suggests that grandfathers have an important impact on grandchildren that is different and independent from that provided by grandmothers. This role is almost totally unrecognised.

Prologue

An Unusual Grandfather

What One Single-Parent Indian Man Achieved

As narrated by his lawyer granddaughter:

My mother was born in 1946, the sixth of seven children, in a small town in South India. When she was 3 years old, her own mother passed away, leaving my grandfather as a single parent. It was certainly not easy, but my grandfather combined his job as a civil servant with being a committed Gandhian independence supporter and undertaking charity work for a home for poor students from remote villages.

Bringing up seven children as a single father was no mean feat, and there was no welfare system to fall back on. My grandfather did not have time to cook, so he ordered in food from a local café. It was cheap and sometimes came with cockroaches, but it was all my grandfather could do in his situation. My mother went to free local schools, where she was taught in the local language, Telugu, and she did not engage with English until she went to university on scholarships. My grandfather encouraged all his children to develop an interest in games and sports, and he was an avid chess player himself. One of my uncles, who went on to become a doctor, was the state captain in both hockey and football. My grandfather's view of education

was holistic and included exposure to literature, arts, compassion and sharing with others, in addition to academic training.

Alongside independence for India, my grandfather had two particularly strong values, which were based on the fundamental principle of equality. The first was that caste discrimination was an abomination. When two of his daughters told him that they wished to marry men of a different caste whom they had chosen themselves, he supported them fully, in spite of great opposition. This approach flew in the face not only of the caste diktat but also of the practice of arranged marriage. My grandfather told his daughters, 'If I am with you, why do you fear?' Two thousand people attended my aunt's marriage because they could not believe that an inter-caste marriage, approved and organised by the father of the bride, was going to take place.

My grandfather was also committed to equality for women, and this was a value he lived up to without fail. He strongly believed that girls deserved as much education, encouragement and opportunity as boys. He ensured that all his children graduated from university, including his three daughters. It would have been easy to give them away with some monetary dowry, but he refused. His daughters' dowry was their education and the values he had instilled in them. One of my aunts became a doctor and the medical director for the state of Andhra Pradesh, which is around the size of the UK. My mother emigrated to the UK and became, back in the late 1970s, one of the very few Indian women psychiatric consultants in Scotland.

My grandfather's values had a huge impact not merely on the lives of his own children but also on those of his grandchildren. He helped his grandchildren with their school and college work and encouraged them to take part in debates, sports and games. He used to send reading lists to me from India, which nurtured in me a lifelong love of literature. His second son, my uncle, died at an early age, and my grandfather gave ongoing emotional and financial support to his grandson. Most of his grandchildren not only graduated from university but also completed postgraduate work and have entered professional life either in India or abroad. My grandfather lived into his nineties and was able to take great pleasure in the achievements of all his family through the generations.

My grandfather was delighted when I read Law at Cambridge because Nehru had studied at Cambridge and went on to practise law. Nehru was a poster boy for high achievement in those days, and everybody wanted their sons to be like Nehru. The great thing about my grandfather was that he wanted his daughters, and his granddaughters, to be like Nehru, too.

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Contributors

Shalhevet Attar-Schwartz is an Associate Professor at the School of Social Work and Social Welfare, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her research focuses on the welfare and well-being of children and youth. She is particularly interested in subjects related to intergenerational relationships and child well-being, children's outcomes in various family structures, and children's adjustment and social support in out-of-home settings.

Valerie K. Blake is a doctoral candidate in lifespan psychology at West Virginia University in Morgantown, West Virginia. Her research interests focus broadly on successful ageing.

Ann Buchanan is Emeritus Professor and Senior Research Associate in the Department of Social Policy and Interventions, University of Oxford. For twenty years she directed the Centre for Research into Parenting and Children at Oxford. She was awarded an MBE in 2012 for her services to social science.

David Coall is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Medical Sciences at Edith Cowan University in Perth, Western Australia. His research examines evolutionary perspectives on human health and behaviour, with a focus on intergenerational effects, such as the influence grandparents have in families and on the development of grandchildren.

Mirkka Danielsbacka is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki in Finland. She previously studied the history of the Second World War. Her

current research interests focus on the welfare state and reciprocity, family relations and grandparental investment.

Judith A. Davey is a Senior Associate in the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies at the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Her research interests include intergenerational issues and the implications of population ageing.

Deborah Dempsey is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia. Her research interests are in the sociology of personal life, reproductive technologies and ageing. She is best known for her work on family formation in the LGBTI communities. Recent publications include *Families, Relationships and Intimate Life* (2nd edition, Oxford University Press, 2014) and 'Same-Sex Parented Families in Australia' (2013).

Ralph Hertwig is Director of the Centre for Adaptive Rationality, Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin, Germany. He has written widely on the topics of bounded and social rationality, experience-based decision making and grandparental investment.

Sonja Hilbrand is a practising clinical psychologist and a PhD student at the University of Basel in Basel, Switzerland, and the Max Planck Institute of Human Development in Berlin, Germany. She wrote her master's thesis on grandparental investment in Europe. Her PhD covers topics of grandparenting and health in late life.

Briony Horsfall is a doctoral candidate in sociology at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia. Her current research examines participation of children through legal representation in child protection court proceedings. She has been a Senior Research Officer with the Australian Institute of Family Studies, working in the areas of child protection, family violence and family law. Her other research interests include the sociology of childhood, families, gender and socio-legal studies.

Knud Knudsen is a Professor of Sociology (now emeritus) at the University of Stavanger, Norway. His research covers various areas, such as work–family balance for male and female managers, cross-national differences in women's and men's housework, large-scale programmes and medical literacy, as well as grandfathers' and grandmothers' involvement with grandchildren.

George W. Leeson is Co-Director of the Oxford Institute of Population Ageing, Senior Research Fellow at Kellogg College, Oxford, UK, and member

of the Oxford Martin School. His research interests are in the socio-economic-demographic aspects of ageing populations.

Danielle K. Nadorff is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Mississippi State University, USA. Her research investigates the behavioural, emotional and physical health of custodial grandchildren and seeks to compare them with foster children.

Anne-Marie O'Leary is Editor-in-Chief of Netmums, the leading UK parenting Internet site.

Julie Hicks Patrick is Associate Professor of Psychology at West Virginia University in Morgantown, West Virginia. Her research and teaching focus on families at midlife and in late life, including grandparenting, religiousness and health-promotion behaviours.

Anna Rotkirch is Research Professor and Director of the Population Research Institute in Väestöliitto, Finland. As a sociologist she specialises in comparative research on families in Europe. Current research interests include fertility, grandparenting and friendship. In 2013, she co-edited with Ann Buchanan *Fertility Rates and Population Decline: No Time for Children?*, also published by Palgrave Macmillan.

Rebecca Sear is Reader in Population and Health at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM). She heads the Evolutionary Demography Group at LSHTM, which applies the principles of evolutionary theory to understanding human demographic behaviour. She has published extensively on the influence of kin on demographic outcomes.

Cherryl Smith is Director of Te Atawhai O Te Ao: Independent Maori Research Institute for Environment and Health in Whanganui, New Zealand. The institute's *kaupapa* (Central Mission) is research that values Maori ways of doing things.

Jo-Pei Tan is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Social Care and Social Work, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, UK. She was awarded her DPhil in evidence-based social interventions by the University of Oxford, where she worked with Professor Buchanan on the Economic and Social Research Council National Study of Grandparenting. She also holds an MPhil in social and developmental psychology from the University of Cambridge, UK. Dr Tan was awarded the 2008 Young Researcher award for the Category of Social Sciences and Humanities by the University of Putra, Malaysia, when she worked there.

Antti O. Tanskanen is a DSocSci and postdoctoral researcher at the University of Turku in Turku, Finland. His research focuses on working life, kin relations, fertility, health and well-being.

Leng Leng Thang is a sociocultural anthropologist in the Department of Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore, where she is associate professor and chair of the department. Her research interests are in ageing in Asia, and she is co-editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*.

Lauren Wild is a Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town in Cape Town, South Africa. She holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge, UK. Her research focuses on family processes and developmental psychopathology.

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Part I

Overview

1

Introduction

Ann Buchanan and Anna Rotkirch

Making Grandfathers Visible

Just as older men are invisible in the academic literature (Thompson 1994), grandfathers are even more so. Although in the last 20 years there has been a burgeoning of books and journal articles on grandparents and their role in family life, on close inspection most of these relate to grandmothers. Where grandfathers are mentioned, it is as a ‘deficit’ model, that is, compared to grandmothers they are less involved with, and less committed to, their grandchildren (Mann 2007). However, these differences can be very small. Thus, in a recent study of grandparenting

A. Buchanan (✉)

Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford,
Oxford, UK

e-mail: ann.buchanan@spi.ox.ac.uk

A. Rotkirch

Population Research Institute, Väestöliitto, Finland

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across Europe (Glaser et al. 2014), it was noted that whereas 44 % of grandmothers gave regular or occasional help looking after grandchildren, 42 % of grandfathers played a similar role. In Europe in 2004, one in two grandfathers provided any child care in the last 12 months; in France, the Netherlands and Denmark, they were even more active than that. In Italy and Greece, one-third of grandfathers provided grandchild care weekly or more often (Hank and Buber 2007) (Fig. 1.1).

Many of these European grandfathers will be involved in joint care with grandmothers, but nevertheless their contribution is substantial. A study by Grandparents Plus and Age UK suggests that the informal care offered by grandparents in the UK is worth £7.3 billion a year (Grandparents Plus 2014).

There is wide diversity in grandparenting across individuals, communities and ethnic groups, as well as across historical time (Bengtson and Robertson 1985). There are also similarities in the roles grandfathers play in different contexts and societies.

Never before in human history have so many men lived to be grandfathers in relatively good health, having thereby the time and energy to devote to the next generation. The expanding roles of masculine behaviour are also broadening the role of what a grandfather can do. In traditional

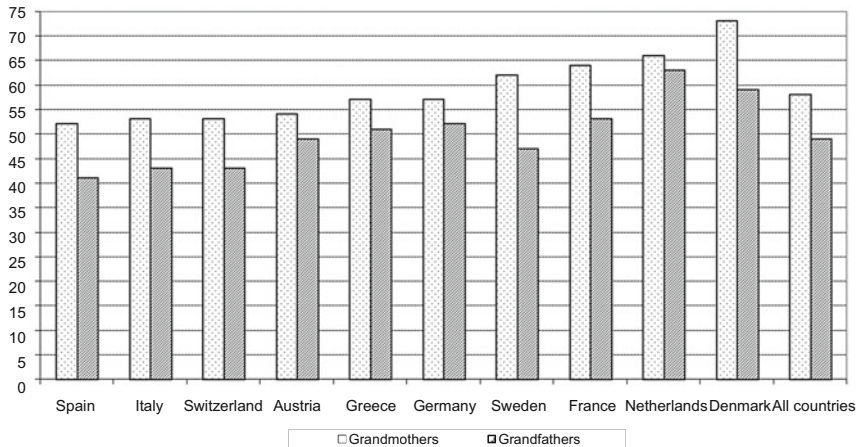


Fig. 1.1 Grandparental care
 (Source: SHARE 2004, weighted data, Hank Karsten’s calculations)

societies, grandfathers are often seen as the head of the male lineage, a figure of authority and a transmitter of cultural values. This is now being complemented by the image of the grandfather as a softer and more caring figure. In Europe today, one trend is for ‘new’ grandfathers to emerge, similar to the appearance of ‘new’ fathers in the 1960s and 1970s.

The male caretaker may also have full responsibility of a small child, engaging in care work and physical play, not merely a ‘helper’ to his female partner. Such new grandfathers may be men who feel they missed out spending time with their own children and find it meaningful to care for their grandchildren (Mann and Leeson 2010). Increasingly often, they are also men who cared for their own children and who find it natural to continue being a caring male for their grandchildren.

This book brings together evidence from around the world, from different disciplines and from different types of research, to give a comprehensive account of grandfather studies. We are interested in the changing roles and expectations of grandfathers, and especially in grandpaternal involvement with children and the impact of this involvement both on grandchildren and on the grandfathers’ own health and well-being. Grandparenting is part of human existence and appears in all societies, providing an often substantial part of the extended caregiving that helps parents feed and raise their children. Much in grandparenting is similar for both men and women, and many aspects of grandparenting are influenced by the spouse; here, we focus on the experience and behaviour of men who have grandchildren, studying them in tandem with their partners or independently. We aim to make visible the grandparent who has typically remained in the shadows.

Global Families

Throughout the world, grandparents share many of the tasks of family life in raising the next generation, taking care of babies and children, providing education and transmitting culture, and helping the nuclear family with practical and financial support. How grandparents, including grandfathers, operate and the values they espouse also vary among the major family systems.

In most of the world and throughout history, the male family line has dominated with regard to residence and to financial and cultural inheritance (e.g. land ownership, family surnames). Daughters have married out whilst sons have stayed in the family, often living together as large extended families headed by the paternal grandfather. Of the major family systems as distinguished by sociologist Göran Therborn (2004), it is especially the highly patriarchal East Asian family system that emphasizes the father–son relationship over all other family bonds. Other Asian family systems and the sub-Saharan family type are also mostly patriarchal and patrilineal, again placing the paternal grandfather in a central position.

In Europe, especially Northern and Western Europe, patriarchy was dismantled earlier, nuclear households were more common as opposed to multigenerational ones and marital dispersion patterns were more varied so that parents could live close to either paternal or maternal grandparents (Therborn 2006).

Whenever women can choose, they usually favour keeping close to their own parents after marriage, not least for purposes of getting help with child care. Also, economic poverty or major upheavals, such as wars and epidemics, tend to loosen up the patriarchal family, activating both sets of grandparents depending on who is available. For instance, the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Africa has orphaned many children, who are now raised by their grandparents.

In these various cases, the maternal grandfather emerges as an important family member alongside the traditionally dominating paternal grandfather. Thus, throughout today's Europe, maternal grandparents provide, on average, more child care than do paternal grandparents. There is also a gender difference, since grandmothers on average provide more care than grandfathers. However, lineage differences often override the gendered division of caring. Based on data from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe, maternal grandfathers provide care to grandchildren somewhat more than paternal grandmothers and clearly more than paternal grandfathers (Hank and Buber 2007; Danielsbacka et al. 2015). This preference for the maternal lineage is partly, but not fully, explained by greater emotional closeness between the child's parents and maternal grandparents (Danielsbacka et al. 2015) (Fig. 1.2).

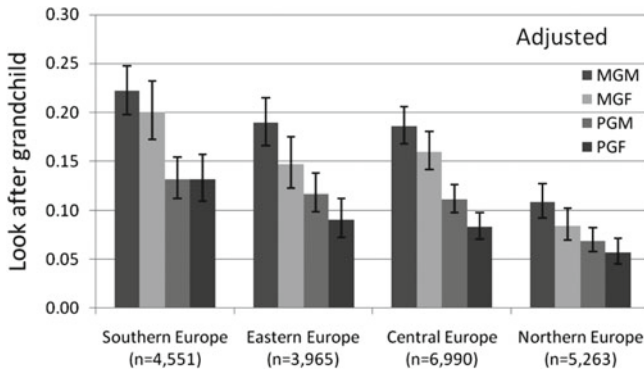


Fig. 1.2 Grandparental care by lineage and country group (predicted probabilities and 95 percent confidence intervals) Reprinted from Danielsbacka et al. 2011. Regression models adjust for grandparents' self-reported health, education, partnership status, job situation, number of children and grandchildren, geographical distance to child and children's year and country of birth. Country groups include Southern Europe: Spain, Italy and Greece; Eastern Europe: Czech Republic and Poland; Central Europe: Switzerland, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium; Northern Europe: Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark)

Cultural expectations of grandparents vary significantly. At one extreme are the Western individualistic cultures, where the stress is on self-reliance, decision-making based on individual needs, and the right to a private life (Triandis et al. 1988). Here the role of the grandparent is seen as lying outside the immediate family. At the other extreme are the East Asian patriarchal collectivist cultures, in which absolute loyalty is expected to one's immediate and extended family and ethnic group. Decision-making processes emphasise the needs of the family and kin group first. In Confucian families (Chap. 7), individual needs are supposed to be subsumed under those of the family.

Countries also vary in how much grandparents are seen as being part of everyday family life. In the developing world, the most usual household model is the extended family, in which generations live together and share the household tasks and responsibilities. In Western countries, the dominant model is the nuclear family, in which the parents of one generation live apart from their own parents in their own household. Only

the parents of dependent children are recognised both by society and in law as those kin responsible for the care and well-being of their young.

However, in recent years, with populations becoming more diverse in the USA, UK, and Australia, the number of three-generation families has increased. During early childhood, for example, nearly one-quarter of US children live in a three-generation household (Pilkauskas and Martinson 2014). Here the role of the grandparent, and in particular the grandfather, may be more important than in nuclear families. Also, within Europe, the Southern and Central regions, with more conservative family values, tend to have more intensive involvement from grandparents (e.g. Jappens and Van Bavel 2012).

Demographic Trends Increase Grandfather Availability

Whether grandfathers can play a role with their grandchildren of course depends on whether they survive long enough, and are healthy enough, to see their grandchildren grow up. Changing demography is partly responsible for the new importance attached to grandfathers.

Never before have there been so many older people. The United Nations (UN) report that population ageing is unprecedented in human history. By 2050, the number of older persons in the world will exceed the number of young for the first time. In fact, this historic reversal has been taking place in the more developed areas of the world since 1998. Other areas are predicted to follow suit (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division 2002). It is also predicted that population ageing will endure: there will not be a return to the large number of young people that our ancestors knew. To date, marked differences in the number of old people exist from one region to another; however, with improving health, these differences are likely to narrow. In 2000, in more developed regions, almost one-fifth of the population was aged 60 years or older. In less developed regions, the figure is currently 8 % but is expected to rise to 20 % by 2050.

Population ageing means that people everywhere are living longer. According to the UN World Health Statistics (World Health Organisation 2014), a girl born in 2012 can expect to live around 73 years and a boy to the age of 68, or 6 years longer than the average lifespan of a child in 1990. Women live longer than men, with a difference of around 6 years in high-income countries and 3 years in low-income countries. A girl born in 2012 in a high-income country can expect to live to around the age of 82, which is 19 years longer than a girl born in a low-income country. The difference for boys is 16 years. The fastest growing age group includes those over 80. It is estimated that by the middle of the century one-fifth of older people will be 80 years or older.

Since men tend to marry and become parents at somewhat older ages than women, and men also have a lower life expectancy, grandfathers are usually less available in a grandchild's life than are grandmothers. While the ageing population is increasingly healthy, few grandparents over 70 can be involved very actively in taking care of children. Nevertheless, an increasing number of grandfathers are around in children's lives, as are a small but increasing number of great-grandfathers.

In addition to living longer, older people are remaining healthier and fitter for more years, especially in the developed world. Lifestyle choices, such as smoking, loneliness and obesity, are often mentioned as important factors affecting health. But social relations are even more important. Research from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine used population-based data to explore levels of health and mental well-being in older persons (Minkler et al. 1997). The researchers found that more than any other factor, older people with the best quality of life had regular social interaction. This was particularly true of men, for whom retirement can be synonymous with loneliness and, ultimately, depression.

If, however, grandfathers are to have a role in their grandchildren's lives, their own children need to reproduce. Around the world, most adults are having fewer children and becoming parents later in life. Total fertility rates, or the total number of children born to a woman in her lifetime, have fallen dramatically, particularly in the developed world (Buchanan and Rotkirch 2013). Between 1950 and 2010, the world total fertility rates halved from 4.97 to 2.53 (UNesa 2013). In the majority of

countries, the total fertility rate is below 2.1 children per woman—the number needed to replace the population. In addition, the number of women and men who remain childless is currently rising in most countries (Haskey 2013). Fertility rates remain high in Africa, and in the UK the total fertility rate has recently risen from 1.5 to 1.9 (ONS 2014a), largely as a result of immigration. But overall, global fertility rates are unlikely to return to the high rates of the past (Buchanan and Rotkirch 2013).

With longer lifespans and lower fertility, more grandfathers are around to invest time and resources in every child born. In addition, human capital becomes a higher priority in ageing and low-fertility societies. The increased investment in the early years, for example, in the UK, is as much about the economy—maximising the potential of all children as future workers—as for democratic reasons (Esping-Andersen 2013). Across the developed world, in addition to improvements in health and education, family-friendly policies have grown apace (Glaser et al. 2014).

Parents invest more time and resources in their children than ever before, as do grandparents.

To maintain the resources to provide children the education and quality of life parents feel are necessary, two sources of income have become a necessity for many parents. The dual-income family is the norm in most Western countries, and increasingly in the UK as well. Women, especially those with higher education, are also finding careers more rewarding than staying at home (Buchanan 2013). Labour force participation rates of women in the prime ages of 25 to 54 years continued to rise in the 1990s to between 60 and 85 % (Limm 2002). In the UK in 1996, 67 % of married or cohabiting mothers with dependent children were in work, and by 2013 this had increased to 72 %. There was also an increase in single mothers' employment from 43 to 60 % over the same period (ONS 2013). Across the world, some 50 % of all women are working (United Nations 2002). This raises the question of who will care for the children, especially those in the critical pre-school age and older children after school and during holidays. In addition to institutionalized child care services, there is considerable evidence that in many parts of the world, grandmothers and grandfathers are filling the gap.

Divorces, Remarriages and New Family Constellations Affect Grandparenting

Both parents and grandparents divorce and remarry more than in previous decades. Across the world, divorce rates vary from some 60 % of all marriages in Russia, Sweden and Ukraine to under 40 % in Iceland and Kazakhstan (Divorce.com 2014). In the UK it is expected that 42 % of marriages will end in divorce (ONS 2012), and 48 % of couples divorcing have at least one child under 16 years of age. Many of these divorced parents will remarry or end up in stable cohabitation situations. Nevertheless, in the UK, the proportion of single parents who have never married has increased from below 40 % in the mid-1990s to 54 % in 2012. Parental separation puts pressure on children, and grandparents are known to be especially important in mitigating the negative effects of divorce on child development and well-being. However, there are also positive sides to new blended families: for instance, through remarriages, the number of kin and grandparents available in a child's life can increase substantially, although the treatment of different 'types' of grandchildren is not necessarily equal (e.g. Tanskanen et al. 2014).

Importance of Knowledge About Grandfathers' Involvement for Social Policy

In 2006, Buchanan and researchers at the Oxford Centre for Research into Parenting and Children undertook a study, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), on grandchildren's views of their grandparents' involvement (Buchanan and Flouri 2008). A representative study of some 1500 children from all over England and Wales aged 11–16 took part. The key finding was that the involvement of grandparents in grandchildren's lives was associated with greater well-being in the children as measured by the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire. In this study, we did not separate out the impact on grandchildren of each grandparent, and in particular we did not separate out the impact of grandfathers' involvement. Replications of this study have since been

undertaken in Malaysia, Israel and South Africa. In all cases, the impact of grandfathers on their grandchildren was not separated from that of grandmothers.

Grandparental care is beneficial, but it can also be too extensive. One result that has come out of our research has been that parents who had problems with parenting when bringing up their own children can become much better as grandparents. Recent research from Europe, however, indicates that extensive (more than 30 hours a week) grandparent involvement in child care is associated with negative behavioural outcomes and psychological effects among children and adolescents; however, it is hypothesised that some of the children's difficulties may be due to the family difficulties which led to the grandparents' involvement (Glaser et al. 2014). One of the chapters in this book finds that especially extensive grandparental care may not always be good for grandchildren.

The children's difficulties may also be related to the stresses experienced by the grandparents in undertaking care. Research from the USA, using a national longitudinal study, suggests that where grandparents are primary carers for grandchildren (Minkler et al. 1997), they may have higher rates of depression than would be expected if they were not caring for grandchildren.

Legal Systems

Since the Second World War there a series of radical changes have taken place across Europe in family and social-care policies, providing benefits, allowances and job protection to families and dependent individuals (Hantrais and Mangen 1996). These policies have direct and indirect impacts on the welfare of families and children, as well as on the broader society but also impinge on the role of the grandfather.

The characteristics of such policies both arise from and shape the concept of the family and who is responsible for providing social care. Any study considering these questions must therefore take into account the different cultures, traditions and socioeconomic changes that have shaped particular systems of formal–informal care of children and other dependents (Daly and Lewis 2000; Skinner and Finch 2006; Wheelock

and Jones 2002). Some countries offer family benefits to a wider circle than the nuclear family and entitle working grandparents (or even family members such as great-grandparents, aunts and uncles, and siblings) to some benefits, such as parental leave, parental allowances, or sick leave to care for a child.

With grandparents providing so much care and support for the next generation, it is strange that where legal systems are based on the dominant ‘nuclear’ family model, grandparents have so few rights in relation to their grandchildren. Under the Children Act (1989) in England and Wales, only parents have parental responsibility and are central to the care of children, unless this care is likely to place children at risk of health impairment or significant harm. Grandparents have no legal rights as such, and if they want to assist in helping care for their grandchildren, they must apply for permission from the court to do so. In recent years, with evidence that kinship care is better for children than care by non-kin, that is local authority foster care (Luttman et al. 2009), there has been some mellowing of attitudes. Nevertheless, reports are still seen in the media (Channel 4 2013) about grandchildren being taken into public care or precipitously adopted with little or no reference to grandparents who might be available to care for the children.

In other societies, especially in Asia where it is more usual for families to live together in extended units, the law is more inclusive of the wider family.

Key Questions

In subsequent chapters, we hope to answer the following questions:

- How involved are grandfathers in their grandchildren’s lives?
- What influence do cultural factors have on the role of grandfathers, and are these changing?
- What factors are associated with an ‘involved’ grandfather?
- What are the links between the involvement of grandfathers and the grandfathers’ own health and well-being?
- What are the links between this involvement and the well-being of grandchildren?

Why are some grandfathers not involved?

What are the policy implications of grandfather involvement in the lives of children?

Organization of the Book

This book broadly follows the preceding questions. Chapter 2 considers the theory of grandfather involvement and the multitude of factors that influence the role a grandfather plays in his family. The chapter presents an interdisciplinary perspective on grandparenting, incorporating research from the fields of evolutionary biology, sociology, economics and psychology. A broad range of influences are examined, including familial factors such as biological relatedness, whether the grandfather is maternal or paternal, the distance grandfathers need to travel to their grandchildren, the obligation grandfathers feel to subsequent generations, individual factors such as health, education and marital status of the grandfather, and broader economic and cultural factors of the grandparent.

In Part II case studies from different countries explore the cultural factors involved. Chapter 3 explores the roles grandfathers have played in the UK and USA, giving snapshots from biblical times through to medieval England, to the early settlers in America and the slave family, to the impact of the Industrial Revolution, and on to the Victorian patriarch. It highlights the social and cultural construction of grandparenting (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Across history in different periods, in different social conditions and in different countries, the role of grandfathers has been constructed to adapt to the social realities in which they live and the cultural expectations of their society. The analysis illustrates that, although the patriarchal model is the fallback position, the modern grandfather is a much more nurturing and involved person than in past times.

Then, in the next chapter, based on research from Denmark, indicates that both younger and older grandfathers, across a range of socio-economic conditions, are taking on a mentoring role for grandchildren, passing on to their grandchildren knowledge, attitudes and opinions that can help them in life, without intruding on the role of the parents. Crucially, these grandfathers have time, which working parents do not have, to spend with the children.

The next chapter explores grandfather involvement from parents' perspective. Earlier research by Buchanan and Flouri (2008) demonstrated that parents were the gatekeepers. In most cases, children will not have access to their grandparents unless their parents facilitate it. Data for this chapter came from unprompted comments by parents on grandfathers on the 'Coffeehouse' forum in Netmums. These comments illustrate the decisions parents make when allowing their children access to their grandfathers. Much of this is positive, but there are also darker issues, and the impact of difficult family relationships is well illustrated.

The following chapter focuses on the Maori community in *Aotearoa* (New Zealand) and compares the roles of grandfathers in that community with those in the non-Maori community. The cultural traditions of the Maori give prominence to their elders—older women and older men as community leaders and as grandparents.

Yet another shift across the world takes us to grandfathers in Asia, especially in societies influenced by Confucian teachings. It explores the literature from an anthropological perspective and presents findings from the author's studies on Asian grandparenthood.

Part III explores the big picture and considers factors associated with involved grandfathering in the large national and international data sets. The first study uses the Australian Household, Income and Labour Dynamics Study to demonstrate continuity and change in grandparents doing childcare. The author found that older men were entering grandfatherhood at a time when social mores about fathering were changing but that, nevertheless, gendered division of care, parenting and paid work remained. The second study uses data from eleven of the European countries that took part in the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). Among other factors, this study confirmed that grandfathers with a partner in their older years increased their individual capacity for involvement with grandchildren.

The final study takes us to Finland, where the authors discuss findings from an investigation based on generational transmissions in a survey from Finland. In this study, the impact of divorce on both generations is considered.

Part IV explores the effects of grandchild involvement on grandfathers and the advantages and disadvantages. In a study of grandfathers from the USA and Canada, Julie Hicks Patrick and Danielle K Nadorff draw

on current knowledge from national surveys and other empirical studies and report a variety of positive, neutral and negative effects related to their caregiving role.

Part V goes on to consider the links between child well-being and grandfather involvement. The first study uses data from the Millennium Cohort Study to investigate an association between maternal grandfathers' involvement and child development in children under 5 years old in England. To our knowledge, this is the first study to explore such an association. Results showed that contact with maternal grandfathers is associated with children's higher Foundation Stage Profile (FSP) assessment scores. The study suggests that, although the results are only correlational and one cannot be sure that the beneficial associations are entirely independent of grandmother involvement, maternal grandfathers may have beneficial effects on their grandchildren. The next three studies explore the effect of grandfather involvement on teenagers, as reported by the teenagers themselves. The first of these studies was conducted in England and Wales and involved some 1500 adolescents aged 11 to 16. Positive associations were seen between grandfathers' involvement and measures of adolescent well-being. Extracts from interviews with young people who took part illustrate that while grandmothers undertook more nurturing types of care, grandfathers actively involved the young people in doing things they enjoyed. The second study was undertaken in South Africa with 700 'coloured' (mixed-race) and black African students who were around 14 years old. Results indicated that, although the involvement of paternal grandfathers was not associated with adolescents' overall psychological well-being, more involvement by maternal grandfathers was associated with fewer emotional problems in young people, even when the involvement of parents and grandmothers was taken into account. These findings suggest that maternal grandfathers in South Africa make a contribution to promoting adolescent well-being that is independent of, and different from, the positive contribution of grandmothers.

The final study is a replication of the UK study. It was conducted in Israel, this time with 2750 Arab and Jewish adolescents aged 12 to 18. The study emphasises the positive role grandfathers may have in adolescents' lives as well as the importance of taking culture into account when examining intergenerational relationships.

The final chapter (Chap. 16) draws together the findings from all chapters and presents a critical perspective. It discusses the new insights that come from studies across countries and disciplines. It considers the factors associated with grandfather involvement and how tradition to some extent defines the grandfather role in families but how this may be changing. It summarises the evidence of the benefits and stresses of grandfather involvement and the emerging evidence of the possible benefits to children. More importantly, it considers why some grandfathers are *not* involved and the stresses and tensions often present in family life that act as barriers to intergenerational togetherness. Finally, it outlines the policy implications of the study.

The conclusion is that, although issues relating to family life are always complex, more could be done to promote the positive aspects of grandfather involvement with grandchildren.

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2

A New Niche? The Theory of Grandfather Involvement

David A. Coall, Sonja Hilbrand, Rebecca Sear,
and Ralph Hertwig

Introduction

Grandparents in contemporary industrialized societies invest substantial amounts of time, money and care in their grandchildren. For example, in the USA in 2007, 2.5 million grandparents were responsible for meeting

D.A. Coall (✉)

School of Medical Sciences, Edith Cowan University, Perth, WA, Australia
e-mail: d.coall@ecu.edu.au

S. Hilbrand

University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland

Max Planck Institute of Human Development, Berlin, Germany

R. Sear

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London, UK

R. Hertwig

Centre for Adaptive Rationality, Max Planck Institute for Human
Development, Berlin, Germany

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most of the basic needs of one or more of the grandchildren who lived in their household (US Census Bureau 2009). Across eleven European countries, 44 % of grandparents reported to have provided childcare for their grandchildren in the last 12 months without the parents present (Glaser et al. 2013). This involvement is considerable. With rapidly changing family structures and a concomitant change in the potential role of both grandmothers and grandfathers, research is now slowly moving from a strong focus on grandmothers to understanding also the specific roles grandfathers play. It is naive to lump all grandparents together in investigations, as is often done, or to focus only on maternal grandmothers or select the 'favourite' or most involved grandparent. This 'favouritism' in past research resulted in marginalization of the role of grandfathers (Mann 2007), even to the exclusion of grandfathers from research (Reitzes and Mutran 2004), and to 'grandparent' becoming synonymous with 'grandmother' (Harper 2005). We aim to make the first steps towards addressing this blind spot in theory and research. We do so by bringing together research from evolutionary biology, sociology, economics and psychology to suggest an interdisciplinary perspective on grandfathering.

Across industrialized nations, grandfathers make notable contributions to grandchild care that approach those made by grandmothers. In a sample of more than 35,000 people across ten European countries, 58 % of grandmothers and 49 % of grandfathers provided some care for their grandchildren during a 12-month period (Hank and Buber 2009). In one study, German grandfathers aged 55 to 69 years were observed to spend, on average, 12.8 hours each month supervising their grandchildren (Kohli et al. 2000). Like the investments of grandmothers, this notable investment of grandfathers has the potential to influence family function and grandchildren's health and well-being. At the same time, systematic differences between grandfathers and grandmothers are likely to influence grandfathers' involvement, the role they play and the consequences their behaviour brings. Such differences concern the timing of marriage, family formation, health and life expectancy, financial and social resources, life experiences and socialization (Szinovacz 1998a; Tran et al. 2009). Next, we examine grandfathers' care using the main theoretical perspectives. Then we use an the empirical example of sex and lineage

to show how the diverse theoretical perspectives, often seen as conflicting, can complement each other. Finally, we explore the new niche that grandfathers may occupy in families as a result of demographic and family structure changes.

Why Do Grandfathers Care?

Many grandfathers, in the immediate pre-grandparenthood stage, openly say to their families and friends that they do not understand what all of the fuss is around becoming a grandparent. Then, quite suddenly, with the arrival of their grandchild, there is a recognizable shift in grandfathers' views, often with an immediate connection and an element of surprise (St George and Fletcher 2014). As we will discuss subsequently, why this change takes place and why grandfathers invest in their grandchildren can be explored from many perspectives.

There are myriad dimensions that influence the role and impact grandparents have within families. These dimensions have been explored and documented by disciplines as diverse as sociology, economics, psychology and evolutionary biology (Coall and Hertwig 2010). Each of these disciplines has made substantial contributions that are crucial to understanding the role of grandparents. To date, each discipline, however, has worked largely in isolation, with little reference to, and benefit from, the others (Coall and Hertwig 2011). To achieve the greatest impact in this research area, it is time to join forces by simultaneously exploring grandparental investment on multiple levels. Next, we briefly turn to some of the basic theoretical approaches (for detailed reviews, see Coall and Hertwig 2010).

The Evolutionary Perspective

The broadest level of explanation highlights humans within an evolutionary context as cooperative breeders. According to the cooperative breeding hypothesis, a mother does not raise her children by herself but is helped by other members of her social group (Hrdy 2009). Although in

both traditional societies (generally low income, higher fertility, higher mortality with limited access to medical services) and contemporary industrialized societies (generally high income, low fertility, low mortality with wide access to medical services; many would be considered postindustrial), these helpers are not necessarily kin (Coall et al. 2014; Ivey 2000); one class of kin helper, often available and inclined to help, is that of post-reproductive adults—grandparents.

Within this predominantly anthropological literature, the focus has been on grandmothers. Williams (1957) initially proposed that menopause in humans was unique among animal species and therefore may be understood by an evolutionary perspective. He suggested that menopause has evolved because, at a certain age, the benefit of continued care to existing children (and grandchildren) outweighs the cost of further reproduction (mainly risks associated with childbirth). This thesis triggered numerous investigations into the influences of kin in general—and grandmothers in particular—on the survival of offspring in contemporary traditional and historical human populations.

One of the resultant lines of research has culminated in the *grandmother hypothesis*. The grandmother hypothesis proposes that grandmothers might have been the most knowledgeable, efficient and motivated helpers for reproducing mothers throughout human history (Hawke et al. 1998). They are considered by some to be the mothers' ace in the hole (Hrdy 2009), helping them to leave more children and grandchildren than mothers whose own mothers are no longer available to help.

The grandmother hypothesis is currently the most influential theory to explain why human female longevity extends beyond menopause and the extended human lifespan more generally. In their now classic study of the influence family members have on child survival, Sear and Mace (2008) reviewed forty-five studies investigating the effects of the presence versus absence of various kin. Their findings generally supported the beneficial influence of post-reproductive relatives, especially the maternal grandmother, in natural-fertility societies (these are generally high-fertility, high-mortality societies in which contraceptives are not used). Of the thirteen studies examining the influence of maternal grandmothers, nine (69 %) found that the presence of a maternal grandmother was associated with an increase in her grandchildren's probability of surviving the high-risk times of infancy and

childhood. Studies have been more inconsistent in their findings about the benefits of paternal grandmothers: depending on the investigation, having a paternal grandmother present had a positive (53 %), negative (12 %) or no (35 %) influence on child survival. Thus, although there is evidence in support of the grandmother hypothesis, it is not uniformly positive.

Is there evidence that a similar advantage of grandfathering might have influenced the evolution of the human life cycle? Sear and Mace (2008) found evidence that the presence of grandfathers painted a different picture compared to grandmothers. In 83 % (ten of twelve studies) of cases, the presence of maternal grandfathers was not associated with child survival, but in the remaining two studies, it had a positive association. In the case of paternal grandfathers, 50 % of studies had no effect (six of twelve studies), 25 % had a positive effect, and the remaining 25 % showed that the presence of the paternal grandfather was associated with reduced child survival.

To date, there does not seem to be strong evidence that caring by grandfathers provides an adaptive explanation for why grandparents exist, in the same way that caring by grandmothers may explain the evolution of post-reproductive women (often grandmothers). In a historical Finnish population (1714–1839), with a positive influence of grandmothers' presence on child survival (Lahdenperä et al. 2004), no association was found between grandfathers' presence and increased grandchild survival. Furthermore, no evidence was found that grandfathers who lived longer ultimately had more grandchildren (Lahdenperä et al. 2007, 2011). Males could remarry after being widowed (divorce was not permitted in this historical population) and, thus, could reproduce for a longer period of time. Yet, amongst men who remarried, the channelling of resources to their new family had such a large impact on the survival of children from the man's original family that the number of grandchildren they had actually fell after 50 years of age (Lahdenperä et al. 2011). Reductions in paternal investment are also seen in serially remarried families in industrialized nations (Tanskanen et al. 2014). These first findings provide little reason to assume that grandfathering would have been favoured by natural selection. This research, however, is still in its infancy, and the findings do not yet preclude benefits of grandfathering at the family and individual levels. We will see this shortly.

The Economic Perspective

Intergenerational transfers can take many forms. They can occur via inheritance, consist of financial or time transfers, and or be upward or downward. Possibly because of this variety, there is no overarching economic model of parental, let alone grandparental, investment. Nevertheless, most models rest on the utility maximization and rational choice framework, and many models of intergenerational transfers between family members have proposed the existence of two competing motives: altruism and self-interested exchange.

Children are expensive (Kaplan 1994), so why do parents shift so many of their resources to their children? According to Becker (1974) and Barro (1974), parents' welfare is partly a function of the welfare of their children and grandchildren. Specifically, the parent's utility function incorporates the child's likely lifetime utility. This would explain why parents shift resources to their children as a function of those children's quality (e.g. skills and abilities) and later use wealth transfers to equalize outcomes across children (redistributive neutrality). Successive generations are thus linked by recursive altruistic preferences. That is, parents care altruistically for their children, who then transfer resources to their children, and so on.

In the self-interested-exchange view, parents' transfers are part of a strategic bargaining between parents and children (Laferrère and Wolff 2006). Intergenerational transfers can be understood as investments through which parents try to secure their children's commitment in the future. Anticipating that when they become frail they will need help, parents invest now (e.g. education expenses, gifts, loans) and in the future (promise of inheritance) to increase the likelihood that their children will help them in their time of need.

There are a number of empirical challenges to both the altruistic and the self-interested-exchange views (Arrondel and Masson 2006). One problem with the altruistic view, for example, is that parents transfer most of their wealth through bequests, rather than earlier in the form of gifts, when children need them most. The self-interested-exchange view faces the problem that, although grandparents undoubtedly do invest

substantial amounts of resources in their grandchildren, there is little evidence that grandchildren consistently reciprocate. The few grandparents who do receive support from their grandchildren may derive a relatively larger benefit, but such cases represent a small minority (Hoff 2007).

The Sociological Perspective

The extended family first received scant attention within the sociological modernization paradigm and its emphasis on the nuclear family. In recent decades, demographic dynamics and the increasing fragility of state-funded pension schemes pushed the issues of intergenerational exchanges and intergenerational solidarity to centre stage. In studying these issues, sociologists have been predominately focused on structural factors (e.g. female participation in the labour force), social institutions (e.g. how wealth is taxed at death) and cultural values (e.g. family obligations and roles). Their investigations have produced a wealth of information on factors that clearly have consequences for patterns of grandparental investment but are consistently neglected by other fields (e.g. individual values and cultural norms). The potential value of this research in building a coherent picture of grandparenting has been limited because, currently, these diverse studies are not situated within an overarching theoretical framework, the lack of which is recognized by sociologists as limiting progress (Szinovacz 1998b).

One attempt towards creating an encompassing framework is the rational-grandparent model (Friedman et al. 2008). Echoing the self-interested-exchange view in economics, this model assumes that the driving force behind investments is grandparents' concern about how they will be provided for in old age. To reduce this uncertainty, grandparents preferentially invest in those grandchildren whose parents are most likely to reciprocate in the future. Although some explicit predictions of the model (e.g. that grandparents are indifferent to biological relatedness) conflict with evolutionary perspectives, the benefit of this model is that it provides a framework of testable predictions about how grandparental investment varies.

Explaining the Same Robust Grandparental Investment Pattern from Different Perspectives

As emphasized earlier, treating all grandparents, or even all grandfathers, as a homogeneous group is remiss. It neglects the enormous variability among grandparents and the variable circumstances under which they contribute to their families. Across disciplines and measures of grandparental care, support and closeness, perhaps the most robust pattern found in industrialized nations is this: maternal grandmothers invest the most in their grandchildren, followed by maternal grandfathers, then paternal grandmothers, with paternal grandfathers investing the least (Dubas 2001; Eisenberg 1988; Euler and Weitzel 1996; Hoffman 1980; Laham et al. 2005; Monserud 2008; Pollet et al. 2009; Uhlenberg and Hammill 1998). Across disciplines, however, different explanations exist for this pattern. Sociological theorizing holds that women are kin-keepers, tasked with holding kin groups together (Dubas 2001; Eisenberg 1988). Similarly, according to the sociological family systems theory, it is the gatekeeper role of the parent (middle) generation that encourages (or not) the grandparent–grandchild relationship (Chan and Elder 2000; Rossi and Rossi 1990). Consequently, when grandparent and parent are female (e.g. maternal grandmother), the bond between grandparent and grandchild will be stronger relative to both parties being male (e.g. paternal grandfather). This combination of social factors can produce the grandparental investment pattern described earlier.

Evolutionary perspectives attribute this association between grandparent type and involvement (discriminative grandparental solicitude [Euler and Weitzel 1996]) to sex-specific reproductive strategies and paternity uncertainty (see Table 1 in Coall and Hertwig 2010). The term *investment* is here used to denote all resources, care and time that a grandparent provides to a grandchild. Evolutionary theory does not predict grandfathers will invariably help their grandchildren simply because grandfathers are related to their grandchildren. Rather, according to Hamilton's rule (Hamilton 1964), helping is moderated by opportunity costs that may differ across types of grandparents (e.g. grandmother vs. grandfather), making some investment alternatives more valuable than others.

Theoretically, paternity uncertainty is also predicted to play a role. Whereas women are 100 % certain who their children are, males cannot be 100 % certain that they are the biological father of their children. Note that the use of the word *certain* in this context does not necessarily imply conscious thoughts and reflections. Grandparents with higher levels of certainty of their biological relationship to their grandchildren are assumed to invest more than those with lower levels of certainty. This assumption can explain why maternal grandmothers, certain of their relationships with their daughters and their daughters' relationship with their grandchildren, invest more than paternal grandfathers. Paternal grandfathers have two points of uncertainty between themselves and their grandchildren; they cannot be 100 % certain of their relationship with their sons or of their sons' relationship with their grandchildren (Euler and Weitzel 1996; Smith 1987). The fact that these patterns of grandparental investment may be confined to industrialized societies and are not always present in rural (Pashos 2000; Kaptijn et al. 2013) and more traditional populations means that there is some question over the actual impact of paternity uncertainty (Sear, in press)—also, cross-cultural estimates suggest that only around 2 % of children are being fathered by someone other than their putative father (Anderson 2006).

The notion of paternity uncertainty suggests that both maternal grandfathers and paternal grandmothers would invest an intermediate amount because they both have one point at which their relationship certainty with their grandchildren could be severed. In reality, however, maternal grandfathers invest significantly more than paternal grandmothers, for instance, in terms of frequency of face-to-face interactions and emotional closeness (Hoffman 1980). Several authors have addressed this limitation of paternity certainty by incorporating sex-specific reproductive strategies into their models of grandparental investment (Euler and Weitzel 1996; Huber and Breedlove 2007). Specifically, individuals are assumed to be more inclined to invest in female relatives than male relatives because an investment in female kin is more likely to be transformed into parental care, whereas resources invested in male kin may be used also for mating. Based on this logic, the higher investments of maternal grandfathers can be explained thus: they invest more in their daughters' children relative to paternal grandmothers, who invest in their sons' children (Euler and Weitzel 1996).

Thus, the combination of paternity uncertainty and sex-specific reproductive strategies predicts the often-found pattern of grandparental investment.

Finally, from a psychological perspective, it has been proposed that the robust grandparental investment pattern may result from the well-known differences in age and life expectancy between grandparent types (Tran et al. 2009). In a couple, the male is often older, marrying later and having children later. In turn, male offspring may also marry later. Thus, investment patterns may not be due to evolutionary or sociological explanations, but purely the result of grandfathers being older and potentially less healthy. The strength of an interdisciplinary perspective is illustrated here as these different fields of research have made, largely independently (Coall and Hertwig 2011), similar and broadly compatible predictions (Dubas 2001; Huber and Breedlove 2007), even though they focus on different levels of explanation (i.e. mechanistic versus adaptationist).

Complementary, Not Competing, Approaches

Perhaps the key variable considered in the evolutionary grandparental investment literature is biological relatedness. Evidence is emerging that the genetic relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is an independent predictor of high grandparental investment, even in contemporary European societies (Coall et al. 2014). The impact of biological relatedness is often seen as being incompatible with sociological and economic models of parental and grandparental investment. These models often assume that investment flows to those grandchildren (and their parents) who are more likely to reciprocate in times of need. If, however, non-biologically related individuals are less likely to reciprocate, as an evolutionary perspective would suggest, findings concerning the importance of biological relatedness will simultaneously support the predictions of the sociological, economic and evolutionary accounts.

Reciprocal altruism, often conceptualized as exchanges between unrelated individuals, is likely originally to have evolved in genetically related kin groups. The psychological traits that maintain a system of reciprocity in humans (e.g. guilt, trust, sympathy, gratitude [Trivers 1971]) are likely to be stronger between close kin, which in turn promotes close

kin as less risky partners with whom to reciprocate (Allen-Arave et al. 2008). A strong attachment between parent and child has been proposed as a proximate mechanism for parents to identify and favour caring for their biological children (Daly and Wilson 1980). A similarly strong attachment relationship may also be found when parents adopt a young child (Hrdy 2009). Likewise, quality grandparent–grandchild attachment relationships may provide a crucial proximate mechanism whereby grandparents identify and preferentially care for the children of their own children (Euler and Weitzel 1996; Kennedy 1990). Indeed, the many non-biological grandparents who *do* invest in step-grandchildren may do so because of particularly harmonious relationships between family members. Conversely, in some cases, biological grandparents may not invest owing to poor intergenerational relationships (Coall et al. 2014). Therefore, on balance, it is likely that investment in biological grandchildren improves inclusive fitness and is simultaneously more likely to be reciprocated. Consequently, our finding that high levels of investment are more likely to come from biological grandparents is not necessarily at odds with economic or sociological accounts of grandparental investment (Tanskanen et al. 2014).

Family Size, Birth Order and Availability of Other Kin Influence Grandfathering

Various factors are likely to influence investment by grandfathers and grandmothers, and yet they are not currently included in most analyses. The preponderance of the nuclear family in industrialized nations means concomitant changes in family size, birth order and availability of other kin. In traditional societies, larger families can recruit older siblings to provide resources for a family (Ivey 2000; Kramer 2002). In industrialized societies, in contrast, the impact of sibling help for childcare is likely to be low because siblings are so closely spaced (Sear and Coall 2011). However, in both cases, a larger family size, *ceteris paribus*, dilutes the resources available for each child (Blake 1987; Hertwig et al. 2002; Marks 2006) and grandchild (Coall et al. 2009; Leonetti et al. 2005; Uhlenberg and Hammill 1998).

Larger family sizes offer more investment options and invite preferential investment. In a study of 787 Australian university students, Laham et al. (2005) observed that the emotional bond grandchildren reported to their maternal grandfather or paternal grandmother depended on the availability of other kin. Moreover, the general finding that maternal grandfathers provide more investment to grandchildren than do paternal grandmothers only held when the paternal grandmothers had other children in whom to invest. This means that if a grandmother has both a son and a daughter, she tends to focus on her role as a maternal rather than a paternal grandmother. These findings extend to grandfathers as well. Using the Survey of Heath Ageing and Retirement across Europe data, Danielsbacka et al. (2011) found that when grandfathers had grandchildren via both a son and a daughter, they provided more childcare to their daughter's children (maternal grandfather) rather than their son's children (paternal grandfather).

Do Modern Grandfathers Fill a Novel Niche?

There is no doubt that the role of grandfathers is a work in progress. It will continue to evolve over time as social factors that influence it change (see also Chap. 3). To extend this timeframe further, we briefly consider traditional and contemporary industrialized societies. As was detailed earlier, evidence from traditional societies shows that fathers and grandfathers appear to have a smaller impact on child survival than do mothers and grandmothers (Sear and Mace 2008). This may be explained by the fact that women universally invest more effort in both parenting and grandparenting than men, at least in terms of direct childcare (see Kokko and Jennions 2008 for evolutionary explanations of why mothers tend to care more than fathers). Human males, more so than most other mammals, frequently invest heavily in parental effort. This investment can nevertheless vary quite substantially between men both within and across societies, because some men derive greater fitness benefits from investing more in mating rather than parenting. Similarly, the role of grandfathers may be more variable than that of grandmothers. There are some environments in which older men may still benefit from continued investment in mating,

acquiring a new spouse, for example, but other environments exist where it may pay older men to invest in parenting or grandparenting.

The empirical evidence confirms that the role of grandfathers is highly variable and contingent on the environment. For example, in those hunter-gatherer and horticulturalist societies where the male contribution to subsistence is substantial, men can continue to provide for their families into older age, so that grandfathers may provide valuable nutritional resources (Hooper et al. 2015; Kaplan 1994). In other societies, however, such as those agricultural societies where polygyny or serial monogamy is common, a high-ranking male may reserve the most valuable resources for himself and redistribute them elsewhere for other advantages, such as increased mating opportunities. This heightens competition for resources within the family and may explain the findings of certain studies indicating a negative impact on grandchild survival (Campbell and Lee 1996; Kemkes-Grottenthaler 2005).

Overall, the large body of literature on the involvement of fathers and their impact on child well-being suggests that fathers may be more consistently available, if not more important, in contemporary industrial than traditional societies (Amato and Rivera 1999; Lamb 2010; Sigle-Rushton and McLanahan 2004). One may thus hypothesize that grandfathers also fill new niches in families that may have appeared as investment in children has increased and family structures have changed. The role of the so-called competent provider mentioned earlier in traditional transitional societies may have diminished substantially in societies with small families and few children. However, it is being replaced by a more engaged grandpaternal role (Roberto et al. 2001). Clearly, the roles of fathers and, more pertinently, grandfathers have changed dramatically in contemporary developed societies (Sear and Coall 2011).

Among their other roles, grandmothers are seen to fill a void that opens up when fathers are absent owing to death, divorce or hunting (Konner 2010; Marlowe 2005; Scelza 2009). Consistent with this substitution role, it has been found that single-parent families in traditional populations actually have more helpers than dual-parent families (Sugiyama and Chacon 2005). The normative nuclear family system in contemporary industrialized societies means that men (both fathers and grandfathers) may benefit families by investing more in parenting and grandparenting.

The ever-increasing investment in children in contemporary industrialized societies means nuclear families require heavy investment from vertical kin in the absence of support from broad, horizontal kin networks. This also restricts men's mating opportunities given that polygyny is not permissible and serial monogamy comes with the high costs of investing in multiple families. Further, with the advent of social security systems, grandfather availability, after retirement, has potentially increased, especially for the investment of time, such as childcare. Therefore, as with fathering, grandfathering may now become a more important resource for families, providing grandfathers with the opportunity to carve out their own new niche.

Consistent with this high-investment niche, research literature shows that grandfathers are becoming actively involved and engaged with their grandchildren and that they make a difference in their grandchildren's lives. Crucially, this represents a movement away from the traditional view of grandfathers as passive, remote and disengaged (Roberto et al. 2001). Tinsley and Parke (1987) investigated measures of physical and mental development as a function of the frequency of grandparent—grandchild contact with seven-month-old infants and their families. Each grandparent was observed playing with the infant, in the infant's house, for 5 minutes, and the interaction was assessed throughout. Grandfathers who were rated as highly responsive and highly playful had infants with higher Bayley Scales of Infant Development and both raw and adjusted Physical Health Index scores (Tinsley and Parke 1987). Although engaging play may be a universally positive influence, other outcomes, such as education, may be more nuanced. Scholl Perry (1996) investigated the influence of grandparental investment on academic achievement and found that social distance to grandfathers, but not grandmothers, was associated with grade point average. Specifically, a larger social distance between students and their paternal grandfathers was associated with a higher grade point average. Conversely, a *smaller* social distance to maternal grandfathers was associated with higher grade point averages. The scarcity of this evidence highlights the need for further investigation into the emerging role grandfathers are playing (see also Chap. 4). There is also reason to speculate that the availability of the grandfather niche may not be equally distributed across demographic groups. Lower

socio-economic groups experience higher rates of single motherhood, less father involvement (Nettle 2008) and more reliance on kin other than the father (Thomese and Liefbroer 2013) and receive less paid childcare. Therefore, through choice or necessity, this new grandfather niche may be more common in lower socio-economic areas.

Grandfather Niche: Single-Teenage-Mother Families

We have suggested that grandfathers have found a new niche, which may be especially prominent in low-resource family environments, such as single-parent families and families living in poverty. For example, in studies that focus explicitly on single-parent families, a resident grandfather can have a significant influence on grandchild development. In a study of sixty-six multigenerational, teen-mother families in the city of Detroit, Michigan (USA)—with biological fathers absent and grandchildren between 1 and 2 years of age—higher levels of grandfather nurturance were associated with the children being more likely to comply with their mothers' requests. Moreover, higher levels of grandfather involvement substantially reduced negative effects in grandchildren. These effects were robust and remained after adjustment for socio-economic status, grandmother's occupation, hours of grandmother employment, grandfather's age and hours of grandfather employment (Oyserman et al. 1993). Interestingly, there was no evidence of grandmother effects in this sample. Perhaps in these father-absent, single-mother, multigenerational households the grandfather assumes the father-figure role, thereby overshadowing the grandmother role. This finding also demonstrates that grandfathers are rising to the challenges associated with difficult low-resource family environments (Roberto et al. 2001). This role could also represent an emerging niche for grandfathers that traditionally might have been the domain of the maternal grandmother.

The evidence that the influence a grandparent has during times of need is larger than in times of plenty has been established. However, the question of whether grandparents intentionally direct their resources where the need is greatest has received less attention. Need is an important

new variable that is emerging in the grandparental investment literature (Roberto et al. 2001; Thomese and Liefbroer 2013). It is also a variable that is not entirely dealt with by the predominant, utility-based models detailed earlier and is likely to benefit from consideration of evolutionary perspectives (Hooper et al. 2015). Need and responses to need are likely to be important in single-parent families and stepfamilies, which are often resource poor, especially in terms of social capital (Sear and Coall 2011).

Step-Grandfather Niche: Increasing Prevalence

With increased rates of divorce and remarriage in industrialized societies, the changing roles of grandparents may be most salient for grandfathers. Falling rates of marriage and high rates of divorce and remarriage cause the proportion of non-kin, including grandparents, in families to increase. In 2009, for instance, the US marriage rate was 6.8 per 1000 people, with a divorce rate of 3.4 per 1000 people (Tejada-Vera and Sutton 2010). After separation, 25 % of women, who are more likely to have custody of their children, will re-partner within 2 years and remarry within 5 years (McNamee and Raley 2011). Therefore, males are increasingly likely to marry into existing families, forming new families and becoming stepfathers and step-grandfathers.

Quality relationships between grandchildren and their biological grandparents across nuclear, stepparent and single-parent families have been associated with an improved emotional health of grandchildren (Ruiz and Silverstein 2007). Moreover, maintaining quality contact with paternal grandparents, who are often alienated during remarriage and stepfamily formation, is beneficial to the behavioural adjustment and mental health of both grandparents and grandchildren (Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009; Bray and Berger 1990; Drew and Silverstein 2007). The role that non-biological grandparents (e.g. a stepfather or the stepfather's parents) play in childcare and grandchildren's development has, in contrast, received little attention. This, in turn, has resulted in calls to introduce genetic relatedness into interdisciplinary studies of grandparental investment (Kaptijn et al. 2013). Using the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement across Europe, Coall et al. (2014) found that, whilst biological grandparents were more

likely to provide frequent informal childcare for their grandchildren, non-biological grandparents, who are typically step-grandparents, still invested in their grandchildren and were more likely to invest on a monthly basis or less frequently. Crucially for this chapter, non-biological grandparents were significantly more likely to be grandfathers. This study provides initial evidence that the role of step-grandparents is more likely to fall on grandfathers. At increasing rates in the future, grandfathers will experience this new and challenging role in stepfamilies and blended families.

Summary of Grandfather Effects in Industrialized Societies

Like fathers, in contrast to traditional societies, grandfathers in contemporary industrialized societies can have an equal if not greater impact on grandchild development than grandmothers. The effects grandparents have on grandchild development are generally of a small magnitude; however, some of the greatest effects have been found for grandfathers (Radin et al. 1991). The fact that these associations are found across grandchild ages, study designs and diverse populations and generally take into account a range of potential confounding variables adds strength to these findings. Although the direction of the causal association cannot be established from these studies, the ability in longitudinal studies to adjust for variables, including earlier markers of grandchild development (e.g. Pittman 2007), suggests that grandparents may have an actual causal impact. Moreover, like the compelling ethnographic data from traditional societies, these findings are supported by qualitative analyses that show that it is not the grandparent–grandchild relationship per se that makes a difference; rather, it is what grandparents actually *do* with their grandchildren that is crucial (El Hassan Al Awad and Sonuga-Barke 1992; Botcheva and Feldman 2004; Griggs et al. 2010; Coall and Hertwig 2011). In contemporary industrialized societies, the child outcomes of interest have changed, and studies are now exploring social well-being and cognitive development rather than child survival. However, the evidence that grandparents, including grandfathers, have a positive influence on grandchild development is growing, as is the evidence that

grandfathers may be actively assuming new niches within families, especially during trying times of divorce, remarriage and economic hardship.

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Part II

Grandfathers in Their Global Context

3

The Social Construction of Grandfatherhood Across Time in England and the United States

Ann Buchanan

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how grandfatherhood as a social construction has been shaped by the different expectations of the behaviour and responsibilities of older men across time, location, and culture (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Closely linked to these expectations is the social construction of masculinity, since grandfathering is a gendered experience (Thompson 1994).

Gratton and Haber (1996) describe the three stages of grandparenthood. First, in agricultural eras, grandfathers were seen as the family 'authority'. Second, once the developed world had become industrialized, older family members had to be supported and were no longer involved in the family economic enterprise, so that older men came to be perceived

A. Buchanan (✉)

Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford,
Oxford, UK

e-mail: ann.buchanan@spi.ox.ac.uk

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more as a burden. Finally, in more modern times, the grandfather has become a companion. But influences go back much further. In this chapter, the focus is on the social construction of grandfatherhood in England and North America. Vignettes from different periods illustrate how the role of grandfather has been shaped, often reflecting the role of the father, from family patriarch and governor, to surrogate provider, to the more nurturing role often seen today.

A strong influence in the early history of fathers in both England and the USA has been the legacy of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Paternal Authority: Judeo-Christian Legacy

Grandfather in Rabbinic Hebrew means ‘old person’ or ‘my sage’ (Wechsler 1985). As Wechsler (1985, p. 185) notes, the word has many meanings. *My grandfather* suggests that there is a special relationship between this old man and me. The Rabbinic Hebrew word also conveys authority, sagacity, and status.

In the book of Genesis, Jacob asks Joseph to bring his grandsons to him:

Bless the lads

In them my name be recalled,

And the names of my fathers Abraham and Isaac,

And may they be teeming multitudes upon the earth. (Genesis 48:16)

Grandchildren were seen as a blessing to the grandfather in two ways: they provided continuity of his own life and they provided certainty of eternity (Wechsler 1985, p. 186).

Elsewhere in the Bible it is said, ‘Grandsons are the garlands of old men’ (Proverbs 17:6). Grandsons were the crowning achievement of a long life.

Although there is a commandment to honour your father and mother, there is no such commandment to honour your grandparents. But there is a more general command to honour all the old:

You shall rise before the aged and show deference
To the old; you shall fear your God:
I am the Lord. (Leviticus 19:32)

In the Judaic tradition, old age was a gift. Living to old age, with all its hardships, was seen as a blessing. Blind Jacob, in giving his blessing to his grandsons, had not expected to be still living.

From a Christian perspective, a key function of grandparenthood involved the passing on of heritage and faith (Conroy and Fahey 1985). Although parents were crucial to this process, grandmothers and grandfathers were also transmitters of a Christian perspective on life—its origins, memory, and values. From early Christianity, the main sacramental event was baptism, which usually happened in infancy. Grandfathers and grandmothers, if still living, were there to support the parents in bringing up children with Christian values.

The centrality of ‘the household of faith’ and family worship, as we will discuss subsequently, was an ongoing tradition for many of the early settlers in the USA, who fled religious oppression to come to the New World.

The extent to which grandfathers were involved in this process, however, depended on whether they had been blessed by long life. Although there have always been old people, at the time of Christ, only one person in ten lived to be 50 years of age. In the USA in 1900, the average life expectancy was 46 (Conroy and Fahey 1985). Population analyses show that until recently women lived far longer than men.

The Medieval Family

When it comes to grandfathers in medieval times, there is very little direct information, but suggestions as to the role they played can, to some extent, be surmised from the literature and history of the period.

The code of chivalry, developed in England in the medieval period, gives a portrait of how noble men were expected to behave. Chivalry was a system of ethical ideals developed among the knights of medieval Europe.

It combined military virtues with those of Christianity, as epitomized by the Arthurian legend in England. In addition to military prowess and valour, and loyalty to God and the knight's feudal lord, it called for courtesy towards one's enemies and generosity towards the sick and oppressed, widows, and other disadvantaged people (Herlihy 1985; Gayre 2007). Young men were trained to follow the code. Women were to be respected and protected but were essentially frailer creatures. Elderly knights who had achieved military success, demonstrated valour in battle, and maintained the code were likely to be highly respected and powerful patriarchs.

A particular feature of medieval life was that, if still living, elders were likely to reside with their family. When we talk about family, we need to remember that neither Latin nor Greek has such a word. The Latin word *familia* correctly translated means 'household' (Veyne et al. 1992).

In medieval times, from noble families to poor peasants, households would include a range of relatives and others, as well as the immediate family. Noble households were mainly dominated by men. They included various military personnel and their retainers as well as knights and esquires (Woolgar 1999). Women and children and husbands' elderly kin would also be included. With girls marrying as soon as they reached puberty, grandfatherhood often occurred simultaneously with parenthood. As knights and squires could be away for long periods on various military campaigns, it is likely that the wider household, including grandfathers, became a powerful force in the home.

In rural areas, peasant households were also likely to be multigenerational. Although, whilst women would be married once they reached maturity, men had to possess independent means of sustenance—to be able to provide for a family—before entering into marriage. For this reason, the average age of marriage for men remained high, in the mid- to late twenties (Herlihy 1985). The homes were small, and it was often a question of waiting for the older generation to pass away before a young man could marry.

Land in early medieval times was the source of nearly all wealth. Whether a rich man in his garret or a poor man with his tenancy and small holdings, wealth brought power. It enabled noble families to reward armed men, who in turn helped them acquire wealth and protect what they had obtained. Wages were impractical, so young men lived in house-

holds and were maintained by the rents or services of tenants (Davies and Fouracre 1995).

By the end of the thirteenth century, the rules of common law inheritance, or primogeniture, were largely settled. Precedence went initially to a dead person's eldest son or male descendents in preference to siblings or aunts. With the disappearance of serfdom and the first Black Death (1348–49), which killed almost half the population, people on the land could enjoy greater freedom, and some became self-made yeoman farmers (Royle 1999).

Much later, in 1540, the Statute of Wills allowed property to be willed to others. One can surmise that this placed the elderly male, or grandfather, in a considerable position of power, as he alone could decide who was to inherit the property (Bean 1968).

Two sets of stories, by Boccaccio and Chaucer, in the fourteenth century offer insight into young people's views of older people at that time and how the Black Plague shifted attitudes towards the old in the second half of the fourteenth century (Sandidge 2007). Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* offer significantly different descriptions of old people. Boccaccio upheld the view that the elderly should be viewed as a source of wisdom and stability in society. However, in the 1348–49 Black Death epidemic, those who died were mostly the older, wiser figures, who traditionally offered sage advice and helped maintain the moral order. Boccaccio's description after the plague in Florence laments the sudden absence of the old because 'these ministers of the laws were either dead or ill'. Moreover, older family members were no longer there for their children. Young people might be free from patriarchal tyranny, but they too showed regret at the loss of mentors.

In Chaucer, however, old men are shown little respect. By the 1380s and 1390s, it was the young who succumbed to the plague. By ravishing first the elderly and then the young, the plague radically changed attitudes towards old people. Chaucer shows young people regarding old men as foolish objects of ridicule, especially when they pursued young women, disregarding the ancient wisdom of old people's proper behaviour.

It has long been recognized that the Black Plague altered class and economic structures, but other social values, such as attitudes to the elderly, may also have been transformed (Sandidge 2007).

The Early American Settlers

On 11 May 1620, after an arduous 9-week voyage, 120 weary passengers aboard the *Mayflower* reached present-day Cape Cod, in Massachusetts. There were no friends to welcome them, no houses to retire to, and no towns to support them (Mintz and Kellogg 1988). All they had was ‘the family’. In America in the seventeenth century, the family was the fundamental economic, political, educational, and religious unit of society. The household was not only the locus of production but the unit primarily responsible for the education of children, the learning of craft skills, and the care of the elderly and infirm. It was governed by hierarchy and deference. During the seventeenth century, a sharp division between economic law, religion, and family life was unimaginable. All these aspects of life were part of a mutually reinforcing matrix, and men were at the centre of the hierarchy.

The Puritans who arrived in America had sought to avoid the disorder of English family life by imposing fierce structure and discipline. They possessed a firm idea of a ‘godly’ family in which the father was endowed with patriarchal authority as head of household. Family life was organized around the unquestioned principle of patriarchy, and it was the duty of wives, children, and servants to submit to the father’s authority (Mintz and Kellogg 1988).

Early colonial and post-Revolutionary America was an agricultural society. Grandfathers exercised considerable economic and social control, primarily through their ownership of land. When offspring married and established their own households, they remained dependent on their parents’ assets. This only changed if young people moved to another area or became financially independent. Only a small number of the elderly lived with their children and grandchildren. Where there was co-residence, this was usually out of necessity, illness, or, in the case of women, widowhood, rather than a personal preference (Fass 2004).

Early New England settlers survived to old age in larger numbers than elsewhere in the colonies. Often the birth of late children and early grandchildren occurred (Fass 2004) simultaneously. Records from New England indicate that first- or second-born children were likely to know

all of their grandparents in early childhood and, perhaps, to have two or three surviving grandparents in adolescence. Their younger siblings experienced fewer opportunities to interact with grandparents. In these early American families, there is evidence from wills, probate court records, and other contemporary documents to suggest that, despite the high mortality and fertility rates of the period, there were frequent contact and affectionate ties between grandparents and grandchildren. Grandparents regularly left property and money to their grandchildren and often cared for them in childhood. In turn, older grandchildren provided care and assistance to frail grandmothers and grandfathers. Occasional references to grandparental overindulgence in child-rearing literature also suggest relationships characterized by love as well as respect and obligation (Fass 2004).

In the South, the situation was a little different. Short lifespans amongst the seventeenth-century immigrants settling in the Chesapeake area meant that grandparenthood was a rare experience. However, by the eighteenth century, grandparents were playing an increasingly important role in Southern families.

The Slave Family in America

American slaves could be bought or sold. If they had a family, they could be arbitrarily separated and moved to new areas by new owners. Both young children and old people worked until they dropped. This did not make intergenerational family relationships easy.

The nature of the slave family varied depending on the form of agricultural activity taking place in a given region. In the South, because tobacco planting required fewer slaves on a single farm, Chesapeake slave families could be spread across several plantations. Men and women in this region often 'married abroad', meaning that spouses had different owners and lived apart. In such cases, a husband, either with permission or surreptitiously, would usually visit his wife and children once or twice a week. This helped to foster a vast kinship network that linked several plantations (Horton and Horton 2005).

In contrast, the largest of the so-called Cotton Kingdom plantations required dozens of hands, making it more common to find whole families working and living together. As industry attempted to keep up with agricultural output in the South, the number of African slaves in the North increased, rapidly replacing the first generation of Atlantic Creoles who had successfully organized into autonomous families. Unlike their Southern contemporaries, Northern slave owners had little interest in family formation amongst slaves. The nature of urban life and small-farm production made large workforces untenable and unnecessary. Whilst the plantation master approved of, oversaw, and often arranged marriages among his slaves, the Northern master discouraged marital union and dissolved existing bonds by separating husbands and wives.

Life could be especially hard for the elderly black who was no longer able to work. Owners used a variety of devices to ensure that they were no longer responsible for them.

Black elders, however, were traditionally treated with great respect by their families. This tradition extended from known customs of pre-slavery civilizations on the African continent. Griots, or indigenous oral historians, were respected as repositories of cultural historical beliefs, legends, and facts. Their ability to recall and articulate their knowledge about former kings, wars, and important events in family or clan history—sometimes many centuries old—was especially well respected (Gordon 2015).

Amongst slaves, youth were expected to respect the older slaves: ‘A young slave must approach the company of the older with hat in hand, and woe betide him, if he fails to acknowledge a favor of any sort, with the accustomed “tank’ee”.’ (Douglass 1855, pp. 35–40). The bonds and customs of deference among slaves functioned as sources of social and psychological support for old disabled slaves, facilitating their coping with the harsh and inhumane demands of the slavers’ culture. Support for elders was also provided by younger, able-bodied slaves who shared their returns from labour with the older disabled who were less able to fend for themselves (Steward 1857).

Despite the inconsistencies of slave life and the ever-changing circumstances of slavery in America, enslaved men and women demonstrated an unwavering understanding of the value of family. Whatever advantages

slave unions held for an owner, for the enslaved man, woman, or child, the family was an incomparable source of solace and strength and a primary means of survival.

The Impact of Industrialization: Older Men as a Burden

The transformation into an industrial economy from an agricultural one took place from the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century in certain areas in Europe and North America, starting in Great Britain.

Before the Industrial Revolution in England and early America, 'the household was not only the industrial centre but also the social centre, for its members derived social satisfaction from working together and from rustic amusements enjoyed at home or on the village green' (Gray 1992 p. 244). The grandfather, if living, would be at the centre of the family.

Industrialization brought considerable changes to family structure and to the roles of men. In pre-industrial societies there was an extended family structure, spanning many generations, with members probably remaining in the same location for generations. In industrialized societies the nuclear family, consisting of only parents and their growing children, predominated. Families and children reaching adulthood were more mobile and tended to relocate to where the jobs were. Extended family bonds become more tenuous (Parson and Bales 1956). In pre-industrial society, older family men had considerable power within the family because they controlled property and occupations and they were generally respected for their knowledge and ability. With the growth of industrial society, property and jobs moved away from family control, and often the elderly were left behind.

Industrialization disrupted the traditional relationship between generations. Children, unless employed in the factories and elsewhere, were no longer viewed as financial assets who could contribute to the family enterprise, but rather as dependents requiring education and nurturing. Similarly, the elderly were seen as burdens that needed to be supported. In conditions of severe poverty, any semblance of maintaining 'family

life' was challenging, with multiple families and individuals crowded into tiny dwellings to save on rent (Smith 2011). There was no room for the elderly.

The Industrial Revolution also brought about fundamental changes to the roles of men and women. The move from self- and family employment to paid labour led to the construction of career trajectories and the (male) breadwinner model (Nicholas and Oxley 1994), with the women staying at home to look after the house and children.

But in poorer families, as the Industrial Revolution gathered momentum, many wives started working outside the home. This meant that caring for the home and children no longer was the exclusive duty of women, nor were earning a living and pursuing a public life the exclusive domain of men (Smith 2011).

Studies in New England on divorce statistics from 1800 to 1960 note that divorce rates rose in the mid-century decades (Shultz 1990). Before industrialization, divorce was quite uncommon.

Since New England and America in general entered into the Industrial Revolution later than England, there had already been a precedent set regarding what such a new way of living entailed. Stories of the changes, both positive and negative, taking place in England life for those working in factories and industry eventually were heard in the colonies, and this enabled the American Industrial Revolution to prevent some of the mistakes made in Europe, particularly as they related to the family. In response to the negative associations many colonists and early New Englanders already had about industry and its negative impacts on the family, several early factories on the east coast, particularly those in the mill and textile sectors of the economy, instituted systems whereby whole families—men, women, and children—were employed in the same mill (Wallace 1978).

Despite this, the USA witnessed many of the same problems that had been present during England's Industrial Revolution—overcrowding of urban areas, unemployment and job insecurities, hunger, poverty for the working classes, and general malaise related to urban living. Furthermore, while children were now less tied to a life of family-related tasks and requirements, this was not true for the entire population of young people in New England. 'Despite a shift in the nature of children's work,

working-class family economies in the late nineteenth century remained dependent on children's earnings; children contributed more in earnings than did women.' (Cunningham 2000, p. 415).

In Ireland, and possibly in America too, research on the 1891 census showed examples of men mining for coal at the age of 89 or working as agricultural labourers into their nineties (Northern Ireland News Letter 2015). Most regarded the ages between 16 and 70 as 'able-bodied'. Older men, however, who were no longer able to contribute to the family economy had little worth and faced a grimmer future. In England, following the Industrial Revolution, elderly men and women were often living in extreme poverty, isolated from their families. Outdoor relief grants were only grudgingly given to men. Although there were channels for women for relief, it was harder for men to get help. There was greater pressure on men to find work (Goose 2005).

The Victorian Patriarch

Among the more wealthy middle classes and the aristocracy, the nineteenth century witnessed a significant change in gender roles, especially in the emergence of so-called 'separate spheres' for men and women. The growing influence of evangelical ideology placed an increasing moral value on female domesticity, virtue, and religiosity. Increasingly, it was argued that public life and work was confined to men, while women were expected to stay at home. Women were idealized as mothers ('the angel in the house') (Sussman 1995). Ageing family men generally conformed to expectations of male behaviour.

As the century progressed, a distinctive shift occurred in ideas regarding relations between men and women, away from a traditional idea of natural male supremacy towards a modern notion of gender equality. This shift, however, was more at the level of social philosophy than everyday life. The process was vigorously contested and by no means achieved. Important legal, educational, professional, and personal changes took place, but by 1901 social-gender equality remained almost as utopian a dream as in 1800 (Marsh 2015).

Indeed, Queen Victoria wrote furiously: ‘The Queen is most anxious to enlist every one who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of “Woman’s Rights”, with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety... It is a subject which makes the Queen so furious that she cannot contain herself. God created men and women different—then let them remain each in their own position.’ (Marsh 2015: Queen Victoria, letter 29 May 1870).

The concept of the respectable male ‘breadwinner’, who had the responsibility for providing financially for his entire family, was increasingly influential. Consequently, bourgeois women were frequently expected to give up their jobs when they got married. In fact, although women were excluded from most occupations and activities, they entered new ones, such as writing, teaching, and charity work (Seccombe 1986). In contrast, working-class women still had to work to support themselves and their families, although the range of occupations available to them was limited, for example, ‘sweated labour’ in the textile and other trades.

The Victorians saw ‘manliness’ as good, a form of control over maleness, which was brutish. Christianity contributed much to the Victorian concept of masculinity. The real Victorian man was spiritual and a faithful believer. In some senses, this represented was a reversion to the earlier medieval model. He was considered the head of the household as husband and father, but his duty was to rule. Victorian men not only competed for respect within their own sex, but they needed to impress the women, too. Those who were not married were depicted as not fully masculine because they did not have a family to support. Supporting a family was a sign of true success within the male sex (Emsley et al. 2015).

Whereas in earlier times grandfathers may not have survived until old age, in Victorian times there was a sharp rise in the survival rates of older men (Chase 2009). For the Victorians, old age became a conspicuous public topic and problem, but at the same time it was also an intensely private preoccupation. Older people were both powerful and powerless. Those with resources retained a hold over their family; those with none were at the mercy of state institutions.

Portrayals in the literature, perhaps reflecting the perceptions of the time, portray a number of elderly villains. For example, in Dickens there

are characterizations of exploitative old men: Mr Bumble (*Oliver Twist*), Mr Dolls (*Our Mutual Friend*), and Arthur Gride (*Nicholas Nickleby*) (Chase 2009).

Older Men in the United States in the Nineteenth to Twentieth Centuries

As more people lived into old age and people married younger and bore children earlier, the possibility that three generations of family members would be alive simultaneously increased, and co-residence became progressively more likely. By 1900 the percentage of three-generational households had reached its peak in American history. Ageing widows comprised the majority of those who resided with children and grandchildren (Rosenzweig 2003). Despite the rise in intergenerational households, there were concerns about its negative effects. Middle-class commentators at the turn of the century and beyond lamented the disruptive consequences of living with ageing parents, especially the frequency of intergenerational conflict over grandparental interference in bringing up children. At the same time, dislocated grandparents complained about ungracious treatment and the constraints of living with children and grandchildren. However, in 1900, 70 % of Americans who were 60 or older lived either as head of household or spouse of the head.

Nevertheless, emerging images of the elderly as non-productive and superfluous in an increasingly industrially and technically sophisticated society, along with medical interpretations of ageing as a disease, fostered the perception of ageing parents and grandparents as a burden to society and to the family (Rosenzweig 2003).

Despite some negative representations of ageing individuals during this period, nineteenth-century letters, diaries, and autobiographical recollections document frequent contacts and close, affectionate relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. Grandfathers as well as grandmothers corresponded frequently with grandchildren of all ages. They expressed joy at the birth of grandchildren and followed their progress eagerly. Letters from young women express love and concern for grandparents, while letters from young men, for example during the Civil

War, illustrate closeness between young men and their grandfathers. As in earlier America, nineteenth-century references to indulgent grandparents are not unusual (Rosenzweig 2003).

However, among African American families, historically, it was the grandmothers, rather than the grandparent couple, who played the major role within the extended family network. Because male slaves could be sold away, the grandmother became the guardian and caregiver for her children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, nieces, nephews, and fictive kin. She represented wisdom and strength whilst serving as the keeper of family values and conveyer of African American culture. African American grandmothers played important roles in the socialization of children and the stabilization of families (Ruiz 2008).

The Coming of Welfare States

After the Second World War, a number of European democracies, led by the UK, started to develop more equitable welfare policies. So what impact has the coming of the welfare state in various Western societies had on grandfathers? In many ways, the coming of the welfare state absolved the younger generation of the primary responsibility for caring for their elders. In the UK, the welfare state provided pensions and free health care to enable the elderly to remain independent. In the same way, the coming of the welfare state absolved the older generation of the responsibility to care for their grandchildren. Families would receive an allowance for each child from the state; education for children aged 5 (now from age 4) was free, as was health care and, in more recent years, some childcare for preschoolers.

The literature, however, presents a more complex picture. The question is this: does the existence of the welfare state 'crowd out' intergenerational exchange or actually 'crowd (the family back) in' (Igel and Szydlik 2011)? When it comes to grandparents offering childcare, European studies demonstrate that family and state complement each other. Studies across Europe show that as the percentage of state-provided childcare in a country increases, parents are less likely to receive intensive childcare help

from grandparents. In countries with low levels of state childcare, grandparents offer more intensive help with grandchildren.

The Twenty-First Century: New Grandfathers in Multicultural Societies

In England and Wales and in the USA, high rates of immigration in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries brought new cultural practices.

In the UK, cultural diversity is most pronounced in cities. In London, for example in the 2011 census, London had a population of 8,173,941. Of this number, 44.9 % were white British and 37 % of the population were born outside the UK, including 24.5 % outside of Europe (ONS 2011). In addition, more than 300 different languages were spoken.

Projections for London suggest that the population of elders from black and minority ethnic groups will increase dramatically in the twenty-first century (Lowdell et al. 2000). These ethnic groups are now at different stages of growth and ageing, and some, such as black Caribbeans, already include substantial proportions of elders. London also has several ethnic minorities within the white population, such as the Irish, Cypriots, and East Europeans—again, some of these include large numbers of older people. While some groups are relatively concentrated, others are more widely scattered, forming very small minorities in a number of boroughs. These migrants have brought with them different traditions with respect to caring for their elders and different expectations of grandfathers.

London elders from South Asian ethnic groups tend to live in larger families and more multigenerational households than white or black Caribbean elders. More black Caribbean and African older men live alone than do men from other minority ethnic groups. Minority ethnic groups have lower incomes, although there are some Indian elders among those in the highest income groups. Bangladeshi and black Caribbean elders are less likely to be owner-occupiers and more likely than white or Indian groups to be living in social housing. Levels of overcrowding are especially high for older people from South Asian ethnic groups. In addition, mortality rates for different ethnic groups differ, and this affects whether older men are around to play a grandfather role. Generally, in

London, people of all ethnic groups live longer, but mortality rates for the most recent migrant groups are significantly lower than the London average. Surprisingly, the highest mortality rates among elders in London are for those born in Ireland and Scotland (Lowdell et al. 2000).

A number of factors influence the roles grandfathers play: cultural traditions with respect to care of the elderly imported from the homeland; whether elderly people live in multigenerational households or live alone; where they live; their health; and their income and ownership of property. During the early part of the twentieth century, immigrants from all over the world were expected to assimilate as quickly as possible into the culture of the receiving country, but this has been replaced by a greater emphasis on retaining the language and customs of immigrant communities (McDonald and Balgopal 1998). This now means that there may be a range of different traditions in one locality, and it is even more difficult to generalize about the roles of grandfathers (McCready 1985, p. 60).

Grandfathers as Companions

If there has been some general agreement in the twenty-first century about the role of grandparents, it centres on the third stage of the Gratton and Haber (1996) analysis mentioned earlier: from 'patriarch' to 'burden' to 'companion'. Whereas following industrialization, the elders were regarded as a burden as they had to be supported and were no longer contributing to the family economic enterprise, in recent years grandparents have found a more positive role as a companion (Roberto et al. 2001).

With larger numbers of women working, from all ethnic groups, and the lack of available and affordable childcare in both the USA and UK, grandmothers, and indeed also grandfathers, are stepping into the breach. The current evidence, which will be reviewed in subsequent chapters of this book, suggests that some grandfathers, where fit and able and not overburdened, are now finding they actually enjoy their new role as carers.

The other side of the picture is that grandmothers and grandfathers, regardless of kinship status, are rated as important attachment figures by older adolescents (Creasey and Koblewski 1991). In general, grand-

daughters reported better relationships than grandsons, and grandchildren reported better relations with grandmothers.

Some grandchildren were actually involved in caring for grandparents. In a qualitative study of adult grandchildren (21 to 29 years old) (Fruhauf et al. 2006), grandchildren were assisting grandmothers and grandfathers with instrumental activities of daily living. Reasons for providing care included grandparents' chronic illness or gradual ageing and a crisis or event that left grandparents needing assistance. The grandchildren assisted their grandparents because the grandparents had looked after them when they were young children.

The new positive perspective on grandfathers is supported in a recent analysis of children's literature (Beland and Mills 2001). The authors examined sixty-four randomly selected books published in America for children since 1985. The books had to portray human grandparents and be classified as 'easy readers'. Ninety-five percent portrayed grandparents positively, even when the grandparents had a disability. Many grandfathers in the stories not only remained gainfully employed but represented an interesting array of professions. Grandfathers are typically involved in not only playing with their grandchildren and telling them stories but are oftentimes primary caretakers. The stories reviewed represented many ethnic groups and social situations, including racially mixed families (Beland and Mills 2001).

Conclusion

The vignettes discussed in this chapter have taken a broad sweep through American and English history, illustrating grandfatherhood at different times. Although the family patriarch is a fallback position, different social environments have modified this role. Key influences in shaping grandfatherhood at any particular time are the expectations of men's behaviour; their access to ownership of resources, land, or property; social conditions in the period in which they lived; and demography, particularly the number of grandfathers surviving until old age.

At base, in England and the early USA, the Judeo-Christian tradition of the family patriarch has been very influential. This was evident in

medieval times, with their traditions of chivalry and patronage. Several centuries later, it was also seen when the early settlers arrived in New England, where they tried to recreate what they believed was the 'godly family'. During the Industrial Revolution, when prosperity came to the middle classes, the family patriarch would lead prayers for the entire household in the mornings. The power of the patriarch stemmed not only from religion but also from his position as owner of the resources available to the family. Without power, the authority of the family elder was diminished. Once nuclear families were able to earn their own money, young family members could move away. Children could contribute to the family resources, but the old and frail were external to the family's needs. Houses were small, and overcrowding was rife. Often there was no room for elderly relatives. Without access to resources, old men could find themselves isolated from the family and living in dire poverty. They faced a new reality.

The twentieth century brought new migrants to the USA and the UK and changing cultural attitudes towards the elderly, with the role of the benevolent elderly companion characterizing grandfathers. Today, we may be in the midst of another revolution, which will dramatically change how we relate to elders and how elders relate to their grandchildren.

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4

Out of the Shadows: Are Grandfathers Defining Their Own Roles in the Modern Family in Denmark?

George W. Leeson

Introduction

Population structures and drivers, as well as family dynamics, changed significantly in the developed economies in the second half of the twentieth century, including Denmark (Leeson 2001, 2002, 2005a, b). The time an individual spends as a grandparent has increased along with life expectancies. In Denmark, a woman today whose daughter gives birth for the first time as a 29-year-old (average age at first birth) can expect to be a grandmother for almost 30 years¹—equivalent to almost one-third of her expected lifespan. The higher mortality of males at all ages and the

¹ This is based on our own calculations using data from Statistics Denmark citing the average age at first birth for women in 1979 (25 years) and 2008 (29 years) respectively and life expectancy for a 54-year-old woman in 2008.

G.W. Leeson (✉)
Oxford Institute of Population Ageing, Oxford, UK
Oxford Martin School, Oxford, UK
e-mail: george.leeson@ageing.ox.ac.uk

higher age on average of the male on marriage together mean that time spent as a grandfather is slightly less.

Thus, the average Dane becomes a grandparent in his or her fifties while still active in the workplace, and therefore the role of grandparents in the modern Danish family is likely to be different from that of previous generations of grandparents.

The existing research on the role of grandparents reveals close emotional relationships between grandmothers and grandchildren—relationships that actually benefit both generations (e.g. Harwood et al. 2005) and that are appreciated in the modern family (e.g. Silverstein and Marengo 2001). Grandfathers, however, hover, so to speak, in the shadow of their spouses. Recent research suggests these modern grandfathers are coming out of the shadows, defining and developing meaningful relationships with their grandchildren independently of grandmothers (e.g. Mann and Leeson 2010; Mann et al. 2013).

Understanding the Dynamics of the Role of Grandfathers in Modern Families

Changing family demographics mean that there are now large cohorts of young active grandfathers whose role and relationships within the family are likely to be different from those of previous generations of grandfathers, given that their role as fathers has been more engaged. In fact, the current cohort of young grandfathers is the first generation who, as fathers, played an active part in their child's birth, care, and upbringing (Harper et al. 2004). By examining the young generation of grandfathers and comparing them with the older generation of grandfathers, we have an opportunity to illustrate the difference between a traditional and modern generation of grandfathers in terms of their relationships with their grandchildren and to compare their role with the role of grandmothers.

It would seem that grandmothers in all aspects of grandparenting have significantly more influence than grandfathers (Roberto and Stroes 1995; Kornhaber and Woodward 1997; Fuller-Thompson et al. 1997). On the other hand, Roberto et al. (2001) underlined that grandfathers have (the beginnings of) a mentoring role for their grandchildren, but they point

out that this sort of non-caring role is generally overlooked in favour of the expected caring role, which is typically the domain of grandmothers. In our modern, often 'broken' families, both grandmothers and grandfathers have a significant role to play in relation to single/lone mothers in particular (Radin et al. 1991).

Research suggests that at around 50 years of age both men and women begin to consider their future lives with regard to both work and retirement, but also with regard to their role in the family, in their local community, and in a larger societal context (Leeson and Harper 2006, 2007, 2008). In this connection, it is clear that an understanding of the relationship between generations is central (Leeson 2005a, b). The role of the grandfather is in its own right both interesting and central to these midlife considerations and roles, but the welfare regime, in which a grandfather plays out these roles, is also important as the level of government or volunteer support to families affects both the scope and content of the role.

The research reported here has a number of purposes:

- To investigate and illustrate the role of grandfathers in the modern family in Denmark,
- To investigate any differences in roles and best practices in relation to girls and boys,
- To elucidate differences in the role between the younger and older generations of grandfathers.

Furthermore, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of grandfathers and the importance of being a grandfather as part of the male ageing process.

Methodology and Danish Grandfathers

The grandfathers in the current research were selected in two distinct and different areas of Denmark, namely in and around Esbjerg on the west coast of Jutland (a fishing and agricultural area with a modest population of circa 60,000) and the Copenhagen area in the east on the island of Zealand (with a population of around 1 million). At both sites,

grandfathers from the younger (born after 1946) and older (born before 1946) generations were identified for interview. Interviews were completed in 2010. These two areas were selected to provide both geographical and socio-economic diversity in terms of population. However, they are, of course, in no way assumed to be representative of the country as a whole.

The interview data reveal in fact that the interviewed grandfathers *do* represent different socio-economic groups, ranging from unskilled to university graduates. In addition, the interviewed grandfathers are in so-called traditional and fractured families,² so the material contains grandfathers in the role of biological grandfather as well as grandfathers in the role of step-grandfather³—or, indeed, both.

Grandfathers were identified and selected for interview using both local gatekeepers and the snowballing technique (Atkinson and Flint 2004). Gatekeepers are local individuals who were able to identify and recruit the grandfathers with the desired characteristics (in this case, born before and after 1946). Gatekeepers in this research were DaneAge⁴ local committee chairmen in the interview sites. Snowballing implies that the identified and interviewed grandfathers recommended other grandfathers in their own social network with the desired characteristics.

In the Esbjerg area, gatekeepers and local advertisements were used to identify potential interviewees, while in the Copenhagen area gatekeepers and snowballing were used. Potential interviewees at both sites initially received a letter explaining the rationale for the research and the way in which they would be expected to participate. This letter also acted as a letter of consent. Subsequently, each potential interviewee was contacted by either e-mail or telephone to schedule an interview. Interviews were conducted via telephone, followed up by individual face-to-face interviews. All interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewee. Interviews were semi-structured and followed an interview guide that was built up over various themes and issues, which were developed on the basis of find-

²‘Fractured’ refers to families where the grandfather is in a second marriage, but also where one or more of the children has divorced (and may or may not have remarried).

³‘Step’ grandfather refers to a non-biological grandfather.

⁴DaneAge is a national membership organization in Denmark working with and for older people: www.aeldresagen.dk

ings from questionnaire interviews with almost 400 children aged 6 to 18 years at two schools in the Oxford area of England (Mann et al. 2013). The questionnaire covered family structure, type and frequency of contact between children and grandparents, and children's perceptions of their relationships with grandfathers.

A total of forty-nine interviews were carried out—26 in the Esbjerg area and 23 in the Copenhagen area. At both interview sites, about half were born before 1946 and half after 1946. Interviewees were aged between 50 and 79 years at the time of interview, and the mean age was 66 years.

The majority of interviewees were married or living in a relationship, with four married/cohabiting for a second time. Only two of the grandfathers were widowers.

Interestingly, the number of children reflects the fertility levels of these generations, with two children being the norm and the mean number of children being 2.3. The number of grandchildren ranged from one to eight (average 3.6).

Grandfathers and Grandchildren— Relationships and Roles

This research reveals that grandfathers on the whole have a rich, vibrant, and warm relationship with their grandchildren—not always with all grandchildren because of family circumstances, but these are the exceptions rather than the rule. They have warm cross-generational relationships together with and separate from their spouses (the grandmothers), dependent to a great extent on the type of activities they engage in together with their grandchildren. However, developing and maintaining these relationships is not always smooth and without challenges.

Interestingly, there are no significant differences between the Esbjerg and Copenhagen areas with regard to the overall role of grandfathers, but typically the physical conditions within which the roles are played out are different. For example, there is a difference in how and where the grandfathers live—in an apartment or a house, in a predominantly rural or an

urban setting. However, these differences in settings have no noteworthy impact on the roles of the grandfathers.

There is no evidence to suggest that grandfathers in a metropolitan area are more likely to find their role affected by divorce or that the relationship between grandfathers and grandchildren in rural settings is a warmer or closer relationship.

In both interview settings, the grandfathers generally observe that they had not been able to spend adequate time with their own children because of the pressure of their career/work, and they admit that now—usually in retirement and as a grandfather—they make up for this in their relations with their grandchildren.

The relationship the interviewed grandfathers had when they were young with their own grandfathers does not differ significantly between the interviewed grandfathers in the Esbjerg and Copenhagen areas. In both groups of interviewees, there are current grandfathers who remember warm, close relationships with (typically) their maternal grandfather, and in both groups there are those who remember more distant relationships. In both groups, also, some do not remember their own grandfathers, just as in both groups grandmothers are remembered more clearly than grandfathers. The important acknowledgement for both groups of interviewees is that they feel that the *relationships* between grandfathers and grandchildren today are different from the relationships they themselves had as grandchildren with their own grandfathers.

All of the interviewed grandfathers felt they had a role in the family, and each and every one of the grandfathers talked vividly about their relationship and activities with their grandchildren. The interview material does not support an impression of the invisible grandfather or of grandfathers hovering silent and inactive in the shadow of grandmothers, even though there are instances where the grandmother is the main presence, but without excluding totally the grandfather. On the other hand, there is also evidence that in some families, the grandfather drives the relationship with the grandchildren.

Only a small number of the interviewed grandfathers had no (or very limited) contact with at least one of their grandchildren. The main reason for this lack of contact is typically distance (for example, one of their children has moved abroad), but a breakdown in family relation-

ships for whatever reason may also have led to this loss of contact. Such a breakdown and loss of contact is most often the result of divorce, and the divorce may have been the grandfather's own divorce, which led to a loss of contact with a child and later on with that child's children, or it may be the result of a child's divorce, which led to a loss of contact with that child's children. In the latter case, it is usually a son's divorce, after which the grandchildren live with the mother, who has severed contact with her ex-husband and his parents. Only one interviewee in the Danish material was in this unfortunate situation.

Differences between the younger and older generations of grandfathers are modest. Much of the material suggests that any generational differences are to be found between the two generations of the current study and the even older generation of grandfathers, that is the fathers of the study's generations. In other words, it is between the interviewees and their respective fathers and grandfathers that there appear to be generational differences. For example, it is mentioned that the interviewee's grandfathers were *old*, while they did not consider themselves to be old at all.

The interviewees point out another interesting and consistent difference that was observed regardless of generation, namely the difference between being a father and being a grandfather. This difference relates to available *time*. As a father, the interviewees—like their own fathers—were too busy with work, leaving too little time to spend with their children. However, as a grandfather, they discover they have time, and they are able and willing to engage totally with their grandchildren.

Generational differences between the two generations of grandfathers in the study do manifest themselves in how difficult becoming a grandfather was for the generations. Some of the younger grandfathers found becoming a grandfather extremely difficult as they felt that being a grandfather made them socially old at a time when they did not feel at all old.

As mentioned, the relationship with grandchildren can be affected adversely by distance and by the structural framework within which grandfathers act out their roles. However, regardless of these limitations (where they exist), the interviewed grandfathers provided evidence of a rich, warm, and close relationship with their grandchildren, and they

state that positive characteristics, knowledge, and particular attitudes towards life and the world are what they would like to pass on to their grandchildren. For example:

I love to talk about knights, and days of old. There must be something else in life other than Nintendo. You know what I mean? And he just loves to hear it ... (No. 30, Christian, 65 years)

I don't just want to be a playmate for them, rolling about on the floor. I want to give them something more than that, teach them that they must put something into life to get something out of life. I want to enrich them, but I do it at their level ... (No. 15, Torben, 63 years)

We talk about the way of the world ... (No. 40, Henning, 63 years)

We set limits, but they are not like parental boundaries. I believe that I have to be part of the children's world as the grown-up who is different and more grown-up than their parents ... (No. 56, Ivan, 53 years)

Is it the case that grandfathers only have a role as *accompanying grandfathers*, present solely in the shadow of their (dominant) spouse, the grandmother? Or do they have an independent relationship with their grandchildren? It is clear from the research material that the large majority of the interviewed grandfathers—where conditions allow it—have an independent relationship with their grandchildren, as well as a relationship together with the grandmothers. There is only one grandfather who was unable to recall any activities he did on his own with his grandchildren—clearly he is an *accompanying grandfather*. There is in addition only one case where the interviewed grandfather (and grandmother) did not engage in any activities with their grandchildren, but this is because they have no contact with them.

There are *regular activities*, where grandparents help parents with their children, for example, helping with travel to and from school or day care as well as taking care of the children after school/day care until the par-

ents return from work. Whilst some grandparents do this on a daily basis, others do it occasionally as the need arises, and others are prevented from doing this by the long distance.

There are *hobby activities* that typically revolve around the grandchildren's hobbies, for example, going along to watch them play football or handball, go horseback riding, or perform in school concerts—with or without the children's parents. Other activities revolve around the grandfather's hobbies, which then also depend on the age of the grandchildren. When they are very young, these opportunities are limited, but as the grandchildren get older, so does the range of potential activities, from reading to board games to walking in the countryside to visiting museums. However, as they get older, the grandchildren may also grow away from such activities with their grandparents, which is what Villy experienced:

... the older they get, the more difficult it becomes for me to engage with them in certain things at my age. It's all that computer stuff. They sit there and hammer away on it and there's just not time to play or do anything else really ... (No. 43, Villy, 63 years)

Characteristic of all grandfathers in this study material is a high degree of engagement with their grandchildren, and it is important, as the material shows, that this engagement with grandchildren take place 'at the grandchildren's level' and on their terms, as expressed by Torben:

I want to enrich them, but I do it at their level ... (No. 15, Torben, 63 years)

Not surprisingly, however, there are different degrees of commitment from the grandfathers, which may be a result of the grandfather's level of motivation, but it may also be a result of the practicalities of the situation. For example, Jens's daughter is a single mother, which means that Jens has a key role in the everyday life of his grandchildren:

Our oldest granddaughter has lived with us since she was born. Her mother—our daughter—did not settle with the father. She was a stewardess

and she flew all over the place, so it was difficult for her, and Laura lived with us. We all thought that was fantastic. I've been like a father for her after all ... (No. 28, Jens, 68 years)

In another case, Peter's grandchildren live too far away for frequent contact and the type of relationship he had hoped for; the level of commitment is beyond his control:

... you have an idea of how you want to be for your grandchildren, but it doesn't always turn out that way. I'm a sort of long-distance grandfather, I guess, but I believe that I do still have a role to play in their lives, and being a grandfather is very important to me. But it's just not the role I had expected and hoped for ... (No. 8, Peter, 60 years)

Structures may define the potential for relationships and activities between grandfathers and grandchildren, but there is a striking similarity in activities among the different grandfathers. The structures determine frequency rather than content. The interviewed grandfathers mentioned going for walks, reading books, playing cards, playing with Lego, all regardless of whether contact was every day or only once a year. The activities engaged in together also depend on the age of the grandchildren. One of the interviewed grandfathers, Hans, is 66 years old and has four grandchildren aged between 6 and 12 years, all girls who live nearby. From the outset, he and his wife were very committed to and involved in their grandchildren's lives and, in this particular instance, they are both engaged in the sort of day-to-day activities normally associated with being parents rather than grandparents. Even so, Hans has *his special thing* with each of the four girls:

If you ask the girls, they would probably say I am a loving grandfather. I spoil them. I leave the discipline to my wife. They are with us at home a lot and I just think they should feel happy and comfortable when they're here. When they were younger, we could have all four sleep over—and they did that at least once a week—but now that they are older, we have them one at a time. I love walking. We have always enjoyed going for walks, long walks, in our family, and so of course we do that with the girls. We walk

and we talk and then we come home and have a game of cards. And we take them with us on holiday—without their parents—mostly abroad.

I also have my own special thing with each of them. When they turn 8, just the two of us take a couple of days to go on a cycling trip to a nearby city, eat a good dinner, stay at a hotel and cycle home the next day. They have all looked forward to that cycling trip with granddad. I have only got the youngest one left now ... (No. 59, Hans, 66 years)

In many cases, grandfathers do things on their own with their grandchildren, and Hans is an example of this type of grandfather. He engages in some of the regular activities alone, but there are some activities that he and his wife do together with their grandchildren. There do not appear to be fixed rules about the sharing of activities—apart from the cycling trip in Hans's case.

However, there may be specific activities that grandfathers in general are not inclined to engage in with their grandchildren, as Hans explains:

We've just had the two girls aged 9 and 6 staying with us and they went into town with my wife to shop. I must admit, that's just not me ... (No. 59, Hans, 66 years)

Whilst there may, therefore, be some activities, like shopping, that grandfathers do not engage with, the interview material does not suggest that grandfathers tend to do things with their grandsons rather than with their granddaughters. Some grandfathers, however, do state that that may well become the case as the girls get older:

Right now they have an age and interests, where I can be pretty much part of everything—and enjoy it and feel like being part of it—but that may well change when Maria, our granddaughter, gets older. By then, grandma will probably be more in demand than me, understandably ... (No. 37, Jens Peter, 52 years)

In difficult times/situations for grandfathers, grandchildren can actually be helpful in enabling grandfathers to come to terms with and move on from these difficult times/situations. One of the interviewed grandfathers is Mogens, who is 60 years old and one of the two widowers among the interviewees. Mogens's wife died 5 years prior to the interviews. He and his wife had just one daughter, who has three children aged between 4 and 12 years. The oldest is a boy, and it is clear from the interview material that Mogens and this grandson have a very special relationship—a relationship that happened by accident, but a relationship that has quite clearly helped Mogens through a very difficult time following the death of his wife:

It was a shock when my wife died, of course it was. She was diagnosed with cancer and was dead within six months. There was really no time to make any plans or discuss the future. The future just arrived all too quickly. And it knocked me out completely, I must admit. I wasn't old, but suddenly I was a widower, on my own. I actually think my daughter deliberately used Nikolai (the grandson aged 12 years) to jolt me out of it all. She would just drive around, drop him off, say she had something to do and leave and there we were, me and Nikolai ... but it worked and we have a fantastic close relationship as a result.

I've always liked to fish since I was a boy. I learned it from my own grandfather and every year the last three years Nikolai and I have gone up to Norway and fished. It's our boy-thing. We camp and cook and fish.

The granddaughter aged 8 is interested in history, so we've started going to museums ... They all give me something in my life. I take them to school and day care and pick them up again every day, and I'll even babysit so that the adults can go out and enjoy themselves ... (No. 18, Mogens, 60 years)

The interview material reveals that being a grandfather in a modern family in Denmark spans from a rich, warm, and special relationship, rewarding for all involved, to the emotionally traumatic situation with virtually no contact between grandparents and grandchildren, for what-

ever reason. Only one of the interviewed grandfathers in the material has no contact at all with his grandson. Jesper is 68 years old and has only one grandchild, a boy aged 12 years. When Jesper was first contacted to take part in the research, his immediate response was that he was not sure he could participate because 'he was not really a grandfather':

We've not really seen Philip for 8 or 9 years now. We know that he lives in a nearby city with his father, our son Jakob, who got divorced when Philip was 2 years old. Philip's mother found another partner and just disappeared and wouldn't have anything to do with them. Immediately after the divorce, we tried to help as much as we could, but Jakob got into trouble with one thing or another, and eventually he moved to a nearby city and will have nothing to do with us. We did visit, but it always ended in an argument. We kept writing to Philip and now we e-mail each other. Maybe things will change with time, but right now it's strange ... (No. 2, Jesper, 68 years)

Divorce does not, however, have to mean that you cannot maintain a good and positive relationship with both the grandchildren and the parent from whom your own child has been divorced. Henning B is 69 years old and has two sons, each with two children, and he has four grandchildren aged between 6 and 10 years. One son is divorced, but, as Henning B explains, it has not had any dramatic impact on the relationships:

Our eldest son is divorced. His ex-wife and the mother of two of our grandchildren lives here in town and she has childcare problems because of her work, so I help out with that. I pick them up and take them to day care and I collect them later in the day, and they often stay the night with us. They have a bath before bed and they like bedtime stories, so I do that as well. The divorce has not meant that our relationship with the grandchildren has been affected, thank goodness. On the contrary. This summer, she and the two grandchildren are coming on holiday with us—without their father. He doesn't like the heat ... (No. 33, Henning B, 69 years)

It is clear that grandfathers in Denmark do indeed have a role that they themselves and other family members recognize and accept. Harper et al. (2004) show that the roles of grandmothers can be categorized as caregivers, as a substitute for an absent partner (a confidant), as a substitute for parents, and as family anchors. The interview material in this

research reveals both similar and different roles for grandfathers. The modern grandfather takes his grandchildren to school/day care and picks them up; he cooks with them and plays with them; he changes nappies, puts them to bed, and reads bedtime stories. When required, he is also a substitute parent, typically if his daughter is a single mother or divorced. And together with his wife, he is a family anchor. However, nothing in the material suggests that he takes on the role of substitute for an absent partner in the way that grandmothers often take on this role.

Henning B is a good example of this modern Danish grandfather, although he admits he was not quite ready to be a grandfather. Elements of Henning's experience and role as a grandfather are found with almost all of the interviewees:

I had a problem with becoming grandfather. I was old enough to become a grandfather, I suppose, but I just didn't feel old enough, if you know what I mean. So it was hard to begin with, personally, but I didn't let it affect my relationship with the grandchildren. I was the one who started changing their nappies—I always did it. And I take them to the dentist and to the health visitor and to school and I always pick them up from school. I'm totally fine with it all. In fact, I **wanted** to do these things... (No. 33, Henning B, 69 years)

The grandfather in these modern families is—together with his wife—the family anchor and focal point:

Of course, you want them to become good people, and one way or another, you can't avoid shaping and influencing them. We've always had a very open house—both with our children and their friends, and now with the grandchildren—and I have always tried to be honest and open. We talk about everything and we can disagree without falling out. They learn something from that, I hope. To listen and to understand other peoples' views. Do I have a role? I suppose so. I guess I'm the head of the family. I never actually think of it that way, but I am. They just naturally seat me at the head of the table when we're all together for a meal. Both of us still have a role in the family, in relation to both our children and our grandchildren. They ask us for advice and we support them whenever we can—emotionally and financially, of course we do. That's a role, too, I guess. And together with the parents, we definitely have a role in relation to the grandchildren.

We do spend a lot of time with them, so inevitably we influence them, but never in conflict with the way their parents raise them ... This is a lovely time of my life. I have my work behind me, I have lots of things I enjoy doing, and I have my family. And being a grandfather is a wonderful gift you get. You know, I can't imagine a life without children and grandchildren ... (No. 47, Erik B, 63 years)

There is also the role of substitute parent:

Our oldest granddaughter has lived with us since she was born ... since then I have practically been her father after all, even though she does spend time with her father. And I visit him too. You can't just ignore the fact that he's her father now, can you? ... (No. 28, Jens, 68 years)

However, the role of the modern grandfather is not just a serious one. There is a playful side to it, too, and this seems to be equally important to the grandfathers in this study:

We often pick them up from school and from the kindergarten, and they are always so hungry when we get home. And when they've eaten, we play cards, or I just mess around, rolling on the floor with the youngest ones ... (No. 20, Kim, 67 years)

Overall, the role of grandfathers appears to be a mixture of a broader social role and a focused family role, although it is often difficult to distinguish between the two roles. Grandfathers themselves feel very strongly that they have a well-defined and meaningful role, on the one hand as a bearer of culture, whose role is to pass on values and behaviours to the younger generation, and on the other hand as a friend to have fun with and as a confidant to share concerns with. Despite feeling that they themselves have these roles, a small number of the interviewed grandfathers allude to negative social attitudes towards grandfathers:

Well, here in Denmark they say that being a grandfather is the same as being old, but I'm okay, I feel comfortable with it, I don't feel old ... (No. 43, Villy, 63 years)

And then there is the relaxed feeling about it all, as expressed by Kristian:

We just have fun together, always. I've got my second childhood, I suppose, and I'm fine with that. I'm old enough for it not to affect me, what other people might say ... (No. 5, Kristian, 73 years).

Concluding Remarks

Much of the existing research on the role of grandparents (mostly from the USA and England and mostly about the role of grandmothers) evidences close emotional relationships between grandparents and grandchildren—relationships that actually benefit both generations (e.g. Harwood et al. 2005) and that are appreciated in the modern family (e.g. Silverstein and Marengo 2001).

Grandparenting research results have consistently underlined that grandmothers play the dominant role, with grandfathers taking on, at best, a supportive role. Men's identities have generally been defined in terms of the importance of paid work, so that identity derives from their workplace position (Connell 2005), and on retirement from paid work, men need something meaningful to do (Davidson et al. 2003a). Thus, it could be argued that there may be something of a paradox for older men who are grandfathers (Davidson et al. 2003b). The paradox arises because modern grandfathers reveal a 'softer' side in their relationships with their grandchildren, whilst the outside world—and perhaps even the grandfather himself—feels that the more traditional role as the wise man is a more appropriate one (Mann and Leeson 2010; Mann et al. 2013).

Demographics and family dynamics have changed markedly since the Second World War in developed economies, including Denmark (Leeson 2001, 2002, 2005a, b). This means that the time we spend as grandparents has increased as our life expectancies have increased. It also means that the number of grandparents we have has increased as our rates of survival into old age and extreme old age have improved (Leeson 2014). At the same time, the roles of each of the grandparents may have changed.

The average Dane becomes a grandparent in his/her fifties, while still active in the workplace, and therefore the role of grandparents in the modern Danish family is likely to be different from that of previous generations of grandparents. In some countries, there are even political initiatives to secure and develop the role of grandparents in the family, particularly but not exclusively with regard to childcare to enable young mothers to maintain their workforce participation (Dench and Ogg 2002; Wheelock and Jones 2002; Harper et al. 2004).

This research is in line with the opinions of Arthur et al. (2003), Dench and Ogg (2002), Harper and Ruicheva (2004) and Waldrop et al. (1999), for example, who suggest that the role of grandfathers is complicated and extensive. Roberto et al. (2001) stress that grandfathers are beginning to take on a greater mentoring role for grandchildren but that this role is often overlooked in favour of the nursing and caring role, which is dominated by grandmothers. This research material suggests that there is close and frequent contact between grandfathers and grandchildren and that grandfathers have an important and independent role in the lives of their grandchildren.

Grandfathers in Denmark—both younger and older grandfathers—appear to be active, engaged, happy grandfathers across a range of other socio-economic and demographic conditions. There are differences at the individual level among the grandfathers in the research material, and this is to be expected, but there are no striking generational differences, as our hypotheses had highlighted.

Both the older and younger grandfathers believe they have a role in the family as grandfathers and that the role is important to them and the family. They try to pass on to their grandchildren knowledge, attitudes, and opinions that can help them in life, without intruding on the role of the parents.

The research results are interesting, with regard to both the role of grandfathers in the modern family in Denmark and the structure and dynamics of the modern family, particularly the way in which grandparents are a non-judgemental constant—both grandparents are incredibly supportive and they focus on the grandchildren, avoiding conflict with the parents whenever possible.

The research material encompasses the traditional family as well as modern families with single mothers and single fathers, with divorced children and married-again children, and with various grandchildren. There are families with my children, your children, and our children in all possible combinations, and in all of them the grandparents are there to provide support in many different ways. The grandparents try to overcome any difficulties there may be—both physical and emotional. If geographical distance is a problem, then they make the most of the time they have with their grandchildren. If there are sensitive issues, for example arising from divorce, they try to distance their role as grandparents from these issues by not taking sides.

Time is something mentioned by virtually all of the interviewed grandfathers. Time is what they have most of, and it is an important dimension of their role as grandfather. They have time for their grandchildren. It is time that the children's parents do not have. And more striking from the interview material, it is the time they did not have with their own children. While the grandfathers harbour regret in relation to their children and the time they spent (or didn't spend) with them, they love the time they are able to spend with their grandchildren.

So, do grandfathers have a role in the modern family in Denmark?

The research results suggest resoundingly that they do and that they themselves can articulate this role easily and convincingly.

In addition, the nature of the role means that they also have a broader social role. Grandfathers themselves do not express their role in this sense, but the role of carer in relation to their younger grandchildren is normal, extensive, and important, and many younger families would have difficulty maintaining full-time work without help in this area from the grandparents—and it is important for economic development that these younger generations can maintain their attachment to the labour market. In other words, this economic contribution alone of grandfathers (and, of course, grandmothers) should not be underestimated.

So life as a grandfather in Denmark is generally exciting, rewarding, and full of emotion and joy, but also with some frustration at times.

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5

Grandfathers: The Parents' Perspective in the United Kingdom

Anne-Marie O'Leary and Ann Buchanan

Introduction

A review of the contents of this book revealed the obvious omission of an important voice: the voice of the parents. The purpose of this chapter is to add balance to the picture presented in subsequent chapters. We need to remember that intergenerational harmony is not a given. If there is to be contact with grandchildren, grandparents must allow this. Family conflict may be a major barrier to intergenerational relations. But on the other side, as seen in our previous research, parents also have to be permitting. If grandfathers want to have contact with their grandchildren, they

A.-M. O'Leary (✉)
Netmums, London, UK
e-mail: mediarequests@netmums.com

A. Buchanan
Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford,
Oxford, UK

need to remember that parents are the gatekeepers of intergenerational exchange (Buchanan et al. 2008; Attar Schwartz et al. 2009). Parents, for a variety of reasons discussed subsequently, can disallow this relationship.

The following material is based on unprompted comments from Netmums' discussion forum. The comments provide a picture of the many issues involved and some of the mixed emotions bound up in grandfather involvement.

Netmums

Used by three in four UK mums, Netmums is the nation's biggest parenting site, with over 2 million registered members and 8 million monthly unique users. The site's unique structure combines the most comprehensive national parenting and pregnancy hub, with 151 thriving local sites and 300 UK-wide groups for mums to meet offline, alongside 2300 parent bloggers covering the most topical family-focused content on the Web. It is also the only UK site to offer a free online parent supporter service, which provides free one-to-one support for thousands of the UK's most vulnerable mums each year using a specially trained team of parenting supporters, including staff from Citizen's Advice Bureau and Women's Aid. The local sites are backed by a wealth of parenting articles that start with pregnancy and follow through each stage of childhood, helping mothers to enjoy a happy and healthy family life (Netmums 2015). On the main site open to all is 'Coffeehouse', a discussion forum. To contribute, mothers must sign up (which is free) and agree to abide by certain forum rules. In submitting content, contributors are warned that the 'Coffeehouse' is a 'public' forum and that any information posted can be accessed by the general public or by Internet search engines such as Google.

The contributors are also reminded that all copyright, content, and information on the site, including the site's design, layout, and organisation, are owned or licensed by Netmums Ltd. By submitting content to Netmums, contributors grant Netmums the right to use, reproduce, modify, and publish it in other works.

Coffeehouse discussion is organised by 'threads' suggested by members around a particular topic of interest. To spark further discussion,

Netmums run polls, sometimes supported by research, eliciting mothers' views. Some of these are mentioned here.

For this study, two words were inserted in their search engine: first 'grandfathers' and then 'Granddads'. There were 3980 mentions of 'granddads' and 2940 mentions of 'grandfathers'. All comments were downloaded and then sorted into themes. Eight main themes emerged. These are discussed in what follows.

Difficult Family Relationships

Tolstoy suggested 'All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way' (Tolstoy 2014). This was vividly illustrated on the 'Coffeehouse' forum. The major barrier to involvement with grandfathers was a legacy of difficult family relationships. Mutual dislike between the generations often discouraged present and future relationships with grandchildren. A key issue was relationships with in-laws.

Mothers felt they were not accepted by their partner's family. One young mother, for example, who felt strongly that she was not liked by her in-laws, felt pushed out. As a result, she was constantly on edge with them, and this caused continuing arguments with her partner.

In another family, the paternal grandmother lived close by but never visited or called. The mother felt that her child was treated differently from the other grandchildren because the in-laws disapproved of their son's choice of partner.

In yet another sad case, parents did not allow the grandfather to see their daughter because the grandfather had mixed emotions about having a mixed-race grandchild. He had apparently said that he did not want a 'black grandchild because he would not be able to bond in the same way as with a white child'.

These tensions highlight the very difficult relationships some families have and are also mirrored in previous research findings. For example, in a telling study in the USA on the influence of in-laws on marital success, Bryant et al. (2001) found that, even in the long term, relationship conflict in the extended in-law family eroded marital stability, satisfaction, and commitment.

Difficulties Following Grandparent Separation/Divorce

When grandparents have divorced, this may upset intergenerational contact, especially for paternal grandfathers (Chap. 10). Following the separation and divorce of grandparents and the arrival of new partners, Netmums described some very complex relationships. Young families who had been very close to their parents suddenly felt that they were disconnected following the arrival of a grandparent's new spouse:

But ever since the breakdown of my stepfather and mother's marriage a few years ago, my stepfather's family have grown very distant—so much so that I'm feeling very pushed out. And I guess I just don't really know where I fit in anymore.

Netmums also complained that, following grandparental divorce, strained relationships sometimes meant, as family members took sides, that contact with full sisters and brothers was also lost.

Changing relationships with step-parents also caused sadness. As Fine et al. (1998) describe in their study of stepfamilies, there are very differing perceptions of how to behave as a step-parent and little guidance as to a step-parent's role. Still less, we can assume, is their guidance as to how step-grandparents should behave. In Netmums, some mothers had experienced close relationships with step-parents as they grew up, but this closeness disappeared as the next generation arrived. Mothers expressed sadness when these previously warm step-parent relationships did not extend to their children.

Parents as Gatekeepers

There is considerable evidence that parents act as the gatekeepers for intergenerational contact. Concerns, however, about difficult family relationships were not the only reason for parents' discouraging contact with grandparents. An ongoing issue, seen in the Netmums discussion, was concern about grandparents' different standards of parenting.

Recent years have seen concerted efforts to support parenting. Modern mothers are inundated with parenting advice from every quarter: from health visitors after the birth of their child, toddlers' clubs, TV, media, and, indeed, from Netmums. As a result, mothers are much better informed on what is good or less good for children. Grandparents, however, will not have been part of this process. Many grandparents may feel that the experience of looking after their own children qualifies them for looking after their grandchildren.

In the 'Coffeehouse' forum, parents worried about grandparents who smoked in the house and who gave their children junk food and unnecessary treats. Grandparents, on the other hand, were used to a more relaxed parenting style and sometimes felt that their children, as parents, worried too much about safety issues.

One mother was concerned when the grandmother 'lost' the small toddler she was looking after, only for the daughter to find the child at the top of a very steep flight of stairs in another part of the house, reaching for a bad-tempered cat. In a more serious dispute, a grandfather had introduced a small baby to alcohol by dipping the baby's dummy in some wine. When the baby seemed to enjoy this, he dipped the dummy in vodka.

Another dilemma was issues about possible favouritism. There is an implicit assumption in Western societies that parents treat their children equally (Klagsbrun 1992) and that this should also extend to grandparents' behaviour. In a study of 127 young adults (aged 17 to 30), Brody et al. found that two-thirds of the participants reported favouritism in their families. Crucially, the presence of being out of favour was associated with lower family cohesion and higher family conflict. Typically, favouritism involved birth order (oldest, youngest), sex (boys versus girls), and similarity to parents (Fitness 2004). Strong links have been found between family rejection and depression (Nolan et al. 2003).

Netmums' mothers were hurt if grandparents appeared to favour other grandchildren more than the Netmums mothers' own children. This could be a major source of strife. In one case, a mother said that the grandparents paid more attention to their other grandson and were willing to care for him one day a week, whereas they were not willing to help with her daughter.

In family life, things go wrong, and most parents have had the odd mind-blowing occasion where they have been at fault and children have barely escaped some calamity. However, when grandparents are in charge and these calamities happen, there may be real concerns about the grandparents' competence to look after their grandchildren.

The Netmums 'Coffeeshouse' forum contained a number of comments relating to a newspaper report where a grandfather had collected the wrong child from school. The grandfather had picked up a girl from school and taken her to the doctor, where she was prescribed liquid paracetamol before being dropped back off at school. The 6-year-old girl had the same first name as the man's granddaughter and was in the same class. She told her parents what had happened and showed them the medicine when she got home. Although the parents recognized that this was probably the action of a confused old man, they felt this epitomized their 'worst nightmare'.

Still more serious was the occasional thread in the discussion forum relating to illegal behaviour. For example, in one case, a grandfather was prohibited by the court from seeing his grandchild, but during a contact meeting with the child's father, the child reported he had been with the grandfather. This was effectively breaching the conditions set by the court. In this case, the Netmums advisor helpfully picked up the case.

Grandmothers and Grandfathers as Grandchild Carers

Despite these concerns, elsewhere in 'Coffeeshouse' comments, there was very real appreciation for all the work grandparents and grandfathers did in caring for their children. It was apparent that grandmothers and grandfathers (often on their own) were heavily involved in childcare. Three polls of 'Coffeeshouse' members are reported here. First, a poll demonstrating the heavy involvement of both grandparents in supporting the next generation; second, a poll on the number of parents who let their children stay alone with grandparents; and third, an interesting discussion on whether grandparents should be paid for the service either using government vouchers or by the parent. Overall, the forum discussion highlighted the huge amount of childcare that grandparents, and often grandfathers on their own, were giving.

Grandparents' Care

Netmums published a survey on their 'Coffeehouse' forum on the extent of grandparents' involvement in their children's and grandchildren's lives. This highlighted that the average mum calls in 254 favours from Nan and Granddad every year. It also emerged that four in ten mums call on their parents or their partner's parents for do-it-yourself (DIY) tasks, and more than half said they would be stuck for childcare if it wasn't for Nanny and Grandpa. Four out of 10 of the 2000 parents polled received regular cash hand-outs from their parents to 'see them through the month'. Other jobs grandparents undertook included walking their offspring's dog, weeding the garden, hanging out the washing, and even doing a big supermarket shop. The survey also found that, in a typical week, grandparents are called on nearly five times. Perhaps not surprisingly, 58 % of parents said they would rather leave their children in the hands of their own parents than a childminder. Twenty-five percent said they could never afford to pay a professional to look after their children.

The top 20 most requested grandparent jobs were as follows:

1. Babysitting when parents were on nights out
2. Childcare when one of the kids was ill
3. Babysitting in the school holidays
4. Painting and decorating
5. Babysitting if parents were away with work
6. Cooking meals on busy days
7. Attending kids' school events
8. Waiting in for a delivery
9. Cutting the grass
10. Collecting a parcel
11. Small DIY jobs (e.g. change lightbulbs, replace fuses)
12. Cleaning the house
13. Putting up pictures, mirrors, shelves
14. Car maintenance
15. Generally tidying up
16. Cooking cakes for school fetes

17. Ironing
18. Washing the family's clothes
19. Washing up
20. Tidying the garden

Overnight Stays

Netmums also undertook another interesting poll, which was included in the 'Coffeehouse' discussion forum, asking parents whether their children stayed overnight alone with grandparents. No details were given as to the children's age. Although some parents felt they had no one to ask, presumably as they had no surviving or local grandparents, very few said that they did not allow their children to stay with grandparents. A significant proportion of grandchildren stayed once a week or once a month and most grandchildren stayed occasionally.

The poll sparked an interesting discussion. Most parents said that they found overnight stays gave them a break and were especially welcome when children appeared to enjoy it. Other parents, who worked shifts, used overnight stays with grandparents so they could go to work. There is only limited paid childcare available for this group of parents in the UK. A report by the Family and Child Care Trust (2016) noted that the absence of childcare to meet the needs of parents with atypical work patterns remains one of the biggest gaps of provision across Britain.

Mothers on Netmums showed how grandmothers, and in some cases grandfathers too, were filling this gap. In one case, a grandson stayed with his grandparents regularly every 6 weeks to fit in with his parents' shifts, but in another case overnight stays with grandparents were a long-term arrangement, which the children accepted readily, and these stays helped in building relationships with grandparents:

My daughter is 3 years and my son is 8 months and from the age of 3 months they have stayed overnight at their nanna and granddad at least once a week due to mine and my husband's shifts. Now my daughter stays over every Friday night regardless of if we are working or not. She has a fantastic relationship with her grandparents.

One set of grandparents, who were also shift workers, had taken turns in caring for their grandson from the age of 3 months. Apparently the little boy, who was now 2.5 years old, knew which were Granddad's days to care for him and which were Grandma's days and had learnt to enjoy the particular activities provided by each grandparent.

However, as grandchildren got older and more boisterous, and grandparents became more frail, sometimes parents reluctantly had to recognize the moment when the grandparents could no longer cope. Generally parents felt that whatever grandparents said, they, the parents, had to make the decision about caring for grandchildren. It was not possible to generalize.

Parents also recognized that grandparents did not have to care for their children, and grandparents had the right to say no if it did not fit in with their plans.

Those parents who did not have available grandparents to provide childcare felt at a disadvantage.

Should Grandparents Be Paid to Look After Their Grandchildren?

A final, very interesting poll, reported here from the 'Coffeehouse' forum, asked whether grandparents should be paid for childcare. 'Coffeehouse' noted that grandparents provided £3.9 billion of childcare every year, and it was estimated that three in ten of these grandparents were of working age. Although under current regulations a parent can claim for childcare if the care is provided by a registered childminder, they cannot claim for childcare provided by a relative, unless that relative is a registered childminder (Government 2015). The forum also noted, however, that from April 2011, grandparents and other adult family members providing childcare were entitled to national insurance credits (just as a stay-at-home mum would be) towards their basic state pension, meaning they would be rewarded for this role like any other job. The children had to be aged 12 or under and they had to be cared for 20 hours or more per week. This information sparked a number of comments on Netmums. The question put was: Do you think there should be some state financial help for grandparents? Should parents be able to use childcare vouchers to pay for grandparent care?

There were a variety of responses. Some felt this would be wrong. After all, grandparents chose to look after their grandchildren and did it out of the goodness of their heart, not because they were paid. Some mothers were acutely aware that, given the recession and cutbacks, there was little hope of any government funding.

But others looked at the issues more pragmatically. It was felt that if a grandparent was cutting working hours to accommodate caring for grandchildren, they should be compensated, especially if this meant that his or her daughter was able to come off benefits.

Some mothers, however, were already paying their grandparents. One mother paid her own mother £3 per hour. She recognized that this was less than she would pay in a nursery but felt strongly that you could not expect your parent to look after your kids for free. Other mothers felt that if they did not pay the full amount for their grandparents to care, they should at least make a contribution. Parents felt generally that grandparents should not have to pay for food, nappies, or clothes. The parents recognized that at the end of the day, caring for children and paying for their needs was their responsibility.

The current government is reconsidering the situation on tax credits, and there was support for the idea of using these to compensate grandparents:

I think that you should be able to use tax credits to pay grandparents. I think it would encourage mums to go back to work. I went back when my daughter was 16 months... If I could have used my Tax Credits to pay my mum I would have gone back earlier and probably done more hours. Also I very rarely had to take time off if my daughter was sick etc. as my mum could still have her and if I needed to work late/early not a problem. It meant I was a more flexible employee. I think it would be good for business and mums. Even if my mum registered as a childminder I still couldn't use her and use Tax Credits.

Maintaining Family History

A fifth theme highlighted the importance of maintaining family continuity through the use of family names, researching the family tree, and perhaps linked to this is concern relating to possible inherited diseases.

There were many discussions on what to call children, which demonstrated the value attached to using family names to keep a sense of family continuity. Others were interested in finding out who they were by researching a family tree. Although grandparents were helpful here, some situations were more sensitive. In using some of the available search engines, few mothers had concerns about uncovering family secrets, which might raise questions in their minds as to who they, and their children, were. One mother noted:

No one knows who my Dad's father is. My Nan was 'in service' ... She had my Dad out of wedlock. Her family stood by her ... My Nan died in 19 ... So that secret has gone with her.

In another case, a mother was surprised to discover that her grandmother had brought up her daughter's (the mother's sister's) child who had been born out of wedlock. The grandmother's story was that the child had been adopted. Others in the 'Coffeehouse' forum were pragmatic and said this had probably happened in many families.

Caring for Grandfathers, Sickness, and Managing Death

The sixth theme featured strongly, and this concerned the stress around sick grandparents, sadness about their sickness and death, and managing funerals when grandchildren were involved. The report by the Institute of Public Policy Research 'The Sandwich generation' notes that, although women's lives have changed immeasurably in the last 50 years, they still remain the main carers of elderly relatives. Many manage the care of their children and work, as well as looking after frail elders. Some of these women may have to give up work in order to care for the older generation (Ben-Galim and Silim 2013).

The Stress of Grandparent Illness

One mother used the forum to help find her missing grandfather, who may have had dementia and wandered off. Another parent was trying to

support a grandfather who was in pain. Doctors had apparently not been able to diagnose the problem. The mother was the day-to-day carer, and she found supporting her father in such pain very distressing. Yet another mother was facing a situation where her father was dying from cancer. Doctors had suggested that he should not be told. The stress of keeping the diagnosis secret was very hard on the mother.

Should Children Go to Funerals?

The demise of frail relatives is a reality of life. There was considerable discussion as to whether children should attend grandparents' funerals and whether this might be emotionally damaging for them. The Bereavement Advice Centre states simply that there is no right or wrong answer and that children need simple and honest information so that they can understand what has happened as much as possible (Bereavement Advice Centre 2015).

Parents struggled in making a decision. In one case, a pregnant young mother with a small toddler wondered how wise it was to make a long journey to the funeral. She also worried that the funeral might upset her son emotionally. Another mother had a scan taken of her unborn baby and wondered whether it would be appropriate to place this in the coffin.

Money, Wills, and Inheritance

Less overt was the seventh theme: possible conflict over money and wills and anticipating who would inherit and how to manage this. *The Independent* noted in 2013 that there had been a 700 % increase over the previous 5 years in the number of feuds over disputed wills in the high court (*Independent* 2013). The rise was partly attributed to the recession, which had seen the value of assets, especially property, fall sharply. This apparently triggered arguments between relatives and dependents who found themselves with smaller sums than anticipated, but it was also fuelled by remarriages and increasingly complex family situations.

Such issues were well illustrated on Netmums. In one case, the mother was aware that the grandmother was dying but worried as she was remaking

her will. There was a small inheritance, which she felt should come her way, but was concerned that it might go to an uncle's adopted daughter, which she felt would be unfair.

Complex family relationships appeared to compound the difficulties. One case provoked considerable discussion on the 'Coffeehouse' forum. A couple who had been together for 15 years with two joint children had never married. Both had children from previous relationships. The concern was that if she, the mother, died first and left everything to the husband, any money she had made could go to his children. The rights and wrongs of this were debated at length. The discussion concluded that it was important to write clear wills to prevent future conflict.

Concerns About Abuse

A final theme hits on concern about possible physical or sexual abuse by grandfathers and close relatives with convictions for paedophilia. The first discussion was around a grandfather who was not allowed to visit his grandchild at his school because he came without the parent. The grandfather wanted to watch a falconry display at this grandchild's school but was banned for supposed safety issues. Parents felt it was wrong that the concern about possible paedophiles could prevent grandfathers from participating in their grandchildren's school events:

I find this story quite sad and to me it just confirms again just how paranoid our society had become especially regarding men and children ... It is so sad as it alienates the generations and just increases the children's fear that all adults are pedos.

But in a few cases there were possible concerns that a grandfather may be overstepping the permissible. The sudden rejection of grandfather by a small granddaughter raised unspoken concerns in a mother's mind that something had happened. The dilemma was that the mother did not feel she could be sure.

In one case, a grandfather actually had a conviction for sexual abuse. Following the mother's divorce, the child had contact with the father, and

at times the grandfather was there. The mother said she was aware that the grandfather had sexually explicit pictures on his computer. She was hoping that the court would do more to stop the grandfather meeting his grandson.

In another story, a mother found out that her sister had been sexually abused as a child by their grandfather. The mother had always wondered why her sister's relationships with the grandfather had been so fraught. The sister had only recently talked about the abuse. Apparently, the grandfather had admitted the sexual abuse, saying he knew that it was wrong.

Finally, there was a case where a grandfather was picked up by the police for suspected historic sexual abuse and possible more recent abuse of young relatives. He had apparently abused his stepdaughter when she was aged 11 and possibly another niece more recently. The young mother commenting on 'Coffeehouse' felt she could not talk to her husband because it was his family and he would not believe it.

Sexual abuse by grandparents is not unknown. Margolin (1992), using a sample of ninety-five case records of sexual abuse substantiated through child protection investigation, confirmed several findings from earlier studies of sexually abusive grandparents: virtually all perpetrators were grandfathers; the vast majority of victims were girls; and a disproportionately large share of abusive grandfathers appeared also to have been sexually abusive fathers. Step-grandchildren appeared to experience greater risk.

The cases mentioned highlighted in the 'Coffeehouse' forum suggest that sexual abuse by grandfathers can be an issue in some families. In fact, there were very few comments in this vein, but we felt it was relevant to air them. We may not know for sure, but it is important that parents, without going to extremes and banning all older men from school events, be made aware of the possibility.

Joy and Sadness

The overriding impression from the 'Coffeehouse' discussions was of the many comments about the joy grandfathers brought to grandchildren and what a good time they had with them.

It's lovely my son has a fab relationship with his Granny and Papa. His first word was 'Papa' and DD already gets excited when she sees them or hears their voice ... They shower them both with attention ... It makes me smile—tonight when I phoned to check in on them they were all knights; even DD was getting in on the action as the damsel in distress. You could hear her giggling away amongst the 'storm the castle' jeers and DS shouting 'stand back you vagabond!' It cracks me up just thinking about them and their crazy antics.

On the other hand, mothers whose children did not have these relationships expressed sadness that no grandfathers were involved because they had died, lived too far away, or in several cases apparently chose to have minimum or no contact with their grandchildren.

Conclusion

In other parts of this book some of these themes are developed further. It is hoped these extracts give a flavour of parents' perspectives. Other chapters, namely Chap. 4, give voice to the grandfathers, and Chap. 15 to the grandchildren. Hearing the voices of the three parties—grandfathers, parents, and children—helps to make sense of the more statistically based chapters.

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6

Maori Grandfathers in Aotearoa (New Zealand)

Judith Davey and Cherryl Smith

Introduction

This chapter discusses the role of Maori grandfathers and how it is changing. The Maori are the indigenous population of Aotearoa. People who claim Maori descent comprise 668,724 of a total population of 4.24 million (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Maori grandfathers have had very little written about them until now. This chapter will bring together the scant information about Maori grandfathers that is known from the available literature and will refer to research in Aotearoa on grandparenting in

J. Davey (✉)

Institute for Governance and Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington,
Wellington, New Zealand

e-mail: Judith.Davey@vuw.ac.nz

C. Smith

Te Atawhai O Te Ao: Independent Maori Research Institute for Environment
and Health, Whanganui, New Zealand

general to assist with an understanding of this role. Additional information comes from informal discussions with Maori grandfathers in which they are asked about their experience of grandparenthood.

The grandfather role is a significant one for families and society. Often grandparents provide valuable emotional support, being repositories of heritage and knowledge, and also valuable assistance with child-rearing. Grandparents have been found to be important to families for resilience and adaptation to adversity by being consistent nurturers, supporters, and role models (Bengston 1985). However, being a grandparent is not a static role. There is change through the generations, and given the current context of social, economic, and demographic change, families generally are becoming more diverse.

As in many societies, the role of elders in Maori society is considered an important one. Numerous traditional stories discuss the important role elders held in the life of their grandchildren. A significant story told among Maori is of the famous Pacific ancestor Maui, who was raised by his grandfather, *Tama nui te ra* (the Sun). Maori grandfathers were significant figures in the raising of children, and elders played a vital role in passing on knowledge to grandchildren. There was a collective responsibility for children among kin, extended kin, and descent groups, which included informal fostering or adoption (Pitama et al. 2002).

Change and Diversity

Whilst basic traditions are still strong among many Maori, the picture of Maori grandparenting is complex and has changed over the generations. Ways of doing things may vary from family to family. As a result, some commentators have concluded that there is simply no one way to “be Maori” (Carter 1998; Durie 1995; Cunningham et al. 2005). Analysis of 2013 Census data shows that less than half of Maori men who are partnered have Maori female partners. This has dropped from 53 % in 2001 (Didham and Callister 2014). Maori families are undergoing processes of transformation and redefinition, becoming more heterogeneous in size, structure, and roles.

Grandparents can range in age from 30 to over 110 years old and grandchildren from newborns to retirees. Changes in patterns of paid

and unpaid work, including increased female labour-force participation and new views of caring work and retirement, are also relevant. These have brought greater financial independence for women, challenging the male provider role and making the dual-earner family the norm. Many children are spending significant hours in care outside the home, which has implications for cultural transmission. Maori have been affected by general social and demographic trends but also specific changes, including economic pressures, and especially urbanization.

Since the 1950s, large numbers of Maori have relocated from tribal areas, and many have moved from an agrarian to an industrialized urban society. In the process, many have become separated from their tribal heritage and forced to change their lifestyles from the collective support of the *whanau* (extended family) to the *pakeha-oriented* nuclear family (Durie 1989, p. 289).¹ Co-residence of the generations in extended families has broken down. As among other indigenous populations, this has been a contributing factor to the increased poverty and deprivation among Maori, along with negative social and health statistics.

Demographic Trends and Grandparenthood

There are important demographic differences between the Maori and non-Maori populations in Aotearoa (New Zealand) that affect the experience of grandparenthood.² The Maori are a youthful population. In 2013, 44 % of Maori were aged under 20, compared with 27 % of the total population. Children (from zero to 14 years) made up 34 % of the Maori population. The median age of Maori is only 24 years, compared to 41 years for the population of European descent.

Maori life expectancy is also lower, although the Maori/non-Maori gap has closed. Non-Maori life expectancy at birth, based on 2010 to 2012 figures, is 80.2 years for males and 83.7 for females. This compares

¹In this context, *pakeha* refers to people of European descent; non-Maori refers to all people who are not of Maori descent or who do not identify as Maori.

²The demographic trends and Maori/non-Maori differences should be seen as indicative because the New Zealand Census allows multiple ethnic affiliations, and ethnic definitions have changed over time.

to 72.8 years for Maori males and 76.5 for Maori females. This gap has been narrowing in recent decades. Maori birth rates are higher, and births occur at younger ages on average. The total fertility rate for Maori in 2006 was 2.78, as against 1.92 for the European-descent population. The median age of child-bearing was younger—25.91 years for Maori and 31.14 for the European-descent population. Maori have higher rates of teenage parenthood, which impacts upon the age of first-time grandparenthood and the duration of the role.

Maori on average become grandparents at younger ages. Census figures show that the median age of becoming a grandparent for the first time in New Zealand is 53 for grandmothers and 56 for grandfathers. Fifty-three percent of Maori respondents were grandparents before the age of 45, according to a national representative survey carried out by the New Zealand Families Commission (2009b). Thus, at the time they become grandparents, Maori are typically partnered and employed and therefore have competing roles. In addition, they are likely to have living parents and therefore may have to balance elder care and grandchild care responsibilities.

Multigenerational families and co-residence of family generations are more common among Maori. Trends in Maori fertility and mortality increase the number of living generations within a family—the so-called ‘beanpole’ family structure—but the ongoing long-term decline in fertility reduces the numbers in each generation. Maori are more likely to be living in multigenerational households than people in the European-descent group. Twenty-five percent of Maori grandparents lived with one or more of their grandchildren, as against 5 % of the European-descent group (Families Commission 2009a).

Culture and Cultural Connectedness

Kinship terms for Maori embody the concepts of blood ties, ancestry, and continuity over generations (Walker 2006). The word for grandchildren—*mokopuna*—literally means a reflection of the ancestors, suggesting that they embody the continuity of *whakapapa* (genealogy) (Smith 2010, p. 17). This is illustrated by likening *mokopuna* (grandchildren)

to the soft new shoots of the *harakeke* (flax), which are protected by the outer layers, that is, preceding generations (Metge 1990). *Tupuna* is a word used for a grandparent or ancestor that means ‘grown from’, that is, a person from whom we grew. *Koro* (or *koroua*) refers to grandfathers and the men in the grandfathers’ generation. These terms are not just kin-markers but forms of endearment and affection (Tomlins-Jahnke and Durie 2008).

The word *kaumatua* (elder) is often taken to mean respected older Maori in general, but this status is not automatically achieved at a particular age (Edwards 2010). *Kaumatua*, both male and female, are endorsed as elders of the tribe and *whanau* (extended family), related to their capacity to teach and guide both current and future generations; their knowledge of *tikanga* (guidelines for daily life and interaction), history, and *whakapapa* (genealogy); and proficiency in *Te Reo* (Maori language). Maori proverbs frequently refer to the complementary contributions of older and younger generations (Edwards 2010; Metge 1995).

Maori society is organized on the basis of tribes (*iwi*), with subtribes (*hapu*) and extended families (*whanau*). *Whanau*, as the key Maori social and cultural unit, has been researched extensively to describe its component parts, roles, and relationships in traditional and contemporary Maori society (Walker 2006; Pihama and Penehira 2005). Membership of *whanau* entails obligations, including *whanaungatanga* (belonging and working together as kin), *manaakitanga* (showing respect, kindness, and hospitality to others), and *tautoko* (providing support) (Tomlins-Jahnke and Durie 2008; Mead 2003). Parents and grandparents are involved in supporting and engaging with their children, demonstrating *whanau* values through their actions and discussions. Typical of many Maori families is the way in which children are not alienated from the reality of intergenerational lifeways, which include birth, sickness, death, and dying (Ihimaera 1998, p. 14).

In modern circumstances, Hall and Metge (2002, p. 41) suggest that Maori recognize two kinds of family, the nuclear family and the *whanau*. Maori nuclear families may or may not belong to a functioning *whanau*; there is scope for them to be independent. Also, *whanau* are not exclusive groups. Belonging to one *whanau* through one parent does not exclude individuals from belonging to the *whanau* of the in-married Maori

parent. In the same way they may relate to the family of a non-Maori parent and be influenced by grandparental traditions from that side.

Smith (2010) suggests that when *whanau* continue to be strong, they exhibit shared parenting, strong relationships between *mokopuna* (grandchildren) and grandparents, and the involvement of grandparents in decisions about their grandchildren. Grandparents, and older people in general, have significant roles as decision makers and leaders in the *whanau*, as role models, as preservers of good relationships, and as maintainers and guardians of *whanau* knowledge and identity (Edwards 2010). In the modern context, there are pressures that can affect the ability of Maori grandparents to influence decisions about their *mokopuna*. The breakdown of the traditional society and the loss of tribal support for Maori nuclear families have contributed to this.

The importance of the *whanau* as central to Maori life has led to the development of a new policy approach to family welfare called the *Whanau Ora* programme. This programme seeks to develop the strengths of *whanau* rather than focus on fixing the deficiencies of its members (*Whanau Ora* Taskforce 2010). Funding is available for *whanau* to create their own plans and to implement them, working alongside skilled practitioners. The programme is based on Maori values, beliefs, and obligations that guide *whanau* in day-to-day life. Its success is to be measured by increased *whanau* capacity to achieve well-being for its members. From the government agencies' point of view, the aim will be coherent service delivery and unified intervention. If successful, this initiative should assist grandparents in caring for *mokopuna* in a *whanau* context.

The traditional role of Maori grandparents is further illustrated by the concept of *whangai*. This has come to be associated with the idea of adoption, although, in the Maori sense, it does not necessarily mean legal adoption. *Whangai* means to feed, in this context to feed and nurture (Tomlins-Jahnke and Durie 2008). In traditional Maori society, a couple's first child was often taken and brought up by grandparents, partly to provide practical assistance and care for them in old age (Okeroa and Nikora 2006). *Whangai* children often had access to cultural knowledge well ahead of their years. Some Maori grandparents are raising *mokopuna* because particular lands will be left to them, and with those lands goes certain knowledge. The traditional form of *whangai* may still occur, but

for different reasons. Urbanization can cause parents to move away from their home area to work or to further their education. In these situations they may leave their children with grandparents. Some grandparents, however, are taking over care of their *mokopuna* because they are concerned about their safety and well-being (see below).

Central to cultural identity for many Maori is the ability to speak the Maori language. Since the 1970s there has been a significant effort, from within the Maori community, but supported by government action, to increase the number of Maori speakers. Fluent Maori elders have made a huge contribution to this effort. Even so, the language is still under threat. Recent data (Statistics New Zealand 2013) show that 58 % of Maori women and 51 % of men have some speaking skills and 12 and 9 %, respectively, can speak very well or well. Below the age of 55 more women are able to speak well or very well. Of Maori who are over 55, 18 % of men and 16 % of women can speak Maori well.

The well-being of older Maori has been linked to cultural connectedness. Waldon (2004) found that higher standards of health among this group correlate strongly with active participation in Maori activities, especially through the *marae*. Edwards (2010) also affirmed that opportunities to interact with *whanau* are fundamental to the well-being of older Maori, adding that their well-being is a function of the well-being of their *whanau*.

The Roles of Maori Grandparents

Metge (1995, pp. 175–76) cited the metaphor of a Maori cloak with a *taniko* (ornamental weave) border. Parents lay the groundwork by giving children basic skills and characteristics. Grandparents and senior relatives complete the process, helping grandchildren with their self-image, linguistic competence, and special skills; for example, grandfathers may impart traditional skills in food gathering. Observers of Maori in the nineteenth century were struck by the fact that Maori men were very involved with childcare, which contrasted with the situation in their own cultures (Jenkins and Harte 2011).

Everyday care and nurturing of children took place in the *whanau*. Traditionally, children received care from many people besides their parents. In this *kainga* (village) environment, children were probably more influenced by their grandparents than their parents. 'Maori parents are not jealous of the part grandparents and relatives play in the rearing of their children' but embrace it and make full use of it (Metge 1995, p. 198). Ra (2002) suggests that it is through the knowledge and wisdom of older people that young Maori can learn the true meanings and values of being Maori. This role, which also combines authority with unconditional love and indulgence, can be described as traditional Maori grandparenting.

Traditional roles can be harder to maintain in the modern context, for economic and social reasons, together with the added influences of urbanization and migration and the reduction of multigenerational co-residence. Even so, contemporary grandparenting among Maori still encompasses the roles of nurturing, caring for, and protecting grandchildren, as well as passing on cultural knowledge and identity.

Much of the international research on grandparenthood suggests that matrilineal ties are favoured over patrilineal ones (Fingerman 2004). However, this was not the case in Smith's study (Smith 2010), which showed that Maori grandparents were just as likely to take over full-time care of their sons' children as daughters' children. In a number of examples, it was the grandfather who was closest to the *mokopuna* (grandchildren), and there are examples of grandfathers being the ones that made a request for the children to be raised with them. Nevertheless, there are issues of grandfather absence through early deaths from illness and a high incidence of divorce and relationship breakdown. The nature of Maori men's work can also make them more transitory, requiring periods of absence from *whanau*. Maori men feature highly in work in the primary industries, for example, farm labouring and shearing, and seasonal work. Shift work and careers such as the army also take men away from the *whanau*. Increasingly, Maori are moving to Australia for job opportunities. This causes an erosion of traditional *whanau* support.

Maori Men as Grandfathers

The grandfathering role is one of complexity, depending on the age and health of the grandfather and the ages of the grandchildren, as well as location, accessibility, and the quality of family relationships. The general picture of Maori men's health is sobering. In one study (Jones et al. 2006), the researchers concluded that Maori men experience more ill health, social exclusion, and deprivation than non-Maori men. Their access to general practitioner and hospital services is low; they present later (if at all) for care; drug and alcohol abuse is high; and Maori males have the highest mortality rate due to injury in New Zealand. Poor health and lower life expectancy impact on the ability of many Maori men to play a significant role in *whanau*.

We undertook informal discussions with four Maori grandfathers, asking how they saw their role. All referred to their early years, memories of their grandfathers, and what they thought they learnt from them. All four came from different tribes and had widely differing life experiences. Because of their recall of at least two past generations and two generations descended from them, they made observations of five generations of Maori men within their own *whanau*. The following vignettes are presented to illustrate some of the themes that arose in the discussions. They are not intended to be representative of the diversity and eclectic nature of modern Maori society.

Rob was brought up in his tribal area. His father died when he was two but his *whanau* lived together, with a number of *whangai* relatives, and his grandfather took over the key male role in his life. He was raised among his elders and was given a Maori name that was changed after he fell ill as a baby, because the name was considered 'too strong' in a spiritual sense. Rob grew up on the land, knowing a great deal about hunting, fishing, and important tribal places. When his grandfather died, another elder took over the role of guiding him. 'I took my role from these two fellas.' He is now repeating this situation, keeping the family living together on their traditional lands. He feels he was 'destined to have this role'. He has taught his grandchildren to know the land. He was moved emotionally when

thinking about them and says that his grandfathers would be proud of his grandchildren.

Rob is strong and confident in his Maori knowledge. He has a very clear philosophy about his ancestors and his role within the *whanau*. From his childhood his grandfather taught him a strong love of the land and the people and how to care for them. From him he learnt his own style of leadership, as he takes care of the *marae* (Maori meeting place) and looks after Maori protocols for his *hapu*.

Nepia was born in his tribal area, but attended school away from home. He said that *pakeha* education caused him to look to other people as role models. He spent summers with his father's parents. His grandfather, who had been in the Second World War, was a remote, harsh figure who spent much of his time in the 'pub', and he grew to dislike him. Today, he acknowledges that the *whanau* is more understanding about the ill effects the war had on his grandfather's behaviour. Nepia says that he comes from a tribe that emphasized the importance of *pakeha* education, and he attended teachers college away from home. As a teacher he made his home in another tribal area. He feels very loyal to the local tribe who he says 'has looked after him very well'. He has a number of grandchildren that he is very proud of. He feels that the role of a grandfather is to 'spoil' the grandchild—'grandparents should be a soft pillow for their grandchildren'. 'We are special as all grandparents are if they are kind and loving.' He says that his grandchildren can talk about things with their grandparents which they cannot discuss with their own parents.

Tama was brought up by his grandparents from the age of seven. He was the first son of a first son and feels there is a responsibility in this role. He was raised with two of his younger uncles. His grandfather was religious and applied strict and harsh discipline. As a teenager he rebelled against the discipline and became a 'street kid', eventually going to prison. Today, he has enormous empathy for street kids and has fostered numerous children in state care over the years while raising his own children. The strictness of the discipline he experienced as a child was such that he finds it hard to feel

love for his grandparents. He also says his upbringing has impacted upon him by making him feeling distant from his own grandchildren. He acknowledges that they are also the reason that he has been so aware of vulnerable children. Today, he is active in political and church leadership roles.

Jerry has spent most of his life in the tribal area. Maori language was not emphasized in his home, and his connection to things Maori was disrupted through his working life. He has learnt Maori language more recently. Since retirement he has held a number of leadership roles for his tribe. All of Jerry's grandparents died at a young age, except for one grandmother on his mother's side. As a result, a great uncle took over the role of grandfather to him. Jerry is already a great-grandfather. His grandchildren and great-grandchildren take precedence in his life. Jerry says that when his grandchildren arrived, he wanted to be a better grandfather than he was a father. He has observed his own son being a better grandfather than he was a father. He feels that, as a grandfather, he is responsible for looking out for all children, and he sees the children of his son's partner as his own. 'All grandchildren are ours.'

From the available literature, supplemented by examples from the discussions, several themes emerge that are relevant to the role of Maori men as grandfathers.

Pride in Maori *Whanau* and Tribal Heritage, Acknowledging Their Key Male Ancestors

The Maori grandfathers emphasized the importance of continuity over the generations, maintaining the role of providing protection to succeeding generations and passing on Maori and *whanau* knowledge. Nepia referred to the value of having photos of their antecedents in the house to be referred to. They also spoke about the lessons they had learnt from previous generations. 'They were all servants of the people' (Nepia). 'My *koro* taught me a love of the land and the people' (Rob).

Learning from Their Own Grandfathers, Both Intentionally and Unintentionally

All the Maori men were influenced by their grandfathers; even their absence had significant consequences. Their presence in their grandchildren's lives is characterized as having varied from being loving and affirming to remote. All mentioned that discipline and punishment were harsh in their early years. This was considered normal parenting at the time. While recognizing that it was done in their best interests, as their grandparents saw it, this approach to child-rearing is now rejected, more in line with what is known about traditional Maori parenting. This is recorded to have been indulgent and without physical punishment, which all four of the grandfathers have abandoned as a practice with their grandchildren. They recognize changes in child-rearing in terms of what their sons now do for their children. 'We would never change a nappy, but they do', said Nepia and appeared to be proud of this. 'They will be great grandfathers'.

Understanding of their grandfathers' behaviour and motivation may have taken a while to emerge. Says Nepia: 'We didn't understand what he [his grandfather] must have experienced in the war. It was an era of not talking about that. I'm just turning sixty now and I am only just understanding his suffering. I have turned that around by getting up and talking about it in front of all the *whanau*.' Jerry also came to understand why his parents had emphasized *pakeha* education, even though he had lost some of his Maoriness: I loved education, loved school. [But] I think I lost the thing that I was brown because my primary school was all *pakeha* farmers' kids. Eventually I found out that Captain Cook was not the main man, there were other fellows who were brown.

These intergenerational influences are reflected in research by Waldrop et al. (1999), which discusses how Maori men learned to be grandfathers. Not having known his own grandfather in his youth instilled in one of Edwards' respondents a passion to support strongly his own grandchildren: 'If they are in any kind of mix-up, they go to their grandparents. I couldn't do that, so I am not going to deny it to my grandchildren. The thought of me being there I think gives them strength and security' (Edwards 2010, p. 170).

The Challenge of Reclaiming Maori Language and Knowledge

The grandfathers in the discussions were brought up at a time (through the 1950s and 1960s) when many older Maori believed that the way forward for young people was through *pakeha* education. Hence, speaking Maori to children and grandchildren was discouraged, even though the old people might have spoken it among themselves. Tama said: ‘Being brought up by my grandmother and grandfather, they wanted us to learn the English way because they saw that was the future—you could get a job and an education.’

From the 1980s there has been widespread revival of the Maori language. It is now an official language, valued in education, the mass media, and the job market.

The experiences of the grandfathers illustrate different ways of being Maori and different strengths of attachment to Maori traditions. In some cases, it has only been in their forties and fifties that the men have become proud of being Maori and have stepped forward into leadership roles.

Grandfathers Keeping *Whanau* Together and Maintaining a Watchful Protective Eye Over the Generations

Whanau was never taken for granted; the grandfathers explained who and how people were related to them, and all included *whangai* within their *whanau*. They spoke of their willingness to spread love and protection to other children, in the extended family and beyond.

They acknowledged that their role was to protect children and promote family cohesion. Rob said, ‘I have kept my family all together in the same way that he [his grandfather] did. Tried to keep them up the river on the [tribal] land.’ When a daughter had a partner that was worrisome, Nepia kept a close eye on the son-in-law’s behaviour and tried to mentor him. Protection can extend to loving indulgence: ‘I want to give them the best life they can have. I want them to be happy. I give them big

hugs, kisses, loving physical contact. The fridge is always full for them. Whatever they want they get' (Nepia). Almost half of the Maori grandparents taking part in a telephone survey by the Families Commission said that they had changed their lifestyle so that they could spend more time with their grandchildren (Families Commission 2012).

Challenges to the Grandfather Role Through Social and Economic Change

Many Maori men have moved away from their home areas in search of work or for education, putting a strain on family and cultural ties. Some, including two men in our discussions, had returned to their tribal areas in later life. Now many are watching their children and subsequent generations moving to settle overseas. This has to be accepted. 'If my sons want to make a better life for themselves in Australia or anywhere else in the world for that matter, I have no problem with that' (Tama). 'It's been good for my son to be over there (in Australia) economically. I'm glad my *mokopunas* are over there because the future for them looks a bit brighter' (Jerry). Modern technology can help to maintain contact with grandchildren. 'We skype them every week. Spoke to them yesterday' (Jerry). Nevertheless, family disconnection can result. Jerry's brother in Australia does not know his son and his grandchildren. It is the wider *whanau* who live in Aotearoa that maintain the family links.

Grandparents with Full-Time Care of Grandchildren

The Families Commission research examined the many pleasures that being a grandparent can bring. A strong and recurring theme in the Maori focus groups (Families Commission 2012, pp. 37–38) was the *aroha* (love) that grandparents feel and express towards their *mokopuna* and the joy of nurturing and observing their development. This included the opportunity to offer time and resources to their *mokopuna* that were unavailable to their own children when they were growing up.

Whilst the majority of grandparents enjoy their grandchildren and see them on regular visits, there is another group of grandparents raising grandchildren full-time owing to a breakdown in parenting. This is a growing phenomenon that started in the 1980s. The New Zealand Families Commission large-scale survey of grandparenting found that respondents who were raising their grandchildren made up just under 2 % of the sample, with a higher proportion for Maori—11 % (Families Commission 2009a). Whilst it is difficult to isolate a single cause for this situation, Worrall's survey (2009) of grandparents raising grandchildren showed that drug and alcohol addiction was the cause for 56 % of Maori children, compared with 23 % of *pakeha* (European) children. The respective figures for domestic violence as a cause were 41 % for Maori and 27 % for *pakeha*. On the other hand, mental illness was a cause for 29 % of *pakeha* compared with 18 % of Maori, and abandonment a cause for 23 % of *pakeha* compared with 12 % of Maori. Other reasons, noted by Worrall, included parental neglect of their children, parents' separation, absence overseas, imprisonment, illness, or death (Worrall 2009, p. 16).

In the Maori context, Smith (2010) identified two groups of grandparents raising *mokopuna*: those adopting the traditional way and those who were raising grandchildren considered to be 'at risk' or lacking parents for some reason. Just over half the Maori grandparents in the *Whanganui* survey were assuming care as a result of a complex range of factors. Smith notes that there is often no single causal factor but rather a complex range of social issues that lead to a breakdown in parenting, such as mental health issues, poverty, early trauma, violence, addictions, and co-dependency, all of which can result in the neglect or abuse of a child. She noted that many Maori were actively assuming care of grandchildren when they saw there were issues for their grandchildren, often before notifications and without state agency involvement.

Little is known about custodial grandfathers. There were only a very small number of them in the Families Commission research and in Smith's study (2010, pp. 38, 94). The experiences recorded by Smith reflect the themes presented earlier. These include the strong influence of their own grandparents, an inclusive approach to caring for *mokopuna* (taking in a partner's grandchild and a grandchild with behavioural problems), and combining the roles of *kaumatua* (elder) and grandfather.

Policy Responses

New Zealand became a leader in child welfare legislation reform with the passage of the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989) (Worrall 2009). This act, which was strongly influenced by traditional Maori concepts of *whanau* and collective responsibility for children, mandated the *ewhanau* (extended family) as the preferred placement for children in need of care and protection. This role more often than not falls to grandparents because other kin, such as uncles and aunts, often have children of their own. Grandparents are also often the first to realize that their grandchildren are at risk and take the children without reference to any government agency. However, it cannot be assumed that extended family resources are as rich for *pakeha* families or those of other cultures, or indeed for Maori, given the changes outlined earlier. Worrall (2009) quotes governmental Child Youth and Family data showing that 43 % of the 4470 children in state care were placed with kin. Of the 2166 Maori children in state care at the time, 53 % were placed with *whanau*, and 31 % of the 1888 *pakeha* children were placed with extended family. Smith notes, however, that many situations in which Maori are raising grandchildren are unlikely to be counted by any agency because this is done on an informal basis, following traditional practice. Smith's research into *Whanganui* (Smith 2010) showed that of thirty Maori grandparents who were raising seventy-six *mokopuna*, over half would not appear in any agency statistics.

Formal arrangements for care are now made mainly under the Care of Children Act 2004 (Henaghan 2014). This promotes shared responsibilities for parenting and has a strong focus on the rights of children. Parenting orders specify the details of day-to-day care and contact with the child. Guardianship gives a person all the duties, rights, responsibilities, and powers that a parent has in bringing up a child (up to the age of 18). Neither act gives automatic legal rights to grandparents. Several welfare benefits may be available to custodial grandparents, but foster parents can still claim more, as they receive additional money for medical, clothing, education, and counselling costs.

Conclusion

The traditions of grandfathers and their roles in families in the indigenous Maori population provide a contrast to those of the majority *pakeha* population, whose culture derives mainly from their European descent. There are demographic differences between the two populations, and Maori have been significantly affected by urbanization and the dominance of *pakeha* structures, as well as extensive intermarriage. Many of the grandparental roles observed in the international literature are reflected in Maori traditions, with distinctive concepts such as *whanau* and *whangai*. These are reflected in New Zealand law and social policy on shared family responsibility and child protection.

Traditionally, everyday care and nurturing of Maori children took place in the *whanau* or extended family, with grandparents acting as the decision-makers. Where *whanau* continue to be robust, they exhibit strong relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, extending to informal adoption and shared parenting. These traditional roles can be harder to maintain in the modern context, with the added influences of urbanization and migration and the reduction of multigenerational co-residence producing greater social diversity. In addition to the traditional *whangai/whanau* concept, Maori grandparents may now be assuming full-time care of their grandchildren.

Themes consistent with the literature are reflected in discussions with Maori men in their grandfathering roles. They express pride in their Maori heritage and acknowledge the learning they have gained from their own grandfathers, intentionally and unintentionally, some of which they discovered only in later life, when they became grandfathers themselves. Their key role as grandfathers is to keep their *whanau* together, to protect and nurture their grandchildren, and to deal with intergenerational difficulties. In doing this, they face challenges arising from social and economic change and the challenge of reclaiming their Maori traditions and knowledge, including the Maori language.

Despite the challenges and changes, contemporary grandparenting among Maori still encompasses the roles of nurturing, caring for, and protecting grandchildren, as well as passing on cultural knowledge and

identity. There is clearly continuity and consistency with the roles of grandfathers and grandmothers elsewhere in the world, albeit in a distinctively Maori way.

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7

What Do Grandfathers Value? Understanding Grandfatherhood in Asia Through Chinese Grandfathers in Singapore

Leng Leng Thang

Introduction

Writing with the consciousness of reflexive anthropology, let me begin the chapter with some thoughts of my own late grandfather.

I called my late grandfather *Ah gong*. He was the only grandparent that I had come to know of since I was young. My notion of a family had naturally come from *Ah gong* because my father was an only child, and they had lived together since my father came from China at the age of 13 to join *Ah gong*, who was already working here. I had little or no recollections of my maternal grandparents who had passed away long ago and my paternal grandmother who had remained in China.

As my parents and *Ah gong* were all working, a live-in, middle-aged, Chinese nanny was employed to take care of me since birth. *Ah gong* took care of me, too, for example by cooking my lunch on weekends when no

L.L. Thang (✉)

Department of Japanese Studies, National University of Singapore, Singapore, Singapore

e-mail: lengthang@nus.edu.sg

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one else was around, but my memories of him are mostly connected with the leisure activities we did together. He loved photography and would take me to the park most Sunday mornings for picture taking. When I became a teenager, he began to teach me some basic photography and to lend me his precious Leica camera. He cultivated my love of the Chinese language by regularly buying me monthly children's pictorial journals published in Hong Kong. He often brought me on his visits to relatives, and I have fond memories of trips to Malaysia with him. In earlier times, the Chinese strongly disapproved of left-handedness, which they considered to be wrong; my mother recounted that, when I showed inclination of being left-handed, it was *Ah gong* who insisted that my parents should stop trying to correct me and let me be.

As I grew busier with school life, I spent less time with *Ah gong*. I recall that he tried to keep up an active lifestyle just after retirement by going to the nearby park for *taiji* (t'ai chi) exercise every morning but stopped the routine after some months. Gradually, his physical condition weakened, as evidenced by the various occasions when he fell. Finally, once he had become bedridden, my parents had to send him to a nursing home as it became difficult to care for him at home. The frequent visits to the nursing home as an undergraduate were my first introduction to so-called ageing problems in the still youthful Singapore of the 1980s. *Ah gong's* institutionalization later led me to develop an interest in ageing issues that has endured to this day.

As it turned out, I am considered quite unusual in having had a close relationship with a grandfather. Whilst I was growing up, the mention of grandparents inevitably referred to grandmothers, who enjoyed a longer life expectancy than grandfathers. Even now, when the life expectancy of males has increased substantially alongside females,¹ a 2013 survey of 215 Singapore female undergraduates showed that only 23.6 % and 32.2 % had living paternal or maternal grandfathers respectively, whilst 62 % and 60.1 % had living paternal or maternal grandmothers (Thang and Someya 2015).

¹ In 1980, the life expectancy in Singapore was 69.8 and 74.7 years for males and females respectively. By 2014, it had increased by about 10 years to 80.5 and 84.9 years respectively (Department of Statistics Singapore, 7 May 2015; [http: www.singtel.gov.sg/statistics/visualising-data/charts/life-expectancy-at-birth](http://www.singtel.gov.sg/statistics/visualising-data/charts/life-expectancy-at-birth), accessed 15 May 2015).

Studies on grandparents in Asia have commonly glossed over the gender differences in grandparenting whilst noting grandmothers' expected roles as daily care providers (Chen Liu and Mair 2011; Lou and Chi 2012; Thang 2012). From our qualitative project on grandparenting in Asia, which included in-depth interviews with three-generation families from Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, and Japan, it was found that all three generations of Asian families interviewed agreed that grandparents are daily life helpers and transmitters of tradition. Compared to Chinese and Japanese grandparents, the Thai, Indian, and Malay grandparents were more involved with teaching religious knowledge to their grandchildren. However, some disagreements were found over other roles and functions. One contention relates to the roles of grandparents as educators and advisers. Whilst grandparents may still perceive themselves in these roles, for example, through their knowledge of child-rearing practices, the middle generation may regard these practices to be old-fashioned. This implies an impact of modernization and social change, which may have influenced the children's views on the relevance of grandparents' knowledge in today's world (Lou and Chi 2012). Furthermore, the norm of non-interference recognized among grandparents in intergenerational relationships today also complicates the grandparents' involvement (Teo et al. 2006; Thang et al. 2011). From the same qualitative data we found that grandparents sometimes viewed the boundary between transmitting values and discipline unclear and problematic. However, this does not necessarily lessen the middle generation's expectations of these roles performed by grandparents. As suggested by one Singapore link parent, '... they should be role models in religion, morals, and beliefs (especially in the case of grandfathers). They should also instil self-discipline (on the grandchildren)...' (Thang et al. 2011, p. 561). How can we gain a better understanding of the meanings, as perceived by grandparents, of their varied roles as daily life helper, advisor, educator, and transmitter of traditions and values (Kornhaber 1996) than through the lenses of grandfathers?

By examining grandfathers' involvement with their grandchildren in Asia, this chapter aims to contribute towards a better understanding of what it is that grandfathers consider significant in the intergenerational relationships with their grandchildren. This will be explored

through their perceived roles and functions, taking into special consideration cultural continuity, value transmission, and its impact on both the meaning-making and practices of grandfatherhood. In emphasizing intergenerational connection, the discussion is informed by the concept of *generativity* derived from Erik Erikson's seventh stage of human lifespan development (1963, 1982). Generativity is defined as 'the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation' (1963, p. 267) and gives meaning to grandfathers who find satisfaction in active intergenerational engagements to ensure the well-being of succeeding generations and who may eventually leave a legacy. Here, it should be noted that while generativity informs the meaning of grandparenthood for grandfathers, the extent of the intergenerational connection is contingent upon an array of factors that, as given by Mann (2007), includes age, gender, class, ethnicity, family relationships, geographical proximity, and personal experiences.

The following discussion will focus on Asian society as influenced by Confucian culture, specifically through the lenses of Chinese grandfathers in Singapore. As Confucius said:

To put the world in order, we must first put the nation in order; to put the nation in order, we must put the family in order; to put the family in order, we must cultivate our personal life; and to cultivate our personal life, we must first set our hearts right.

Like my *Ah gong*, many of the Chinese grandfathers in Singapore either were first-generation settlers from China or had fathers who had arrived from China before the Second World War or earlier. Their frame of cultural reference reveals the impact of Confucian teachings on their world view and their belief about what constitutes essential cultural values that should be transmitted to the young. Although the data are limited in scope, I believe the findings will inform the experiences of other Chinese and even Asian grandfathers with close cultural proximity. I begin with a brief overview of Chinese older people and intergenerational relations in Singapore, followed by a note on the data referred to in the study, before embarking on a discussion of the themes defining grandfatherhood amongst Chinese grandfathers.

Chinese Older Persons, Intergenerational Relationships, and Families in Singapore

Singapore, situated at the southern tip of western Malaysia in South-East Asia, is a densely populated city-state of 5.47 million² characterized by its multi-ethnic and multi-religious co-existence. Chinese make up the majority of its resident population (74.1 %), followed by Malays (13.4 %), Indians (9.2 %), and other races (DOS 2011). Among the 65-year-old and older age group, which comprised 9 % of the population (2010), the proportion of Chinese was higher at 83.7 %, with a reduced proportion for all the other ethnic groups (9.1 % for Malays, 5.9 % for Indians, and 1.3 % for other races).

As shown in the 2011 National Survey of Senior Citizens (NSSC) comprising 5000 respondents from age 55 and older, the majority of the older Chinese males were married (69 %), with 20 % widowed. This contrasted with Chinese females where 48 % were married and a high 41 % were widowed. In terms of educational attainment, more Chinese females had no qualifications (42 % in females and 20 % in males), 41 % of males and 36 % of females had primary education, and 39 % of males and 23 % of females had attained secondary level and above (Kang et al. 2013). It should be noted that most older Chinese in Singapore had received education in either English- or Chinese-language schools due to the legacy of the British colonial educational system. This also meant receiving a varying degree of emphasis on Chinese culture- or religion-relevant values in schools and depended on whether one had been admitted to an English school or been Chinese educated, as well as whether it was a religion-affiliated school supported by a Christian mission or a Buddhist temple-supported school. It is thus interesting to consider whether a grandfather's educational background—including whether he had received education in English or Chinese—could affect his perception of cultural continuity and value transmission to the younger generation.

²Within the total population of 5.47 million in 2014, 3.87 million were residents, including citizens (3.34 million) and permanent residents (527,000). The country had a population density of 7615 persons/km² (DOS 2014).

In traditional Chinese culture, the Confucian norm of filial piety is regarded as the pillar guiding and regulating intergenerational solidarity and relationships. It is a ‘lived tradition’ in Singapore—as Goransson’s (2009) study of Chinese intergenerational relations in Singapore asserts—where moral obligations to support one’s parents have gained wide societal consensus. The tradition is also actively promoted by the state, which in 1995 passed the Maintenance of Parents Act to enforce compliance. Parallel with other Confucius-influenced societies, an outward display of filial piety in Singapore is co-residence (Phua and Loh 2008). The co-residence rate for older persons and their children or grandchildren in Singapore has remained at quite a high level, about 45 % (NSSC 2011), regardless of ethnic group. Even when living separately, about half of the older Chinese public-housing residents, as well as older Malays and Indians, were found to have at least one married child living nearby.³

Living together or nearby facilitates the flow of care and support from children to their parents. The flow can also be from the old to the young regardless of whether they live together, close by, or otherwise. Among the young families where dual-income earners are prevalent, it is common for the parents to take the young children to the children’s grandparents for the day and to return home with the children only after dinner at their parents’ place on weekday evenings. In some cases, the parents are effectively ‘weekend’ parents, leaving their children with their grandparents during the week.

According to 2011 NSSC (Kang et al. 2013), about 30 % of older persons aged 50 and older reported looking after their grandchildren, with a higher percentage from the younger, 55 to 64, age group (35.2 %) compared with the older, 75 years and older, group (13.5 %). Changes in the levels of involvement of grandparents in caring for grandchildren are expected with life course changes, such as the growing up of grandchildren and the ageing of grandparents. Whilst grandparents—especially grandmothers, who tend to assume the caregiver role—may see the pro-

³ In Singapore, close to 80 % of the population live in public housing managed by the Housing and Development Board (HDB). A survey among the HDB residents aged 55 and older who have married children found it quite common for at least one married child to live nearby, defined as living next door, on the same block, in a nearby block, on the same town, or in a nearby town (Yap and MCYS, 2010).

vision of help as necessary for the well-being of the children and grandchildren, they are not necessarily without resistance and ambivalence (Teo et al. 2006). At times, cultural biases, such as the preference for male offspring, may affect a grandparent's willingness to provide care to granddaughters (ibid.), it is more common to find stronger ties between maternal grandmothers and grandchildren. This is because grandmothers feel more at ease with helping their daughters (in childcare) than with helping daughters-in-law (ibid.; Harper 2005). The awareness of feminine specificity suggests the need also to consider grandfathers and the less explored masculine roles in grandparenting.

Grandfathers in the Study

Although data from our earlier studies of grandparents in Asia (Teo et al. 2006; Mehta and Thang (eds) 2012), which were based on qualitative interview data from three generations in families, will still inform the discussion, the primary data in this chapter were drawn from letters written by thirty Chinese grandparents to their grandchildren. They were published in a multilingual collection titled *Letters from Grandma and Grandpa* (2008). Of the thirty letters, twelve were selected from the English version published by Singapore's National Library Board and eighteen from the Chinese version published by both the National Library Board and Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. These thirty letters, each ranging in length from 300 to 1500 words, constituted the total number of letters available from Chinese grandfathers in these two volumes, which featured a total of ninety letters.⁴ The letters were either addressed to all the grandchildren they had or specifically to one grandchild, possibly their favourite grandchild or eldest grandchild. The Chinese grandfathers who contributed ranged in age from their fifties to their seventies; the number of their grandchildren ranged from one to ten, with the youngest below 1 year old and the oldest having graduated from university and working. These grandparents and their families represent a microcosm

⁴The letters were obtained by various means, including invitations to specific individuals, as well as open call for letters announced in newspapers.

of the globalized society that Singapore has become. For example, several grandfathers had mixed-heritage grandchildren, an implication of the prevalence of international marriages in Singapore, and some had grandchildren living overseas owing to their parents' cross-border work.

The grandfathers came from diverse backgrounds. They included well-known public figures, including esteemed doctors, a retired chief of army, and a retired member of parliament, as well as active community leaders and common folks. The language chosen to use in the writing gives an indication of whether the grandparents were English- or Chinese-educated. Among those who contributed to the Chinese-language volume, most were retired Chinese teachers, news editors, or writers. This group of thirty grandfathers tended to be disproportionately well educated compared with the larger group of grandparents, a bias expected since they needed to be able to put down their thoughts in writing. Letter writing is an art that requires careful selection of what to include and exclude; hence, these letters provide valuable insights into understanding what grandfathers believe are significant stories and values that should be transmitted to their grandchildren. Despite the biases in educational background and past careers, I would argue that, like any middle-class grandparents, the majority of the grandparents led fairly typical retired lives. Their grandchildren might have lived with them, especially when they were babies, to be cared for by grandmothers; grandfathers may have played active roles in terms of ferrying the grandchildren to and from school, accompanying them to extracurricular activities like sports, and tuition classes when the parents were working. They all showed tremendous joy in becoming grandparents and harboured great hopes for the future of their grandchildren.

To supplement the data, the study also included fieldwork observations with five families over a period of 3 months, where both grandparents were either living together with or very close by their grandchildren. The grandfathers in these families were mostly in the shadow of the grandmothers, except for Don (pseudonym), a grandfather taking care of his 1-year-old paternal grandson because his wife, his son, and his daughter-in-law are working full time.

As we focus on what grandfathers value in intergenerational relationships, it should also be noted that these grandfathers are aware of the

norm of non-interference, an approach most easily observed in the fieldwork and earlier interview data but less explicit in the letters. Only one grandfather wrote explicitly that ‘... your grandchildren are the responsibility of your children, whom you have brought up to the best of your ability...’. The grandparenting rules this man firmly stands by included the following: ‘... always be there to lend a helping hand, offer help only when you are sure help is truly needed...’ (NLB 2008a, p. 96).

In what follows, the major emergent themes from the data are broadly categorized within the scope of heritage, value, and support.

Heritage

Knowing One’s Roots and Identity

The grandfathers were eager in urging their grandchildren to recognize their own cultural heritage and lineage. As stated by Erikson (1963), the concern for generativity is rooted both in inner needs and in external social forces. Living in Singapore, a multi-ethnic and globalized society, the sense of urgency to pass down one’s cultural heritage before it disappears is particularly strongly felt by grandfathers. Grandfathers whose grandchildren have a mixed-parentage, too, are specific about the kind of heritage the children should know, as the following grandfather shows in his letter to his 2-year-old grandson, who has an Afrikaner father:

We hope you will also remember the very strong Chinese (Hainanese) and Peranakan heritage from your mum’s family ... Ah Koong’s family came from Xiamen, Fukien Province, China as early as the eighteenth century ... (NLB 2008a p. 34)

This letter narrates the family history, and the grandfather refers to himself as *Ah Koong*, which means ‘maternal grandfather’ in the Hokkien dialect. All the Chinese grandfathers in the data have their grandchildren addressing them in Chinese dialect terms, even when most are communicating with their grandchildren in English or Mandarin Chinese. The terms vary between *Ah-koong*, *gong-gong*, *kong kong*, *Ah-kong*, and *ye-ye*

(paternal grandfather), depending on the heritage group they originated from in China.

Another grandfather, formerly a member of parliament and a historian, was educated in an English-language school and had little knowledge of Chinese. He began his letter to his two grandsons of Italian-Chinese parentage with ‘You belong to the 23rd generation of the Chiang family’ before telling them about himself and his own father. This grandfather gave a substantial description of his effort to ensure that his sons were not like him—he wanted them to be fluent in the Chinese language—by sending them to a Chinese-language kindergarten and school in Singapore, but he did not express the same desire for his grandsons, probably in the spirit of non-interference. In fact, the English letters generally did not pursue the issue of learning the Chinese language. Although knowing the language of one’s culture may be an assumption that is taken for granted, these grandfathers’ perception of the transmission of cultural heritage without considering the language illustrates the unique development of Chinese education in Singapore, where cultural values and heritage often remain intact despite little ability in the Chinese language.

The Urgency of Learning Chinese/Mandarin

In contrast, the importance of knowing the Chinese language as a way of affirming one’s identity as culturally Chinese dominates in the Chinese letters. The grandfathers in the Chinese letters talked about the significance of learning Chinese to facilitate intergenerational communication about Chinese culture as well as understanding the pragmatic significance of Chinese in the recent era of China’s rise in economic power. A letter from a grandfather to 10-year-old grandson, who was apparently weaker in written Chinese than spoken Chinese, was devoted to encouraging the grandson to learn the language seriously. He described at length the merits of the Chinese language, with regard not just to its resilience and beauty but also to its importance in practical functions:

It is certainly important for us to recognize the practical value of English in a multi-ethnic nation of harmonious co-existence, but if one can also excel

in the Chinese language, you will be better placed than others when you look for a job in the future and when seeking for survival ... the 21st century is said to be the Century of Chinese ... Many countries in the world have started a wave of learning the Chinese language... (NLB 2008b, p. 64)

The grandfather ends his letter with the affirmation that all members in the extended family were fluent in the language, urging his grandson to remember his advice to achieve fluency in Chinese. The hope that the young would have a passion for the Chinese language is revealed in these letters. Although the Singapore education system is characterized by a bilingual education policy, where all students learn their mother tongue as a second language throughout their elementary and secondary education, Chinese young people are often regarded as having little interest in learning the language (Tan 2006). The perception of the young's disregard for the Chinese language is constantly referred to in the letters. For example, a grandfather who believed that his granddaughter should be able to read his letter 6 years later when she would turn 12, writes, '... when you read the letter [at that age], I suppose no one (including you) will say Chinese has no value' (NLB 2008b, p. 127). He juxtaposes the concept of generativity with linked lives, likening the language heritage to the cycle of life:

The continual transmission of language is like the care that a grandfather has for his grandchildren. In the time to come, the grandson will become a grandfather, he will care and love his grandchildren in a cycle that is never broken. (ibid.)

Maintaining the Cultural Practice of Naming Grandchildren

It used to be a traditional practice for grandfathers to name their grandchildren, especially the first grandson, which my *Ah gong* did in naming my brother, his first grandson. The cultural tradition of naming a grandchild implies a generative move, where naming allows the grandparents

and the young to feel a sense of family continuity projected through a name chosen by the older generation. However, the prevailing norm of non-interference has meant a rapid loss of this tradition, which is especially treasured by the grandfathers. In the Chinese letters, two grandfathers mentioned that they had named their grandchildren. In one letter, a grandfather described how seriously he took the responsibility and how he had consulted many books before an appropriate name was tabled for the whole family to discuss before his granddaughter was born (NLB 2008b, p. 126). The act of naming a grandchild thus signals an invitation to foster a generational continuity, linking the old with the young, as well as to keep alive the practice of respect for elders in the Chinese tradition.

Value Transmission

All the grandfathers in the data are explicit regarding the values, principles, and teachings they want their grandchildren to follow in their lives. This resonates with the view of grandparents as so-called wardens of culture who are significant in guiding, preserving, and passing on knowledge, experiences, and skills to the next generation (Guttman 1985).

Passing Down Universal Moral Values

Grandfathers are excited with their roles. As one grandfather said with the arrival of his second grandson, 'I started to plan how to use the knowledge and experiences I have accumulated in my whole life to teach you and your three-and-a-half-year-old brother to lead a meaningful life' (NLB 2008b, p. 86). Some grandfathers recognized that the gap that existed between the generations might be a barrier (NLB 2008b, p. 31), whilst others showed concerns that the privileged life their grandchildren have may lead them to take things for granted (NLB 2008a, p. 80, b, p. 47) and forget to be humble (NLB 2008a, p. 122). In general, the values that the grandfathers deemed important, such as compassion, respect, courage, faith, and integrity, can be considered universal moral

values (Kinnier et al. 2000). One grandfather refers to these values as ‘good old-fashioned values’ (NLB 2008a, p. 43).

Focusing on Family Ties and Filial Piety

Nonetheless, along with and amongst the values considered universal moral ones, there is unrivalled emphasis on strong family ties, as exemplified by one grandparent in the English letter: ‘... be honest and loyal and love, care for and respect your elders, family and friends. Love your siblings and your cousins and always try to stay close-knit. Be there for one another in both happy and difficult times. Never take one another for granted’ (NLB 2008a, p. 72). Similarly, another grandfather advised that ‘having strong family ties is key to success ... You must enjoy a happy family life before you can concentrate and do well in your work. Everyone must play a part to have a happy family. Then you help your friends, society and country’ (NLB 2008a, p. 160). The emphasis on the family and extended family relations in these words demonstrates the family-centric focus prevalent in Chinese values, which in turn reflects the Confucian teaching on cultivating oneself to put the family and nation in order. Similar Confucian, values such as ‘be filial to your parents’ and ‘respect the elderly’ are found in almost all the letters.

Other Focuses: Education and Religion

Another Confucianism-influenced value commonly found in the letters is the emphasis on education. Here, grandfathers tend closely to relate a good education to a successful career in life. Several grandfathers were seen to be very involved with the school work and progress of their grandchildren, serving as tutors in their school work.

For grandfathers with religious beliefs, common teachings, in particular the Christian belief to love God, believe in God, and be guided by God, may feature at the end of the letters (NLB 2008a, pp. 72, 92, 212). For Don, who took on the role of caring for his grandson from birth, his Christian belief had indeed motivated his decision, which he considered

to be a sacrifice for a good reason, as he wanted the grandson to grow up in a Christian environment.

The Role of Masculinity in Grandparent–Grandchild Relationships

The attention on grandfathers' value transmission to grandchildren reveals differences that highlight masculine roles and exchanges, as seen in some of the grandfathers' letters to their grandsons. One grandfather's letter, in Chinese, focuses on encouraging his engineer grandson to be open to the opportunity to work in Shanghai, emphasizing that, as a man, one should remember the Chinese teaching that 'men cast their ambitions far and wide' (*nan er zhi zai xi fang*) (NLB 2008b, p. 70). In another letter, a young grandfather (60 years old) addressing his grandson, who was then only 1 year old, was already giving advice about perseverance in national service⁵ and reminding him that 'life is more than just work or material success or awards and achievements', as well as asking him to take care of himself and his family (NLB 2008a, p. 93). In contemporary Singapore, where the birth rate is low and grandparents are expected to have fewer grandchildren than their own parents despite their longevity, the traditional norm of Chinese preference for sons is practically extinct. However, the patriarchal mindset may remain, as in the case of Don, whose reasons for wanting to take care of his paternal grandson included the patriarchal attitude (he called it 'old-fashioned') that it is culturally appropriate for the son's family to care for the (paternal) grandchildren. In general, no difference is found in the attitudes of grandfathers towards grandsons and granddaughters amongst the families observed. However, the expectations for boys to grow up as men who will support their families were sometimes highlighted in letters to grandsons.

⁵ In Singapore, all men serve in the army in the form of national service for 2 years after high school.

Provision of Support and Care

The gendered expectation for grandmothers to be the main caregiver of grandchildren in cases where grandparents assume care is common in the data, where grandfathers see themselves as assistants to their wives, for example, ferrying the grandchildren to school and after-school classes. A younger working grandfather in the Chinese letter collection wrote about the indifference he initially felt when he knew that his daughter was expecting twins, but how he became excited when they were born, and he decided that he should share in the responsibility of caring for his grandchildren. Becoming a grandfather has motivated him to finish work earlier and rush home to spend time with his grandchildren, feeding them and playing with them (NLB 2008b, p. 132).

“New Grandfather” as Full-Time Caregiver

Compared with grandmothers in the earlier grandparenting project, who tended to refer to interactions with the grandchildren from the viewpoint of caring for them, the grandfathers here tended to mention playing with their grandchildren as a way of spending time together. Don, who has assumed full-time care of his grandson since birth, rightly belongs to the cohort of ‘new grandfathers’, who are younger and more involved with their grandchildren (Mann 2010). This is obviously unusual. As Don recalls, when the family were gathered at the hospital after the birth of his grandson, the grandmother of his daughter-in-law asked, ‘Who will take care of the child?’, and when the grandfather answered, ‘I will’, the grandmother commented, with disbelief, ‘I have never heard of a grandfather taking care of grandkids’.

Besides the aforementioned religious reasons, Don’s confidence in assuming his grandparenting role also came from his experience in fatherhood, when he used to bath and care for his own children: ‘... since my mother-in-law didn’t dare to bathe the children ...’. This suggests a possible emergence of a ‘new grandfather’ from more involved parenting (ibid.). Don retired at the age of 55 and was leading an active,

leisurely life with hobbies of fishing and golfing before setting them aside to assume his new role of carer at the age of 63. His wife continues to work full-time. His description of a typical day with his grandson tends to focus on leisure—the walks they take in the neighbourhood and the park in the morning and late afternoon—with his duties ending at around 6 p.m. on weekdays when his son and daughter-in-law get home. For convenience, both he and his wife have moved to live with the son's family during the week, returning to their own house from Friday evening until Sunday evening. Though he is comfortable with his role, people around him have been warning him that it will cost him his social life. He has compensated by keeping strict hours of care (from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m.) so that in the evening he is free to go to golf driving ranch if he wishes. He also takes occasional 'leaves' from childcare to go fishing and golfing with friends. Whilst the strict care hours may be interpreted as an adherence to the 'non-interference' grandparenting approach, becoming a grandfather has nonetheless heightened his concern about world issues that he worries will impact future generations. This concern for the future is also evident in letters where grandparents are concerned about environmental issues, such as global warming.

The routine of time off on weekends and evenings appears to be common among grandparents caring for grandchildren with two working parents, although in the case of a three-generation family, as encountered in fieldwork, the grandchildren slept with the grandparents when they were infants. Whilst the grandfather complained that his sleep was affected by the arrangement, he was nevertheless content and happy with the closeness this fostered with his grandchildren, creating generativity from connecting with the young.

Financial Support and Rewards

There is little mention of support being given in monetary terms by the grandfathers, although one grandfather listed, amongst the kinds of legacy one should leave to the young, 'enough money for a kick-start to their adult life' (NLB 2008a, p. 95). One grandfather in his seventies with five grandchildren was the only one who explicitly mentioned

monetary rewards. In a letter in English to his 13-year-old granddaughter, he wrote that he had opened a bank account in his granddaughter's name and deposited \$3000 in the account as a reward for her doing so well on her primary school examinations. He promised that she would receive more rewards if she did well on later examinations as well (NLB 2008a, p. 39).

With the promise in the letters that the grandfathers would do their best to provide for and support their grandchildren, it is no surprise that financial support should be one of those provisions. For grandfathers, the ability to provide financial support is probably one of the few areas that would distinguish them from the contribution of grandmothers and one that could give them meaning and value as a grandparent.

Discussion and Conclusion

The purposive exploration of the roles and functions of Chinese grandfathers in this chapter is set against a background of the need to better understand what grandfathers regard as significant in their intergenerational relationships with their grandchildren. The letters written by grandfathers to their grandchildren provided an effective means to understand the Chinese grandfathers and their attitudes in intergenerational relationships. They at once portrayed their roles as the 'wise man' of the family, with knowledge of culture and lineage, as well as that of a man of vast experience, keen to transmit to the grandchildren important moral values, especially those that are treasured in Chinese traditions and norms. At the same time, the grandfathers also conveyed an alternative, gentler role, expressing their joy in being involved with the care of their grandchildren, which is also perceived as a means to influence their grandchildren with the desired values and teachings.

Throughout the discussion of the themes, generativity provided a conceptual understanding, giving meaning to why grandfathers deem heritage, value transmission, and the provision of care and support to be important. McAdams (2001), in furthering Erikson's concept, proposes that two main factors interact to explain why adults come to behave generatively over the course of their lives and are motivated to

be concerned with the next generation. Besides cultural demands in society for continuity, he contends that their inner desires, including the desires to leave a legacy and to be needed by others (through nurturing, caring for, and sustaining others), are also important (McAdams and de St Aubin 1992; McAdams 2001). These motivations contribute to the meaning-making of grandfatherhood and enable the realization that grandfathers, although often underestimated in significance when compared to grandmothers in family relations, are nonetheless significant figures in the network of embedded shared relationships of 'linked lives' (Elder 1998). This focus on grandfathers, however, should not assume that grandmothers do not partake in meaning-making, as letters from the grandmothers in the volume also spell out similar concerns, love, and teachings. Nonetheless, the shared masculine identity with the grandsons, for example, may further indicate a specifically masculine perspective in grandfathers' desire for generativity.

I give thanks to my grandfather. His everyday presence in my life when I was young enriched my formative years. I wonder what my *Ah gong* will convey in letters to his granddaughter.

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Part III

Factors Influencing Grandfather Involvement

8

Grandfathers in Australia. The Gendered Division of Grandparent Care

Briony Horsfall and Deborah Dempsey

Introduction

Compared to previous generations, more grandparents in Western countries today tend to care for grandchildren on an occasional or full-time basis (Attias-Donfut and Segalen 2002; Gray 2005; Ochiltree 2006). Care of children by grandparents is known to be popular in Australia for a variety of reasons. It is flexible, low cost, and often more easily obtainable than formal childcare services (Gray et al. 2005).

The emotional benefits for children of grandparent care are also highly valued by parents (Goodfellow 2003). Grandparents themselves are known to find the care they provide to their grandchildren emotionally

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B. Horsfall (✉) • D. Dempsey
Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: bhorsfall@swin.edu.au

rewarding and an important family experience that goes beyond mere childminding or babysitting (Goodfellow 2003). Locally, the Australian Bureau of Statistics Childcare Surveys show that grandparents are the biggest providers of informal childcare, and around 26 % of children spend 2 days per week with grandparents (ABS 2005, 2012). How grandchild care is gendered in Australia and the specific role of grandfathers have been understudied, however.

Grandfathers in Australia

Australia has a maternalist culture in which the concept of involved fathering remains more of a realm of discourse than a practice. In other words, caregiving practices of grandparents echo the structural inequalities apparent in the Australian parental gender order. Gender order refers to the overall pattern of gender regimes, or gender arrangements, in society (Connell 2002). As Connell (2002, p. 54) argues, we are not necessarily at liberty to do gender in any way we like because 'gender practice is powerfully constrained'. The gendered division of labour, whereby certain tasks, practices, and responsibilities inside and outside the home are deemed more or less appropriate for either a woman or a man, is one of the fundamental features of the gender order in contemporary Western societies (Øystein Holter 1995, 1997, cited in Connell 2002). To continue as a social structure, gender order requires reproduction, or ongoing 'accomplishment' of doing gender by people in everyday life (Connell 2002; West and Zimmerman 1987).

Underpinning the contemporary Australian gender order with regard to parenthood are beliefs about deeply entrenched differences between mothers and fathers. In the first instance, Australia has been described as a maternalist culture in which women are deemed natural carers of children in ways that men are not. Maternalist culture essentializes gendered attributes and perpetuates gendered divisions of caregiving (Flood 2003). Under maternalist culture, 'proper mothers' are women who should spend considerable time at home with preschool-aged children, devote time and energy primarily to children, and be 'ever nurturing'

(Pocock 2003). Evidence for maternalist culture is found in the extent to which part-time work is an ideal for Australian mothers. The popularity of the modified breadwinner family in Australia, whereby mothers tend to do part-time paid work and gendered domestic and care responsibilities endure, can be described as a relic of the breadwinner/housewife nuclear family form (Pocock 2005).

Despite some evidence of an ideological shift towards 'involved fathering' (Wall and Arnold 2007, p. 508), whereby fathers relate more closely to children, there is little evidence of substantial shifts at the level of practice. Although men are spending more time with children compared to previous generations of fathers (Craig 2007), to date Australian men have not engaged sufficiently in care and domestic labour to compensate for the labour market commitments of women, even in circumstances where women work part-time or full-time (Bittman 2004; Craig 2007). In addition to their paid work commitments, women continue to undertake most childcare and domestic labour in Australian family households (Craig 2007; de Vaus 2004). The strains of managing paid work, caring and domestic labour, and constrained leisure time have been well established in the Australian literature on contemporary motherhood (Bittman and Wajcman 2004; Craig 2007).

It is likely, then, that grandmothers, as women, will continue to be scrutinized and to scrutinize themselves through the lens of maternalist culture, despite most no longer being primary carers to small children. Having been primary carers for their children in the past and as mothers to their now adult children and carers of grandchildren in the present, maternalist culture may be influential in the gendered organization of grandchild care.

Conversely, older men are entering grandfatherhood at a time when social mores about fathering are encouraging men to be involved in children's lives. There is potential, then, for the 'involved father' ideal to benefit older men by remodelling past fathering roles to encourage more participation in grandchild care, in turn possibly reducing the pressure on grandmothers. The purpose of the present study was to examine these gendered roles among current grandparents and in particular the role of the grandfather.

How the Study Was Undertaken

This mixed-methodology research had two components. The first component involved a secondary analysis of data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia survey (HILDA) Release 7.1. In this study, a total of 3277 grandparents were identified in the HILDA data set (1343 grandfathers, 1934 grandmothers). Part two of the research involved fourteen qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews with six grandfathers and eight grandmothers who cared, to varying degrees, for at least one grandchild.

Grandchild care is defined as time when grandparents are responsible for the care and well-being of grandchildren, usually in the absence of a parent. In some cases, a grandparent may be undertaking the tasks of grandchild care alongside a parent. This is different to 'seeing' grandchildren, which is characterized by social time without caregiving responsibilities, often in the company of parents.

An interview schedule was developed following preliminary analyses of the HILDA data to shed more light on the contexts and meanings associated with the gendered patterns revealed in the quantitative data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six grandfathers and eight grandmothers who regularly care for at least one grandchild. Female participants were in their late fifties to early seventies. The age of male participants ranged between late fifties and late seventies. Ten out of fourteen grandparents identified themselves as engaged in paid work, and twelve grandparents were married.

Grandparents were recruited through posters distributed on local community notice boards in a range of locations and through snowball sampling. Although the number of interviews was small, these personal experiences helped us understand significant patterns in the quantitative data.

A limitation of this research is that patterns of social class and ethnicity potentially associated with grandchild care were not analyzed. The qualitative data are not representative, especially of adults from indigenous or culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

The Gendered Order of Providing Childcare

In the HILDA-survey material, 65 % of grandparents were married or in a de facto relationship, 17 % were separated or divorced, and 18 % were widowed. In terms of grandparents' age, 15 % were 54 years old or younger, 31 % were 55 to 64 years, 30 % were 65 to 74 years, and 24 % were 75 years or older. Approximately 35 % of grandparents were engaged in some paid work. Variables concerning grandparent status, grandchild care, relationship status, retirement, domestic labour, and satisfaction with free time were analyzed. The propensity to do grandchild care was indicated by responding 'Yes' to 'Do you ever take care of your grandchildren?' Frequency of grandchild care ('How often do you take care of your grandchildren?') was categorized as daily, several times a week, about once a week, between once a week and once a month, and a few times a year or less.

Survey analysis results showed that most Australian grandparents have provided grandchild care. Overall, 51 % of grandparents confirmed that they had cared for a grandchild. Across the age groups, at least two-thirds of grandparents between 54 and younger and 55 to 64 years old had ever provided care, and more than half of those between 65 and 74 years of age had done so.

A greater proportion of grandparents who reported being married or in de facto relationships (58 %) and separated or divorced (48 %) provided some form of care compared with those who were widowed (32 %).

Being in the paid workforce was associated with having provided grandchild care, with grandparents who were not retired at all (64 %) and partly retired (74 %) more likely to have ever looked after grandchildren than completely retired grandparents (44 %).

Of the 1702 grandparents who had ever done grandchild care, 44 % were doing grandchild care at least once a week. Grandmothers were significantly more likely than grandfathers to provide care and do so more frequently. Collectively, 47 % of grandmothers reported doing grandchild care at least once per week compared to 41 % of grandfathers. Grandmothers are more likely than grandfathers to perform grandchild care daily or several times a

week, while a greater proportion of grandfathers provide care a few times a year at most.

Further analyses of the data showed that when Australian grandmothers and grandfathers have similar demographic characteristics of age, relationship status, and retirement status, on average, grandmothers still do more grandchild care than grandfathers. In relation to age, grandmothers were significantly more likely to have ever provided grandchild care than grandfathers across the age groups. There was no significant difference in the 75 years or older group because the propensity for grandmothers to do care decreased. Grandmothers' propensity to care for a grandchild and to do so regularly decreases from 70 years of age. Differences in frequency of grandchild care between grandmothers and grandfathers across age groups were accounted for by the overall greater propensity of grandmothers younger than 75 years of age to have ever provided care.

Across all relationship types, a greater proportion of grandmothers reported having ever provided care compared to grandfathers. Relationship status did not have a significant impact for grandmothers on the frequency of grandchild care. In the case of grandfathers, though, married grandfathers were more likely to report doing grandchild care once a week or more often compared to divorced/separated or widowed grandfathers.

In the Australian data, retirement was also associated with more frequent grandchild care. However, Australian grandparents in paid work have a greater overall propensity ever to do grandchild care than those who are retired. Furthermore, there were significant gendered patterns in the Australian data with regard to paid employment. Even when accounting for paid work status, grandmothers were more likely to have ever cared for a grandchild than grandfathers, whether completely retired, partly retired, or not retired at all.

The most substantial difference in retirement status was for the partly retired group (those doing part-time and casual paid work), with 86 % of partly retired grandmothers having ever done grandchild care compared to 62 % of grandfathers. Retirement status also influenced the frequency of grandchild care between partly retired grandfathers and grandmothers. Of the grandmothers who considered themselves partly retired, 27 % looked after a grandchild several times a week or more frequently, whereas only 9 % of partly retired grandfathers provided care

this frequently. Even though partly retired grandparents comprised less than 10 % of the overall population of grandparents, the significant patterns of this group demonstrate the gendered divisions of caring labour when accounting for paid work.

These patterns, when considered in conjunction with the significant difference between grandmothers and grandfathers who were not fully retired, suggest that grandchild care by grandmothers is not conditional on availability of time outside paid work.

Satisfaction with Leisure Time and Domestic Arrangements

The extent to which grandmothers and grandfathers felt satisfied with their free time offers insight into their perceived care/work/life balance. Care/work/life balance refers to how people enjoy leisure time as well as perform care, paid work, or other commitments (Pocock 2003). Although most Australian grandfathers (76 %) and grandmothers (69 %) who provided grandchild care were generally satisfied with the amount of free time at their disposal, a significantly greater proportion of grandmothers who did grandchild care were partially satisfied or dissatisfied with their free time compared to grandfathers. This was especially so for grandmothers doing grandchild care at least once a week or more frequently. Sixty-one percent of grandmothers who felt dissatisfied with their free time were caring for a grandchild at least once a week or more often, while only 45 % of grandfathers who were dissatisfied provided care this frequently. This suggests frequent grandchild care impinges upon leisure time for both sexes, but grandmothers experience greater pressure on their leisure time than grandfathers.

The gendered division of labour is a useful indicator of the structure of gender order, and this is illustrated in our analysis of grandparents, caregiving, and domestic labour. Dissatisfaction with the division of domestic labour, and a significantly higher than average amount of time spent doing domestic labour, were associated with grandmothers doing grandchild care. Half of all grandmothers who had ever cared for a grandchild

rated themselves as doing more than their fair share of domestic labour compared to 12 % of grandfathers who had ever engaged in grandchild care. Furthermore, a greater proportion of grandmothers who had ever done grandchild care reported doing more than their fair share compared to grandmothers who had not cared for grandchildren.

Grandmothers also do a great deal more domestic labour than grandfathers when accounting for the frequency of grandchild care and retirement status. For instance, partly retired grandmothers who provided grandchild care daily performed the most domestic labour, on average, at 26 hours per week. In comparison, the maximum average hours of domestic labour per week by grandfathers was just 8 hours, and this was consistent for partly retired and completely retired men across a range of caregiving frequencies. Doing grandchild care was therefore associated with an increase in the gendered division of domestic labour between Australian grandparents, both in terms of time and satisfaction with how domestic labour was shared.

However, these results are correlational, meaning that a causal relationship between degrees of satisfaction, hours of domestic labour, and doing grandchild care cannot be assumed. What the separate factors of domestic labour and leisure time do suggest, though, is that there may be further gendered experiences entangled with the caregiving performed by grandparents.

Grandmothers 'Nurture'

Next, we turn to the qualitative interview material. Consistent with earlier research (Wearing and Wearing 1996; Millward 1997), grandmothers described themselves as doing the practical work of care and being primarily responsible for the grandchildren, even when their husbands were involved in care. Fiona, who has five grandchildren, explained:

Look, he's around, especially because he's home now, but in a sense I take responsibility for looking after [grandchild]. I say 'come on Thursdays' and I take the responsibility for it. So he's here but I'm the basic caregiver.

A prominent theme across the interviews with grandmothers was the juggling of managing time and contact with grandchildren. Balancing the needs of grandchildren with domestic labour, paid work, caring for elderly parents, and personal time was a challenge. For example, Carol, a grandmother to eight children, spoke about time management as part of her preparations for spending time with her grandchildren and ensuring that their time together went as smoothly as possible:

It's been a challenge from the point of view that it's not easy. I get the benefits I think by managing time. I'm a time management freak I think, but I, we, get so much more quality from the visit or outing if I know that it has been time managed.

The demand for grandchild care, particularly for young children, was fuelled by a combination of social expectations of the grandparent as a caregiver, the busy schedules of adult children who struggled to find suitable childcare, and difficulty saying no when asked to provide care.

All of the grandparents who were interviewed talked about contemporary grandparents, especially grandmothers, being expected to do grandchild care and to be a strong source of support for adult children. This was perceived to be occurring to an extent far greater than in the past and could become quite burdensome. For instance, this pressure was experienced by Denise, a grandmother of three, who commented:

Sometimes it gets a bit over the top. Last week I did five days with the grandchildren. I was tired by the end of the week and I was ready for a day off.

According to Cheryl, the reluctance to refuse requests to do grandchild care can sometimes be motivated by wanting to be seen as always available and never saying no to adult children and grandchildren. The perceived social expectation of doing grandchild care complements the idea that nurturing grandchildren can be an extension of nurturing one's own children, thereby fulfilling maternal ideals about women.

Grandfathers 'Get Involved'

Contrasting earlier research by Cunningham-Burley (1984) and Scraton and Holland (2006) that suggested grandfathers were distant figures in grandchildren's lives, the grandfathers who participated in this research spoke enthusiastically about engaging with their grandchildren. For example, Mark, a grandfather of seven, showed the picture books he makes with his grandchildren. He explained:

We've had a lot of stickers, all the favourite singers [pointing to Hannah Montana]. I bought a lot of those and a couple of books and the grandchildren will come in and say 'I want to do stickers' and we'll get the box of stickers out, so I stick stickers with them.

This was Mark's special activity that he enjoyed with grandchildren while providing care along with his wife. In contrast to grandmothers, the role of grandfathers was, on the whole, not associated with the practical tasks inherent in caring for children. Instead, most of the grandfathers talked about doing things, like entertaining the grandchildren while their wife made dinner, as a way to support the care that their wife was performing. This reflected the greater likelihood of grandfathers participating in care more frequently if married, as found in the HILDA data.

Peter, who has three grandchildren, described himself entertaining the grandchildren while his wife performed domestic labour or prepared a meal for the grandchildren:

She would often be cleaning up the house because my daughter, and son-in-law for that matter, are bloody hopeless with that. So she'll be doing a lot of that when I'll be playing with the kids. She'll be cooking or getting something ready so she'll be able to play with the kids too.

Though they were both doing grandchild care, Peter appears to assume his wife would bear the responsibility for the tasks the grandchildren's parents had left undone, while he had more recreational time with the children. This also illustrates how domestic labour from the households of adult children can transfer more to grandmothers than grandfa-

thers, along with the additional domestic labour created by caring for grandchildren in their own home.

Across all the interviews, being a male role model and mentor to grandchildren strongly featured in the way both men and women talked about grandfathering, compared to the theme of nurturing in relation to grandmothering.

As Robert, who has four grandchildren, explained:

Probably more so now than any other time in history, I think it's important that little boys in particular, but I presume little girls as well, actually do have a male role model. So often at school all the teachers are female, they spend infinitely more time with their mother than their father, and the role of the grandfather is there, I believe, largely to be a male role model.

Two grandfathers we spoke to provided grandchild care on their own. Simon and John emphasized that caregiving was a conscious decision they had made, although each came to the decision from different life histories. Simon had strong egalitarian beliefs about gender roles, and John had experienced being a primary carer to his own children. Both Simon and John had insights into grandchild care and how beneficial it was for their close relationships with their adult children and grandchildren in a way that was not as evident in the other grandfathers' interviews. For example, Simon spoke about timing his retirement to have more time to care for his grandchild and the benefit his involvement provided to both adult children's and grandchildren's generations. 'I think a grandfather is a moderating influence', he explained, by reflecting on the rights and wrongs of his own past parenting, offering advice when asked, mentoring, and giving children a different perspective about life.

Overall, grandfathers appeared to have greater flexibility in caregiving compared to grandmothers. Toileting young children, for example, was an aspect of children's physical care that grandfathers appeared rarely to participate in. Their refusal of or sense of choice about whether or not to perform the dirty work of toileting is indicative of the strength of this gendered division of labour, analogous to men not cleaning the toilet in family households (Pocock 2003). This theme demonstrated the relative choice of participation in children's physical care available to grandfathers

as opposed to the caregiving that was expected of grandmothers. For instance, when Chris was asked about how his experience of caring for the grandchildren was different or similar to his wife's, he replied:

Totally different, she's wiping bums and taking kids off to the toilet and stuff like that, I don't want to know about. I don't mind but it's something I've chosen not to do. It all happens around me.

Mark commented that he 'doesn't change nappies' unless it becomes an urgent matter and it is necessary to 'help out'. The strategies associated with toileting young children illustrate a broader pattern of gender relations. Grandfathers are able to opt in and out of essential physical care tasks rather than assume them as a routine responsibility.

Overall, grandfathers' stories of their participation in grandchildren's care emphasized the recreational and educational dimensions of caring for grandchildren, as distinct from immersion in the potentially less pleasant or routine aspects of physical care. The main way Robert, Chris, Mark, and Peter spoke about relating to grandchildren while doing grandchild care was through play and activities, such as sport, games, and educational tasks. These interactions helped to build emotional ties that they gained immense personal satisfaction from. For instance, Robert enjoyed taking his grandchildren to the swimming pool, and obviously took pride in giving his full attention and engagement to this activity:

I'm not one of those grandparents at the pool that sits on the side fully dressed and just occasionally waves at the kids ... I'm in there getting splashed and splashing back, picking them up and chucking them in the water. Same when we go kick the ball. I don't just stand around; I get involved.

Robert refers to himself as an involved grandfather by interacting playfully with the grandchildren. This involvement is characterized as active by doing a masculine style of boisterous play. Similarly, Mark described how doing fun activities that the children were interested in was a way for him to engage one-on-one with grandchildren. He enthusiastically explained how he searched the shops to find stickers, again demonstrating pride in the keen knowledge he possessed of the grandchildren's likes and dislikes.

It was apparent that these kinds of structured and unstructured play activities offered a way for grandfathers to interact meaningfully with grandchildren during grandchild care. The grandfathers in this research spoke passionately about engaging with their grandchildren in meaningful shared activities. The manner in which the men described their grandfatherly activities was consistent with the active 'involved father' ideal because it involved embodied interactions and the development of intimate knowledge of children's interests, likes, and dislikes (Doucet 2006; Lupton and Barclay 1997). Being involved in grandchild care was framed as a choice grandfathers had made. Wanting to be involved in this way gave grandfathers motivation to do grandchild care. By engaging in grandchild care, some grandfathers discovered a new capacity in themselves for affection and emotional bonds with grandchildren. Overall, the interview data suggest that older men enjoy grandchild care as a way to spend quality time building their relationships with grandchildren but can leave care labour, like toileting, meal preparation, and attending to children's needs, to women. The qualities of being a 'male role model' position grandfathering as discrete from the practical labour of caregiving, whereas nurturing is intrinsic to being a grandmother.

Conclusions

The evidence presented from this nationally representative survey of Australian grandparents supports a greater prevalence of frequent grandchild care in Australia compared to European nations, and the gendered inequities revealed in caregiving practices continue to reflect the dominant maternalist culture that characterizes our gender order. Australian grandmothers are significantly more likely to do grandchild care and do so more frequently than grandfathers. At a population level, Australian grandmothers doing grandchild care can experience greater tension from dissatisfaction with their free time and doing more than their fair share of domestic labour than grandfathers. The qualitative component of this study provided some indication of why grandmothers were relatively dissatisfied with their free time and to some degree resentful of the amount of household labour they performed. While it was evident in the interview

data that the pleasures of spending time with grandchildren and developing a close relationship with them are cherished by grandmothers and grandfathers alike, it was also clear that grandmothers assumed responsibilities for domestic chores alongside childcare. The sanctions they believed existed against saying 'no' left them feeling less free than their male partners to enjoy the more recreational dimensions of grandchild care. Such gendered divisions in the labour of grandchild care were likely to be hidden in the quantity of time grandfathers report spending doing care, as seen in the HILDA data. As with 'involved' fathers who are less responsible for multitasking or children's routine physical care (Craig 2007; Wall and Arnold 2007), the quantity of time masks gendered inequities regarding the characteristics of the time spent with children.

The involved father ideal appears to be influencing the emotional participation of some older men in grandchild care, but gendered divisions in time, the labour of physical caregiving, and the quality of experience with grandchildren prevail in the Australian context. The taken-for-granted entitlement of less responsibility for children in the presence of their wives, coupled with a reluctance demonstrated by some grandfathers to undertake an equal share of the physical caregiving of young grandchildren, such as toileting and the domestic chores generated by children, was apparent in the interview data. At the same time, being married enables grandfathers to participate in grandchild care and points to the important facilitation that grandmothers provide in supporting their involvement in caregiving.

Given the levels of skill and knowledge of children's likes and dislikes displayed by some of the grandfathers in this study and their pride in performing well the grandfatherly activities they enjoyed, it was apparent that the barriers to a more engaged and equitable contribution to children's physical care are ideological rather than practical. Grandfathers are clearly capable carers and could be sharing more of the physical labour of care with grandmothers, particularly in situations where both partners are retired and co-present as children's carers. The social organization of caregiving can be supported to be more equitable by reform at a government level to help address the production of inequalities and to begin to challenge entrenched gendered beliefs and expectations about women, men, and care. For example, Australia has had among the lowest levels

of public expenditure on early childhood services across OECD nations (OECD 2008). As Hank and Buber (2009) argue, the insufficient supply of formal childcare, combined with a strong norm of grandchild care, feeds demand for this type of care. Improved provision of early childhood services would start to widen the options for grandparents and parents. As such, parents (who ask for grandchild care) and grandparents (who do it) would have real choices about caregiving arrangements for children. That said, formal child care is not the only policy solution, particularly given the pleasure grandparents take in assisting adult children with care arrangements and having intimate time with grandchildren.

Although there is a slightly smaller total proportion of Australian grandparents doing grandchild care (51 %) than their counterparts in Europe (57 %), the magnitude of the gender difference was consistent with Hank and Buber's (2009) findings. Across ten nations examined by Hank and Buber using the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe, there was an average 7 % difference between the proportion of grandmothers and grandfathers providing childcare almost weekly or more often. Similarly, there is a 6 % difference between Australian grandmothers and grandfathers who do grandchild care weekly or more often. However, when examining only those grandparents who provide grandchild care, 25 % of grandfathers and 32 % of grandmothers across the European nations compared to 40 % of grandfathers and 46 % of grandmothers in our data who have ever cared for children do so weekly or more frequently. The pattern of providing childcare in our study also reflects the pattern found by Hank and Buber (2009), whereby grandmothers' propensity to care for a grandchild and to do so regularly decreases from 70 years of age. Hank and Buber (2009) also noted that grandfathers with a partner were more likely to be involved in care.

For European grandparents, employment status was not related to the general propensity for caregiving, but not being engaged in paid work significantly increased the likelihood of that grandparents would engage in regular care (Hank and Buber 2009). However, Australian grandparents in paid work have a greater overall propensity ever to do grandchild care than those who are retired.

When considered in conjunction with the significant difference seen in our study between grandmothers and grandfathers who were not fully

retired, these patterns suggest that grandchild care is not conditional on the availability of time outside paid work for Australian grandmothers. The experiences of leisure and domestic labour shed more light in this area.

With regard to Australian grandparents' satisfaction with childcare arrangements, the greater load borne by grandmothers as compared to grandfathers suggests that frequent grandchild care impinges upon leisure time for both sexes, but that grandmothers experience greater pressure on their leisure time than grandfathers.

If one follows the argument that the division of labour is indicative of cultural gender order, a more egalitarian distribution was found to occur in European households, on average, when grandfathers did grandchild care (Hank and Jürges 2007). The Australian division of domestic labour among older men and women, even when grandmothers engaged in paid work, supports the presence of maternalist culture in Australia.

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9

Good Grandfathers Have a Partner

Knud Knudsen

Introduction

Researchers have paid scant attention to the different personal and social settings in which female and male grandparents typically find themselves over the years, largely as a result of the fact that women tend to outlive their husbands. Although older grandfathers normally have a spouse at their side, grandmothers at the same age often live alone, in most cases as widows (Kerr 2006). Such contextual differences in later years are likely to affect the grandparent's ability to stay involved in family life and provide care for grandchildren.

In this chapter, we analyze the link between grandparents' gender, partnership status, and aging on the one hand and their caring for grandchildren on the other. Our main reasoning rests on normative explanations,

K. Knudsen (✉)

Sociology (Emeritus), University of Stavanger, Stavanger, Norway

e-mail: knud.knudsen@uis.no

seeing such solicitude as influenced by prevailing norms and social roles (Friedman et al. 2008). On this basis, grandmothers are expected to be more involved with grandchildren as part of their central position in the family. Drawing on the literature on spouses' complementary roles (Kerr 2006), we further argue that having a life partner at one's side enhances the individual's potential as a care provider. However, grandfathers more often enjoy this advantage; hence, an indirect influence of gender, via marital status on grandparental solicitude, is hypothesized. Contending that men in their involvement with the family are more dependent on a life partner than women, we furthermore argue that the impact of having a spouse (or not) is more consequential for grandfathers' caring than it is for grandmothers' caring.

To explore the primary postulates about variations in grandparental caregiving, we use data from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), Release 2.3.0, waves 1 and 2.¹ The principal advantage of applying SHARE data is the richness of information, which enables the researcher to take into account a wide range of potentially confounding factors. In the empirical analyses, we concentrate on grandparents who are sixty- to eight-five-years-old, thus covering the central period of the grandparental phase for most grandparents; this results in a sample of 5449 individuals from eleven different European countries.

Our analysis aims to demonstrate the existence of more complex mechanisms linking grandparental gender and solicitude than has hitherto been understood (Knudsen 2012). Grandmothers are likely to benefit from their central role as kin keepers in their involvement with grandchildren, in line with basic arguments from different theoretical strands. For otherwise equal conditions, a clear gender effect is expected. Meanwhile,

¹We use data from SHARELIFE Release 1, as of 24 November 2010, or SHARE Release 2.3.1, as of 29 July 2010. The SHARE data collection has been primarily funded by the European Commission through the 5th framework programme (Project QLK6-CT-2001-00360 in the thematic programme Quality of Life), through the 6th framework programme (Projects SHARE-I3, RII-CT-2006-062193, COMPARE, CIT5-CT-2005-028857, and SHARELIFE, CIT4-CT-2006-028812) and through the 7th framework programme (SHARE-PREP, 211909, and SHARE-LEAP, 227822). Additional funding from the US National Institute on Aging (U01 AG09740-13S2, P01 AG005842, P01 AG08291, P30 AG12815, Y1-AG-4553-01, and OGHA 04-064, IAG BSR06-11, R21 AG025169) as well as from various national sources is gratefully acknowledged (see www.share-project.org/t3/share/index.php for a full list of funding institutions).

we argue that grandfathers enjoy an advantage from frequently still having a partner at their side. This indirect advantage is likely to become increasingly important in later years, slowing down the inevitable age-related reduction in their care capacity. In this way, grandfathers' relative involvement, as compared to that of grandmothers, could gradually improve, resulting in more equal levels of care. Thus, good grandfathers tend to have a partner.

Basic Arguments; Gender, Marital Status, and Grandparental Involvement

Supplementary and partly competing explanations for differential grandparental care have been offered in the research literature and in this book in Chap. 2. One fundamental strand is evolutionary theory, based on assumptions about kin-selection mechanisms (Euler and Weitzel 1996). The idea is that becoming a grandparent marks a change in reproductive strategy, or helping one's child in his or her reproductive efforts (Bishop et al. 2009; Daly and Wilson 1980; Danielsbacka et al. 2011; Symons 1979). It follows, for instance, that maternal grandparents are expected to care more for the grandchild than paternal grandparents. This is expected because of biases in caregiving to the maternal line, deriving from mothers' greater need for help (Euler et al. 2001, p. 149), as well as greater grandparental uncertainty about genetic relatedness. Such mechanisms further predict that grandmothers invest more in grandchildren than grandfathers and that more attention will be given to daughters' children. A certain ordering according to the level of involvement should follow, with maternal grandmothers typically providing more care and paternal grandfathers less (Euler and Weitzel 1996). Any strong empirical test of evolutionary theory against competing alternatives in the social sciences is a challenging task because predictions overlap (Danielsbacka et al. 2011); such a test is beyond the scope of this chapter.

In the sociologically oriented literature, two principal types of reasoning appear to be particularly relevant: rational choice theory and what often is summarized as normative explanations. In rational choice theory, grandparental involvement with grandchildren is typically regarded as an

indirect investment in children. Hence, explanations of parental investment in children are also seen as a key for understanding the relationship between the grandparent and the grandchild. Such investments may be understood as a form of insurance policy (Henretta et al. 1997).

In their effort to develop a coherent set of hypotheses from rational choice theory, Friedman et al. (2008) postulated that grandparents are more likely to invest in the grandchildren of female rather than male children, and that they are more likely to invest in the grandchildren of children who are geographically closest to them. Moreover, by linking investment (in a general sense) in coming generations to grandparents' age differences, the authors further postulated that grandmothers are more involved with grandchildren than grandfathers. This gender difference partly stems from the fact that the majority of women can expect to outlive their husbands. Therefore, women—more than men—must turn elsewhere to reduce fundamental uncertainties as the end of life approaches. Friedman et al. (2008, p. 46) also hypothesized that grandparents without life partners are likely to invest more in their grandchildren than those with spouses. In the same vein, one could argue that being a grandmother without a partner (typically widowed) would create especially high uncertainties. Following rational choice assumptions, we thus expect women to be more involved than men, widowed grandparents to be more involved than those still with a living partner, and widowed grandmothers to be notably more involved than grandmothers with a spouse. The latter may imply that the impact of marital status should be especially consequential for female grandparents compared to male grandparents.

A different theoretical approach in sociology comes from normative explanations, mainly regarding grandparents' solicitude as influenced by social roles and prevailing norms (Gauthier 2002; Mason et al. 2007; Settersten and Angel 2011). Such reasoning suggests that the established female family role may account for gender-lineage bias in grandparental attention (Chan and Elder 2000; Dubas 2001; Hagestad 1986). These mechanisms could also explain greater caregiving by female grandparents: a grandmother is more supportive than a grandfather because she has been socialized into and identifies with the institutionalized model of a mother and a mother's mother. The social construction of gender

roles, together with the process of internalization of norms, further suggests that fulfilling such expectations has its own logic (Waerness 1996). Thus, from assumptions about the grandmother's central role within the larger family, we postulate an influence of gender on care, as reflected by the upper arrow in the simple causal model in Fig. 9.1. As noted, this prediction follows from rational choice theory as well, and even from evolutionary assumptions.

Based on similar logic, the typical spouse plays a supportive role in keeping up the family life and social activities in later years (Kerr 2006). Although marriage traditions vary across cultures and have changed markedly in Europe over the last generation, we argue that having a partner is a salient factor in older individuals' participation in family life. During the life cycle, spouses are socialized into complementary roles within the context of a couple. For the individual grandparent who is at least 60 years old, a spouse at one's side normally means having certain expectations from the other. These expectations imply ensuring the availability of practical help and regular mental training, exchanging normative views,

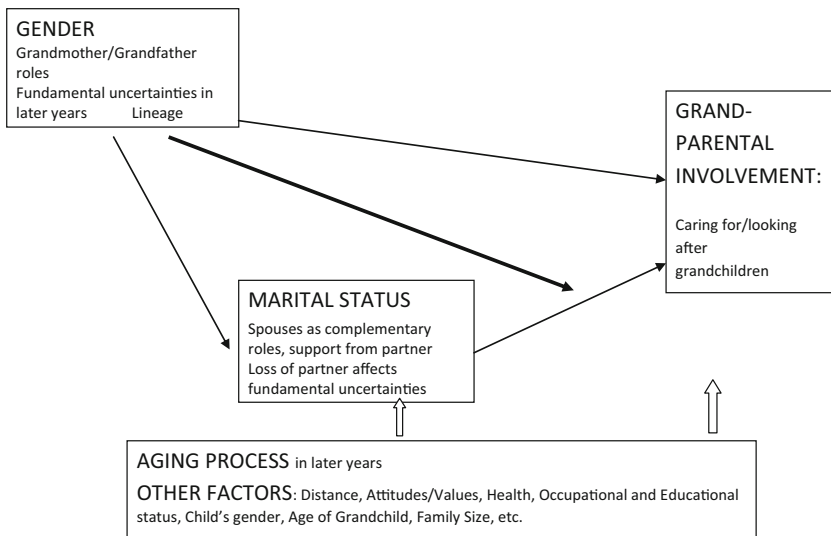


Fig. 9.1 A causal model. The relevance of gender and a life partner for grandparental involvement

providing the possibility of sharing and specialization in daily activities, and keeping up social routines and external contacts (e.g., Matras and Caiden 1994). Hence, individual capacity for interacting with the larger family and caring for grandchildren should be higher within the framework of a couple or pair.

However, male and female grandparents on average will find themselves in a different position because grandfathers more often have a spouse at their side than grandmothers (Kerr 2006, pp. 25–26). The main reason behind this pattern can be traced to traditional marriage customs, together with a different life expectancy for the two genders. In short, women tend to marry men a few years older than themselves while, on average, living longer than men. Such demographic factors will have consequences in later years for those grandparents still living. Indeed, although a grandfather in his seventies often has a younger partner at his side, a grandmother of the same age is frequently a widow or has an older spouse to take care of (Peters and Liefbroer 1997). Therefore, grandfathers may gain a relative advantage in their capacity for involvement with children and grandchildren, although the aging process naturally decreases both genders' general abilities. Based on this understanding, we hypothesize an indirect impact of grandparents' gender on involvement via marital status (Fig. 9.1). In short, having a partner positively affects caregiving. Hence, as grandmothers increasingly find themselves alone in later years, their initial advantage from their central family role is gradually reduced. Keeping in mind that rational choice arguments suggest that being without a spouse should increase fundamental uncertainties and, hence, lead to higher grandparental involvement, it follows that the two main theoretical logics could suggest different empirical implications.

Such arguments from normative reasoning regarding grandparental gender and the relevance of a life partner could be further differentiated. Given the grandmother's role as kin keeper, with stronger ties to family members and family friends at large, we expect marital status (i.e., still having a partner or not) to be less consequential for her involvement. In other words, grandfathers may be seen as more vulnerable to being without a partner than grandmothers (Buber and Englehardt 2008; Carr and Moorman 2011; Kerr 2006, p. 26; Peters and Liefbroer 1997; Van

Grootheest et al. 1999), although widowers in some instances receive more support from their family (Delbès and Gaymu 2002). Hence, we postulate an interaction effect of gender and marital status on grandparents' grandchild care. In Fig. 9.1, this interaction is illustrated by the arrow from gender to the arrow between marital status and care. Assuming that women are relatively less dependent on spousal support in later years, we expect the effect of marital status to be smaller for grandmothers than for grandfathers. Thus, the effect of marital status is seen as moderated by gender. As previously noted, rational choice arguments suggest that being without a partner could be more consequential for grandmothers, thus again pointing to possible different empirical implications from these two theoretical strands.

On the basis of normative explanations, we here expect grandmothers to be more involved with grandchildren than grandfathers. Moreover, an additional gender influence in the opposite direction could be mediated by marital status, as grandfathers more often have a life partner. Therefore, grandparental gender may work in two opposite ways: being a male grandparent implies lower involvement (Fig. 9.1), whereas grandfathers' higher chance of having a spouse indirectly increases their participation. In addition, we argue that an interaction effect of gender and marital status exists: having a partner should be more consequential for male grandparents than for female grandparents.

The general prediction of higher female involvement also follows from alternative theoretical approaches—notably, rational choice theory and even evolutionary psychology (Danielsbacka et al. 2011). However, our further postulates from assumptions about social roles and norms differ from what is implicated by rational choice theory (Fig. 9.1). As noted, the rational choice logic predicts more involvement without a partner and, if anything, extra involvement for grandmothers with no spouse. It further follows that, where our main reasoning postulates a narrowing or even reversing of involvement between grandmothers and grandfathers in older years, rational choice logic could suggest the opposite. Without taking the difference between these two main explanatory strategies too far, they nevertheless provide a relevant backdrop for empirical investigations.

Using European SHARE Survey Data

We analyzed data from the second public release of the Survey of Health, Ageing, and Retirement in Europe (SHARE; Börsch-Supan et al. 2005, 2009), Waves 1 and 2, originally collected in 2004–2007. The data applied contain information from more than 23,000 individuals, aged 50 years or older, and from more than 16,000 households. The analyses reported in what follows are based on the available surveys from Austria, Denmark, France, Greece, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, and Belgium. Together, these eleven countries represent continental Europe's basic economic, social, institutional, and cultural diversity.² In the present analysis we concentrate on actual grandparents (with at least one grandchild) among individuals 60 to 85 years of age, based on the assumption that these years cover the central period of the grandparental phase in life.³

The main dependent variable in the following analysis is looking after a grandchild. This can be seen as a measure of grandparental participation (Danielsbacka et al. 2011; Hildbrand et al. 2009), reflecting how frequently the individual is involved in caring for the (selected) grandchild. A variable ranging from 0 (Not looking after at all) to 4 (Looking after almost daily) was constructed.

The central independent variables examined were gender, age, and marital status, as well as relevant interaction terms. Gender was assigned a value of 0 for males and 1 for females. Age was measured in years; for the regression analyses this variable was entered as years above 60, meaning that a 60-year-old has a value of 0 while an 85-year-old has a value of 25. To explore the main theoretical arguments, the interaction between gender and age and gender and spouse was investigated.

A number of supplementary independent variables were included, mainly as controls, to avoid possible confounding influences related to demographic characteristics, availability, health, and attitudes

²The data from these earlier rounds have been upgraded several times and are considered to be of high quality.

³Expanding the age span (Danielsbacka et al. 2011) and using dummy variables for age groups (Hank and Buber 2009) does not change the basic assessments of our results.

(Attias-Donfut et al. 2005; Baydar and Brooks-Gunn 1998; Guzman 1999, 2004; Hank and Buber 2009; Kuhltau and Mason 1996; Presser 1989; Silverstein and Marengo 2001; Vandell et al. 2003). Among these were gender of the selected child—allowing for tracing lineage patterns; distance to selected child, ranging from the same household to more than 500 km away; educational level of selected child; whether the selected child had a partner/spouse; and the selected child's age in years above 25. Country background was represented by a set of dummy variables.

Grandparents Having a Spouse in Europe

Descriptive results for male and female grandparents are reported in what follows for the total pooled and nonweighted sample. Keeping in mind that we are investigating living individual grandparents 60 to 85 years old, with women making up 57 %, these results provide an informative pattern, consistent with previous findings in the literature (Hank and Buber 2009; Mann et al. 2009).

Notably, grandfathers more often than grandmothers live together with a spouse. Detailed analyses furthermore suggest an interesting pattern. In their early sixties, a clear majority of male as well as female grandparents have a partner, although grandfathers more often live within the context of a couple. Meanwhile, by their later sixties, a growing divergence develops, with women clearly less often having a spouse.⁴

In the older age groups, a substantial and increasing difference exists between the two genders. For male grandparents, more than 80 % still have life partners, slightly decreasing over the years until their late seventies. Even in their early eighties, more than half of the grandfathers have a living spouse. However, a typical grandmother, in addition to a lower initial level of health, tends to lose her life partner in a more dramatic manner over the years.

Thus, there exists a striking difference in the personal and social environment for aging male and female grandparents, with likely consequences

⁴In our data, two-thirds of the grandmothers without a partner were widows; this holds for only half of grandfathers living alone.

for their individual capacity to provide care for grandchildren. A typical grandfather in his early seventies lives his life within the social context of a couple (i.e., with a partner at his side). A typical grandmother at the same age lives alone. This pattern for European countries is similar to what can be inferred from US data (Kerr 2006, p. 26; Manning and Brown 2011, p. 197).

Figure 9.2 reports how often grandparents on average look after the selected grandchild by gender and age.

A telling picture emerges. Female grandparents in their sixties show a marked higher level of involvement compared to male grandparents at the same age. However, the relative pattern gradually changes in later years. For the oldest age groups, grandfathers are ahead of grandmothers in their provision of care.

We also analyzed the results with a stepwise regression. We introduced different variables at each step in order to explore how they affected

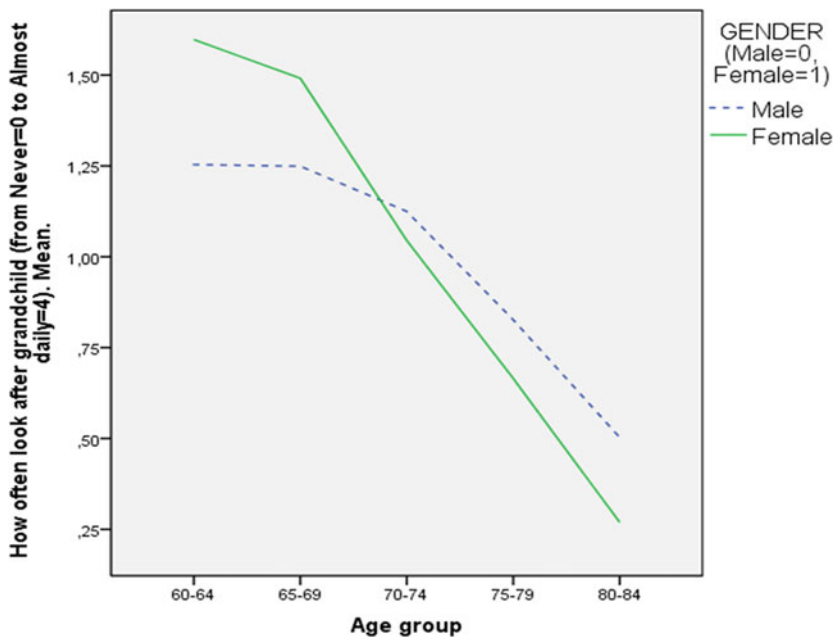


Fig. 9.2 European grandparents' involvement by age and gender: grandmothers and grandfathers 60–85

each other and contributed to the likelihood of grandparental child care (detailed statistical results are shown in Knudsen 2012).

In the first step of the regression, we only looked at how gender affected the likelihood of providing care to a grandchild. On average, grandmothers more often look after grandchildren than grandfathers ($\beta = 0.10$). However, although statistically significant, the difference was less than one-tenth of a standard deviation and cannot be considered large. In the second step, we added age as an independent variable. A strong negative impact of age is indicated for grandparents looking after a grandchild. This emphasizes that growing older than 60 years of age gradually limits grandparents' potential for involvement. In step three, having a spouse or not was added to gender and age. We found a clear-cut effect of having a spouse ($\beta = 0.53$), telling us that those grandparents who still have a life partner at their side more often look after the grandchild than those living alone. On average, having a spouse—compared to living alone—increases the score on the childcare variable. Meanwhile, we note a marked increase in the positive effect of gender compared to the preceding round ($\beta = 0.27$, vs. 0.10 in Step 1). In other words, for equal marital status and age, grandmothers appear substantially more involved than grandfathers.

The observed pattern implies that the rather small gender difference initially observed must stem from a gender effect on grandparental involvement along two paths in opposite directions. A positive direct effect (i.e., female grandparents scoring markedly more for the same marital status) is reflected in the higher gender effect in the third step, while an indirect influence exists in the opposite direction, with female grandparents scoring lower since they more seldom have a life partner.

In the fourth step, a term capturing the interaction between gender and marital status (spouse or not) was added to the existing independent variables in the regression model. Several points emerged. First, the regression coefficient for gender is larger than previously ($\beta = 0.60$ vs. 0.27 in Step three), implying that grandmothers' involvement appears even higher when the gender–spouse interaction is taken into account. Second, the impact of having a spouse comes out stronger than during the preceding step (0.83 vs. 0.53 in the previous step). This pattern suggests that having a spouse implies an especially large difference among

grandfathers: on average, those with a spouse score higher than those without. Third, the analysis shows that the estimated impact of a spouse is far lower for grandmothers, so that the spouse effect is more than halved for women. Also in this step, the main effects of gender and marital status remained. We also noted in this step that the explained variance (R-square) is close to 9 % (8.5), indicating a fairly powerful model at the individual level, albeit with substantial variance unexplained.

Finally, we made one full regression taking into account all previous variables as well as the interaction between gender and age and a larger number of relevant explanatory variables as controls. These included health indicators, educational level, labor market participation, individual attitudes on grandparent obligations, level of life satisfaction and possible depression, distance to selected grandchild, and age and gender of selected child, together with the selected child's education, marital status, number of children, and household size, and a set of dummy variables reflecting respondents' country background. Adding all these independent variables markedly improved the regression model's explanatory power, from around 9 % in the fourth step to now more than 27 % in the fifth. This suggests a powerful model at the individual level, by conventional standards. Also in this full model, basic conclusions from the preceding step remain: a substantial gender difference still exists in providing grandchild care. Moreover, having a life partner at one's side affects one's ability to be involved. Still, the spouse impact is clearly larger for grandfathers than for grandmothers.

To sum up, our analysis was suggestive of both direct and indirect influences on grandpaternal involvement, further differentiated by an interaction effect between gender and marital status. Thus, for otherwise equal conditions, female grandparents are obviously more involved than males, as postulated by various theoretical approaches. Meanwhile, having a life partner increases the capacity to look after one's grandchild. Men at these age levels more often have a life partner at their side; thus, their otherwise lower capacity for caring is seemingly enhanced. In this way, the gender effect on grandparents' care is partly mediated by marital status.

Our results suggest that, when older European men appear to be doing relatively well as grandfathers, this can partly be traced back to traditional

marriage customs and demographic realities. As they more often have a life partner at their side, and because having a partner for them seemingly makes a substantial difference in care capacity, their involvement is on average higher than otherwise would have been the case. Although grandmothers are clearly more involved than grandfathers for equal marital status, they do not experience the same dampening mechanism that many grandfathers experience in later years, partly because they quite often are without a life partner.

Summary and Discussion

Going back to the two main competing arguments for explaining grandparental involvement, some findings are consistent with rational choice theory as well as normative approaches. Typically, both theoretical strands—and evolutionary theory—predict that grandmothers are better care providers than grandfathers. The SHARE data further confirm this, in line with various previous contributions (Danielsbacka et al. 2011; Friedman et al. 2008; Hank and Buber 2009; Kerr 2006). However, concerning consequences from being without a partner, rational choice logic—based on assumptions of grandparents' uncertainty reduction efforts—postulates that those without a spouse should be more eager care providers. The same can be said for extended rational choice implications postulating an increased effect of marital status for grandmothers. Meanwhile, regression analysis results suggest that being without a partner decreases grandparents' involvement with grandchildren and that being alone (without a spouse/partner) appears more consequential for grandfathers. In this area, our findings do not support rational choice theory. However, the observed patterns are at least consistent with postulates from normative explanations, thereby making such reasoning more credible.

Although our analysis should not be seen as a strong test, the results reported in this article could be understood more in support of classical sociological role theory than of rational choice arguments. Our findings suggest that grandparental gender and solicitude are linked in a fairly complex manner. As expected, grandmothers benefit from their

traditional kin-keeper role in their higher involvement with grandchildren. Grandfathers, nevertheless, enjoy a certain advantage from more often having a living partner at their side. In later years, this indirect advantage becomes essential, dampening the age-related decrease in their capacity for caring. Grandfathers' involvement, relative to that of grandmothers, thus gradually improves, leading to a reversed ordering in levels of care. In short, older men can be relatively good grandfathers as they frequently live within the context of a couple. This interpretation emphasizes the fact that male and female grandparents often find themselves in quite different personal and social settings, grandfathers living together with a spouse, grandmothers living alone or with an older husband. The relevance of this nuanced picture for understanding grandparents' more complex situation has seemingly been overlooked in parts of previous research. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that our findings also imply that those fewer grandfathers without a partner constitute the group with the lowest involvement level. On a more general sociological level, the empirical pattern thus supports the idea that older men benefit more from the marriage institution or similar partnership arrangements than so women.

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10

Grandfather Involvement in Finland: Impact of Divorce, Remarriage, and Widowhood

Mirkka Danielsbacka and Antti O. Tanskanen

Grandparents and Spouses

Divorce, remarriage, and widowhood, whether they happen in the parental or grandparental generation, may all influence intergenerational family relations. The effects of family disruption on grandparent–grandchild relationships may be different depending on whether it is seen from the viewpoint of grandfathers than that of grandmothers. While many studies have explored the effect of parental divorce on grandparent–grandchild relationship (e.g., Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009; Lussier et al. 2002; Tanskanen et al. 2014), less interest has been devoted to the effect of grandparental divorce (but see, for example, King 2003; Knudsen 2012). In this chapter

M. Danielsbacka (✉)
University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland
e-mail: mirkka.danielsbacka@helsinki.fi

A.O. Tanskanen
University of Turku, Turku, Finland

we study the effect of grandparental divorce, remarriage, and widowhood on the grandparent–grandchild relationship in Finland.

In Finland, as in other European countries, grandmothers, and especially maternal grandmothers, are likely to be the ones who look after or spend time with their grandchildren (Danielsbacka et al. 2013, 2011). Evolutionary researchers have explained women's stronger involvement in kin relations by sex-specific reproductive strategies, meaning that, because of evolutionary, biological, and psychological reasons, women tend to invest more in their kin than men do (Chap. 2; Mace and Sear 2005; Coall and Hertwig 2010). In family sociology, women's higher kin involvement is often explained using the women-as-kin-keeper hypothesis (e.g. Bracke et al. 2008; Dubas 2001).

Grandfathers may be easily exposed to the grandchildren at the same time as their spouse (that is, the grandmother) spends time or looks after them. The so-called incidental exposure hypothesis predicts that, because of the strong involvement of grandmothers, the presence or absence of a spouse should have a greater effect on the involvement of the grandfathers than that of grandmothers (Euler and Michalski 2008).

Previous studies indeed showed that the negative effect of divorce on family relations is usually stronger for fathers than for mothers. Divorced older men in particular have less contact with their adult children than do married men (Dykstra 1997; Tomassini et al. 2004; Uhlenberg and Hammil 1998). Children's trust in their fathers may also diminish as a result of parental divorce (King 2002), and older divorced men are found to receive less informal care from their children (Pezzin and Schone 1999). However, White (1992) found that both divorced parents (mothers and fathers) support their adult children less than married parents, while remarriage did not substantially enlarge or decrease this support deficit. Remarriage may, however, have different effects among men and women. In one study Pezzin and Schone (1999) found that remarrying influenced especially the relationship of mothers with their children by reducing time and cash transfers from the mothers to their children.

Uhlenberg and Hammil (1998) found with data from the USA that, for both grandmothers and grandfathers, the influence of marital status on contacts with grandchildren went as follows: married grandparents had most frequent contact, widowed second, remarried third, and divorced

grandparents the least frequent contact. The negative effect was stronger for grandfathers than for grandmothers. In addition, King (2003) found, with a sample of 538 grandparents from Iowa, negative effects of grandparental divorce, such as fewer contacts and poorer relationship quality between grandparent and grandchild. The negative effects were stronger for grandfathers and paternal grandparents than for grandmothers and maternal grandparents. The same study also showed that the relationship quality between grandparent and parent explained the effect of grandparental divorce on grandparent–grandchild closeness. This means that grandparental divorce influenced the grandparent–grandchild relationship negatively only if the relationship between grandparent and parent was weak.

One of our previous studies (Danielsbacka and Tanskanen 2012) also showed a negative effect of grandparental divorce for grandparental involvement in the case of grandfathers. English and Welsh school children between 11 and 16 years of age reported that divorced maternal and paternal grandfathers were less involved with their life than married grandfathers were. Remarried maternal grandfathers were also less involved, but the difference between remarried and married paternal grandfathers was not statistically significant. In contrast, children did not report lower involvement from divorced or remarried grandmothers. The results took into account several confounding variables, including geographical distance, grandparents' age, and health and labour force participation, as well as the grandchild's family structure and age.

Using data from eleven European countries, Knudsen (2012, Chap. 9) studied the effect of marital disruption on the involvement of grandfathers. In this study, involvement was measured by grandparental child-care. Knudsen found that being without a partner decreased grandparents' involvement with grandchildren in general, but the effect was stronger for grandfathers than grandmothers. Because older men are more likely than older women to be living with a spouse, men will have a relative advantage because of their marital status the older they get.

According to some previous studies (Aquilino 1994; Pezzin and Schone 1999), widowhood is not likely to influence ties to children and grandchildren as negatively as divorce does. The more negative effects of divorce have been explained, for instance, the fact that divorced grandparents may be in poorer health (Waite and Gallagher 2000), which

reduces the involvement. In addition, divorced grandparents may more likely have a grandchild whose parents are also divorced (Amato 1996; Diekmann and Engelhardt 1999), which, in turn, may reduce especially the paternal grandparents' involvement (Doyle et al. 2010).

Based on previous studies, we may expect the effect of marital disruption to differ between never-divorced, widowed, remarried, and divorced grandparents. In addition, the effect of divorce, widowhood, and remarriage may differ in regard to grandparents' gender and kin lineage. In this chapter, we explore two questions. First, we expect married grandparents to be the most involved in their grandchildren's lives, followed by widowed, remarried, and, finally, divorced grandparents, who we expect to be the least involved. Second, we expect that the effects of widowhood, remarriage, and divorce should be stronger for grandpaternal versus grandmaternal involvement.

Baby Boomers and Grandparenting in Finland

In this chapter, the study subjects are grandparents from the Finnish baby boomer generation. Postwar baby boom was a common, albeit varying, phenomenon in the Western world after the Second World War. For instance, in the USA, baby boomers are understood in a very broad sense, referring to people born during, roughly, the 20 years after the Second World War, whereas in the UK the phenomenon had two peaks: the first increase in the birth rate was in the late 1940s and the second in the early 1960s. Compared to baby boomers from the USA, the UK, and several other countries, the Finnish baby boomer generation is an exceptional birth cohort in many ways. In Finland, the postwar rise in fertility was stronger, but the time period shorter than in most other countries. It started immediately (i.e. 9 months) after the end of the Finnish War against the Soviet Union in 1944 and the return of the soldiers from the front, and it continued until the early 1950s. The decline of the birth rate was not that sharp, but most frequently the definition of the Finnish baby boomer generation is people born between 1945 and 1950 (Karisto and Haapola 2015).

Finnish baby boomers are exceptional at least in two specific features: the timing and duration of the baby boom, and the size of the baby boom. Nowhere else does the relative size of baby boom cohort differ as much from previous and succeeding cohorts as in Finland. Finnish baby boomers have experienced a rapid and dramatic transformation of their society from a rather backward agricultural and poor country to a technologically developed welfare state (Karisto 2005). Since the baby boomers were born within a short period of time, they have experienced the same historical events at similar points in their lives. Thus, the Finnish baby boomers might also be called a 'sociological generation' owing to the fact that they themselves identify with the baby boom generation (Purhonen 2007). Here, however, we study baby boomers as a family generation.

Finnish baby boomers reached adulthood in the late 1960s and 1970s, and their children were born largely during the 1970s. The approximate average number of children among baby boomers is 2.2, which is less than among their parents (Kartovaara 2002). Here, we use data gathered in 2012 when a total of 64 % of baby boomers had grandchildren (Danielsbacka et al. 2013). Some have wondered whether baby boomers would devote their active 'third age' to personal interests and their own well-being, rather than to family or grandchildren (Karisto and Haapola 2015). This is not the case; also, in their third age, Finnish baby boomers tend to devote time and resources to their children and grandchildren (e.g. Danielsbacka et al. 2013). In 2012 approximately 60 % of baby boomers were retired and relatively healthy (Danielsbacka et al. 2013). Since current Finnish baby boomers have more free time (being mostly retired) and are in a good medical condition, they may also have frequent opportunities to be involved in the lives of their grandchildren.

In this chapter we analyze whether marital status has an influence on grandparental involvement. We study only grandparents who have been married at least once. In general, divorce rates among the baby boomer cohort are higher than in the birth cohorts before them but lower than in the cohorts born after them (Kartovaara 2002). By far, most of the baby boomers stay with their first spouse. Currently, 19 % of baby boomers are divorced and 6 % have been widowed (Danielsbacka et al. 2013).

In addition to marital status, family policy affects grandparental involvement. Finland is a Nordic welfare state characterized by relatively generous family benefits. In Finland, public spending on family benefits as a percentage of GDP is approximately 3.4 %, which is above the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average of 2.6 % (OECD Family database 2014). Also, the coverage of formal childcare for parents with small children is above the European average (Saraceno 2011). Because the Finnish state supports families with children in many ways, including the parental right to receive childcare services from the municipality, there is less need for informal childcare compared to countries where formal childcare arrangements are scarcer (Igel and Szydlik 2011).

Currently, Finnish grandparents rarely live in the same household as their grandchildren or act as a guardian for their grandchildren (Hurme 2006). Finnish grandparents do not have legal rights regarding their grandchildren. Nevertheless, grandparents are often seen as part of the family: over 40 % of adult Finns who have a grandparent alive consider him or her to be a family member (Paajanen 2007). Notwithstanding the extensive public support for families with children, the great majority of Finnish grandparents do provide childcare assistance to their offspring. In the year 2012, approximately 76 % of grandparents (78 % of grandmothers and 73 % of grandfathers) from the Finnish baby boomer generation reported that they had looked after their grandchildren during the last year (Danielsbacka et al. 2013). This result is in line with previous findings reporting extensive or frequent but less intensive childcare in Nordic welfare states compared to, for instance, southern European countries, where care is more intensive but provided by fewer grandparents (e.g. Hank and Buber 2009; Igel and Szydlik 2011).

Survey Data of Finnish Baby Boomers

We use data from the Generational Transmissions in Finland (Gentrans) project. The aim of Gentrans is to gather longitudinal information on two generations: the Finnish baby boomer generation born between 1945 and 1950 ($M = 1947$, $SD = 1.67$) and their adult children born between

1962 and 1993 ($M = 1976$, $SD = 5.6$). The first wave of the Gentrans surveys was administered in 2007. This chapter uses the second wave of a representative survey of baby boomers, which was administered in Finland (excluding Åland) in 2012 by Statistics Finland via postal mail. The survey of Finnish baby boomers included altogether 2278 respondents (response rate of 65 %) of whom 1441 (63 %) were grandparents at the time of the survey. The Gentrans study also includes substantial register information, for example, the union history (e.g. cohabitation, marriages, divorces) about the survey respondents. With the permission of respondents the registration information was merged with the survey data, making it possible to formulate a variable that tells us whether the respondent is married (and never divorced), remarried (with children from former union), divorced, or widowed.

According to a non-response analysis based on the whole sample ($N = 3492$), the data were fairly representative (for a detailed discussion see Danielsbacka et al. 2013). Women had a higher response activity (71 %) than did men (59 %), which is a common bias in postal surveys. Response activity among the divorced was lower (58 %) than among married respondents (69 %).

We measure grandparental involvement with two variables: reported contact frequencies with a grandchild and whether the grandparent has looked after the grandchild. In the survey, respondents were asked to report via a five-point scale (ranging from 0 = never to 4 = several times a week) how often they had had contact with their grandchildren in the last 12 months, personally, by phone, or by Internet. Contact frequencies were gathered separately for four of the respondents' oldest children and the grandchild sets of these specific children. The contact frequency variable is normally distributed.

Survey respondents also reported whether they had provided childcare help for their children during the last 12 months. Again, the question was asked separately for four of their oldest children. The original six-point scale (0 = never to 5 = over 50 times) was classified into two groups: grandparents who had looked after grandchildren and those who had not (sensitivity analyses were made with different cut points, and these all produced similar or stronger results).

The main independent variable is the grandparents' marital status. The variable was formulated so that never-divorced (married) grandparents who had children and grandchildren with a current spouse (men equals 82 %, women = 70 %) were the default or reference category. The next category was divorced (and currently without a spouse) grandparents (men = 8 %, women = 14 %); the third category consisted of widowed grandparents (men = 2 %, women = 11 %); and the fourth category comprised remarried grandparents who had children (and grandchildren) from previous marriages (men = 7 %, women = 5 %). For the purposes of the analyses, the data were reshaped into a long-format form, meaning that the present data set was constructed so that observations could be viewed from the perspective of the original respondent's child. This resulted in a total of 2689 observations from the data.

In the case of contact frequencies, we used linear regression analysis, and in the case of childcare, we used logistic regression analysis. Both analyses were made separately for men and women because we predicted the effects of marital status to differ between grandfathers and grandmothers. In all analyses we controlled for adjusted lineage (maternal or paternal), geographical distance, grandparent's health, grandparent's working status (working or not working), grandparent's education (ranging from 1 = some elementary school or less to 9 = licentiate or doctoral degree), grandparent's perceived financial situation (wealthy or well off, middle income, or low income), the number of children and grandchildren, and emotional closeness to one's own child (i.e. grandchild's parent). Previous studies showed that these variables also affect grandparental involvement (Coall and Hertwig 2010).

In the case of childcare analyses, only grandparents whose grandchildren were 12 years old or younger were included. With the exception of perceived financial situation, lineage, and working status, all independent variables were treated as continuous. We illustrated the results by calculating the adjusted means of contacts and predicted probabilities of childcare by married, widowed, remarried, and divorced grandfathers and grandmothers from the regression models. Since the data are clustered, we used Stata's statistical software cluster option to compute the standard errors.

Married Grandfathers Have Most Contact

Results showed that married grandfathers had the most frequent contact with grandchildren, followed by widowed grandfathers. Remarried grandfathers had even less contact, and divorced grandfathers had the least frequent contact (Fig. 10.1). The differences were statistically significant between divorced and married grandfathers, and between remarried and married grandfathers. Married grandmothers also had the most frequent contact with their grandchildren, although widowed grandmothers were right behind them. Divorced grandmothers had fewer contacts than did married and widowed grandmothers, and remarried grandmothers had the least frequent contact with their grandchildren. In the case of grandmothers, only the difference between remarried and married women was statistically significant. A lineage difference was found only in the case of grandmothers: paternal grandmothers were significantly less frequently in contact with their grandchildren than maternal grandmothers.

When we compared grandfathers to grandmothers within every marital status category, we found that married grandmothers were significantly more frequently in contact with their grandchildren than mar-

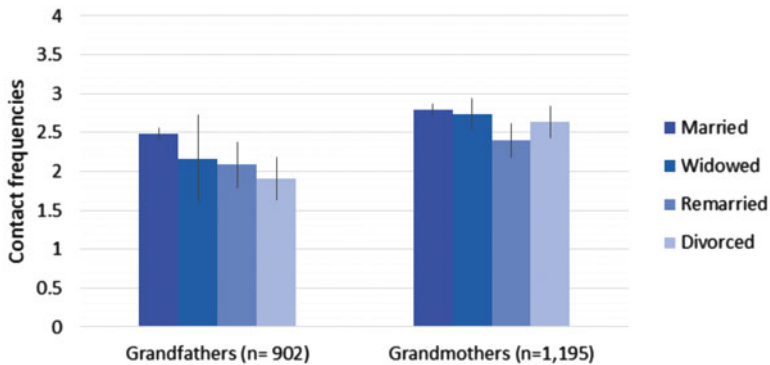


Fig. 10.1 Contact frequencies between grandfather/grandmother and grandchild by grandparents' marital status (adjusted means and 95 % confidence intervals) [Results controlling for the lineage, geographical distance, grandparent health, grandparent working status, grandparent education, grandparent perceived financial situation, number of children and grandchildren, and emotional closeness to one's own child (grandchild's parent)]

ried grandfathers. Also, divorced grandmothers were significantly more frequently in contact with their grandchildren than divorced grandfathers. Among widowed and remarried grandparents, grandfathers were also less involved than grandmothers, but the differences to grandmothers were not statistically significant in these groups.

Next, we studied how marital status affected looking after grandchildren. Figure 10.2 shows that married grandfathers were, as with grandchild contact, also the ones most likely to look after grandchildren (predicted probability = 82 %), followed by widowed grandfathers (77 %), remarried grandfathers (58 %), and divorced grandfathers (53 %), who were the least likely to look after grandchildren. Differences between divorced and married and remarried and married grandfathers were statistically significant.

As Fig. 10.2 illustrates, grandmothers' childcare probabilities also follow roughly the pattern of contact frequencies presented in Fig. 10.1.

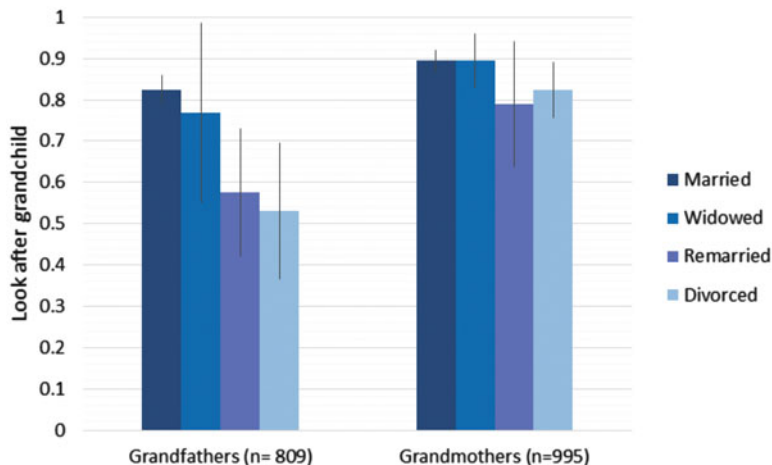


Fig. 10.2 Childcare provided by grandfathers/grandmothers by grandparent marital status (grandparents with 12-year-old or younger grandchildren) (predicted probabilities and 95 % confidence intervals) [Controlled for the lineage, geographic distance, grandparent health, grandparent working status, grandparent education, grandparent perceived financial situation, the number of children and grandchildren, and emotional closeness to one's own child (grandchild's parent)]

Married grandmothers (predicted probability = 90 %) and widowed grandmothers (90 %) were as likely to look after grandchildren. They looked after children more often than divorced (82%) and remarried grandmothers (79%). Only the differences between married and divorced ($p = 0.033$) grandmothers was statistically significant. In the case of childcare, no lineage differences were found.

We compared grandfathers to grandmothers within every marital status category. In every group, grandfathers were less likely than grandmothers to look after their grandchildren. The difference between grandfathers and grandmothers was significant in the case of married grandparents (grandmothers 89 % versus grandfathers 83 %) and divorced grandparents (grandmothers 81 % versus grandfathers 49 %).

Why Do Grandfathers Lose Out?

We explored the influence of marital status on the involvement of Finnish grandparents, measured as contact frequencies 'with a grandchild' and 'provided childcare'. Grandmothers were also more involved than grandfathers in every marital status group. Analyses of both grandparental involvement variables gave similar results. Grandfathers are less involved with grandchildren than grandmothers are, and one strong predictor that may reduce their involvement is marital disruption.

We had predicted that married grandparents would be involved the most in their grandchildren's life, followed by widowed, remarried, and, finally, divorced grandparents, who would be involved the least. This was indeed the case among grandfathers (although not all differences reached statistical significance). However, in the case of grandmothers, the remarried women had least contact with their grandchildren compared to those who had never divorced.

Thus, the mere presence or absence of a spouse is less crucial than the reason for the absence of a spouse. Also, the question of whether the spouse is the parent of the adult children matters. Widowed grandmothers' involvement in grandchildren especially did not suffer from the absence of a spouse, whereas remarriage was detrimental, especially for the involvement of grandmothers but also for that of grandfathers.

We had also assumed that the effects of widowhood, divorce, and remarriage would be stronger for grandfathers than for grandmothers. This prediction was supported particularly in the case of both married and divorced grandparents and with relation to childcare provision. It seems that marital disruption still has more negative effects for men than for women in relation to kin support, in line with previous studies (King 2003; Knudsen 2012; Uhlenberg and Hammil 1998).

In addition, we found lineage-based differences in grandparental involvement with regard to the case of grandmothers and contact frequencies with grandchildren. Maternal grandmothers had more contact than paternal grandmothers. Previous studies had shown that the involvement of maternal grandmothers tended to be less conditional (i.e. less dependent on other factors) than the involvement of other grandparent types, and our analyses provided moderate support for this assumption.

According to the incidental exposure hypothesis, which assumes that grandfathers are 'exposed' to the grandchildren because of their spouse's (that is, the grandmother's) strong involvement, the presence or absence of a spouse should have more effect on the involvement of grandfathers than that of grandmothers (Euler and Michalski 2008). That prediction was supported in this study, but the absence or presence of a spouse appears to be significant. A divorced and lonely man may suffer because of his situation more than a widowed man. Among widowed men there is no competition except with the grandchildren's other grandparents.

The negative effect of grandparental divorce or remarriage on the involvement of grandparents, and of grandfathers in particular, does not necessarily reflect an unwillingness to be part of grandchildren's lives. Instead, it can perhaps better be explained by the challenges that the multiple grandparental roles create. For instance, if grandparents from both sides are divorced, then a grandchild has four separately living grandparents to visit. All these grandparents may be as eager to participate in their grandchildren's lives after marital disruption, so that they end up competing for the time of the grandchildren. In this competition, grandfathers are in danger of losing.

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Part IV

Impact on Grandfathers

11

Physical Health of Custodial and Caregiving Grandfathers in North America

Julie Hicks Patrick, Danielle K. Nadorff,
and Valerie K. Blake

Introduction

Drawing on current knowledge from national surveys and other empirical studies, we illustrate the broad effects of raising grandchildren on the physical well-being of custodial and caregiving grandfathers in the USA and Canada.¹ Specifically, we examine grandfathers' self-assessed health and self-reported injuries related to caregiving. In addition, we discuss several indirect factors that may negatively influence the health

¹In addition to the USA, the North American continent includes more than twenty countries, from the extreme north of Canada and Greenland to the islands of the Caribbean and Central American nations such as Mexico and Belize. Reflecting this geographic and national diversity, cultural and subcultural differences abound. Owing to these variations, a review of North American grandfamilies must be limited in scope.

J.H. Patrick (✉) • V.K. Blake
West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV, USA
e-mail: jpatric2@wvu.edu

D.K. Nadorff
Mississippi State University, Starkville, MS, USA

of grandfathers, including household composition and employment. We discuss intercultural diversity when data that address racial and ethnic differences are available. Thus, we include literature that addresses the unique experiences of First Nations grandfathers in Canada, as well as African American and Hispanic grandfathers in the USA.

Today, as Achenbaum (2011, p. 13) notes, ‘... *men at different developmental stages of maturity can expect to be grandfathers for decades longer than their retirement years*’. In both Canada and the USA, the number of grandchildren living with and being raised by grandparents has doubled in the past several decades. Among custodial grandparents, around one in four has at least one disability and more than half are employed full-time. There is a substantial literature documenting the negative physical health correlates of being a custodial grandparent in general (Hayslip et al. 2014) and a smaller body of literature that examines the health of custodial grandfathers in particular (Okagbue-Reaves 2005). Although the literature is somewhat equivocal (e.g. Marken and Howard 2014), it appears that, like their female counterparts, custodial grandfathers experience a variety of positive, neutral, mixed, and negative effects related to their caregiving role.

A few years ago, we described custodial grandfathers as the new hidden caregivers (Patrick and Tomczewski 2008). In many ways, this is still the case. In both Canada and the USA, between 5 and 10 % of families can be described as co-resident grandfamilies. Research often focuses on the smaller percentage of grandparents with sole child-rearing responsibilities. In Canada, almost 5 % of children under age 14 years ($n = 26,315$) live in a household with at least one grandparent. Of those, over 11 % live in households without a middle-generation parent present (Milan et al. 2015). Although co-resident grandmothers outnumber grandfathers, grandfathers are present in more than 35 % of homes in which a grandchild co-resides with a grandparent (Milan et al. 2015). Grandfathers are present in more than half of the 5.7 million co-resident grandfamilies in the USA (Ellis and Simmons 2014). However, the preponderance of research in Canada and the USA continues to focus on grandmothers’ experiences. We acknowledge that co-residence neither indicates nor implies that a grandparent is raising a grandchild (Patrick et al. *in press*), but given their presence in the homes of young grandchildren, the absence of custodial grandfathers in the empirical literature is striking. For example, in the USA, more than one-third (36 %) of parent-maintained intergenerational households include a grandfather.

Specifically, in such parent-headed households, 20 % include both grandparents, 64 % include a grandmother only, and 16 % include a grandfather only. Grandfathers are present in more than half (55 %) of grandparent-headed households as well. Census data indicate that among grandparent-headed households, 49 % include both grandparents, approximately 45 % include a grandmother only, and approximately 6 % include a grandfather only. In Canada, more than 35 % of multigenerational households include a grandfather (Milan et al. 2015). Thus, while they are rarely the sole or primary caregiver, grandfathers are present in the majority of households in North America in which a grandchild resides with a grandparent. Despite their presence in the lives and homes of young grandchildren, grandfathers have rarely been included in research and service programmes (Bates 2009).

Several reasons have been offered for the relative absence of custodial grandfathers in both empirical and service literatures. We think that the oversight stems from three main issues: theoretical and study design issues, social stereotypes about men and families, and cohort differences related to participation in research and social services. Each of these factors directly and indirectly affects our knowledge of the physical health of custodial and caregiving grandfathers. Thus, before discussing the literature related to the physical health of custodial and caregiving grandfathers in North America, we briefly discuss these barriers to our knowledge.

Barriers to the Inclusion of Grandfathers in Research and Services

It has been argued that one reason grandfathers are underrepresented in the empirical literature on caregiving is due to the lack of appropriate conceptual frameworks through which to examine their experiences (Bates 2009; Bates and Taylor 2013). Although there is merit to this argument, a more compelling one is offered by Roberto et al. (2001), who suggest that the failure to discuss men as caregivers may be the result of the absence of a feminist lens, leading to a devaluation of men's contributions to the family. By neglecting to acknowledge and study men's contributions, we limit the field. For example, although people may have more contact with women caregivers, the effects of men's contributions may be stronger (Birditt et al. 2012).

By extension, it is often assumed that men are not engaged in childcare. In families with two grandparents, we assume that women take the primary role and grandfathers play a supporting role, but that may not be accurate (Roberto et al. 2001). We know that many women marry slightly older men, who may have better retirement incentives. Thus, as is true for European families (Leopold and Skopek 2014), it is likely that middle-aged women who are raising a grandchild may continue to work, especially if grandchild care is shared with the grandfather. And men do provide childcare. Using Health and Retirement Study data from the USA, Hughes et al. (2007) showed that about 29.4 % of their 13,000+ women and 22.1 % of their 5500 men reported providing some regular care to grandchildren. Although approximately 20 % of the grandparents were providing only a few hours of care per week (up to 10 hours per week) babysitting, about 6.7 % of women and 2.9 % of men reported providing more than 10 hours per week of babysitting. Approximately 5.3 % of women and 3.9 % of men reported living in a three +-generation household with grandchildren, whereas 1.7 % of women and 1.2 % of men reported living in a skipped-generation household with grandchildren. Related to the notion of inadequate conceptual models is the assumption that men in general, and custodial grandfathers in particular, do not experience negative health effects as a consequence of caregiving. Hughes et al. (2007) reported that there are gender differences in the association between number of hours of care and physical health of grandparent caregivers. Specifically, among grandmothers, more care equated to more negative health effects; the health differential related to the number of hours of care was smaller and non-significant among men, especially when other structural and contextual factors (e.g. race, employment) were included in the model.

However, Smith and Hancock (2010) reported intriguing findings. Family relations have a stronger effect on psychological stress among custodial grandmothers than grandfathers. However, the pathways are similar for both sexes. More telling for the current review, however, is the finding that the links between physical health and psychological well-being were stronger for men. Thus, physical health may exert a

stronger effect on psychological well-being among men than it does for women. Similarly, Smith and Hancock found that the negative effects of financial strain on psychological well-being were stronger for men.

In addition to the guiding framework that explicitly focused on the challenges and rewards of custodial grandparenting experienced by middle-aged and older men, the field needed to examine aspects of health and well-being that are relevant for men (Patrick and Tomczewski 2008). In terms of health and physical functioning, we do not really know what aspects are important for custodial grandfathers, although Hughes et al. (2007), as well as Smith and Hancock (2010), offer a strong foundation. A variety of physical health measures are available, including self-assessed health, number of chronic health conditions, functional limitations, and injuries. Other aspects of physical health are also available; these include measures of energy, vitality, and health-promoting behaviours. Although these health indices are important for all middle-aged and older adults, they may have a special relevance for those involved in the daily care of grandchildren.

Finally, there may be strong cohort effects operating that also influence custodial grandfathers' physical health. Today's custodial grandfathers represent a diverse group of men. Those over age 60 may experience the role in ways significantly different from their younger counterparts, as the changing gender roles influence these men and their behaviours differently (Hayslip et al. 2006). Achenbaum (2011) echoes this idea in his poignant personal story of his own transition to the role of grandfather. His account highlights the important roles of socio-economic status and education of the grandfather, as well as the importance of the marital and economic situation of the parent generation. He correctly states that North American men often become grandfathers years before they retire from the workforce, prompting re-evaluation of the various roles adults hold. As these roles continue to change, it will be important for researchers to re-examine the constructs and measures applied to understanding the experiences of custodial grandfathers.

Physical Health of Custodial Grandfathers

Physical health is a multidimensional construct that may be bound by the context in which one lives. Thus, health includes incidence of disease, functional disability, and vitality (Rowe and Kahn 1997; World Health Organization 1948). As such, several social and structural variables are important correlates of physical health, including age, race, marital status, and employment. Because custodial grandfathers cite that deteriorating physical health is one of their major concerns about the future (Bullock 2005), we review each of these correlates in some detail.

Among adults currently in mid- to late life, the decision to assist family members in contiguous generations is based on many factors, including one's personal resources, other competing demands, the actual and perceived needs of family members, and one's own sense of reward or duty related to providing that help (Fingerman et al. 2012). Thus, it is important to acknowledge that people are not equally likely to become a custodial grandparent (Chen et al. 2014). With that caveat, it is important to note that, although most research shows health differences favouring people who do not raise their grandchildren (Minkler and Fuller-Thomson 1999; Minkler et al. 1997; Strawbridge et al. 1997), some of the literature requires more robust research methods, including longitudinal designs with controls. Using data from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) in the USA, Hughes et al. (2007) suggest that there are relatively small health change differentials over time between grandparents who do provide care to grandchildren and those who do not. Those providing care includes those who provide extensive baby-sitting, those who share multigenerational co-residence, and custodial grandparents. When declines in health are reported, Hughes and colleagues note that there are concomitant changes in health behaviours. Thus, they argue, the changes in health that are often attributed to caregiving status may be artefacts related to a change in health behaviours, not directly to the stresses of raising a grandchild. More recently, Chen et al. (2014) used seven waves of HRS data (12 years) to examine whether and in what ways the amount of grandchild care relates to health across

white, African American, and Hispanic grandparents. In general, they found that grandparent frailty was associated with fewer hours of child-care and that grandmothers were more frail than grandfathers, especially among black families.

Who Are the Caregiving and Custodial Grandfathers?

Of grandfathers who have primary responsibility for a grandchild's basic needs, approximately 41 % are over age 60, 71 % are married, and more than 70 % are employed (US Census 2005). Thus, custodial grandfathers may face just as many or more challenges as their female counterparts. Custodial grandfathers in grandfather-only households are less likely to be employed, less likely to own their homes, more likely to be black, and more likely to be poor, compared to married custodial grandfathers. In recent studies contrasting the psychological well-being of custodial grandparents, grandfathers reported more depressive symptoms and lower levels of social support than custodial grandmothers (Hayslip et al. 2005). They also report more disruptions in their lives due to childcare than do custodial grandmothers (Szinovac and Davey 2006).

Keene et al. (2012) specifically examined the experiences of grandfathers, including carefully considering socio-economic status, race and ethnicity, marital status, and the presence of the parent in the household. Using census data, they compared four types of grandfather-headed households: grandfathers who were married and co-residing with the middle generation ($n = 1621$, 48 %; mean age = 56); married grandfathers living in homes in which the middle generation was absent ($n = 1328$, 39.3 %; mean age = 60); unmarried grandfathers co-resident with middle generation ($n = 252$, 7.5 %; mean age = 57.2); and unmarried grandfathers living in homes in which the middle generation was absent ($n = 178$, 5.3 %; mean age = 58.9). Their analyses reveal that the risk of poverty is associated differently with respect to living in multigenerational households for married grandfathers in different racial groups. That is, for married white grandfathers, the presence or absence of the middle generation seems

to have minimal effects on the risk of being poor. However, the presence of the middle generation is associated with a higher likelihood of poverty among married African American and Hispanic grandfathers. In contrast, among unmarried grandfathers, the effects of the presence or absence of the middle generation is minimal for Hispanic grandfathers, but the absence of a middle generation is associated with more poverty among unmarried African American and white grandfathers, with as much as 36 and 22 % at higher risk of being poor, respectively. Although physical health was not investigated in these analyses, these findings are important because they highlight different patterns among various family characteristics and because poverty is associated with poorer health.

Racial and Ethnic Influences on Custodial Grandfathers' Health

Keene et al. (2012) stress the importance of race and ethnicity for the financial well-being of custodial grandfathers. Across North America, there are wide variations in race and ethnicity, and the empirical research has not adequately addressed these influences on the physical health and well-being of custodial and caregiving grandfathers. In the following section, we briefly highlight some of the published accounts that speak to the issue of race and health among custodial and caregiving grandfathers.

Canada is home to a diverse people, and custodial grandparenting is clustered unevenly across racial groups and across geography. In terms of racial and ethnic variations in skipped-generation grandparenting in Canada, black Canadians and First Nations adults are overrepresented (Fuller-Thomson 2005). In multigenerational households, however, recent immigrants are especially likely to co-reside, including those whose native language is Punjabi, Chinese, and Filipino (Milan et al. 2015). In contrast to the USA, however, black Canadians represent only about 20 % of custodial grandparents. Among Canadian grandparents raising grandchildren, more than 35 % are men (Fuller-Thomson 2005; Hawkins and Millard 2008; Milan et al. 2015).

Co-residence with grandchildren varies across the Canadian provinces, with the highest percentages seen in Ontario (48.2 %), British Columbia (17.9 %), and Quebec (11.7 %). When considering where skipped-generation families live, however, more than 36 % reside in Ontario, 16 % in British Columbia, approximately 12 % in Quebec, and nearly 12 % in Alberta (Milan et al. 2015).

One can also view the prevalence of skipped-generation families as a proportion of the local community. The proportion of children living in skipped-generation households in Canada is highest in the province of Saskatchewan, where the rate of skipped-generation families is three times higher than the national average. This spike is associated with skipped-generation parenting among the First Nations peoples of Canada. For example, among the Nunavut, 2.3 % of children younger than age 14 live in a skipped-generation family, more than five times the national average (Fuller-Thomson et al. 2014). Of children in Yukon, approximately 1.5 % reside in skipped-generation families, about three times the nation's average (Hawkins and Millard 2008).

Focusing on the First Nations communities in Canada, it is important to acknowledge both the traditions and historical events that have influenced families. Among this group, grandparents have traditionally been instrumental in the socialization, education, and physical care of young grandchildren (Fuller-Thomson 2006). As is true in other parts of North America, indigenous peoples were dispossessed of their native lands and relocated. Social, educational, and political influences actively worked against the maintenance of their traditional family structures. Although grandparents were once the foundation of the family, their role in First Nations peoples may be in transition (Thompson et al. 2013). This kind of cultural stress exerts negative effects on one's health.

In terms of the health consequences of raising one's grandchildren across all Canadian custodial grandparents, little information is available. About one-third report having at least one disability and about half are over the age of 65 (Fuller-Thomson 2005). Differences across custodial grandmothers and grandfathers, however, are often not reported.

Summary and Future Directions

Over half of grandparent-headed homes contain a grandfather (Ellis and Simmons 2008), and yet they continue to be ignored by most research and service programmes (Bates 2009). There are numerous possible reasons for this oversight, including issues with study design, stereotypes regarding the role of men in families, and cohort differences in research participation. However, data from the Health and Retirement Study indicate that many grandfathers are involved in their grandchildren's lives (Hughes et al. 2007) and that this is a diverse group in need of further study. For example, compared to their female counterparts, custodial grandfathers are more likely to report depressive symptoms, less social support (Hayslip et al. 2005), and greater levels of life disruption (Szinovac and Davey 2006).

Within the USA, custodial grandparenting is more common among minority families, with roughly 12 % of African American children and 7 % of Hispanic American children living in grandparent-headed households (US Census 2003). Although minority grandfathers are an understudied group, we do know that unmarried black or Hispanic custodial grandfathers are more likely to live in poverty (Keene et al. 2012). Within Canada, however, custodial grandparenting among black minorities is less common, with less than a quarter of custodial grandparents reporting as black Canadians (Fuller-Thomson 2005).

Future research in this area will need to explore the specific contributions of custodial grandfathers on their grandchildren's lives, as well as study further the impact of this custodial relationship on grandfathers' physical, emotional, and psychological well-being. Racial and ethnic differences not only in well-being but also in grandparenting styles need more in-depth study. Finally, further comparisons need to be drawn between grandfathers raising grandchildren by themselves and those who share parenting duties with a spouse or partner, including the unique contribution of grandfathers who share parenting duties.

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Part V

Impact on Grandchildren

12

Maternal Grandfathers and Child Development in England: Impact on the Early Years

Antti O. Tanskanen and Mirikka Danielsbacka

Introduction

Contemporary grandparents are known to support their grandchildren in several ways, providing financial, emotional, and practical support (Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009). Usually grandmothers tend to be more involved than grandfathers, especially when the grandchildren are toddlers (e.g. Pollet et al. 2009). However, as seen in earlier chapters, a great number of grandfathers are also actively involved from the beginning of their grandchildren's lives. A UK study showed that more than half of grandfathers had contact with their 9-month-old grandchildren on a weekly basis or more often (Tanskanen et al. 2014). In modern societ-

A.O. Tanskanen (✉)
University of Turku, Turku, Finland
e-mail: antti.tanskanen@helsinki.fi

M. Danielsbacka
University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

ies, maternal grandparents tend to be more involved with grandchildren than paternal grandparents (Chap. 2). However, as seen in Chaps. 13, 14, and 15, although there are proven associations between grandfather involvement with adolescent children and grandchild well-being, few if any studies show that grandfather involvement is associated with any benefit to younger children.

As seen in Chap. 2, in developed and developing societies, grandmothers in particular have contributed to their grandchildren's well-being (Sear and Mace 2008). The role of grandfathers in terms of improving child well-being has been found to be much smaller than that of grandmothers (e.g. Lahdenperä et al. 2007). For example, among hunter-gatherers from Tanzania (Hawkes et al. 1997) and villagers from rural Gambia (Sear et al. 2000), help from grandmothers improved the nutritional status of grandchildren. In addition, in rural Ethiopia, grandmothers improve the well-being of their offspring by helping with domestic tasks and agriculture (Gibson and Mace 2005).

In modern Western societies with low child mortality rates and better health care, grandparents are no longer needed to ensure the survival of grandchildren to the same extent that they were in earlier days (Coall and Hertwig 2010). This means that the beneficial effects of grandparental involvement can no longer be measured by grandchild survival but rather by studying other types of outcomes, such as grandchild development. A review of thirteen studies by Sear and Coall (2011) in modern Western societies shows that in 77 % of cases, grandparental support correlates with improved grandchild well-being. In these studies child well-being was measured by psychological adjustment, mental and physical development, lack of depression, and academic achievement. As noted, in the developing world, grandfathers have had much less influence on child well-being and survival than grandmothers (Sear and Mace 2008). However, in modern Western societies, grandfathers may have an influence on child well-being that is similar to or possibly even greater than that of grandmothers (Chap. 2). Tanskanen and Danielsbacka (2012) found that the involvement of maternal grandfathers was associated with fewer emotional and behavioural problems in 11- to 16-year-old grandchildren in the UK. Chapters 13 and 14 in this volume report similar findings. Buchanan and Flouri (2008) found that the involvement of

grandparents was associated with fewer problems in adolescents following their parents' divorce. However, Lussier et al. (2002), in their study of British families, found in addition that, following parental divorce, contacts with maternal grandfathers correlated with fewer problems in children between 7 and 17 years.

Even though some studies show that grandfathers' involvement may be associated with child well-being in contemporary societies (in particular, see Chaps. 13, 14 and 15), studies analysing the impact of grandfathers' involvement on the well-being of small grandchildren are scarce. In the present chapter, we analyse whether there is an association between maternal grandfathers' involvement and the development of children aged 4 and 5 years in the UK. Child development is measured by the Foundation Stage Profile (FSP), which measures early development on the basis of several indicators, including personal, social, emotional, physical and creative development, reading, writing and mathematical development, and knowledge and understanding of the world (QCA 2003).

The relevance in studying early development is that studies have consistently shown that early achievement tends to correlate with improved well-being in later life: those who do better in early childhood also do better in adolescence and adulthood (e.g. Card 1999; Heckman 2006). Using data from six longitudinal studies conducted in the USA, the UK, and Canada, Duncan et al. (2007) found that reading, mathematics, and attention skills at age 5 were strong predictors of academic achievement in adolescence. Jones et al. (2015) showed with the US data that social and emotional skills measured in kindergarten at age 5 correlated with several positive outcomes in adolescence and adulthood; for instance, higher scores in kindergarten were associated with a higher probability of graduating from high school and college on time and achieve stable and full-time employment by age 25. Moreover, higher scores in kindergarten were associated with a lower likelihood of being arrested or having police contact during adolescence. Finally, studies using longitudinal data from the UK have shown that improved childhood development correlates with better educational performance and a higher salary in later life (Currie and Thomas 1999, 2001; Feinstein and Duckworth 2006).

Studying Millennium Cohort Families

The present chapter uses data from the Millennium Cohort Study (MCS), which is a representative survey from the UK. The aim of the MCS is to gather longitudinal information on children born at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Children are the subjects of the study, and parents or parent figures (mostly the biological mothers of the children) are the informants, who answer questions concerning their children (see Hansen 2010 for a more detailed data description). Here, we used the second wave of the MCS data from the UK. The analyses included those cases where the main respondent was the biological mother of the target child and lived in the same household with the child. In cases of twins or triplets, only one child of the set was included. These selections left us with a database of 5735 children.

We analysed how contact frequencies were associated with the Foundation Stage Profile (FSP) assessment, which measures child development over the first year of primary school. In the state schools of England, teachers complete the FSP assessment concerning early learning goals at the end of the children's first school year at the age of 4 or 5 years. These development scores are reported by teachers, and the assessments are collected by the Department for Children, Schools and Families. The MCS data include FSP records from 95 % of the cohort member children (Johnson 2008).

The FSP assessment consists of six subscales that include thirteen nine-point-scale items (QCA 2003). These subscales are personal, social, and emotional development (disposition and attitudes, social development, emotional development); communication, language, and literacy (language for communicating and thinking, linking sounds and letters, reading, writing); mathematical development (numbers as labels and for counting, calculating, shape, space, and measures); knowledge and understanding of the world; creative development; and physical development. The FSP assessment score ranges from 0 to 117; the higher the number, the better the assessment score. To correct for skewness of the FSP score variable, the variable was transformed using square transformation and dividing this by 1000.

The main independent variable is grandparental contact frequencies as reported by mothers at the second wave of the MCS. The second wave

data were collected during the period 2003–2005 when the children were between 34 and 55 months old. In the MCS, the children's mothers were asked to report the frequency of contact with their fathers (i.e. maternal grandfathers) and mothers (i.e. maternal grandmothers), ranging from never to every day. We have classified the scale into seven categories: 0 = never, 1 = once a year or less often, 2 = once every few months, 3 = at least once a month, 4 = once or twice a week, 5 = three to six times a week, 6 = every day. For the analyses, we transformed the contact frequency variables into dummy variables.

Previous evidence showed that when children are small, grandparental involvement often tends to happen indirectly via parents (Coall and Hertwig 2010). Consequently, some studies have shown that support from the grandparent generation to the parent generation also increases the well-being of grandchildren (e.g. Scelza 2011). Using the Millennium Cohort data, Pollet et al. (2009) have also shown that contact frequencies are a good indicator of grandparental involvement in general since it correlates, for instance, with giving essentials and gifts to the grandchild.

The data were analysed with linear regression analyses, and we took into account several potentially confounding variables that are known from previous studies to correlate with child development (Hansen and Jones 2008; Kiernan and Mensah 2011). These variables include child's sex, age, ethnicity, number of siblings, mother's educational attainment, the presence or absence of the child's biological father in the household, and the financial situation of the family. In addition, we controlled for the existence of a maternal grandmother since the availability of her care may affect child development. With the exception of the child's age and number of siblings, we transformed all of the independent variables into dummy variables. Unfortunately, the MCS does not include systematic information on the existence of paternal grandparents, and thus we could only study maternal grandparents.

Grandfathers' Involvement and Test Scores

We found a positive correlation between maternal grandfathers' contacts and children's FSP scores (Fig. 12.1). 'Never' was chosen as a reference category with a value of 0, so that a positive regression coefficient indicates

higher level on the FSP assessment compared to the reference group, and a negative regression coefficient indicates a lower FSP level. Compared to children whose mothers reported that they never had any contacts with their maternal grandfathers, children whose mothers reported contacts once every few months, at least once a month, once or twice a week, and three to six times a week received higher FSP scores. However, daily contacts with maternal grandfathers were not associated with higher FSP scores compared to children with no contact at all.

In addition to contacts with the maternal grandfather, as expected, several other factors tended to correlate with better test scores (Table 12.1). Girls received higher scores than boys, and those belonging to an ethnic majority had better results than those belonging to an ethnic minority. Having more siblings and a younger mother were both associated with lower scores. Children with highly educated mothers and families with better financial circumstances achieved better results than those without such advantages. Finally, children living in the same household with their biological fathers received higher scores than children whose fathers were absent. It is notable that the positive effect of grandfathers emerged also after taking into account all these other important factors.

Why is grandpaternal involvement linked to test scores? The involvement of grandmothers and the involvement of grandfathers were highly

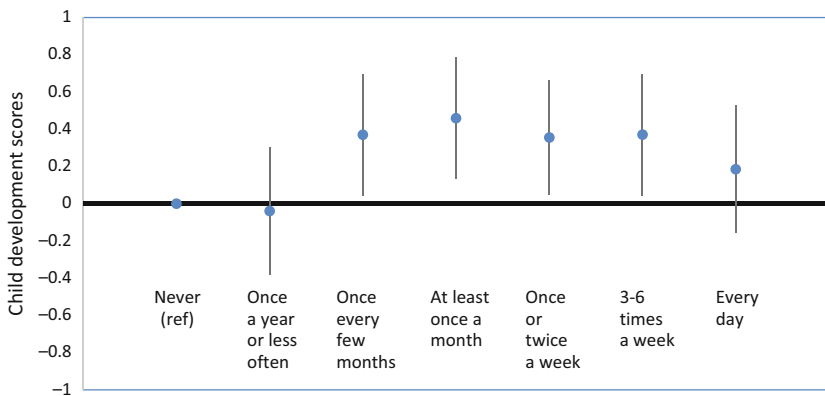


Fig. 12.1 Association between maternal grandfathers' contacts and child development scores (β coefficients and 95 % confidence intervals)

Table 12.1 Associations between independent variables and child development scores

	β	SE	t	p	95 % conf. interval	
					Lower	Upper
Contact frequencies						
Never (ref)						
Once a year or less often	-0.04	0.17	-0.23	0.822	-0.38	0.30
Once every few months	0.37	0.17	2.22	0.027	0.04	0.70
At least once a month	0.46	0.17	2.75	0.006	0.13	0.79
Once or twice a week	0.36	0.16	2.27	0.023	0.05	0.66
3-6 times a week	0.37	0.17	2.23	0.026	0.04	0.70
Every day	0.18	0.17	1.06	0.288	-0.16	0.53
Child gender						
Boy (ref)						
Girl	0.80	0.07	11.08	< 0.001	0.66	0.94
Child ethnicity						
Belonging to ethnic majority (ref)						
Belonging to ethnic minority	-0.53	0.10	-5.09	< 0.001	-0.73	-0.32
Number of siblings	-0.37	0.04	-9.83	< 0.001	-0.44	-0.29
Maternal age	0.05	0.01	7.07	< 0.001	0.04	0.07
Maternal education						
Lower level (ref)						
Degree level	1.24	0.10	11.92	< 0.001	1.03	1.44
Perceived financial situation of family						
Finding it quite or very difficult (ref)						
Just about getting by	-0.02	0.14	-0.15	0.880	-0.29	0.25
Doing alright	0.33	0.13	2.52	0.012	0.07	0.59
Living comfortably	0.61	0.14	4.27	< 0.001	0.33	0.89
Father in household						
No (ref)						
Yes	0.78	0.10	7.67	< 0.001	0.58	0.98
Maternal grandmother alive						
No (ref)						
Yes	0.26	0.15	1.76	0.078	-0.03	0.55
Adjusted R ²	0.14					
n	5,735					

correlated with each other. We therefore tested the association between contacts of maternal grandmothers on child development. These were similar to those of grandfathers. Then we included maternal grandmothers and grandfathers in the same regression model. Somewhat surprisingly, there was no association between grandparental contact and child development when both grandparents were taken into account. Thus, the finding that grandpaternal involvement is associated with better test scores must remain tentative. Further research is needed to separate conclusively any grandmaternal involvement. However, the results are sufficiently interesting to publish here.

Conclusion: Why Do Grandfathers Matter?

Previous studies showed that grandparental involvement correlated with grandchild well-being (Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009; Buchanan and Flouri 2008), but these studies involved mainly older children. In this volume, in Chaps. 13, 14, and 15, we see that involved grandfathers, independently of grandmothers, are associated with various child well-being measures with adolescents aged 11–16 in both advanced and developing economies. Traditionally, in advanced economies, and indeed in other societies, such as China in Chap. 7, grandfathers had little hands-on involvement with young children. However, as seen in earlier chapters, the roles of grandfathers may be changing, and it is this change that may now be associated with improved child development in younger children.

We found that children who enjoyed regular involvement from maternal grandfathers tended to have higher development test scores at the end of the first school year compared to children with no contact at all. However, there was no statistically significant difference between children whose mothers reported daily contact with maternal grandfathers and those who were reported no contact at all. Even though many studies from contemporary affluent societies have found beneficial effects of close ties to grandparents (see Sear and Coall 2011 for a review), some studies also found negative effects of very high grandparental involvement (Pittman 2007; Glaser et al. 2014), for example, where grandfathers may act as the main caretakers or as custodial grandfathers, as described in the

previous chapter. This result may be due to the fact that in today's developed countries, very high grandparental involvement is rare and could be related to poverty and family crises or instability (see Coall and Hertwig 2010 for a discussion). This finding also correlates with others in this book (Chap. 16), which show that 'intensive' care from grandfathers is not associated with child well-being. However, in this study, we took into account the financial condition of the family and maternal education, among other factors, which did not change the main results.

Based on the present results, the impact maternal grandfathers have on children's development, here measured as test scores, also tended to be small. However, even if small, it is still notable that these associations exist after controlling for other factors and for such a 'hard' outcome measure as school test scores. On the other hand, a major caveat of our study is the lack of information on grandparents' marital status in the MCS. The results, although interesting, can only be tentative because it was difficult to be sure that we had separated the impact of grandmothers and grandfathers from each other.

Previous studies consistently showed that early development is associated with, for instance, better educational achievements and higher salary in later life (Currie and Thomas 1999, 2001). Thus, the involvement of maternal grandfathers is probably beneficial to grandchildren, not only in the short term but also in the long term, perhaps spanning decades. Our findings may also at least partly explain why a recent study of social mobility and stratification found that the cultural resources of grandparents are associated with the socio-economic success of their grandchildren (Møllegaard and Jæger 2015; see also Chan and Boliver 2013 and Erola and Moiso 2007 for socio-economic measures of grandparents). Grandfathers probably transmit their cultural resources to their grandchildren via direct involvement, which in turn may improve the development of grandchildren in childhood and their socio-economic success in adulthood.

We should remember that grandpaternal involvement depends not only on grandfathers' abilities and willingness, but also on whether the child's parents allow grandparents and, in particular, grandfathers to have contact with their grandchildren. As we saw in other chapters, when children are small, parents can act as gatekeepers by either encouraging or preventing contacts between grandfathers and grandchildren (Barnett

et al. 2010; Danielsbacka et al. 2015; Buchanan and Flouri 2008). Grandfathers cannot always be involved as much as they want to be, and they can feel marginalized (i.e. after the divorce of the child's parents). Our results highlight the importance of relationship quality between parent and grandparent generations. In line with this argument, a previous study found that a better relationship between parents and grandparents was indeed associated with improved child development (Scelza 2011).

Future studies should investigate what might be beneficial about grandparental involvement with grandchildren and whether care provided by paternal grandfathers is also associated with positive child development. We also need comparative studies on whether grandfathers have different impacts in countries with different social and family policies.

Since grandfathers' involvement tends to be associated with the positive development of small grandchildren, and early development is associated with socio-economic success in adulthood, social policy could aim to facilitate the participation of grandfathers in the lives of their grandchildren. This could, for example, happen by supporting grandparents' opportunities to live near their children's families or support travel expenditures so that grandparents could visit their offspring more often.

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13

Links Between Grandfather Involvement and Adolescent Well-Being in England and Wales

Jo-Pei Tan and Ann Buchanan

Introduction

As we saw in previous chapters, many grandfathers are now playing an essential role in their grandchildren's lives. As a result, an important question arises: when grandfathers are involved with their adolescent grandchildren, what extent of grandfather involvement is good for children? Research from the USA has shown that some grandparents become quite depressed, particularly when caring full-time for young grandchildren, and that this depression affects the children (Minkler et al. 1997). In the previous chapter, Danielsbacka and Tanskanen, using data from the UK

J.-P. Tan (✉)

Department of Social Care and Social Work, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, UK

e-mail: j.tan@mmu.ac.uk

A. Buchanan

Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK

Millennium Study, found that grandfather involvement with younger children was mostly positive but that it could become negative if the involvement was intensive. This discovery reflects findings from a Glaser et al. (2014) study which showed that intensive grandparent care, defined as being more than 30 hours a week, was associated with negative behavioural and psychological outcomes for children and adolescents.

Original Grandparent Study in England and Wales

The original study was funded by the British Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Data for the study on grandparent involvement and adolescent well-being were collected in 2006. The project was led by Buchanan and Flouri (2008). GfK National Opinion Poll surveyed 1569 young people aged 11 to 16, drawn from seventy schools across England and Wales. Young people answered questions on a range of demographic issues, the nature and quality of the grandparent–grandchild relationship, the level of grandparental involvement, and the role of parents in supporting the relationship. Separate data were collected on each grandparent, but in the original study, grandmothers' and grandfathers' data were combined into one grandparent involvement measure. Well-being was measured by the twenty-five-item Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman 1997); life adversity was measured by the Tiet et al. (1998) adverse life events measure, and 'closeness' was measured using the Elder et al. (2000) emotional involvement scale. The thirty young people who were interviewed in depth came from all over the UK and were a subsample of the total sample. Ethical approval for the study was given by the University of Oxford.

Post-collection analysis of the data showed that the study was indeed broadly representative of young people aged 11 to 16, including those living in disadvantaged circumstances and those of minority status, in England and Wales. The interviewed subsample was also broadly representative of the main sample. As such, the study represented the cultural diversity seen in England and Wales.

The study yielded four key findings. Firstly, the extent of grandparent involvement with adolescent grandchildren was extensive. Ninety-four percent of surviving grandmothers saw their grandchildren once a week/monthly or several times a year. In many cases, they were filling the parenting gap in childcare, holiday care, attending school meetings, and so forth. Secondly, in the overall sample, grandparent involvement was associated with greater well-being of grandchildren, as measured by the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), a well-respected tool used to measure child adjustment around the world. Thirdly, at times of parental divorce, grandparents could be helpful. Young people who had contact with their grandparents during this difficult period were on the whole better adjusted. Fourthly, grandparents involved appeared to be associated with greater resilience at times of family adversity.

For the present study, it was decided to explore the data further and in particular assess the links between grandfather involvement and adolescent well-being. Key quotations from the young people's interviews relating to grandfathers have also been included.

Our main research questions were as follows: As perceived by adolescents, to what extent are grandfathers in England and Wales involved with their adolescent grandchildren? What do grandfathers actually do with their adolescent grandchildren? What factors are associated with this involvement? Are there associations between adolescent well-being and grandfather involvement? And what do young people think about their grandfathers' involvement?

For these analyses, seventy-eight young people were excluded from the data because they had no living grandparents and ten because they did not complete any of the questions relating to relationships with grandparents, leaving 1478 in the sample. Of the young people with at least one living grandparent, 84 % had living maternal grandmothers and nearly 75 % had living paternal grandmothers. Substantially fewer of the young people had surviving grandfathers: 68 % had maternal grandfathers and 56 % had paternal grandfathers. Of these, 1003 were maternal grandfathers and 833 paternal grandfathers (total grandfathers: 1836). Most grandfathers were in their late sixties or seventies.

The following were the statistical analyses that were undertaken in connection with the key questions.

Firstly, descriptive statistics on the extent and types of grandfather involvement and emotional closeness with adolescents were provided. The specific activities undertaken (e.g. involvement in school activities, hobbies, problem-sharing, career planning, and financial support) by paternal and maternal grandfathers were also explored, followed by a further comparison with paternal and maternal grandmothers. Similarly, various aspects of emotional bonding between grandfathers and grandchildren relating to feeling loved and appreciated, relationship happiness, significant help, and being reliable during times of need were also explored and compared to those of grandmothers.

Bivariate analysis was then conducted to examine the association between selected variables and grandfather involvement level. Specifically, an adolescent's background characteristics, experience of life adversity, well-being as measured by psychological difficulties and pro-social behaviour, relationship with grandfathers as indicated by emotional closeness, and importance of a grandfather in the adolescent's life were included in the correlational analysis. Next, a series of hierarchical multivariate regression models were estimated to predict the involvement of the closest grandfather. In the first step, the socio-demographic characteristics of the adolescents (age, gender, receipt of free school meals, and ethnicity) were included. The second step added contextual factors, including experience of life adversity (proximal and distal), frequency of contact, and geographical distance between grandfather and adolescent. In the third step, grandchild well-being (total difficulties and pro-social behaviour) was added, and the fourth step included the emotional closeness and importance of a grandfather in the adolescent's life.

Finally, a series of multivariate hierarchical regression models were computed to examine the combined contribution of background factors, life adversity, and the closest grandfather involvement in predicting adolescent well-being. In the final analysis, six regression models for emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity, peer problems, pro-social behaviour, and total difficulties were presented to determine the unique contribution of grandfather involvement to adolescent well-being, controlling for variance in background characteristics and life adversity on adolescents.

To What Extent Are Grandfathers Involved with Grandchildren? What Do Grandfathers Actually Do with Their Adolescent Grandchildren?

Both paternal and maternal grandfathers were highly involved in various facets of adolescents' lives, with maternal grandfathers providing more support in general (Table 13.1). It was found that, on average, maternal grandfathers were more involved with adolescent grandchildren than paternal grandfathers. Adolescents also felt closer to maternal grandfathers compared to paternal grandfathers. This may be explained by the more regular contact and closer geographical distance between these grandfathers and adolescents.

There are also clear differences in the extent of grandfather involvement across the various aspects of engagement in adolescents' lives. Specifically, the majority of adolescents reported that they regularly received good advice from grandfathers when they were faced with a problem, they often discussed their future plans or career with grandfathers, and more than 80 % also reported regular financial support from grandfathers. In addition, a large proportion of adolescents stated that they respected what their grandfathers said. In comparison, involvement of paternal and maternal grandfathers was lower in attending their adolescent grandchild's activities at school, and problem-sharing between grandfather and grandchildren was also lower than other aspects of engagement in adolescent lives.

In terms of emotional closeness, a large proportion of adolescents reported close bonding with maternal and paternal grandfathers, with the former as the closer grandparent to adolescents. It was also clear that adolescents had very positive feelings about their relationships with their grandfathers, commenting that they often felt loved and appreciated. They were also happy with their grandfathers and felt that they could depend on their grandfathers when in need. Knowing how resistant young people can be to accepting advice that is given directly, it was interesting that around half of the adolescents indicated that their grandfathers had helped them in important ways by giving advice or helping solve problems.

Table 13.1 Extent and types of grandfather involvement and emotional closeness in comparison to grandmothers

	Percentage (occasionally/usually)			
	Grandfathers		Grandmothers	
	Maternal (%)	Paternal (%)	Maternal (%)	Paternal (%)
<i>Involvement</i>				
School involvement	50.8	40.8	55.2	43.2
Hobbies/interests	69.4	60.7	72.1	61.6
Authority figure	62.4	54.8	70.7	60.1
Advice	76.0	68.6	83.9	75.6
Problem sharing	44.6	37.3	54.0	42.8
Career/future planning	76.3	69.2	84.0	75.8
Respect	90.2	85.3	94.8	88.9
Financial support	85.3	81.2	90.5	85.3
<i>Emotional closeness</i>				
Help you in important ways by giving you advice or helping solve problems you have	55.8	48.3	60.7	60.5
Make you feel appreciated, loved, or cared for	82.9	75.6	88.4	81.5
Happy with your relationship with your grandfather	88.2	81.7	92.4	76.7
Depend on your grandparent to be there when you really need him/her	68.6	63.5	78.2	65.3

There are both similarities and differences in the nature of involvement and emotional closeness that grandfathers and grandmothers have in adolescents' lives. The majority of the adolescents noted that not only did both sets of grandfathers and grandmothers regularly provide financial support, offer good advice, and get involved in their career or future planning, they also respected what the grandparents said on a regular basis. However, it was also found that adolescents perceived grandmothers as more involved in sharing their hobbies or interest and as authority figures, as compared to grandfathers. While adolescents perceived close bonding with both sets of grandfathers and grandmothers with regard to feeling loved or appreciated, were happy with their relationship with them, and felt they would be of help during times of need, more grandmothers provided help in significant ways through solving problems and offering useful advice to adolescents.

What Factors Are Associated with Grandfather Involvement?

In this section, we aim to examine a range of factors informed by past literature as having a relation to grandfather involvement. These include adolescents' background characteristics, experience of life adversity, well-being, and relationship with grandfathers as indicated by emotional closeness and importance of grandfathers in adolescent life.

The Closest Grandfather

Based on Elder's measures of emotional closeness (Elder et al. 2000), the closest grandparents were identified in the original study. Based on a four-point scale ranging from 1 to 4, the grandchildren assessed the quality of this relationship by indicating the extent to which they felt they could depend on their grandparents; whether they felt appreciated, loved, or cared for; the extent to which the grandparents helped them in significant ways; how happy they perceived their relationship with their grandparents to be; and how close they were to their grandparents compared to

other grandchildren. The total responses for each living grandparent were averaged, and the grandparent who received the highest average score from the scale was perceived by the adolescent as the closest grandparent. For the current study, only the closest grandfathers were selected ($n = 515$, in which 327 were maternal and 188 were paternal grandfathers), and the involvement of these grandfathers was examined in both the bivariate and multivariate analyses.

The extent of grandfather involvement was measured using a series of items relating to the direct and indirect influence of grandfathers on grandchildren, which were determined by asking the young people to indicate the extent to which the grandparents had looked after them, had participated in their social interests and school-related activities, had been a mentor and advisor for future plans and problems, and had provided financial assistance (Elder et al. 2000; King and Elder 1997). Each item was assessed on a three-point Likert-type scale. A higher score indicated higher levels of involvement in the adolescent's life. Specifically, the extent of involvement of the closest grandfathers was measured using the summation of all eight of these items, ranging from eight to twenty-four.

The association between the importance of a grandfather and grandfather involvement was also examined. Adolescents were asked about the extent to which their grandfather was the most important person in their life outside of their immediate family network. It was measured by a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (the most important person). Similarly, only the closest grandfathers were included in the analysis.

Adolescents' well-being was assessed by the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), a twenty-five-item, three-point, Likert-type scale (0 = not true, 1 = somewhat true, 2 = certainly true) measuring four difficulties (hyperactivity, emotional symptoms, conduct problems, and peer problems), as well as pro-social behaviour (Goodman 1997). The SDQ has been widely used internationally as a screening tool for child adjustment (www.sdqinfo.com, 2015). Higher scores on each difficulties subscale and total difficulties indicate greater psychological adjustments; in contrast, a higher mean score on pro-social behaviour indicates a higher level of positive adjustment. The well-being of adolescents was assessed by a summation score of the four difficulties' subscales and a score of the pro-social subscale.

This study also examined the association between adolescents' demographic background and grandfather involvement. Variables included in the bivariate and multivariable analyses were adolescent age, gender, eligibility to free school meal, and ethnicity. Information about the background of the closest grandfathers was also analyzed: frequency of contact, where adolescents indicate how often they see their grandfathers based on a scale ranging from 1 (never) to 4 (daily), and geographical proximity, in which adolescents were asked to indicate where the grandfather lived on a three-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (with me, same town, or within ten kilometers) to 3 (further overseas).

Various factors relating to the adolescents' background, experience of life adversity, well-being, and relationship with grandfathers were associated with the extent of grandfather involvement in the adolescents' lives (Table 13.2). In relation to background characteristics, younger adolescents were found to report greater grandfather involvement compared to those who were older. In addition, lower levels of grandfather involvement were found where the young person had experienced adversity in the past, and adolescents who suffered conduct, hyperactivity, or major adjustment problems also reported less engagement from grandfathers in their lives.

While both geographical proximity and frequency of contact were positively related to grandfather involvement, frequent contact (perhaps via telephone or e-mail) with grandfathers was more strongly associated with grandfather involvement than geographical proximity. Results also showed that adolescents' perceptions of their emotional bonding and the importance of grandfathers in their lives (in addition to their immediate family members) were also related to grandfather involvement. Specifically, adolescents who felt emotionally closer to their grandfathers and perceived their grandfathers as an important person in their lives tended to have grandfathers who were more involved in their lives.

Finally, we examined several factors together in regression analyses. Table 13.3 identifies a range of unique predictors that contributed to the closest grandfather involvement in adolescents' lives. Together, all the selected predictors explained a substantial 50 % of the variance in the final model. Controlling for adolescents' background characteristics, results showed that the extent of involvement among the closest grand-

Table 13.2 Relationship between predictors and grandfather involvement

Predictor	Grandfather involvement
<i>Background</i>	
Age (years)	-0.14**
Gender (male)	0.01
Free school meals	0.03
Ethnicity (nonwhite)	-0.08
<i>Life adversity</i>	
Proximal life events	-0.06
Distal life events	-0.10*
<i>Grandchild well-being</i>	
Emotional symptoms	-0.02
Conduct problem	-0.09*
Hyperactivity	-0.10*
Peer problem	-0.00
Total difficulties	-0.09*
Prosocial behavior	0.22***
<i>Frequency of contact</i>	0.42***
<i>Geographical distance</i>	0.23***
<i>Emotional closeness</i>	0.66***
<i>Importance of grandfather</i>	0.51***

Note: $p < 0.05^*$, $p < 0.01^{**}$, $p < 0.001^{***}$

Table 13.3 Predicting involvement of grandfather (regression analysis)

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<i>Background</i>				
Grandchild age (years)	-0.09	-0.07	-0.03	-0.02
Grandchild gender (male)	-0.00	-0.01	0.10*	0.04
No Free school meals	0.02	-0.00	0.06	0.06
Ethnicity (nonwhite)	-0.14*	-0.08	-0.03	-0.03
<i>Contextual factors</i>				
Proximal adverse life events		-0.14	-0.07	-0.03
Distal adverse life events		0.00	-0.03	0.01
Frequency of contact		0.42***	0.43***	0.17**
Geographical distance		-0.03	-0.03	0.04
<i>Grandchild well-being</i>				
Total difficulties			-0.05	-0.07
Prosocial behaviour			0.28***	0.15***
<i>Emotional closeness to grandfather</i>				
<i>Importance of grandfather</i>				0.49***
				0.12***
<i>Adjusted R²</i>	0.01	0.21	0.26	0.51
<i>F</i>	2.35	13.50	14.73	34.50
<i>n</i>	387	387	387	387

Note: $p < 0.05^*$, $p < 0.01^{**}$, $p < 0.001^{***}$

fathers was greater among adolescents who saw their grandfathers more frequently, those who were more pro-social, and those who expressed stronger emotional bonds with grandfathers and tended to perceive their grandfathers as important figures in their lives. It can also be seen that in the final model, emotional closeness between grandfathers and grandchildren was the strongest unique predictor, followed by frequency of contact, pro-social behaviour, and importance of the grandfather in an adolescent's life.

Are There Associations Between Grandfather Involvement and Grandchildren's Well-Being?

Next, we examined the associations between various aspects of involvement among the closest grandfather and grandchildren well-being, taking into account the variation in adolescents' background characteristics and experience of life adversity through a series of regression models (Table 13.4).

Results showed that grandchildren's well-being as measured by adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviour varied. Boys had significantly fewer emotional problems, experienced more conduct problems, greater difficulties with peers, and exhibited less pro-social behaviour than girls. In addition, adolescents' (not sure if it should be adolescents?) currently experiencing adverse life events also had more problems in psychological adjustment. Specifically, it can be seen that family adversities in the past were associated with higher levels of emotional problems, behavioural adjustments, hyperactivity, and peer relationship problems.

Results also showed that the various facets of grandfather involvement have a unique contribution in predicting different aspects of adolescent emotional and behavioural difficulties. Among adolescents who chose grandfathers as the most significant grandparent, it was found that those whose close grandfathers were involved with their school activities had significantly fewer conduct or behavioural problems and were more pro-social. The significant role of grandfathers as 'listener' was also detected in problem-sharing between these two generations. In particular, adolescents who experienced more problems in peer relationships were found to have greater involvement from close grandfathers in sharing their problems.

Table 13.4 Predicting grandchildren's well-being (regression analysis)

Predictor	Total difficulties	Emotional symptoms	Conduct problem	Hyperactivity	Peer problems	Prosocial behaviour
1. Adolescent's background						
Age (years)	-0.06	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	0.02	-0.09+
Gender (male)	-0.03	-0.27***	0.10*	0.03	0.12*	-0.32***
No Free school meals	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.00	0.04	-0.02
Ethnicity (non-white)	-0.03	-0.05	0.07	0.01	-0.15**	-0.07
2. Adversity						
Proximal adverse life events	0.29***	0.15*	0.30***	0.16**	0.16**	-0.05
Distal adverse life events	0.07	0.08	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.10+
3. Grandfather involvement						
Frequency of contact	-0.07	-0.06	-0.06	-0.02	0.00	-0.12
Geographical distance	0.08	0.04	0.10+	0.10	-0.04	-0.04
Hobbies/interests	-0.03	-0.04	0.06	-0.03	-0.08	0.07
School involvement	-0.06	0.07	-0.16**	-0.04	-0.07	0.11*
Problem sharing	0.08	0.09	0.02	-0.06	0.17**	0.06
Career/future planning	-0.24***	-0.17**	-0.10	-0.13*	-0.25***	0.13*
Advice	0.06	-0.01	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.01
Financial support	0.16**	0.04	0.10*	0.26***	-0.01	-0.13**
Authority figure	0.03	0.03	0.00	-0.04	0.11*	0.04
Respect	-0.14**	0.05	-0.12***	-0.19***	0.06	0.17**
Adjusted R ²	0.20	0.12	0.18	0.12	0.11	0.20
F	6.98	4.33	6.34	4.14	4.18	7.03
n	399	401	401	400	400	402

Note: $p < 0.05^*$, $p < 0.01^{**}$, $p < 0.001^{***}$

The strongest findings from regression analysis were that, among both boys and girls, where the closest grandfathers were involved in planning their future or careers, these were associated with positive outcomes. These adolescents were found to have significantly fewer overall and specific emotional and behavioural difficulties and more pro-social behaviour compared to those with less engaged grandfathers. Similarly, where grandchildren reported that they had respect for their closest grandfather, this was not only associated with fewer overall behavioural difficulties (including conduct problems and hyperactivity), but also higher levels of pro-social behaviour.

Surprisingly, where close grandfathers were involved in giving financial support to adolescents, this was significantly related to greater overall difficulties, more behavioural problems, hyperactivity, and less pro-social behaviour among adolescents. The necessity of financial support may, of course, be linked to adverse life events, which in themselves would be associated with more psychological problems.

Findings from In-Depth Interview

The in-depth interviews were conducted for the original grandparents study, and as such they were not intended to elicit specific information about grandfathers. However, a review of these interviews revealed the following themes which are relevant to this analysis.

A key surprise was the considerable amount of contact between grandchildren and grandparents. Some saw them several times a week or called three or four times a fortnight. Of the thirty young people who were interviewed, only three teenagers had no contact with any grandparent. At the other end of the scale, two young people were living with their grandparents full-time. Where grandparents lived at a distance, young people used modern media to telephone and e-mail their grandparents and keep in contact.

How involved grandfathers were depended firstly on whether they were living and available and secondly on whether they were reasonably healthy.

Paps (maternal grandfather) I think he has a heart problem, I don't know when but he is not as active as Nan.

Well my mother's parents, I see them more. They are a bit more healthy.

In both the earlier study on grandparents and in the analyses here, a key factor in grandparents' involvement was whether this was welcomed by parents. One young man noted that he saw less of his paternal grandfather:

You see, my Mum gets on with her parents really well, but my Father argues with his parents quite a lot.

My Dad, he didn't like my Grandma and Granddad (Mum's parents). When my Mum was giving birth, he wouldn't let Grandma into the hospital. He was dead mean to them.

A major barrier to grandfather involvement was divorce in either the parents' or the grandparents' generation.

Well my Mum and Dad are divorced, so I have step-grandparents. On my Mum's family I have my Nan called Pauline. I also have a Granddad (father's father) that I do not know.

Well my Mum and Dad broke up when we were quite young...I seem to get along better with my Mum's Mum and Dad than my Dad's Mum and Dad as I grew up seeing them a lot more.

Grandparents' strong relationships with adolescents often appeared to have developed as a result of caring for them when they were much younger. This caring was usually undertaken by the maternal grandparents. With single-parent mothers, grandfathers could become surrogate fathers.

I feel a lot closer to my Mum's Mum and Dad than I do to my Dad's Mum and Dad. I think this may be because my Grandma and Granddad did kind of bring us up a lot more than Dad's Mum and Dad.

When I was a baby I lived with my Grandma and my Granddad with my Mum and they used to look after me a lot of the time.

The most interesting finding from the interviews was that young people clearly did different activities with grandmothers than they did with grandfathers. While grandmothers were doing more nurturing, grandfathers, if fit enough, engaged in physical activities.

My Grandma cooks dinner and everything, we watch TV together, my Mum and my Grandma talk and I talk with my Granddad.

My Granddad, he plays jokes with me and everything, he is a fun Granddad, and my Grandma takes me out shopping, and she bakes cakes with me.

Yes, me and my Nan will bake a lot. We love making cakes because then we go around to all the old people...and their faces are just unbelievable... but if we go to the beach we'll take the kites and me and Grampy will do kiting.

When we stay with Grandpa my brother and I go use his games room. He has loads of swords and stuff and loads of games, so we muck around with him.

My Granddad drew things when I used to go around to his place and he would have a big bag of pencil sets, proper ones and paper...he draws all the time. I used to draw with him. I have loads of pictures upstairs.

Papou, he was the one who taught me to swim, and so we all have fun playing in the swimming pool with him.

With my Granddad, we talk about football and cricket and the Rugby World Cup.

Yes, with my Granddad I got into playing golf. He used to play golf when he was my age so I could use his clubs.

Although boys would get involved with sport and other activities with grandfathers, many of the girls reported that they also had a good relationship with their grandfather.

It just depends if you have a connection, so to speak, with them. Me being a girl has never stopped my Granddad being close to me.

I always have a laugh with my Granddad. My Granddad always makes me laugh.

A strong theme emerging from the interviews was the interest of both grandmothers and grandfathers in their grandchildren's education progress and future careers.

My Grandma and Granddad are interested in how I'm doing at school and if I needed help, like I've just finished middle school now, I'm going up to high school and they did help me, if I had homework I didn't understand they always helped me.

My Grandma and Granddad are very interested about what I do when I'm older, but my Granddad whenever I see him he will say go on what do you want to be when you're older, and I'm like look I'm 13, I will leave that until next year, that's when I have to start like working towards it and stuff, and they say well you should know now. But at my age I'm always constantly changing what I want to be, so I don't really know, but my Granddad wants me to be a lawyer because it earns lots of money.

Well it's about my future as well, because I talk about it with Grandma and Granddad but when it's about education I actually seem to talk more with my Granddad. I decided because my Dad lives in Ireland, depending on what I want to study, if they've got the Universities across there, then I might go across to Ireland for University. I was talking to my Granddad about that.

Yes, when I got my SATs results I got 3 x 5 s so I was really happy so I rang them that night to tell them.

Given that young people are often reluctant to take advice, some of the young people who were interviewed volunteered that they had sometimes been given helpful advice by grandparents. Young people appeared to trust their judgement and felt grandparents were good listeners. Also, they valued having more adult conversations with them as they grew older.

(I was struggling with revision for exams and they helped me) They gave good advice and I trusted them.

Q: Are you comfortable in discussing your problems with them? A: Yes, because they're understanding, they know a lot about us and we just get on really well and they don't mind.

Well through the years they (grandparents) have changed. Now I am older, they're very proud of me. I feel that now they are more like my big sister and my big brother...because they give me lots of advice and everything.

Although some older adolescents were spending more time with their friends, others continued to visit grandparents of their own volition:

Now I'm grown up I've got more friends and I like to see my friends, but I also like to see my grandparents, so it's 50/50, but yes I do feel more kind of apart from them now than I did when I was littler.

I think I have got closer to my grandparents since I was older...I've got a bit closer because we can have more informal and formal conversations.

No, it's not childcare these days, because I could stay at home because my Mum works part-time and my Dad works full-time. I could stay at home for the week but I don't, I choose to go to them instead.

The overriding impression from most of the interviews was that young people did a lot of laughing and joking with grandparents, particularly with their grandfathers:

I have a laugh with my Granddad; my Granddad always makes me laugh.
Me and my Grandfather always joke around.

Perhaps more poignant was when young people would have liked contact with a grandfather but this was no longer possible. One young man's grandfather had died when he was 'about 5 or 6', and yet he still had fond memories of him. With others, contact had been lost following divorce:

My Nan and Granddad, I know they like me and everything, and I like them more than my Dad, and when I was little they used to buy me presents and everything. But now we've sort of just stopped being in contact so I'm not writing a letter to them and they're not writing a letter to me, so I just feel like they don't exist really.

I used to see them whenever I moved to [xx] for a few weeks, but now it's stopped, because my Dad stopped writing letters to me and then they just stopped writing letters to me. So I'm really upset and that, even now sometimes I think, well, what happened to them; what if something bad happened to them; what if they died or something and I might never know if they passed away.

Conclusions

The original study reported in this chapter was not set up specifically to explore the role of grandfathers. It was fortuitous that the survey collected data on all grandparents individually, which made it possible to reanalyse

the data specifically to explore the connections between involved grandfathering and adolescents. With hindsight, there may be areas relating to men that could have benefitted from further data collection. When it came to the reanalysis of the interviews, because the young people were not specifically talking about their grandfathers, it has only been able to illustrate a few themes. Inevitably, the picture presented from these interviews is selective and rather overly rosy. We suspect, in different circumstances, direct questions about grandfathers would have elicited more negative comments.

Grandfathers can have an important role to play. Although grandmothers are always likely to be the dominant nurturer, grandfathers may offer adolescents something that is different from grandmothers provide. For young people emerging into the adult world, the support and advice from a grandfather on education, jobs, and career guidance, as well as the offer of a listening ear, may be particularly important. In order for grandfathers to undertake this role with adolescents, the findings suggest that this depends on developing strong relationships in the early years through regular contact and sharing 'fun' activities. The bonus is that where grandfathers are involved with their grandchildren, this is associated with the greater well-being which is so important for adolescents' future lives. From a family policy perspective, perhaps more could be done to encourage grandfather involvement, especially following separation and divorce.

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14

Grandfather Involvement and Adolescent Well-Being in South Africa

Lauren Wild

Introduction

Grandmothers in South Africa are recognised as heroic figures, struggling to hold together families affected by poverty, HIV/AIDS, and single parenthood. The vital role that these older women play in caring for their families and communities has been documented by academics, journalists, and photographers and is increasingly acknowledged by governments, non-governmental organisations, and funding agencies (Miller et al. 2012; Nyasani et al. 2009; Chazan 2008). What is notable about most of these accounts, however, is that they contain little mention of grandfathers.

L. Wild (✉)

Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa

e-mail: Lauren.Wild@uct.ac.za

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This chapter begins by describing how political, cultural, and socio-economic factors have contributed to men's declining involvement in South African families. It then examines the links between grandfather involvement and grandchild psychological well-being from the perspective of a sample of predominantly 'coloured' (mixed-race) adolescents in Cape Town. In so doing, it offers an alternative to the prevailing notion of South African grandfathers as being primarily distinguished by their absence and reveals a unique and positive association between maternal grandfather involvement and adolescents' mental health.

Where Are South Africa's Grandfathers?

Whereas more than three-quarters of South African men aged 60 years or older are married or living with a partner, the same applies to just 33 % of women (Statistics South Africa 2013). This difference can be attributed in part to the longer life expectancy of women, together with their tendency to marry older partners. Although slightly less than half of children under the age of 10 years are female, the proportion of women increases with age. In 2014, women comprised 59 % of the South African population in their sixties and seventies, and 66 % of those 80 years or older (Statistics South Africa 2014). In addition, just over half of women aged 60 years or older are widowed (Statistics South Africa 2013).

Gender differences in mortality rates do not, however, fully explain the absence of grandfathers from narratives of childcare and development. The majority of South African children live apart from their fathers (Posel and Devey 2006), and the average South African man makes an exceptionally small contribution to childcare (Budlender and Lund 2011). The presence of fathers does, however, vary widely by racial group. In 2002, fewer than 40 % of black African children were living with their fathers, compared to almost 90 % of white children (Posel and Devey 2006). Much of this disparity is accounted for by the legacy created by the country's political past and by enduring inequalities in access to socio-economic resources and services (Budlender and Lund 2011).

From 1948 to 1994, South Africans were subjected to a system of legally enforced racial segregation and discrimination known as apart-

heid. Apartheid legislation categorised people into four population groups: black African, coloured (of mixed Asian, African, and European descent), Indian, and white. Today, most South Africans continue to label themselves according to the racial classifications of the apartheid regime, in part because they serve as a proxy for culture (Seekings 2008). Black Africans constitute the largest population group in all provinces except the Western Cape, where the majority of children (57 %) are coloured (Statistics South Africa 2013).

Apartheid legislation distributed social and economic resources unequally, in favour of whites. It also entrenched a system of migrant labour in which black African men in particular were separated from their families for long periods of time. Although coloured men were less affected by labour migration, their involvement with children was discouraged by policies that stereotyped the coloured man as untrustworthy, lazy, and potentially criminal (Jensen 2008). Large numbers of coloured men were imprisoned or sent away to industrial schools or work camps, whereas coloured women were assisted to become homemakers through the provision of social grants and housekeeping courses (Jensen 2005). While significant social, political, and economic changes have occurred since the transition to democracy in 1994, the effects of these past discriminatory practices are still evident. Black African families remain disproportionately affected by poverty and unemployment, while working-class coloured communities have high rates of gang activity, crime, and illicit drug use (Pasche and Myers 2012). At the same time, increasing income inequalities within racial groups mean that race and class are no longer inextricably linked (Seekings 2008).

A history of racial oppression, persistent inequalities in access to resources, patriarchal power relations, and cultural conceptions of masculinity shaped along racial and class lines all help to explain why black African and coloured youth's family relationships are more concentrated on the maternal side than those of their white counterparts (Morrell et al. 2012; Harper and Seekings 2010). However, a focus on the absence of biological fathers may mask the involvement of other father figures or 'social fathers' in the lives of children (Richter et al. 2010; Posel and Devey 2006). In many African cultures, kinship obligations and social parenting take priority over biological parenting (Madhavan 2004). Although black

African and coloured South African children are less likely to live with both of their parents than white and Indian children, they are more likely to live in extended or three-generation households (Statistics South Africa 2013). And while black African and coloured youth in Cape Town report slightly less communication with their parents than their white peers, they also report more reliance on and responsibility towards their grandparents (Harper and Seekings 2010). Until recently, however, the implications of grandparental involvement for child and adolescent well-being in South Africa have been largely overlooked.

Grandparental Involvement and Adolescent Well-Being in South Africa

From 2012 to the present, my students and I have been conducting research on grandparental involvement and South African adolescents' mental and behavioural health. The study is based in the metropolitan area of the city of Cape Town, located in the southern peninsula of the Western Cape province. This study is the first known investigation of grandparental involvement and its implications for child well-being in a community sample of South African adolescents. It is also distinguished by the preponderance of coloured participants in the sample. Coloured persons constitute the largest group in the Western Cape province of South Africa but comprise less than 9 % of the national population (Statistics South Africa 2014). Perhaps for this reason, little has been written about family relationships in coloured communities.

A school-based survey was used to obtain self-reported data from public high school students in Grades 8 and 9, with a median age of 14 years. We piloted the survey in 2012, with a sample of 204 adolescents. In 2013, we collected data from a further 720 adolescents, of whom 671 (93 %) returned usable questionnaires.

Results of the pilot study revealed high levels of contact between grandparents and grandchildren (Wild and Gaibie 2014). Levels of grandparental involvement were particularly high for maternal grandmothers, of whom 80 % saw their grandchild at least once a week. Maternal grandfathers were, on average, less involved with their grandchildren than maternal

grandmothers, and paternal grandfathers were the least involved of all grandparents. Nevertheless, over half of the adolescents saw their maternal grandfathers on a daily or weekly basis. Maternal grandfather involvement was greater when the grandchild was a boy, whereas paternal grandfather involvement was facilitated by fathers' encouragement of the grandparent–grandchild relationship (Wild and Gaibie 2014).

Our research also revealed that greater involvement by adolescents' closest or most involved grandparent was associated with more adolescent pro-social behaviour, regardless of the level of parental involvement (Profe and Wild 2015; Wild and Gaibie 2014). The relationship between grandparent involvement and adolescent pro-social behaviour remained significant when only maternal grandmothers were studied (Levetan and Wild, *in press*). In addition, greater involvement of maternal grandmothers who co-resided with their adolescent grandchildren in three-generation households was associated with fewer internalising symptoms (emotional and peer problems) in adolescents (Levetan and Wild, *in press*).

These findings support those of studies conducted in the UK and the USA, which found grandparental involvement to be associated with more current and future pro-social behaviour and fewer emotional problems in adolescent grandchildren (Yorgason et al. 2011; Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009). Some researchers have found that the association between grandparental involvement and adolescent psychological well-being is only significant for maternal grandparents, perhaps because children tend to be closer to maternal than paternal grandparents (Tanskanen and Danielsbacka 2012; Lussier et al. 2002). However, what is not yet known is whether the involvement of grandmothers and grandfathers is differentially related to adolescent outcomes or whether grandfathers make a unique contribution to adolescents' mental and behavioural health.

The association between grandfather involvement and adolescent well-being warrants attention for two main reasons. Firstly, the prevalence of deficit models that emphasise South African men's lack of interest in and abandonment, neglect, and abuse of children has led researchers to overlook the positive and important role that many men play in children's lives (Bray and Brandt 2007; Richter 2006). Secondly, research on parenting indicates that father involvement is associated with better emotional and behavioural outcomes for children, independent of the level of mother

involvement (Profe and Wild 2015; Amato and Rivera 1999). Although the question of whether men and women make unique contributions to children's development remains unresolved, the limited data available from South Africa and abroad suggest that good-quality relationships with fathers and non-parental men have positive implications for children's emotional and behavioural well-being (Richter 2006). We therefore set out to investigate the nature and correlates of the grandfather–grandchild relationship from the perspective of South African adolescents. Our specific aims were to examine (a) the patterns of contact and involvement between grandfathers and grandchildren, (b) the demographic and background characteristics associated with grandfather involvement, and (c) the associations between grandfather involvement and adolescents' psychological well-being, independent of parents' and grandmothers' involvement.

Studying Adolescents in South Africa

This chapter is concerned with a subsample of 380 adolescents from whom data were collected in 2013 and who had at least one living grandfather. The mean age of the adolescents was 13.98 years, and 54 % were girls. The majority of the participants (85 %) were coloured, followed by 9 % black African, 2 % white, 1 % Indian, and 3 % 'other'. Seventy percent identified themselves as Christian, 29 % as Muslim, and 1 % were unaffiliated to any religion. Approximately two-thirds of the participants (68 %) lived with both parents, 26 % lived with a single parent, and 6 % lived with neither parent.

Participants were drawn from an initial eligible sample of 722 adolescents. Two adolescents were refused parental consent to participate, and 49 questionnaires were deemed unusable because they were incomplete or self-contradictory. In addition, 291 participants (43 %) were excluded from the present study because they had no living grandfathers.

The adolescents were asked to provide information on their age, sex, school grade, home language, race group, and religion and to indicate who they lived with. The demographic background of grandparents was assessed using adolescent reports on which grandparents were living, their sex and kin position (maternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, paternal grandfather), their age (1 = younger than 50 to 5 = over 80), employment status (working full-time, working part-time,

or not working/retired), health status (1 = very poor to 4 = very good), marital status (never married, married, separated/divorced, widowed, remarried), where they lived (1 = with me to 4 = in another country), and how many grandchildren they had (1 = just you to 4 = six or more). The adolescents were also asked to report on the perceived quality of the relationship between each of their parents and grandparents (1 = not getting on well at all to 4 = getting on very well) and on whether or not each of their parents encouraged them to spend time with their grandparents.

The involvement of the adolescents' living maternal and paternal grandfathers was assessed using an eleven-item scale based on that developed by Griggs et al. (2010) for the grandparents study in England and Wales (Chap. 13). Items were selected and modified to represent Mueller and Elder's (2003) six dimensions of grandparental involvement: face-to-face contact, shared activities, intimacy (grandparent serving as a confidante or companion), helping (offering advice or discussing the grandchild's problems), instrumental assistance (providing the grandchild with money and other resources), and having a role of authority or discipline in the grandchild's life. In addition, minor changes were made to certain questions to make the items more suitable to the South African context.

Response options for each item ranged from 0 to 2, with higher scores indicating more grandparental involvement. Wild and Gaibie (2014) found that the scale had good internal consistency in a sample of South African high school students, with a mean Cronbach's alpha of 0.87. Alpha coefficients for the present study were 0.90 for maternal grandfathers and 0.91 for paternal grandfathers.

The adolescents' social, emotional, and behavioural well-being was assessed using the self-report version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman 1997). The SDQ is a brief screening tool comprised of twenty-five items. Of these, ten are designed to measure strengths, fourteen are designed to assess emotional and behavioural difficulties, and one item is considered neutral. These items are divided between five subscales, each consisting of five items: emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity/inattention, peer-relationship problems, and pro-social behaviour. Each item is scored on a three-point Likert scale ranging from 0 to 2, and subscale scores are generated by summing the scores for the items that make up that subscale. A total difficulties score

(ranging from 0 to 40) can also be generated by summing the scores for all the subscales, except pro-social behaviour.

A large study of a representative community sample of British children and adolescents has provided evidence that the SDQ has satisfactory internal, interater, and test–retest reliability (Goodman 2001). Support for the concurrent validity of the SDQ comes from its high correlations with the much longer Child Behavior Checklist (Goodman and Scott 1999). It has also been shown to discriminate satisfactorily between clinic and community samples (Goodman 1997; Goodman and Scott 1999). There is evidence that youth from very diverse backgrounds understand the form and content of the SDQ, and comparable results have been obtained in many cultural groups (Achenbach et al. 2008). The SDQ has been translated into a number of languages and has been used with urban adolescents in South Africa (Cluver et al. 2007).

Mother and father involvement were assessed using adolescents' responses to six questions from the US National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY79) self-administered supplement for children aged 10 years or older (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 1979). This measure reflects both the quantity of time parents spend with children and the emotional quality of that time (Pleck and Hofferth 2008; Carlson 2006). Engagement in positive activities (the behavioural component of involvement) was measured by two items: "How well does each of your parents and you share ideas or talk about things that really matter?" and "How often does each parent miss the events or activities that are important to you?" The emotional (warmth, closeness, and responsiveness) component of involvement was assessed by the following questions: "How close do you feel to each of your parents?" and "How often does each of your parents listen to your side of the argument?" The cognitive (monitoring and decision-making) aspect of involvement was measured using the following questions: "How often does each of your parents know whom you are with when not at home?" and "How often does each of your parents talk over important decisions with you?" Each item was scored on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 to 3, and responses were added to create a continuous index. Carlson (2006) has provided evidence that these items load strongly on a single factor representing high-quality

parental involvement. Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the present study were 0.69 for mother involvement and 0.78 for father involvement.

The study was approved by an ethics review committee of the University of Cape Town and by the Western Cape Education Department. Purposive and convenience sampling techniques were used to select eight schools with predominantly coloured or black African student populations. The principals of these schools were contacted, and two agreed to participate. Letters were sent to parents of all adolescents in Grades 8 and 9 (the first 2 years of high school), informing them of the study and offering them the opportunity to withdraw their child from the research. Written informed consent was also obtained from each adolescent participant.

Questionnaires were administered in a normal class period by members of the research team. Participation in the study was voluntary, and no incentives were provided. Questionnaires were anonymous and confidential, and care was taken to ensure that learners were seated such that they could not see the responses of their classmates.

Grandfather Involvement in Cape Town

The majority of the grandfathers (83 %) lived in Cape Town, and 15 % lived in the same household as their grandchild. Most of the grandfathers (62 %) had six or more grandchildren and were in their sixties or seventies (70 %), married (73 %), retired (50 %), and in good health (61 %).

Over half of the adolescents (57 %) saw their maternal grandfathers on a daily or weekly basis, while 49 % saw their paternal grandfathers at least once a week. On average, maternal grandfathers were significantly more involved with their grandchildren than paternal grandfathers.

Correlations between a variety of demographic and background characteristics and grandfather involvement are presented in Table 14.1. Both maternal and paternal grandfathers tended to be more involved with the grandchild when parents and grandparents had good relationships and parents encouraged contact between grandparents and grandchildren, when grandparents and grandchildren lived closer to one another, and when the grandchildren were boys. In addition, maternal grandfathers tended to be more involved when they were younger and healthier and

Table 14.1 Correlations between demographic and background characteristics and grandfather involvement

	Grandfather involvement	
	Maternal grandfather	Paternal grandfather
Child age	0.01	-0.19**
Child sex ^a	-0.13*	-0.26***
Grandparent age	-0.17*	-0.09
Grandparent health	0.23***	0.06
Number of grandchildren	-0.13*	-0.12
Geographic distance	-0.20**	-0.15*
Mother–grandparent relationship	0.51***	0.40***
Father–grandparent relationship	0.25***	0.31***
Parental encouragement	0.49***	0.44***

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

^a1 = female, 0 = male

had a smaller number of grandchildren, and paternal grandfathers tended to be more involved when their grandchildren were younger.

Multiple linear regression analyses indicated that there were three significant independent predictors of maternal grandfather involvement: the quality of the mother–grandfather relationship ($\beta = 0.30$), parental encouragement to spend time with grandfathers ($\beta = 0.24$), and younger grandfather age ($\beta = -0.19$). Parental encouragement was also a significant independent predictor of paternal grandfather involvement ($\beta = 0.20$). In addition, paternal grandfather involvement was significantly greater when grandchildren were boys ($\beta = -0.24$) and when grandchildren were younger ($\beta = -0.16$). All results were statistically significant.

Associations Between Grandfather Involvement and Adolescent Well-Being

We investigated the associations between the level of involvement of maternal and paternal grandfathers and adolescents' psychological well-being. The involvement of paternal grandfathers was not significantly correlated with any of the SDQ subscales. However, more involvement by

Table 14.2 Summary of hierarchical multiple regression analysis predicting adolescents' emotional problems ($n = 69$)

Step	Variable	Emotional problems	
		ΔR^2	B
1	Sex	0.08*	1.08
2	Parental involvement (set of two)	0.03	
	Mother involvement		-0.09
	Father involvement		-0.03
3	Grandmother involvement (set of two)	0.02	
	Maternal grandmother involvement		-0.05
	Paternal grandmother involvement		0.00
4	Grandfather involvement (set of two)	0.13**	
	Maternal grandfather involvement		-0.13**
	Paternal grandfather involvement		-0.04
		Adj. $R^2 = 0.18^{**}$	

Note: Unstandardized coefficients are provided for the step in which the predictor first entered the model, controlling for those variables entered in the same and previous steps; missing data were deleted listwise

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

maternal grandfathers was significantly associated with fewer emotional symptoms in adolescents [Pearson correlation coefficient $r(270) = -0.17$].

Next, we investigated whether maternal grandfather involvement remained significantly associated with fewer adolescent emotional symptoms after controlling for the involvement of parents and grandmothers. Variables were entered in blocks to multiple regression models. In Step 1, adolescent gender was entered as a control variable, since emotional problems such as depression and anxiety are more common in adolescent girls than in boys (Zahn-Waxler et al. 2008). In Step 2, mother and father involvement were entered in addition to the previous variable. In Step 3, maternal and paternal grandmother involvement was entered, and in Step 4, maternal and paternal grandfather involvement was entered. Results are presented in Table 14.2. In the final model (Step 4), controlling for gender, parental involvement, and grandmother involvement, maternal and paternal grandfather involvement together accounted for an additional 13 % of the variance in adolescent emotional symptoms. Male gender and greater maternal grandfather involvement were significant independent predictors of fewer adolescent emotional problems.

Conclusions: Understanding the Role of South African Grandfathers

While increasing attention has been paid to South Africa's 'super grannies', grandfathers are often dismissed as absent or uninvolved in childcare. Nevertheless, ethnographic research indicates that grandfathers can and do make positive emotional contributions to children's lives also in South Africa (Bray and Brandt 2007). The study reported in this chapter sought to answer three questions: What are the patterns of contact and involvement between grandfathers and adolescent grandchildren in Cape Town? What demographic and background characteristics are associated with grandfather involvement? Is grandfather involvement associated with adolescents' psychological well-being, independent of parents' and grandmothers' involvement?

Fewer than 60 % of the adolescents in our sample had at least one living grandfather, whereas over 86 % had at least one living grandmother. This finding reflects the greater longevity of women and accounts in part for grandmothers' greater involvement in adolescents' lives. Nevertheless, approximately half of adolescents with living grandfathers saw them weekly or more often, suggesting that the potential impact of grandfathers on grandchildren should not be ignored.

Parents' encouragement of contact between grandfathers and grandchildren was a key predictor of both maternal and paternal grandfather involvement, and the former was also predicted by a positive mother-grandfather relationship. As seen in other chapters in this book, these findings highlight the important role of parents as mediators and 'gatekeepers' between grandparents and grandchildren. They add to the evidence that grandparents tend to be more involved with their grandchildren when they have good current relations with their grandchild's mother (Euler and Michalski 2008) and when parents encourage grandchildren to spend time with their grandparents (Tan et al. 2010; Mueller and Elder 2003).

Younger maternal grandfathers tended to be more involved with their grandchildren, whereas paternal grandfather involvement showed a downward trend as grandchildren grew older. Several studies suggest that the quantity of grandparental involvement tends to decline in adolescence, in response to children's changing developmental needs (Griggs et al. 2010;

Dench et al. 1999). Advanced age may also limit grandfathers' capacity to be involved with their grandchildren (Silverstein and Marengo 2001; Dench et al. 1999). However, it is important to note that older grandparents are more likely to have older grandchildren, so the age of grandparents and grandchildren may be confounded.

Paternal grandfathers also tend to be more involved when their grandchildren are boys. Most previous research suggests that there is little or no association between grandchild gender and grandparental involvement (Mueller and Elder 2003). Nevertheless, our results support two prior studies that found that grandfather–grandchild relationships tended to be closer for boys (Davey et al. 2009) or same-sex dyads (Dubas 2001).

Paternal grandfather involvement was not significantly associated with adolescent well-being. Some prior studies similarly found that the association between grandparental involvement and fewer emotional and behavioural problems for children is only significant for maternal grandparents (Tanskanen and Danielsbacka 2012; Lussier et al. 2002, Chap. 2). This may be because paternal grandfathers tend to be the least involved of all grandparents (Wild and Gaibie 2014; Tan et al. 2010; Dunn et al. 2006).

Whereas our previous research indicated that maternal grandmother involvement was associated with more adolescent pro-social behaviour (Levetan and Wild, *in press*), the results of this study revealed that maternal grandfather involvement was uniquely associated with fewer adolescent emotional symptoms. These findings parallel those of Day and Padilla-Walker (2009) for parental involvement. Their study revealed that father involvement was negatively related to adolescent internalising behaviours, such as anxiety and depression, whereas mother involvement was positively associated with pro-social behaviours such as helping others. These findings may reflect gender norms which encourage men and women to play different, but complementary, roles in the family. Mother and grandmother involvement often focuses on caregiving, socialisation, and communication, whereas father and grandfather involvement focuses more on physical, outdoor, and skills-based activities (Newland et al. 2013; Kennedy 1992). Parental socialisation practices, in turn, have been linked to children's pro-social development (Hastings et al. 2007), whereas regular physical activity is inversely related to depressive symptoms in adolescence (Motl et al. 2004).

In considering these results, it is important to take into account several shortcomings of the research. The first limitation of this study is that the participants were not representative of all South African adolescents. Although the largest group of children in the Western Cape are coloured, black African children constitute the majority in all other provinces. In addition, children living with both their parents were overrepresented in our sample, whereas those living in poverty were underrepresented. Older people play a particularly active role in caring for and supporting children in black African, low-income, and rural households, and in the absence of their parents (Statistics South Africa 2013). It will therefore be important for future research to examine these associations in larger, more diverse, and more representative samples.

The second caveat as far as the findings of this study go is that all the data were obtained from adolescents' self-reports. This raises the possibility that correlations between variables may have been inflated owing to common method variance. Self-report measures are the principal method for assessing subjective well-being and provide valuable insights into relationships from an insider's perspective (Furman and Buhrmester 1985). Nevertheless, future research could be strengthened by the inclusion of information from multiple respondents.

It is also important to recognise that this cross-sectional and correlational study does not provide the data necessary for establishing causal relationships. Previous research suggests that grandparents are second only to parents as sources of affection and enhancement of worth (Furman and Buhrmester 1985). Grandparents can also enhance the behaviour of parents by providing them with social and instrumental support (Tinsley and Parke 1984). However, it is also possible that grandparents may choose to become more involved with grandchildren who possess positive personal characteristics (Mueller and Elder 2003). Longitudinal research examining these associations over time is therefore necessary to clarify the direction of effects.

This study is an important first step in understanding the role of South African grandfathers in the lives of their adolescent grandchildren. In particular, it contributes to the international literature on grandparenting by revealing a unique association between maternal grandfather involvement and fewer adolescent emotional symptoms that is independent

of parental or grandmother involvement. Further research is needed to understand whether and how the activities that grandmothers and grandfathers engage in with their grandchildren differ, and how these shared activities, in turn, influence adolescents' development. Nevertheless, this study supports previous research in suggesting that adolescents may benefit from interventions designed to promote the involvement of grandfathers and other men in children's lives.

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15

Grandfathering and Adolescent Adjustment Difficulties and Pro-social Behaviour Among Israeli Jewish and Arab Adolescents

Shalhevet Attar-Schwartz

Introduction

Studies show that adolescents may tend to spend less time with grandparents compared to younger children but that they still consider them to be important and involved members of their social network (Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009a; Creasey and Koblewski 1991; Tan et al. 2010; Van Ranst et al. 1995). A good grandparent–grandchild bond is associated with reduced adjustment difficulties or more positive outcomes among children and young people (e.g. Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009a; Henderson et al. 2009; Lussier et al. 2002; Ruiz and Silverstein 2007; Wild and Gaibie 2014; Yorgason et al. 2011). These findings are generally explained by family systems theory (Lussier et al. 2002; Minuchin 1985), which emphasizes the importance of examining other family relations as affecting the child rather than focusing exclusively on the mother–child relationship to better understand child development (Cox and Paley 2003; Ruiz and Silverstein 2007).

S. Attar-Schwartz (✉)

School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University
of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

e-mail: shalhevet@mail.huji.ac.il

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A handful of studies, including some of those presented in this book, show ongoing involvement, desire for contact, and strong emotional commitment among grandfathers (e.g. Mann et al. 2013; Roberto et al. 2001; Sorenson and Cooper 2010). The limited existing research on the perspective of grandchildren reveals the importance of grandfathers in the lives of young people and the varied roles they have in their lives (Hakoyama and Malone Beach 2012). Such a high level of grandparental involvement (including both grandfathers and grandmothers) can be seen as a reflection of Erikson's seventh developmental psychological conflict of generativity versus self-absorption and stagnation (Bates 2009; Hakoyama and Malone Beach 2012; Wilton and Davey 2006).

It should be noted, however, that grandfathering studies are often based on small, qualitative examinations of the perspective of the grandfathers (e.g. Mann et al. 2013; Roberto et al. 2001; Sorenson and Cooper 2010). These studies are extremely important for understanding various dimensions of grandfathering; however, there is also a need for empirical research focusing on grandchildren's perspectives on their relationships with their grandfathers and on the links to their well-being and functioning. In addition, the few studies that have focused on the grandchild–grandfather relationships have mostly been based on white, Western, ethnically and racially homogeneous sample compositions of grandchildren from the USA and UK (e.g. Hakoyama and Malone-Beach 2012; Sorenson and Cooper 2010). The role of culture or ethnic affiliation on the nature of grandparent–grandchild interaction is discussed in the literature, although not sufficiently (Attar-Schwartz and Buchanan 2012; Bengtson 2001). Some studies showed that among non-Caucasian groups in the USA, extended kin relationships, including those with grandparents, tend to be stronger than they are for grandchildren from Caucasian families (e.g. Burton 1995; Giarrusso et al. 2001; Hunter and Taylor 1998; Wiscott and Kopera-Frye 2000).

Here, I study the reports of Israeli Arab and Jewish adolescents on the patterns of the relationships they have with their closest grandfathers. The study explores grandchildren's emotional closeness to their grandfathers and grandfathers' involvement with their grandchildren, as well as the role of gender, lineage, and culture in grandfather–adolescent relationships. The main aim is to explore the possible contribution of the adolescent–grandfather relationship to levels of reported adolescent adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviour.

Culture and Grandparent–Grandchild Relationship: The Israeli Context

Although Israel is a Western, post-industrial country, Israeli society is patriarchal in nature. Its dominant ‘familist’ orientation (Fogiel-Bijaoui 1999) is characterized by the centrality of marriage, the unequal division of labour, and the perception of the woman’s principal role as the wife and mother whose major duties are to bear children, manage family relationships, and look after the home (Peled and Cohavi 2009). Within Israel, however, many cultural and socio-economic differences exist between the Arab and Jewish populations. The Arab community is generally more collectivistic, traditional, and patriarchal than the Jewish community, which is more Western and individualistic (Ben-Arieh and Khoury-Kassabri 2008). In general, the Israeli Arab population is more disadvantaged on every socio-economic indicator compared with the Israeli Jewish population (Haidar 2005). The Israeli context, therefore, may provide a unique picture of the role of religious and cultural affiliations in adolescent–grandfather relations.

Studying Israeli Adolescents and Their Grandfathers

This study examines patterns of relationship between Israeli Arab and Jewish adolescents and their grandfathers. Its main aim is to examine the contribution of emotional closeness to and involvement of the closest grandfather to adolescent adjustment and pro-social behaviour.

The study is based on the reports of a sample of 2750 Israeli Arab and Jewish middle- and high-school students (grades 7–11). The original sample consisted of 3108 students, from which 357 adolescents were excluded for several reasons: because they did not have a living grandparent, they lived with their closest grandfather, they did not provide enough information to identify the closest grandfather, or, finally, because details about their grandfathers’ abode were missing or uncertain. The sample consisted of close percentages of Arab (51.3 %) and Jewish (48.7 %) adolescents. About 59 % of the adolescents were girls aged 12–18 ($M = 14.64$, $SD = 1.61$). Most analyses in this chapter focus on the 736 adolescents who identified a grandfather as their closest grandparent (see subsequent discussion).

Information was collected from the adolescents through an anonymous, structured, self-report questionnaire, which they completed in their classroom. Letters were first sent to the directors of the sampled schools. These letters included letters to be sent to parents detailing the purpose of the study and providing contact information in case they had any questions. A slip was also included for parents to return if they did not want their child to take part in the project. It was made clear to them that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. In cases where parents did not allow their child to participate, or in which the adolescents themselves declined to take part in the study, the child did not complete the questionnaire. Questionnaires, procedures, consent forms, and instructions were reviewed by the Israeli Education Ministry and by the Supreme Ethics Committee of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Arab adolescents completed the questionnaire in Arabic, and Jewish adolescents completed the questionnaire in Hebrew.

Measurements of adolescents' adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviour are derived from the self-report version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman 1997) for 11- to 17-year-olds, which was translated into Hebrew and Arabic by professionals (www.sdqinfo.com). As noted elsewhere, the SDQ is a three-point scale (0 = not true, 1 = somewhat true, 2 = certainly true) measuring four difficulties (hyperactivity, emotional symptoms, conduct problems, and peer problems), as well as pro-social behaviour (Goodman 1997). The total difficulties score ranges from 0 to 40 and is calculated by totalling the summative scores for the 20 items ($\alpha = 0.75$) addressing hyperactivity, emotional symptoms, conduct problems, and peer problems. The pro-social behaviour subscale includes five items ($\alpha = 0.63$) on positive social behaviours that benefit other people, such as consideration of other people's feelings, sharing, helping, and volunteering. The subscale is a summative score of its items, therefore ranging from 0 to 10.

Adolescents were asked to report on their own characteristics, their parents', and their four possible living grandparents' characteristics, and their relationships with these family members. This study (see also Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009a, b; Flouri et al. 2010) focused on the background characteristics and relationship factors of the grandparent to whom the adolescent reported feeling emotionally closest. This grandparent is referred to as the *closest grandparent* in the current study. Only the relationships between

adolescents and their closest grandparent were examined. In cases where adolescents indicated more than one closest grandparent, the grandparent who received the highest score on the emotional closeness scale was chosen (5 % of the sample; see following discussion for a description of the emotional closeness measure). In cases where adolescents indicated more than one significant grandparent and identical emotional closeness scores were presented for those grandparents (11.4 %), one grandparent was selected randomly from those with the highest identical emotional closeness scores.

Adolescents' emotional closeness to their grandparents was assessed using an adaptation of Elder and Conger's (2000) Grandparent–Grandchild Relationship scale. The scale includes five questions on how warm, close, and supportive adolescents perceived their relationship with their grandparents to be (e.g. 'How much do you feel appreciated, loved, or cared for by your grandparent?'). The questions were answered on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (a lot).

The pattern of grandparent involvement was measured using a series of eight items about the direct and indirect influence of grandparents on grandchildren (Elder and Conger 2000; King and Elder 1995). The levels of grandparent involvement were determined by asking the adolescents to indicate the extent to which their grandparents had looked after them, participated in their social or school-related events, helped them with homework or other school assignments, been mentor/advisor for future plans or problems, and had provided financial support or gifts. Each item was scored on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never or almost never) to 4 (frequently). The scale was created by computing the mean score of the items.

A number of background characteristics of the adolescents and their closest grandfather were included in the analyses, including the adolescent's gender and age and parents' education, age of closest grandparent (coded as in their fifties or sixties versus in their seventies or older), lineage of closest grandparent (paternal/maternal), gender of closest grandparent, and closest grandparent's geographic proximity, ranging from 1 (living in my house) to 7 (abroad). As mentioned earlier, adolescents living with their closest grandparent were excluded from the current analyses.

In what follows, I describe the closest grandparents involved in the study and compare the levels of emotional closeness to and involvement of the closest grandfathers versus the closest grandmothers (independent-samples t-test). I also examine whether boys identify grandfathers as their closest

grandparents more than girls (chi-square). Then the analyses focus on closest grandfathers only. After describing the characteristics of the closest grandfathers, an examination of the differences between Arab and Jewish boys and girls in their preference of paternal or maternal closest grandfather is conducted (chi-square). The level of emotional closeness and involvement of the closest grandfathers is subsequently explored. A comparison between Arab and Jewish adolescents in their patterns of relationships with their grandfathers is presented (independent sample t-tests). Details of the statistical bi-variate analysis data is available by request from the author. Finally, the main aim of this study, carried out by multivariate hierarchical regression models, is to estimate the extent to which the grandfather–adolescent relationship contributes to the variance explanation in adolescents' levels of adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviours.

Youth's Relationships with Closest Grandfathers

Adolescents reported on all their living grandparents and identified their closest grandparent. Maternal grandmothers were identified as the closest grandparent by just under half of the adolescents. This was followed by just over a quarter of paternal grandmothers, about 15 % of maternal grandfathers, and approximately 12 % of paternal grandfathers.

Greater emotional closeness to and involvement was found among closest maternal grandparents than among closest paternal grandparents. There was no difference in emotional closeness to and involvement of closest grandmothers and closest grandfathers. However, among the whole sample more boys (33 %) identified grandfathers as their closest grandparent than girls (22 %). The discussion that follows will focus on students who selected their maternal or paternal grandfather as their closest grandparent.

Approximately 60% of the closest grandfathers (identified by 736 adolescents) were in their seventies or older, and the rest were in their sixties or younger. Among the closest grandfathers, approximately 60 % came from the maternal side. Approximately a quarter of the closest grandfathers lived in their grandchild's neighbourhood or in their building. Approximately 40 % of the grandfathers lived in the same city or village but not in the same neighborhood, less than a quarter lived in a different town or city at a distance of about half an hour away, and approximately 13 % of the adolescents reported that their closest grandfathers lived in a

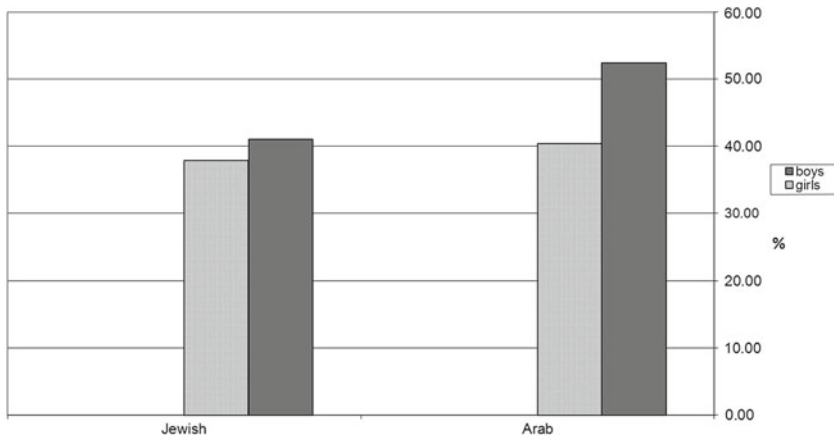


Fig. 15.1 Gender gaps between Arab and Jewish adolescents in selected closest grandfather's lineage

distant village or town in Israel or abroad. The age, lineage, and geographical proximity of the closest grandfathers matched the characteristics of the overall sample of all living grandfathers.

Jewish adolescents (60 %) identified maternal grandfathers as the closest grandfather more often than Arab adolescents (54 %). While approximately 50 % of the boys selected paternal grandfathers as their closest grandparents, only around 40 % of the girls did so.

Interestingly, there were greater gender gaps among Arab adolescents than Jewish adolescents regarding the lineage of the selected closest grandfather (Fig. 15.1). The findings show that among the Arab adolescents, around 52 % of the Arab boys identified their paternal grandfathers as their closest grandparent compared with only 40 % of the girls. However, Jewish boys and girls identified their paternal grandfathers (as well as the maternal grandfathers) as their closest grandparents at a similar rate of around 40 %.

Descriptive Statistics: Relationship with Grandfathers by Gender, Lineage, and Cultural Affiliation

The closest grandfathers are highly involved in the adolescents' lives. For example, as shown in Table 15.1, over 80 % percent of the adolescents reported that their closest grandfather gave them money or gifts sometimes

Table 15.1 Distribution of emotional closeness and involvement of closest grandfathers according to lineage and culture

	Closest grandfathers (n=736)	Closest maternal grandfathers (n=421)	Closest paternal grandfathers (n=315)	Jewish closest grandfathers (n=337)	Arab closest grandfathers (n=395)
Grandfather involvement					
1. Do they get involved with things you like (e.g., sports, playing, doing things together)?	62.9	65.2	59.9	65.1	61.2
2. Do they come to school or other events that are important to you?	37.7	41.3	33.2	39.9	35.9
3. Do they help you with homework or other school-related assignments?	20.2	20.8	19.4	21.3	19.3
4. How often do you talk to them about problems you have or things that are important to you?	31.6	31.9	31.3	33.5	30.1
5. Can you talk to them about future plans?	58.1	60.8	54.5	55.5	60.4
6. How often does your grandparent help you in important ways by giving you advice or helping solve problems you have?	69.7	68.8	70.8	62.1	76.5
7. Do they give you money or gifts?	84.5	85.9	82.6	87.8	82.1
8. How often do your grandparents look after you?	43.5	44.7	42.8	23.8	61.1
Involvement scale: mean (SD) ^a	2.50 (0.72)	2.52 (0.72)	2.47 (0.71)	2.43 (0.71)	2.57 (0.71)
Emotional closeness to grandfathers					
1. How much can you depend on your grandparent to be there when you really need him/her?	54.7	58.1	50.2	74.9	37.6
2. How much do you feel appreciated, loved, or cared for by your grandparent?	78.6	81.6	74.5	85.0	73.6
3. How close do you feel to your grandparent?	64.9	66.5	62.7	69.7	61.1
4. How happy are you with your relationship with your grandparent?	69.2	72.0	65.6	74.1	65.2
5. How important is the relationship with him to you?	78.1	82.8	71.7	89.8	68.1
Emotional closeness scale: mean (SD) ^b	3.49 (0.67)	3.55 (0.64)	3.41 (0.71)	3.67 (0.56)	3.35 (0.71)

Notes: a The scale of grandparent involvement ranges from 1 = not involved at all to 4 = highly involved

b The scale of emotional closeness to grandparents ranges from 1 = low emotional closeness to 4 = high emotional closeness

or frequently, and approximately 70 % of the adolescents reported that their closest grandfathers helped them in important ways by giving them advice or helping them solve problems.

The perceived emotional closeness to the closest grandfather was also high (Table 15.1). For example, approximately 80 % of the adolescents reported that they felt extremely appreciated, loved, or cared for by their closest grandfather and that the relationship with their grandfather was an extremely important relationship in their life.

The emotional closeness and involvement of the paternal and maternal closest grandfathers were compared. As shown in Table 15.1, both maternal and paternal closest grandfathers were significantly involved in their adolescent grandchildren's lives, and although there was a tendency towards greater involvement of maternal grandfathers, there was no statistically significant difference between adolescents with closest maternal versus closest paternal grandfathers.

The findings do reveal statistically significantly higher levels of emotional closeness to closest maternal grandfathers compared to paternal grandfathers. For example, approximately 83 % of the adolescents whose closest grandfather was maternal perceived their relationship with their closest grandfather as being extremely important to them, compared to 72 % of the adolescents with closest paternal grandfathers.

The findings show no significant differences between boys and girls in their reports of emotional closeness to the closest grandfather. Although there was a tendency towards greater grandfather involvement among girls, this tendency did not reach statistical significance.

Jewish adolescents consistently and significantly reported greater closeness to the closest grandfather on all items of the emotional closeness scale. For example, around three-quarters of the Jewish adolescents reported that they could depend 'a lot' on their closest grandfather to be there when they really needed him, compared to slightly over one-third of the Arab adolescents.

As for the closest grandfather's involvement, the picture is reversed. The findings show that Arab closest grandfathers have a statistically significantly higher involvement average than Jewish closest grandfathers. Looking at the specific items comprising the involvement scale, it is apparent that the greatest gap between Arab and Jewish adolescents' reports of their grandfathers' involvement relates to how often their grandfathers look after them: 61 % of the Arab adolescents reported that their closest grandfathers looked

after them sometimes or often, compared to 24 % of the Jewish adolescents. This finding may be linked with the fact that Arab adolescents reported greater geographical proximity to their closest grandfathers than Jewish adolescents. For example, while 23 % of the Arab adolescents reported that their closest grandfather lived in their neighbourhood and 17 % in their building, a significantly lower number of Jewish adolescents reported on such proximity (10 and 1 %, respectively). Also, 77 % of the Arab adolescents reported that their closest grandfather helped them in important ways by giving them advice compared to 62 % of the Jewish adolescents.

Grandfathering, Adolescent Adjustment Difficulties, and Prosocial Behaviour

Next, overall adolescent adjustment difficulties were analysed (Table 15.2). Adolescent characteristics (age, gender, and parental education) were entered into the hierarchical linear model in the first step. The age, lineage, and geographical proximity of the closest grandfather were controlled for in the second step. After controlling for these characteristics, the contribution of emotional closeness to and involvement of the closest grandfather to the explanation of variance between the adolescents in their adjustment difficulties and prosocial behaviours was estimated. As shown in Table 15.2, both regression models were found to be statistically significant. The variables entered into the regression model explained a modest portion of variance between adolescents in their overall adjustment difficulties (3.5 %) and a larger portion of variance in the young people's pro-social behaviours (10.4 %).

Adolescents with higher parental education reported lower levels of overall adjustment difficulties. In addition, girls showed higher levels of pro-social behaviours than boys. There were no differences in overall adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviour between Arab and Jewish adolescents, and among adolescents of different ages.

Controlling for these factors, and for the closest grandfather's age, lineage, and geographical proximity, it was found that adolescents reporting greater emotional closeness to the closest grandfather showed higher levels of pro-social behaviours and fewer adjustment difficulties. Closest grandfather involvement was positively linked with pro-social behaviours; however, no statistically significant link was found between grandfather involvement and adjustment difficulties.

Table 15.2 Hierarchical regression standardized coefficients for predicting adolescent adjustment difficulties and prosocial behavior

	Total adjustment difficulties			Prosocial behavior		
	Standardized coefficient (β)					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Adolescent factors</i>						
Age	-0.037	-0.037	-0.050	-0.034	-0.034	-0.007
Sex (male)	-0.014	-0.014	-0.013	-0.239***	-0.238***	-0.224***
Nation (Israeli-Arab)	0.012	0.025	-0.036	-0.060	-0.064	-0.028
Parental education	-0.142***	-0.144***	-0.140***	0.047	0.046	0.009
<i>Closest grandfather factors</i>						
Age (in their seventies and above)		-0.006	-0.019		0.029	0.074
Lineage (maternal)		-0.004	0.008		0.003	-0.019
Geographical proximity		0.038	0.028		-0.019	0.017
<i>Adolescent-closest grandfather relationship</i>						
Involvement			0.080			0.108*
Emotional closeness			-0.203***			0.164***
ΔR^2	0.022**	0.001	0.025***	0.062***	0.001	0.053***
Adjusted R square			0.035			0.104

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Total adjustment difficulties: $F(9, 651) = 3.609$; $p < 0.001$; Prosocial behavior: $F(9, 652) = 9.246$; $p < 0.001$

The results of this study should be interpreted with caution given its limitations. Firstly, the study was based on a cross-sectional design, so the direction of associations between variables could not be determined. Future studies would benefit from adopting longitudinal designs to better understand the issues raised here. Furthermore, the current study focused mainly on examining the contribution of a close relationship with a grandfather to adolescents' adjustment and therefore centred on the closest grandfather in the analyses as opposed to considering the involvement of and emotional closeness to both maternal and paternal grandfathers. Future research should broaden the scope of the current examination and investigate the contribution of more than one grandfather. The small amount of variance accounted for by grandfather involvement and emotional closeness (especially in

adjustment difficulties) calls for caution when relying on the study's findings. In this study, only grandchildren's accounts were relied upon in assessing relationships with grandfathers. Future research should include additional informants, such as the parents and the grandfathers themselves.

Conclusion. Beyond the Stereotypical Grandfather Role

This chapter analysed adolescent grandchildren's relationships with their grandfathers and the contribution of these relationships to adolescents' levels of adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviours. Results revealed a different picture of grandfathers than the stereotypical portrayal of grandfathers as peripheral and distant figures. The Israeli adolescents surveyed in this study reported that they felt emotionally close to their closest grandfathers and that their grandfathers were significantly involved in their lives. These grandfathers play various roles in the lives of the adolescents, including being mentors, supporters, and providers of financial assistance and gifts. The role of men in families seems to be changing as families adjust to increased life expectancy, family breakdown, evolving gender roles, changing work patterns, and other factors (Sorenson and Cooper 2010; Wilton and Davey 2006). Advancing the understanding of grandfather–grandchild relationships is vital as these changing demographic and family processes indicate that older men are likely to play an increasingly significant role in the family (Sorenson and Cooper 2010). What follows is a discussion of the main findings of the study.

Although grandmothers were identified as the closest grandparent more often than grandfathers, there were no differences in adolescents' reports on the degree of closest grandfathers' and closest grandmothers' emotional closeness and involvement (see also Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009a). In addition, although boys tended more than girls to identify grandfathers as their closest grandparent, there were no differences between boys and girls in perceived emotional closeness to and involvement of the closest grandfathers.

Roberto et al. (2001) suggest that traditional stereotypes relating to differences in grandparent–grandchild relationships may be decreasing (see also Block 2000; Thomas 1989). As families change, men are becoming more involved in family relationships, and some gender differences are disappearing (Block 2000). Another explanation might be linked to this study's focus

on the closest grandparent, rather than on all living grandparents. The selection of the closest grandfather coincided with the purpose of the study, which was to examine the different aspects of a close and supportive relationship in adolescents' lives and the contribution of the relationship to their adjustment difficulties and pro-social behaviour. This system of selection may imply that the relative absence of differences associated with gender in the results means that in those relationships between grandparents and grandchildren that are good a priori (which may include more grandmothers and more maternal-lineage relationships), there are few differences associated with the grandchild's and grandparent's gender. In the bond between the adolescents and the closest grandparents, the role of the grandparent's and grandchild's gender appears to be marginal (Attar-Schwartz et al. 2009a).

Finally, it has been argued that gender patterns in grandparent–grandchild relationships may also depend on the age of the grandchildren (Mann et al. 2013; Spitze and Ward 1998). It seems that grandmothers are more involved than grandfathers with younger grandchildren but that grandfathers become more involved with older grandchildren to whom they may feel they have something to offer in terms of advice and mentoring in their transition to adulthood—a contribution that may be seen to reinforce masculinity (Mann et al. 2013; Waldrop et al. 1999). Future studies should further examine these possible explanations.

The study did find a higher level of emotional closeness to maternal closest grandfathers than paternal closest grandfathers and a statistically insignificant tendency towards higher involvement among maternal grandfathers. These findings strengthen the previous finding of matrilineal advantage in intergenerational relationships, which is sometimes attributed to women's roles (in this case, the grandfathers' daughters) as so-called kin-keepers (Thomas 1989). The latter are more likely to orient grandchildren towards greater involvement with maternal grandparents than paternal grandparents. These findings can also be explained in terms of the paternity uncertainty hypothesis (Coall and Hertwig 2011).

It is important to take culture into consideration when examining grandfather–adolescent relationships. The findings here show, firstly, that more Arab adolescents than Jewish adolescents identify their paternal grandfather as the closest grandfather. This tendency may be explained by the characteristics of the Arab family, which, although it has experienced some changes in recent decades, is more collectivist, patriarchal, and patrilocal than

the Jewish family (for a review see Haj-Yahia-Abu Ahmad 2006). These findings are in line with King and Elder's (1995) study showing a greater prominence of paternal grandparents in farm families in rural America, which, they suggested, reflected the more interdependent nature of farm family life.

There were also greater gaps between Arab boys and girls than Jewish boys and girls in the lineage of the selected closest grandfather. This echoes the findings of other studies in Israel showing greater gender gaps between Arab girls and boys than between Jewish girls and boys in behaviours and perceptions (e.g. Attar-Schwartz 2013), which similarly coincides with the traditional and patriarchal nature of Arab society in general compared with Jewish society in general.

The study also showed that more Arab adolescents lived closer to their closest grandfather and felt their closest grandfather was more involved in their lives than Jewish adolescents. More Arab adolescents than Jewish adolescents reported that their closest grandfather had looked after them. It may be that, like the farm families in King and Elder's (1995) study, in Arab families contact with grandparents is not limited to occasional visits, vacations, or holidays, and that, given their greater geographical proximity, they have greater access on average to Arab children's everyday life than Jewish grandparents have to their grandchildren.

However, the findings show a higher level of emotional closeness to grandfathers among Jewish adolescents than among Arab adolescents. It may be that emotional closeness, which is commonly seen to be linked with informality, is less reported among Arab adolescents because of perhaps higher levels of authority and respect connected to the grandfather figure in traditional societies (see Attar-Schwartz and Buchanan 2012 for a review). This finding and its possible meaning should be further explored in future studies, using qualitative research methods.

The main findings of the study showed that greater emotional closeness and involvement were associated with increased pro-social behaviour and that emotional closeness to the closest grandfather was associated with increased pro-social behaviour. This finding is in line with international studies linking better grandparent–grandchild relationships and adolescent well-being (e.g. Griggs et al. 2010; Yorgason et al. 2011). Although this study used cross-sectional data, one possible implication of the association between better grandfather–grandchild relationship and fewer adjustment difficulties and more pro-social behaviour is that active and close contact

with grandfathers is an important factor for adolescent adjustment and that this relationship is important in understanding variations in adolescents' outcomes (Attar-Schwartz, *in press*). The contribution of grandfather involvement and emotional closeness to pro-social behaviour might be explained by various mechanisms, including the formation of secure attachments and the internalization of values held by grandparents who serve as role models and mentors. Another possibility is that adolescents may learn to develop empathy and pro-social skills by assisting their grandparents with chores, errands, and in other ways (see Wild and Gaibie 2014 for a review). The contribution of grandfathering to reduced adolescent adjustment difficulties can be direct, such as when grandfathers listen to their grandchildren. But it can also be indirect, for example, as an assistance that reduces parental stress, thereby increasing effective parenting, which is linked with reduced adjustment difficulties in children (Attar-Schwartz and Buchanan 2012). This finding is in line with ecological paradigm and family systems theories, which suggest that supportive relationships with family members outside the immediate family are linked to better adjustment for children and adolescents. These findings indicate that male grandparents' roles in the lives of adolescent grandchildren should be further explored and recognized in the intergenerational literature.

In sum, the investigation presented here emphasizes the need to examine adolescents' adjustment and well-being from a social ecological perspective, taking into account not only their characteristics and those of their immediate family but also factors outside the family. Practitioners should consider working across generations, taking into account the potential benefits that adolescents can accrue from both grandfathers and grandmothers to strengthen the entire family. This is especially important as research shows that the emotional benefits of grandparent contact may persist into adulthood (Ruiz and Silverstein 2007). Currently, grandfathers' potential contribution to children's and adolescents' development is largely unacknowledged by the current literature and by professionals working with children and adolescents. Evidence from this research can serve as a platform for further investigation of the influence of grandfathers on the well-being of their grandchildren in various cultural contexts.

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16

Conclusions: What Have We Learnt?

Anna Rotkirch and Ann Buchanan

Introduction

This chapter brings together the key findings from the preceding chapters. In Chap. 1, we summarized the key questions of this book: How involved are grandfathers with their grandchildren? How is the cultural role of grandfathers changing? What factors are associated with being an involved grandfather today?

We also asked what the links were between grandfather involvement and grandfathers' own health and well-being, and what the links were between this involvement and the well-being of grandchildren. Finally, we

A. Rotkirch
Population Research Institute, Väestöliitto, Finland

A. Buchanan (✉)
Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford, Oxford,
UK
e-mail: ann.buchanan@spi.ox.ac.uk

asked why some grandfathers are not involved with their grandchildren and what the policy implications are of the various studies presented in this book.

How Involved Are Grandfathers with Their Grandchildren? Stories of Continuity and Change

The role of grandfathers is shaped by cultural traditions and social expectations, as demonstrated in Chap. 3. This chapter illustrated that grandfatherhood was formed by expectations of male behaviour and the values attached to kin and the elderly at any given time. The traditional role, which in several ways continues in many contemporary societies, was that of the family patriarch.

In myths since the time of Abraham, grandfathers have expressed an interest in their grandchildren, especially grandsons. From what we know of early family history, grandchildren and grandfathers have always shared important relationships. From the grandfathers' perspective, grandchildren, especially boys, represented their legacy after life and the future of their family. From the grandchildren's point of view, the patriarchal grandfather often held the key to future family resources, so it was helpful to stay close. As seen in Boccaccio literary history, grandfathers were also respected for handing on their experience and for their mentoring, especially of young men.

Indeed, the notion of a patriarchal society and of patriarchy refers to the authority of the oldest man in the male lineage, or the paternal grandfather. Where patriarchal traditions are strong, as in the East Asian family system but also in large parts of the rest of Asia and in Africa, this traditional role remains. Also, where inheritance plays a large role, the role of the elderly male in the family is prominent.

However, the position of grandfathers was threatened when large numbers of surviving elders had to be supported, such as during the Great Plague in Europe, or when immediate family members started branching out on their own in the Industrial Revolution. Elderly men could

then be perceived as a burden. However, as grandfathers lived longer and remained healthier in old age, they were more available to help out with grandchildren. In modern times, with changing families, dual-earner couples, more lone parents, and more divorces, parents of these grandchildren welcome the help of their own parents. At the same time, acceptable male roles have become broader. The goal of gender equality includes bringing men as fathers closer to their children and is gradually being reflected on grandfathers too. It appears that many grandfathers have adapted to the new realities of their lives and created a new 'niche' for themselves, as David Coall and co-authors suggest in Chap. 2. No longer are these grandfathers the distant patriarch; instead, they appear as more involved and caring figures, with emotionally close relationships with grandsons and granddaughters.

Ongoing changes in society support and enhance the new role that many grandfathers are playing. Firstly, as we saw in Chap. 1, population ageing is increasing. Although marked differences in the number of old people exist between regions, with improving health these are likely to diminish. In more developed regions, almost one-fifth of the population was aged 60 or older in 2000. In less developed regions, the figure is currently 8 % but is expected to rise to 20 % by 2050. By 2050, the number of older persons in the world will exceed the number of young for the first time (UN Population Division 2002).

As a result of ongoing demographic changes, families around the world are having fewer children, but the children have become more valuable, so that grandfathers may be investing more resources in their grandchildren. Such resources may include financial help, from helping young families to travel or engage in a hobby to providing housing and daily subsistence during sudden life crises, such as illness or unemployment. In addition, they are also investing their time (as George Leeson notes in Chap. 4) and are more involved in actual grandchild care.

The increase in the number of lone mothers, whether as a result of never having married or following divorce, places further demands on grandparents. Some grandfathers are undertaking an important role as surrogate partners and fathers (Harper and Ruicheva 2010), and, as Chap. 2 suggests, these may be especially important in single-parent families.

The important question is: why do grandfathers care? Has there been a direct benefit from grandfathers for humans from an evolutionary perspective? Anthropological and biological studies find no evidence for this hypothesis, as shown in Chap. 2. Studies show that the presence of a grandfather does not necessarily increase child survival, and indeed in some cases it might actually jeopardize the survival of offspring. In contrast, there is ample evidence to show that the presence of a grandmother is associated with improved survival rates. Thus, to the extent that male old age has resulted from natural selection, this is probably not due to the benefits of grandfathering to previous generations. Instead, the involvement of grandfathers appears to be a by-product of the general capacity of human males to attach to and raise a small child and of other evolutionary pressures enabling a long human lifespan, which modern medicine and technology are currently further prolonging.

Is the grandfather involved in caring for economic reasons? According to Becker (1974), a parent's welfare is partly a function of the welfare of future generations. Parents altruistically shift resources to their children (e.g. skills and education) to improve the children's lives and use wealth transfers to equalize outcomes across children. The self-interest theory, on the other hand, suggests that grandparents invest in their children in the hope that the children will reciprocate this kindness by looking after them when they need it in old age. The problem with both these theories is that most grandparent resources in wealthy societies are transferred on death rather than as an altruistic or self-interest investment during their lifetime. Furthermore, contrary to the self-interest assumption, there is little evidence that either children or grandchildren consistently reciprocate with amounts of investment equal to those flowing downwards in the generational chain. Sociological theory refines the self-interest theory and suggests that grandparents preferentially invest in those grandchildren whose parents are likely to reciprocate in the future. This reflects Finch's study in the UK on family obligations (1989). The obligation to help relatives is selective and, to some extent, dependent on the help they have given you. The so-called proper thing to do is to repay those who offered support to you in the past (Finch 1989). On the other hand, both parents and grandparents may also favour those younger relatives who are most in need of help. The prompt help given with respect to housing or

cash in crisis situations, such as illness, divorce, or unemployment, is a crucial feature of grandparental help (Buchanan and Ten Brinke 1997).

So why are grandfathers becoming more involved with their grandchildren? There is obviously no one reason, because grandfathers are as diverse as are their grandchildren. One explanation is that they can: they have the time, they have the health, they have the resources, travelling is easier, and their children have the need for extra help with the grandchildren. Another major reason is that grandfathers participate in the increase in care and attention contemporary children receive. A third reason is that the softening up of the traditional masculine role, especially in Western societies, has made it culturally acceptable for men to participate in the care of young children. In addition, it could be that, having often missed out on much of the childhoods of their own children, many grandfathers are now discovering the joys of being involved with their grandchildren. As described in this book, Australia, the UK, and Denmark are among the countries in which older men are entering grandfatherhood at a time when social mores about fathering are encouraging men to be increasingly involved in children's lives.

The time a child spends with a close family member is often aimed at improving the child's cognitive and social abilities, and in today's post-industrial societies, cognitive and social skills are increasingly valued for a successful work career. The role of men as fathers may be especially important for a child's cognitive development (Nettle 2003). Can this male role in child-rearing add to the importance of grandpaternal care for grandchildren?

This volume suggests that the grandpaternal 'niche' may emerge not only from the needs of the child's parents and the demographic availability of grandparents but from the changing demands of child-rearing with the heightened importance of social and cognitive skills. Having a trusted grandfather who takes time to play with the child, helps with homework, or teaches the child how to observe nature may be of value not only in and of itself but also as measured in long-term and economic benefits. However, as of yet, results are too scarce and the whole phenomenon may be too new to provide conclusive evidence.

Cultural Transformation and Challenges

The different parts of this book have reported on studies from societies as diverse as the Maori in New Zealand, Chinese families in Singapore, Australia, the USA, Denmark, Finland, Israel (Arab and Jewish adolescents), South Africa, and the UK that highlight the social and cultural variations of grandfathers. Overall, there are common features in the roles grandfathers play that are reminiscent of the history of grandfathers in the UK and the USA, as seen in Chap. 3: supporting strong family bonds to ensure the future of the family and preserving culture and religion, values and skills, family and kin history, and language. Common ingredients are also the preferential treatment for sons and grandsons, and generally there is a history of respect for elders. But as new realities emerge, there is also evidence of change. Grandfathers are having to reconstruct themselves, towards greater individuality, more respect for girls, and a loosening of ties to old ways in the face of globalization and industrialization. This cultural change, perhaps epitomized by the loss of indigenous languages as in the case of the Maori, is not a smooth or easy process.

In Chap. 6, we read of how the Maori in New Zealand have a tribal (*iwi*) culture involving much sharing of parenting across the village environment (*kainga*). Unusually, Maori men have always been involved in childcare, so much so that observers in the nineteenth century remarked how this contrasted with their own culture (Jenkins and Harte 2011). A significant story told among the Maori is of their famous Pacific ancestor Maui, who was raised by his grandfather, *Tama nui te ra* (the sun). As in other cultures, the grandfather role is considered an important one for passing on knowledge of culture, history, and skills to grandchildren.

Chinese grandfathers in Singapore (Chap. 7), on the other hand, engage in little hands-on childcare, although they enjoy playing with children. In one of the illustrative case studies, where the family were all gathered at the hospital after the birth of a grandson, the grandmother asked, 'Who will take care of the child?' When the grandfather answered that he would, the grandmother commented in disbelief, 'I have never heard of a grandfather taking care of grandkids.'

At the centre of Chinese grandparenting is the Confucian concept of filial piety, according to which elders are respected and indeed sons and daughters have a moral responsibility to care for their elders. Elders are expected

to educate the young in moral values and beliefs. The daily expression of filial piety is co-residence, which is very common. Living together or close by facilitates the sharing of the care of both young and old.

Western values are to some extent eroding some of the strong cultural patterns in both Maori and Chinese families. In New Zealand, many Maori are marrying outside their culture. A census in 2011 showed that less than half of Maori men had partnered with a Maori wife. As they move from agricultural tribal areas to towns for work, they become separated from their tribal heritage; the co-residence of the generations has broken down, and women have had the opportunity to work and become more independent.

Among Singaporean Chinese families, Western values about parenting are creeping in, and grandparents' views on child-rearing are considered old-fashioned, which is challenging their role as educators and advisors of the next generation. Some grandparents find the boundary between transmitting values and discipline unclear and problematic. A major concern for both Maori and Chinese in Singapore is the preservation of their language, which is proving particularly challenging while living in predominantly English-speaking communities.

Of special interest, however, is that in these two settings, Maori and Chinese in Singapore, traditional values have been encoded in the legal systems. In Singapore, the Maintenance of Parents Act of 1995 requires families to care for their elders, as also required under traditional filial piety, and in New Zealand, the Children and Young Persons and Their Families Act of 1989, strongly influenced by Maori concepts of collective responsibility for children, mandates that extended family be the preferred placement for children in need of care and protection.

In contrast to the strong cultural respect given to elders, as seen previously, are those societies of sub-Saharan Africa or Creole, where apartheid and slavery often eroded the bonds between men and their families (Therborn 2004). Few enslaved African American men survived to grandparenthood. Similarly under apartheid, mortality rates were much higher among coloured and black African men compared to the white population. Under both regimes, there was an entrenched system of enforced migration. In South Africa, large numbers of coloured men were imprisoned or sent away to industrial school or work camps. Under slavery, slaves could arbitrarily be sold away to work in another area without regard for family ties. The impact of both systems is that large numbers of children lived

apart from their fathers. The legacy continues to this day since, in South Africa, fewer than 40 % of black African children were living with their fathers in 2002, compared to almost 90 % of white children.

Wild's study in South Africa, reported in Chap. 14, illustrates how, despite the deficit models that emphasize South African men's lack of interest, abandonment, neglect, and abuse of children, there is also a strong positive message. Where grandfathers are involved with their grandchildren, they can overcome the legacy of their difficult history and have a beneficial impact on their grandchildren.

Other studies in this book, from Israel (both Arab and Jews) and from Finland, Denmark, the UK, and the USA, reveal a traditional patriarchal role for grandfathers, which in most areas is slowly evolving into a gentler, more involved, more nurturing behaviour pattern, giving rise to the term 'new grandfather'. Grandfathers' interest is not only in their grandsons but also in their granddaughters, and they are encouraged to actively participate in the lives of their young grandchildren.

However, not everything is changing. Often men are still seen as having less responsibility for children in the presence of their wives, and grandmothers are often more eager, while grandfathers are more reluctant, to undertake the physical care of young grandchildren. As seen in Chap. 8, in Australia, there remains a strong gendered division in grandparental care of grandchildren.

In less patriarchal societies, maternal grandparents tend to be closer and more involved with their grandchildren compared to paternal grandparents. Studies throughout contemporary Europe consistently find that the paternal grandfather is the most distant figure from the grandchild's perspective. Thus the traditional head of the family, the patriarch of the paternal line, has today often been relegated to a marginal role in the cultural imagery.

What Factors Are Associated with Being an Involved Grandfather?

Why are some men involved grandfathers? Firstly, of course, they must live long enough to become grandfathers. In prehistoric agrarian societies there were always old men, but blind Abraham in the Bible was a

rare figure. After industrialization and the advent of modern medicine and technologies, people lived longer and stayed healthy, and there were more opportunities to interact with grandchildren. However, during the last half century, although men in industrialized countries have been living longer, many of their children have been having children later, in some cases cutting short the opportunity of grandparent involvement. As Knudsen shows in Chap. 9 in his extensive analysis of grandfather involvement in eleven European countries, women, because they usually marry men older than themselves and because they live longer, have an advantage in the grandparent stakes. Partnered men are also more likely to be involved with grandchildren.

Lineage also plays an important role. Most studies reported here (for example Chap. 10) note that maternal grandfathers are more involved than paternal grandfathers. An interesting exception is that Arab boys in the Israeli study reported to be closer to their paternal grandfathers than their maternal ones, in contrast to Jewish boys, where the preference was for the maternal grandfathers (Chap. 15).

Where grandparents live is related to the amount of contact they have with grandchildren. In societies where co-residence is common, such as the Chinese in Singapore and Arab families in the Israeli study, there will of course be considerable interaction among the generations. Many grandparents, as we saw in our original UK study of grandparents mentioned in Chap. 13, although not co-resident, live close to grandchildren.

Leeson noted that in Denmark there was no difference in the amount of grandfather involvement between those living in an agricultural area and those living in an urban area, but distance between families was one of the factors limiting grandfather involvement (Chap. 4). As we saw in the UK study of grandparents, increasingly modern technology, such as Skype, allows families to maintain some sort of relationship between generations.

One major barrier to ongoing contact is divorce in either generation. As outlined in the Finnish study (Chap. 10), grandparental divorce upsets intergenerational relationships, especially for men. Divorced grandmothers may continue seeing their grandchildren. Grandfathers are less likely to do so, particularly if they have remarried.

As the grandfather's health declines, involvement will become more strained. At this time, however, some young people, who have developed good relationships in their early years, choose to maintain contact. Leeson's Danish study suggested that the key ingredient in ongoing inter-generational relationships was that, in a busy world, grandfathers had time. Often this was the one ingredient that their working children did not have.

What Are the Links Between Grandfather Involvement and Their Own Health and Well-Being?

In Chap. 11, Julia Hicks and her colleagues draw from national surveys and other empirical studies in the USA and Canada to illustrate the broad effects of raising grandchildren on the physical health and well-being of custodial and caregiving grandfathers. Among the custodial grandfathers, at least a quarter had one disability and more than half worked full-time. Compared to their female counterparts, custodial grandfathers are more likely to report depressive symptoms and to receive less social support as well as greater levels of life disruption. In the USA, custodial grandparenting is more common among minority families, who may be more likely to live in poverty. Bates and Taylor (2012) in the USA investigated the differences in depressive symptoms in a sample of over 300 grandfathers. They found that involved grandfathers had significantly fewer depressive symptoms and significantly higher scores on positive affect than disengaged grandfathers and there was a positive health benefit for these involved older men.

The differences between the two studies may be explained by the amount of time grandfathers spend in caring. Glaser et al. (2014) found that intensive care of grandchildren (more than 30 hours a week) was associated with less good outcomes for both grandchildren and grandparents, while less intensive care was associated with generally positive outcomes. Intensive grandparental care was also associated with isolation and hardship among grandparents.

There is thus a limit to the beneficial aspects of grandparent involvement. Custodial grandparenting may nevertheless often be the best alternative for

a family in crisis, compared to other options. However, when there is a choice, grandparenting is in many ways best if it does not replace parenting. Full-time childcare may be stressful for grandparents and not necessarily beneficial for children compared to parental care.

The adage that a grandparent is good as long as the grandparent does not become the parent may be especially true for grandfathers.

What Are the Links Between Grandparent Involvement and Grandchild Well-Being?

How do grandfathers affect the well-being of grandchildren? The four studies discussed in Chaps. 12, 13, 14, and 15 all involved original research published here for the first time. In all these studies associations are found between grandfather involvement and various measures of child well-being. The study in Chap. 12 considered the impact of grandfather involvement on children in the first years of primary school, and the other three on adolescents in secondary school.

Chapter 12 used UK data from 5735 children who took part in the Millennium Study to explore the associations between child development in the early years and grandfather involvement. This is one of the few studies to look at associations between grandparent involvement and benefits to young children. Grandfather involvement was measured by how frequently they were in contact with their grandchildren, and child development was measured by the Foundation Stage Profile (FSP) reported by teachers. The FSP measures 'early learning goals' over the first years of primary school. Results showed that having contact with maternal grandfathers correlated with higher FSP scores compared to children with no contact. However, daily contact with grandfathers was not associated with significantly higher FSP scores. The implication is that 'intensive' daily grandfather care, as seen earlier, may not be particularly beneficial for small children. Although this work is a preliminary study and some of the findings are tentative, it does suggest a possible value in conducting further work on the association between grandfather involvement and young children.

The studies in Chaps. 13, 14, and 15 all involved adolescents who reported on their grandfathers' involvement in their lives. The three studies,

one from England and Wales, another from South Africa, and the third from Israel (involving both Arab and Israeli Jewish children), all evolved from the original National Grandparent Study in the UK, led by the lead author of this book. The three studies broadly used the same methodology, questionnaires, and measures of adolescent well-being and grandfather involvement. The UK study involved 1500 young people aged 11 to 16, as well as thirty in-depth interviews. The findings showed that, although grandmothers were more involved with grandchildren, many grandfathers played an important, yet different, role in their grandchildren's lives, and this involvement, independent of grandmothers, was associated with child well-being. Grandfathers were more involved in mentoring, engaging in physical activities, and advising about future careers. It was apparent from interviews that parents were gatekeepers with respect to the involvement of grandfathers, and divorce in either generation was a barrier to grandfathers' involvement. Some young people expressed sadness that they were no longer in contact with their grandfathers.

In the South African study, 380 high school students were drawn from a recent survey of predominately 'coloured' (mixed-race) adolescents in Grades 8 and 9 who were around 14 years old. Approximately half of the adolescents had at least weekly contact with grandfathers, who were mostly from the maternal side of the family. Although the involvement of paternal grandfathers was not associated with greater adolescent well-being, more involvement by maternal grandfathers was associated with fewer emotional symptoms in the adolescents when the involvement of both parents and grandmothers was taken into account. The author concludes that maternal grandfathers in South Africa make a contribution to promoting adolescent well-being that is independent of, and different to, the positive contribution of grandmothers. In a society with limited resources, this is an important finding that could also benefit from further exploration.

The third study involved a sample of almost 3000 Jewish and Arab adolescents aged 12 to 17 in Israel. The findings revealed significant links between an adolescent's emotional closeness to the closest grandfather and reduced adjustment difficulties, as well as increased pro-social behaviour across both the Israeli and Arab children.

The three studies, from very different cultural traditions, strongly suggest that across cultures, grandfathers may have a positive link with

children's well-being. To our knowledge, this is the first time that this finding has been expressed using cross-cultural evidence.

Inevitably, the studies must be viewed with caution. The three adolescent studies were reported by the adolescents themselves with no external verification. Also, they were cross-sectional studies, taking place at one moment in time. Further research, in particular longitudinal research, is needed to clarify whether the results seen will be evident into adulthood.

None of the studies in this part of the book can prove causation; they can only detect correlations between grandfather involvement and various measures of child well-being. That is, we cannot yet prove that grandfather involvement causes greater well-being for both grandfathers and their grandchildren. Although other confounding factors, such as age and geographical distance, were often taken into account, other factors may explain these associations. The trickiest question to disentangle appears to relate to the interaction between two grandparents, or how much grandfathering is affected by grandmothering. For instance, we know from studies of fathers that the quality of the couple relationship influences male parenting more than it influences female parenting. It would be interesting to know the extent to which a man's investment in his grandchildren is also affected by his couple relationship and, for instance, to study how marital satisfaction affects grandparenting. As suggested in Chap. 12, the involvement of grandfathers does appear to be affected more by their current marital status compared to grandmothers.

We also need to remember that, although the associations were statistically significant, that is greater than could be expected by chance, they were typically not very large. Neither do they, obviously, apply to all: every family has its individual characteristics, and statistical associations only deal with averages and associations among large numbers of families.

Why Are Some Grandfathers Not Involved?

The findings summarized to date present a rather comfortable picture of the possible benefits of grandfather involvement and intergenerational harmony. Why then are not all grandfathers similarly involved?

In Chap. 1, we saw that 42 % of grandfathers provided regular or occasional help with grandchildren during the last 12 months. Although the proportion is notable, this means that the majority of grandfathers do not provide such help. In Europe in 2004, one in two grandfathers provided some childcare in the last 12 months; again, this also means that half did not. In Italy and Greece, one-third of grandfathers provided grandchild care at least weekly (Hank and Buber 2009), while two-thirds did not.

Some grandfathers, of course, as we have seen, may not be involved because they are dead, too old, or incapable, or they have no spouse to share the care. Other grandfathers may have only minimal involvement: perhaps they live too far away and are only in touch through the occasional letter or telephone call. Still other grandfathers feel no obligation to help; they may feel this is not their role or wish to spend their time in this way. But Chap. 5, on the parents' perspective, suggests that there are other important reasons. Parents, and mothers in particular, are the gatekeepers. Mothers and fathers must make judgements about how safe their children are with grandparents. Chapter 5 suggests that, in the main, this relates to grandparent frailty and whether they feel the grandparents can cope with a boisterous youngster.

Parents' relations with their own parents and with their parents-in-law, however, crucially influence how much access grandfathers have to their grandchildren. Fraught relationships in the parents' own childhood may influence whether they wish their children to have continuing contact with grandparents. Earlier work by Buchanan and Ten Brinke (1997) tracked children's relationships with their parents over 33 years and explored what happened in adult life. Those children with more complicated childhoods (periods in state care, periods of severe deprivation, split families) were less likely to ask their parents for help with grandchildren, and where there had been extensive conflict, very little connection existed between the generations. The arrival of a partner or spouse may bring further strife. In Chap. 5, we saw some mothers struggling with grandparental disapproval, even racist comments, because their own parents did not like or approve of their spouse.

Divorce, in either generation, as we saw in Chap. 10, is a great divider. Divorced maternal grandmothers are more likely to stay in touch, but

grandfathers may move on with their new lives or new families. In highly conflictual divorces, as seen in another earlier study by the author, mothers may cut off contact with paternal grandparents (Buchanan et al. 2001).

Sometimes there are also concerns that grandfathers may actually present a risk to their children. Such concerns may include very serious issues detrimental to child safety and well-being, such as aggressive behaviour, substance abuse, or sexual abuse. Milder but still real causes for concern relate to possible child neglect, or lapses in safe-driving capabilities and memory functioning, for example. Obviously, some of these parental worries can also concern grandmothers, but many of these reflect more typically masculine risk factors when interacting with small children. Such issues were mentioned in Chap. 5.

In sum, a particularly important question is to explain why paternal grandfathers are so often the least involved grandparents. They tend to be less involved than both maternal grandparents and less involved than their spouses. While the more distant role of paternal grandfathers has by now been often noted, it has not been properly explained. How much is this something the grandchildren or grandfathers have wished for or tried to influence? At least some paternal grandparents feel they have been 'shut out' from the lives of their grandchildren and would like to participate more. How common is this feeling of being rejected, and what are the parents' reasons for shutting out grandparents? On the other hand, some parents feel that grandparents participate less than they, the parents, would have wished for, perhaps that their fathers have other interests in life that take priority over being with the grandchildren. More research is needed on the family dynamics that create the notable differences between the involvement of maternal and paternal grandfathers.

What Are the Policy Implications?

Family policies have traditionally focused on the nuclear family and tend to marginalize the importance and potential of men as caregivers. One central aim of this book is to highlight the contributions older men make to their families. The findings from this book suggest that when

grandfathers are involved with their grandchildren, this may be of benefit to both. Paying attention to the new ‘grandpaternal niche’ can inform social services and help develop family policies.

However, as with all family relationships, the policy implications are not always straightforward. There are also real concerns about grandfather involvement in a minority of cases and whether the involvement is ‘too large’. Crucially, there is still much to learn.

This book is the first to bring together research from around the world showing that many grandfathers are making an important contribution to their grandchildren’s lives, and this contribution is independent of and different to that provided by grandmothers. In a fast-changing scenario, with more divorce, more single parents, smaller families, and increasing emphasis on the importance of investing in children’s cognitive and emotional development, can we as a society afford to ignore the possible contribution of older men to their families?

What Can Be Done to Foster the Involvement of Grandfathers?

What can the wider society do to make grandfathers more welcome? Too often, as we saw in Chap. 5, older men are turned away from school events for fear that they pose a risk to children. But some UK schools bite the bullet and now have Grandparents’ Days, where grandparents are invited along. Another charity, called Full Circle, in the UK brings children and older people together on a weekly basis with the aim of nurturing friendship and understanding among generations. Every week, a small group of older volunteers come together with children to spend a lunchtime [session](#) in school. Together, they share a range of extra-curricular activities that are fun and creative and that help to develop relationships and build friendships. At times, the groups have particular themes, such as gardening. Each of the groups is run by a facilitator, who organizes the activities and ensures that the group runs smoothly. Through spending time together, older volunteers are able to pass on their skills and life experiences. Children benefit from the care and attention of new friends. By getting to know each other, each group builds up mutual understanding and respect. Occasionally Full

Circle groups take place in settings for older people, such as day centres and residential homes. Full Circle has also recently been supporting and guiding other groups and organizations to set up their own intergenerational projects (www.fullcircleoxon.org.uk). Others in this book have suggested the building of mixed-generation housing estates (Chap. 12). There are numerous possibilities. Although we need to be cognizant of those cases where grandfathers pose a risk to grandchildren, we should not place unnecessary barriers in the way of the many grandfathers who pose no risk and indeed may prove an important resource. We also need to think about how we can reduce the barriers to their involvement with their grandchildren, as well as how to monitor the involvement, if necessary.

It will therefore be sad if the fear of paedophiles prevents the majority of healthy men from engaging with children. Obviously, all those involved will always have to be carefully screened.

What Can Family Policy Do?

Around the world, the most common form of care for children who cannot be looked after by their own parents is care by kin, most commonly grandmothers and grandfathers. In the developing world, some 80–91 % of children are cared for by their kin. And yet, the United Nations estimates that up to eight million children are living in care institutions, so-called orphanages. For all children, long-term stays in institutions can have a lasting negative impact. Families living in poverty, however, sometimes feel that placing their children into care is the only way to ensure they get an education and enough food and other essentials. Discrimination and cultural taboos also mean that in some countries a disproportionate number of girls, disabled children, and children from minority ethnic groups are relinquished or abandoned to care institutions (Save the Children Fund 2009). In Europe there was also the belief that children could be ‘rescued’ from failing families to enjoy a better life in state care (Fox Harding 1997). Today, however, evidence of the harm caused by institutional care and efforts to support families living in poverty and social exclusion have shown that many children can now safely live with their parents (Save the Children 2009). Where children cannot be cared for by their parents,

there is greater recognition that in most cases, the best interests of the child are better met, not by institutional care, but by family and friends care, most commonly the grandmother and the grandfather.

A major concern is that because the carers are 'family', they may not receive the help to enable them to cope. As we saw earlier, 'intensive care' by grandparents is associated with the grandparents' own poor health and depression, which is not beneficial for grandchildren (Glaser et al. 2014). Grandparents Plus in the UK found some of these grandparents had given up work to care for grandchildren and were living in poverty. Research by Hunt and Waterhouse (2013) in the UK notes that much more financial and emotional help is needed for grandmothers and grandfathers who take on full-time care of grandchildren. As we saw, in the UK some of the parental benefits have been extended to grandparents who are full-time carers. In addition to allowances, Hunt and Waterhouse (2013) recommend that hubs in each community, involving both grandmothers and grandfathers, ought to be set up to support kinship carers. Although the recommendation is based on UK research, it is possible to imagine the benefits of similar hubs being established in communities in both the developed and developing world.

What Legal Barriers Are There to Contact with Grandfathers?

A continuing dilemma in many areas of the world is how to respond to grandparents who want ongoing contact with their grandchildren but who find that this is being denied by the parents. Following marital disputes, despite the evidence of the possible value of ongoing relationships with grandparents, there is strong legal resistance in many countries to allowing grandparents any rights, even visitation rights. In the UK, for example, Grandparents Association (now merged with Grandparent Plus) in England and Wales estimates that over one million grandparents are denied contact with their grandchildren (GP+/Grandparents Association 2015). Paternal grandparents in particular may find themselves excluded from their former role in a grandchild's life once the child's father no longer resides with the child.

In many Asian countries, it would be unthinkable that grandparents should not have visitation rights to see their grandchildren (Buchanan 2014). Under Confucian teachings, family obligation means that members must care for each other: young for old and old for young. It is hard to care if there is no contact.

It is interesting to explore how other countries have responded to this dilemma. In the USA, following a massive effort on the part of grandparents (Jackson 1994), visitation rights are now commonplace. But the conditions vary from state to state (see grandparents.com). In some judgements, courts have preferred the rights of the parents to decide who children should be allowed to associate with. In the Supreme Court case *Troxel v. Granville*, it was felt that granting visitation rights to grandparents was unconstitutional because it interfered unduly with parental decision-making (Dey and Wasoff 2006).

In Germany and Italy, grandparents have visitation rights provided these are compatible with the child's welfare (Ferguson 2004).

In Canada, grandparents are not mentioned specifically in the federal laws that govern contact with a child. Six provinces, however, and Yukon Territory have statutes that specifically address grandparents' rights. In most provinces grandparents must petition for access to children like any other interested party. However, in Quebec, grandparents are specifically mentioned in the province's statutes: 'In no case may the father or mother, without grave reason, interfere with personal relations between the child and his grandparents' (Grandparents Rights (Canada) 2015).

More recently, in Italy, judges have accepted that Italy's failure to enforce the contact rights of two grandparents violated human rights laws. The applicants, Franca Manuello and Palo Nevi, complained to the European Court over their inability to see their granddaughter (Human Rights Europe 2015).

In Australia, grandparents have the right to submit an application for time with their grandchildren under the Family Law Act; however, if they want to spend time with their grandchildren and this is not agreed by the parents of the children, grandparents can invite the parents to participate in mediation. Grandparents are specifically referred to in the legislation as people who may apply for orders to spend time with children or to have the children live with them (Family Law Matters Australia 2015).

In many other countries, the dilemma of no contact is compounded for example in Scandinavia and Finland because grandparents are under obligation to ensure the well-being of the child (e.g. in foster placements or following parental divorce). However, no clear practices exist for visitation rights of grandparents, and grandparental associations are only beginning to make their voices heard. Of course, without visitation rights it may be difficult for grandparents to ensure the well-being of their grandchildren.

In England and Wales and under separate legislation in Scotland, grandparents must apply for 'leave of the court' to submit an application for contact with grandchildren. For grandparents on limited means, this can be quite an expensive procedure. Both in England/Wales and Scotland there has been considerable debate about whether this step should be removed. In a survey of the general population by Wasoff and Martin (2005) in Scotland, 92 % felt the paternal grandparents should have the same right of contact as the father after separation. But in both legislatures, following reviews (Family Justice Review 2011 [Norgrove 2011] and Scottish Law Commission 2005), it was decided that removing the need to apply for leave would lead to vexatious applications and increased conflict for the children. As a token of recognition of the role grandparents play, the Grandchildren's Charter in Scotland aimed to foster greater cooperation between parents and grandparents, and in England and Wales, parenting plans, undertaken by separating parents in mediation, were encouraged to consider the child's links with grandparents and the wider family. But whether this actually happened was up to the parents.

The main concern in legislating for grandparental rights to contact with grandchildren is that the courts are naturally reluctant, in cases of sharp conflict, to add to the marital dispute by involving grandparents. A very influential exploratory study by Douglas and Ferguson (2003), which is cited in Australia as well as UK, concluded that grandparents should not be accorded specific legal rights by virtue of their status. The study found that following a parental divorce, although most grandparents continued to see their grandchildren, after the divorce there was an increase in the numbers of paternal grandparents who rarely or never saw their grandchildren and a decline in the numbers having very frequent contact.

Those grandparents (only two cases) who had contemplated taking legal action had been deterred by the high cost and possible family upset.

Mason (2012), charting the roller coaster of child custody over the last half century in the USA, remarks that in the dizzying shifts and changes in law regarding who has rights to children, the one voice that was almost never heard was that of children. However, in our representative study of over 1500 young people in England and Wales (Buchanan and Flouri 2008), the young people felt it was their 'right' to have contact with their grandparents. Pragmatically, they realized that grandparents had access to resources that could be useful to them. However, they were not keen on grandparents being involved in their parents' divorce proceedings because they felt it would fuel family disputes.

A few grandparents, as seen in the Douglas and Ferguson (2003) study, may not want to have ongoing contact, and in some cases the child's best interests may not be met by seeing their grandparents, but for many young people there may be positive benefits, over both the short and long term, in keeping in touch with grandparents as long as this can be achieved without too much conflict.

So How Can Ongoing Contact Be Achieved Without Conflict?

In 2007, Kaganas, in an article on grandparents' rights and grandparents' campaigns, noted that despite the legal situation in Scotland, a new norm had appeared in favour of grandparent contact, and this had the potential to influence the way mediators and conciliators carried out their functions. She suggested that the norm of grandparent contact was also set to influence the way in which lawyers advised clients to conduct negotiations.

The Scottish organization Grandparents Apart Self Help (GASH www.grandparentsapart.co.uk) goes further than most other campaigning bodies. GASH suggests that there should be a change in the law to give 'presumption of contact' with grandparents. The organization suggests that this would encourage those involved to attend conciliation/crisis counselling to assist in finding a compromise. They feel this must be made mandatory to avoid the parents cutting out the wider family from their child's

life (GASH/Kaganas 2007). The Quebec stipulation, quoted earlier, that ‘in no case may the father or mother, without grave reason, interfere with personal relations between the child and his grandparents’, comes close to this. A ‘presumption’ of grandparental contact can of course be easily overruled in cases where a grandparent may pose a risk to a child. But, as noted by the young people in our research (Buchanan and Flouri 2008), grandparental contact may actually protect them from harm (in cases of family neglect and abuse), quite apart from improving grandchild well-being and providing access to resources.

Nothing in family law is straightforward, but a mandatory presumption of contact may be the best way to ensure that children do not miss out on the possible benefits they could acquire not only from their grandmothers but, as we have seen in this book, from their grandfathers as well. Hopefully this can be achieved without increased conflict. A ‘presumption of contact’ may well be a helpful approach to legal systems in other countries, which, as we have seen, have been struggling with the ongoing dilemma of how to respond to grandparental rights.

Start of the Journey

This book is only the start of a new journey. There is much we do not know about grandfathers; more research is needed. It is hoped this book will inspire others to explore further.

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