

Copyright

by

Meng Huo

2016

The Thesis Committee for Meng Huo
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

Grandparent Support of Adult Grandchildren

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor:

Karen Fingerman

Kyungmin Kim

Steven Zarit

Grandparent Support of Adult Grandchildren

by

Meng Huo, B.S.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2016

Abstract

Grandparent Support of Adult Grandchildren

Meng Huo, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

Supervisor: Karen Fingerman

Many grandparents are involved in their young grandchildren's lives, providing childcare and support in different ways, but we know little about grandparent support of adult grandchildren. The current study examined how often grandparents supported adult grandchildren and asked whether affection and family needs explained such support. Grandparents in *The Family Exchanges Study* Wave 2 ($N = 198$; $M_{age} = 80.19$) reported how often they provided multiple types of support to a focal adult grandchild. We generated subscales of emotional support and instrumental support and estimated multiple regression models to examine factors associated with the two subscales of grandparent support. Grandparents' affection for an adult grandchild was associated with their provision of both emotional and instrumental support. In addition, grandparents were more likely to offer instrumental support when the parents were not employed for pay. Significant associations between grandparents' affection and their support provision offer limited evidence for intergenerational solidarity theory, suggesting why some

grandparents are highly engaged in adult grandchildren's lives with frequent support. In addition, findings regarding parents' lack of employment support the family watchdog model and illustrate that grandparents can play an important role in grandchildren's lives in the face of family needs.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	vii
List of Supplementary Tables	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
WHY GRANDPARENTS SUPPORT ADULT GRANDCHILDREN	1
OTHER FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH GRANDPARENT SUPPORT	5
THE PRESENT STUDY	6
METHOD	7
SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES	7
DEPENDENT MEASURES.....	8
INDEPENDENT MEASURES	9
POTENTIAL CONTROL VARIABLES	10
ANALYTIC STRATEGY	11
RESULTS	12
DISCUSSION	14
WHY GRANDPARENTS SUPPORT ADULT GRANDCHILDREN	14
LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	16
Tables.....	19
Supplementary Tables.....	21
References.....	24

List of Tables

Table 1:	Background Information and Measures for Grandparents, Parents and Adult Grandchildren	19
Table 2:	Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents' Emotional and Instrumental Support.....	20

List of Supplementary Tables

Supplementary Table 1: Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents’ Emotional
and Instrumental Support from Affection21

Supplementary Table 2: Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents’ Emotional
and Instrumental Support from Parents’ Needs.....22

Supplementary Table 3: Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents’ Emotional
and Instrumental Support from Grandchildren’s Needs..23

INTRODUCTION

Due to prolonged education, sporadic employment, and delayed marriage, young adults are increasingly dependent on older generations for emotional, practical, and financial assistance (Furstenberg, Hartnett, Kohli, & Zissimopoulos, 2015). Parents are a mainstay of such support (Fingerman, Miller, Birditt, & Zarit, 2009; Johnson, 2013; Swartz, 2009), but we know little about whether grandparents also support young adult grandchildren. Many grandparents provide childcare and babysitting on a frequent basis when grandchildren are young (Hayslip & Kaminski, 2005). Yet, as grandchildren grow older and have busy lives of their own, it is unclear whether grandparents remain involved and continue to provide support. This study examined how often grandparents offer multiple types of support to adult grandchildren and asked whether affection and family needs explain variability in such support.

WHY GRANDPARENTS SUPPORT ADULT GRANDCHILDREN

Prior research reveals that many grandparents are involved in different facets of young grandchildren's lives (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1985; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964). Although a scant literature suggests that grandparents typically do not provide support very often as grandchildren become adults (Hoff, 2007; Moorman & Stokes, 2014), they are still potential sources of emotional support and instrumental support (Kemp, 2005). Emotional support includes listening to daily life problems, socializing and offering encouragement or advice (Thoits, 2011). People need emotional support of different forms on an ongoing basis, and in general, emotional support occurs more often

than instrumental support. Instrumental support includes practical help such as meal preparation or a ride to the airport, and financial assistance (Swartz, 2009).

It is likely that grandparent support becomes more common under certain circumstances. Grandparent support may reflect their affective ties with adult grandchildren, and also depend on the circumstances of the grandchild's immediate family. Moreover, it is likely that different reasons underlie grandparents' emotional support and instrumental support. Following intergenerational solidarity theory and the family watchdog model, the study asked whether affection was associated with grandparents' emotional support and family needs explained instrumental support.

Emotional support. Some grandparents maintain strong ongoing emotional bonds with adult grandchildren (Giarrusso, Feng, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 2001) and such affection may foster increased emotional support. Intergenerational solidarity theory proposes that affection encourages family members to exchange support (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein, Gans, & Yang, 2006). Yet, the association between affection and support provision may not apply to all types of support, but rather be more evident in emotional support (Burleson, 2003). Scholars have primarily applied solidarity theory to study parent-child ties, where support exchanges occur frequently (e.g., Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Fingerman et al., 2011). Parents discuss decisions, provide emotional support and advice, and share leisure time out of concern and love for their grown children (Bangerter, Kim, Zarit, Birditt, & Fingerman, 2015). A few studies also revealed an association between grandparents' affection and their provision of emotional support. For example, Silverstein and Marengo (2001) found that grandparents

who reported more positive relationship quality with grandchildren of all ages were more likely to offer companionship and socialize with them. Here, we expected grandparents who reported greater affection for their adult grandchildren to offer more frequent emotional support.

This study also considered grandparents' affection for the middle generation, the grandparents' own children. Prior research suggests that some grandparents experience high levels of affection for both adult grandchildren (e.g., Giarrusso et al., 2001; Mills, Wakeman, & Fea, 2001) and parents (e.g., Birditt, Tighe, Fingerman, & Zarit, 2012). Moreover, studies have found that grandparents' affection for an adult grandchild reflects their affection for that grandchild's parents (Fingerman, 2004; Monserud, 2008). As such, we hypothesized that stronger affection for adult grandchildren or for parents would be associated with more frequent emotional support from grandparents.

Instrumental support. Grandparents may also provide other types of help that fulfill practical functions in response to family needs. Troll (1983) initially proposed that grandparents serve as "family watchdogs." The family watchdog model posits that grandparents do not interfere in the lives of younger generations ordinarily. Rather, they remain vigilant for problems in the family and step in to assist when needs arise (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986; Hagestad, 2006).

Based on the family watchdog model, grandparents may attempt to compensate for parents' diminished ability to help adult grandchildren when parents incur life problems such as health, financial or emotional problems. Young adult grandchildren generally have ongoing needs for instrumental support. Changes over the past two

decades have introduced a prolonged transition into adulthood (Furstenberg, 2010), and young adults typically receive considerable practical and financial support from parents (Fingerman et al., 2009; Johnson, 2013). Yet, parents may be less available to help when they experience crises or difficulties themselves. For example, divorced parents offer less practical support to adult children compared to those with intact marriages (Bucx, van Wel, & Knijn, 2012). When parents experience life problems, grandparents will temporarily violate the “norm of noninterference” (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986) and become involved in addressing their grandchildren’s instrumental needs as family watchdogs (Hagestad, 2006; Troll, 1983). Accordingly, we applied the family watchdog view and speculated that grandparents would, in particular, offer instrumental support to adult grandchildren when parents are not married, not employed for pay, or experienced other types of life problems (e.g., physical disability, alcoholism).

In addition, the family watchdog model also suggests that grandparents may directly respond to grandchildren’s needs with more support. Contingency theory indicates that family members tailor provision of support to help those with the greatest needs first (Eggebeen & Davey, 1998). Research reveals that parents particularly offer more material and financial support to their needy offspring who were students, not married or had experienced stressful events (Bucx et al., 2012; Fingerman et al., 2009; Schoeni & Ross, 2005; Sutor, Pillemer, & Sechrist, 2006; Swartz, 2009). Furthermore, Monserud (2011) found that adult grandchildren who were single or divorced reported higher levels of closeness with grandparents. As such, we expected adult grandchildren’s

life problems, marital status (i.e., being unmarried), and student status to explain grandparents' instrumental support.

OTHER FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH GRANDPARENT SUPPORT

The study considered grandparent, parent, and grandchild characteristics that might be associated with grandparent support of adult grandchildren. Because women are typically more involved in family life and in support exchanges (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), we considered gender for all three generations. The study included grandparent and grandchild age. Younger adults receive more frequent support from parents (Fingerman et al., 2009) and the same may be true for grandparent support. Also, younger grandparents may have fewer health problems and more energy to provide support (Silverstein & Marengo, 2001). Indeed, healthier grandparents report greater emotional closeness with adult grandchildren and are more involved in their lives (Wood & Liossis, 2007). Further, the study included grandparent education to indicate their socioeconomic status (SES). It is likely that upper SES grandparents have greater emotional energy and more financial resources to provide support (Conger, Conger, & Martin, 2010; Fingerman et al., 2015).

The study also included the number of adult grandchildren that grandparents have. Parents typically provide less support to each child in larger families (Davey, Janke, & Savla, 2005; Fingerman et al., 2015; Grundy & Henretta, 2006) and this effect may hold for grandparents. Finally, the study considered geographical distance between

grandparents and grandchildren given that proximity fosters provision of practical support (Sutor, Sechrist, & Pillemer, 2007).

THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study assessed the frequency of grandparents' emotional and instrumental support to adult grandchildren, and examined possible predictors underlying the two types of support. We expected that (a) grandparents experiencing stronger affection would provide more frequent emotional support and (b) grandparents would offer more frequent instrumental support when parents incur troubles or adult grandchildren have needs.

METHOD

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES

The study relied mainly on grandparents' reports from *The Family Exchanges Study* Wave 2 (Fingerman et al., 2009) and also derived grandchildren's characteristics from parents' interviews. This study used the second wave of data collected in 2013 because Wave 1 did not include questions regarding grandparent-adult grandchild ties.

The Family Exchanges Study began in 2008. A total of 633 midlife adults (40-60 years of age) were recruited from the Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area. Each participant had at least one grown child (i.e., adult grandchild) and one aging parent (i.e., grandparent). These midlife parents provided contact information for 455 grandparents and 74% of these grandparents ($n = 337$) participated in the initial wave of data collection. Compared with grandparents who did not participate in the study, the 337 grandparents who participated were younger, healthier, less likely to be disabled, and more likely to be female.

In Wave 2, we contacted all eligible grandparents including those grandparents who did not participate in Wave 1. Grandparents in Wave 2 ($n = 241$) included 211 grandparents who returned from Wave 1 and 30 grandparents who were newly recruited in Wave 2. We found no differences in background characteristics between the 211 returning grandparents and the 30 newly added grandparents. Of the 126 grandparents in Wave 1 who did not return to Wave 2, 58 were deceased, 5 were too ill to participate, and 63 could not be reached. That is, 279 grandparents participating in Wave 1 were still

living in Wave 2 and 76% ($n = 211$) participated. The grandparents who returned for the second wave were younger, healthier, more likely to be married, and had more years of education than the grandparents who did not return.

The final sample in this study included 198 out of the 241 grandparents in Wave 2. The study excluded 43 grandparents due to: no parents participating ($n = 3$), mismatch of the grandchild that the parent and the grandparent reported on ($n = 19$), no contact with any grandchild ($n = 4$), and failure of interviewers to obtain the name of the focal grandchild from the grandparent for the purpose of specifying the grandchild ($n = 17$).

These 198 grandparents reported on 175 parents and 184 adult grandchildren. That is, 46 grandparents were from 23 married couples, who reported on the same parent. Unlike previous studies where a focal grandchild was randomly assigned (e.g., Monserud, 2008, 2011; Moorman & Stokes, 2014), we asked grandparents to report on a focal grandchild with whom they had the most contact. Thus, the study sought to examine the maximum support that a grandparent might provide to a grandchild. Table 1 presents characteristics of grandparents, the parents and the adult grandchildren about whom they reported. Participants completed a Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI), which lasted approximately one hour and they received \$50 for participating.

DEPENDENT MEASURE

Frequency of support provision. Using the Intergenerational Support Scale (ISS; Fingerman et al., 2011), grandparents indicated how often they provided six types of support: listening to talk about daily life, emotional support, socializing, advice,

practical assistance, and financial support on an 8-point scale: 1 (less than once a year or not at all), 2 (once a year), 3 (a few times a year), 4 (monthly), 5 (a few times a month), 6 (weekly), 7 (a few times a week), and 8 (daily). We created two subscales for grandparent support: (a) emotional support (including listening, emotional support, socializing, and advice; $\alpha = .86$) and (b) instrumental support (including practical assistance and financial support; $\rho = .46$; Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013).

INDEPENDENT MEASURES

Affection. Grandparents answered a 2-item measure of positive relationship quality widely used in previous studies to assess affection (e.g., Birditt et al., 2012; Fingerman et al., 2011; Umberson, 1992). Grandparents rated how much each parent and adult grandchild: (a) loved and cared for them and (b) understood them, on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (a great deal). We calculated an average score for the two items to represent positive relationship quality ($\rho = .50$ for parents; $\rho = .58$ for adult grandchildren; Eisinga et al., 2013).

Family needs. The study examined parents' and adult grandchildren's life problems and marital status (i.e., being unmarried) as indicators of their needs. We also considered parents' lack of employment and grandchildren's student status. Grandparents indicated whether the parent had experienced each of 10 life problems (e.g., emotional problems, alcohol or drug problems, financial difficulties, victim of a crime, and divorce) in the prior two years (Birditt, Fingerman, & Zarit, 2010; Fingerman et al., 2009; Greenfield & Marks, 2006). Due to skew in the distribution, we coded the

occurrence of parents' experiencing at least one problem in the past two years dichotomously (1 = did experience at least one problem and 0 = did not experience any problem). Marital status was dummy-coded (1 = not married/divorced/widowed/always single and 0 = married/remarried). Parents offered this information about grandchildren. Parents also reported their own employment status, which was dummy-coded (1 = not employed for pay/unemployed and 0 = employed for pay), and whether adult grandchildren were students (1 = student and 0 = not student).

POTENTIAL CONTROL VARIABLES

Grandparent, parent, and grandchild characteristics. We calculated grandparents' age from birth dates, and also obtained age and gender of parents and grandchildren from grandparents' reports. Grandparents self-rated their health from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent; Idler & Kasl, 1995) and also reported education in years. Grandparents estimated geographical distance in miles between their household and the adult grandchild's household. Grandparents also reported how many adult grandchildren they had (see Table 1).

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Initial analyses examined descriptive information pertaining to the frequency of emotional and instrumental support and subsequent analyses focused on hypothesis testing. Because 46 grandparents were married to one another, we initially estimated a two-level multilevel model (SAS PROC MIXED; Littell, Milliken, Stroup, & Wolfinger,

1996) with grandparents (level 1) nested within families (level 2). However, adding the family level to the regression model did not change the model fit ($\Delta -2 \log \text{likelihood} = 1.2$ ($\Delta \text{df} = 3$), NS). Therefore, we dropped the family level and estimated multiple regression models to examine possible explanatory variables for grandparent support of adult grandchildren. Emotional and instrumental support each served as the outcomes. To examine factors that may explain emotional and instrumental support, we included these predictors: (a) grandparents' affection (positive relationship quality) for parents and adult grandchildren, (b) parents' needs (life problems, employment status, and marital status), and (c) grandchildren's needs (life problems, marital status, and student status). Last, we also ran the three sets of predictors in separate models as post hoc tests. All the models included the following covariates: grandparent and grandchild age, gender of the three generations, grandparent health, grandparent education, the number of adult grandchildren, and geographical distance between grandparents and adult grandchildren.

RESULTS

The study first assessed the frequency of grandparents' emotional and instrumental support to adult grandchildren. On average, grandparents provided emotional support a few times a year to once a month ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.62$). Grandparents provided instrumental support less frequently, on average once a year ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 1.41$). Yet, importantly, only 15% of the grandparents were completely detached from their focal adult grandchild, reporting that they never provided emotional or instrumental support to the adult grandchild.

Table 2 shows the coefficients for the multiple regression models predicting grandparents' emotional and instrumental support. The models examined grandparents' affection and family needs simultaneously.

Emotional support. We had initially predicted that grandparents would provide emotional support due to feelings of affection for adult grandchildren or for the parents. Findings revealed that grandparents who experienced stronger affection for adult grandchildren indeed offered more frequent emotional support. The models revealed no significant associations between grandparent support and affection for parents.

Instrumental support. We had expected that grandparents would provide instrumental support due to family needs. Partially supporting the hypotheses, findings showed that grandparents were more likely to provide instrumental support when parents were not employed for pay. Interestingly, affection for adult grandchildren also co-occurred with grandparents' instrumental support. Yet, parents' and grandchildren's life

problems and lack of marriage were not associated with grandparent support, nor was grandchildren's student status.

Post hoc tests. We reran the multiple regression models examining affection, parents' needs, and adult grandchildren's needs separately (see Supplementary Tables 1, 2, and 3). These models showed similar findings to the main results reported above, with the exception of the model including parents' needs (Supplementary Table 2). In this model, parents' life problems were significantly associated with grandparents' emotional support (rather than instrumental support) to grandchildren.

DISCUSSION

Prior studies have focused on one type of grandparents' support (e.g., instrumental support; Hoff, 2007) or overall support across subtypes (Moorman & Stokes, 2014). This study contributes to the scant literature regarding grandparent support of adult grandchildren by assessing both emotional and instrumental support. Consistent with the literature, grandparents' instrumental support occurred intermittently. Yet, we also observed that on average grandparents provided emotional support on a fairly regular basis and most grandparents were involved with adult grandchildren under some circumstances. More important, the study revealed factors associated with each type of grandparents' support to adult grandchildren, which prior research has largely ignored.

WHY GRANDPARENTS SUPPORT ADULT GRANDCHILDREN

This study provides limited evidence for two overarching theoretical perspectives underlying grandparent support: intergenerational solidarity theory and the family watchdog model. Solidarity theory explains why some grandparents are involved in grandchildren's lives with frequent support and the family watchdog model illustrates that grandparents serve important functions when families face troubles.

Affection. In line with solidarity theory that broadly associates affection and support provision (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991), grandparents' affection for grandchildren explained their emotional and instrumental support. It is well established that individuals offer emotional support to express love and care (e.g., Burleson, 2003). Moreover, prior research suggests that grandparents' intense affective ties with grandchildren from early in life facilitate their involvement with these grandchildren entering adulthood (Geurts,

van Tilburg, & Poortman, 2012). It is possible that grandparents who have cared for their young grandchildren are more likely to maintain good relationships with these grandchildren and continue to stay highly engaged in their lives with both emotional and instrumental support.

Surprisingly, grandparents' affection for parents was not associated with either emotional or instrumental support. Earlier in life young children and adolescents must rely on parents as the sole bridge to connect with grandparents. Yet, young adults are able to initiate contact and be involved with grandparents independent of their parents (Kemp, 2005; Ruiz & Silverstein, 2007). As such, it is possible that grandparents directly support these young adult grandchildren regardless of affection for their own children, the adult grandchildren's parents.

Family needs. Findings offered partial support for the family watchdog model (Troll, 1983), by showing that grandparents offered more frequent instrumental support to adult grandchildren when parents were less able to help due to lack of employment. Given that job loss may drain parents' material resources, grandparents' instrumental support in the face of such needs may serve as a substitute for parents' instrumental support. Yet, grandparents did not offer more support to adult grandchildren when parents were not married or incurred life problems. It is possible that lack of employment is more episodic than the life problems incorporated in the problem checklist such as physical disability, health problem and drinking or drug problem. Lack of employment may likely have been an unexpected and recent event for the present sample. The Wave 2 interviews of The Family Exchanges Study, which were used for these analyses, were obtained in 2013 following a period with especially high rate of job loss. In contrast, being unmarried may or may not convey greater need of parents. Future studies should

consider whether grandparents step in only briefly when problems arise, and whether parents and grandchildren use other sources of support for more chronic situations.

We did not, however, find significant associations between grandparent support and grandchildren's needs. It may be that grandchildren do not need much support from grandparents because they have other potential sources of support. Parents often provide help (Fingerman, Cheng, Tighe, Birditt, & Zarit, 2012) and friends or romantic partners also may offer a hand (Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2007; Seiffge-Krenke, 2003). Consistent with the family watchdog model, grandparents do not help in response to all needs arising within families; rather, it seems that grandparents only step in to assist grandchildren when parents experience troubles.

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are several limitations to this study. First, it is possible that the methods used overestimated the typical support that adult grandchildren receive from grandparents. The study examined the adult grandchild with whom grandparents had the most contact and presumably, the grandchild with greatest opportunity to receive support. Also, grandparents in the current sample were younger, healthier, and had better family relationships than grandparents who did not participate. Further, the study only used reports from grandparents, not the grandchild. Based on the developmental stake hypothesis (Giarrosso, Feng, & Bengtson, 2005), grandparents may feel more positive about their relationships with adult grandchildren than the reverse and may overestimate the amount of support they provide.

The study design also precluded examination of other issues. For example, cross-sectional data did not allow causal conclusions. It is not clear how affection for adult

grandchildren develops, and whether additional factors contribute to the nature of the grandparent relationship, affection, and emotional support.

Also, the vast majority of the participants in this study were grandmothers due to selective mortality and morbidity and willingness to participate. Perhaps with a different sample that included more grandfathers, we would find the average support of grandchildren to be even less frequent (because grandfathers typically provide less support compared with grandmothers).

Despite the limitations, the study adds to an understanding of grandparent support to adult grandchildren by assessing motivations underlying emotional support and instrumental support. Although overall grandparents do not provide for adult grandchildren very often, many grandparents were involved in offering emotional or instrumental support under circumstances when there is a need or a particular grandchild for whom they feel strong affection. More important, the findings suggest potential directions for future research regarding challenges and satisfaction associated with grandparent-adult grandchild relationships.

It is well established that taking on custodial care of young grandchildren negatively affects grandparents' well-being (e.g., Grinstead, Leder, Jensen, & Bond, 2003; Hughes, Waite, LaPierre, & Luo, 2007), but we know little about consequences of grandparents' supporting adult grandchildren. Relationships based on strong affection may be inherently satisfying and meaningful, but grandparents may also serve as a safety net in response to family needs even after grandchildren are grown. It is likely that grandparent support benefits both the parent and the grandchild, assisting them through hardships. In addition, offering support to adult grandchildren occasionally when such support is needed can be emotionally rewarding for grandparents in fulfilling their grandparent role (Thiele & Whelan, 2008).

Nevertheless, there could also be costs for both grandparents and adult grandchildren. For example, grandparent support of adult grandchildren may consume resources and energy. Similarly, grandchildren's receiving support may catalyze feelings of incompetence. Better knowledge of how grandparent support may affect grandparents and adult grandchildren can provide valuable insights into the health promotion interventions for these two populations.

Table 1*Background Information and Measures for Grandparents, Parents and Adult Grandchildren*

Characteristics	Grandparents (n = 198)			Parents (n = 175)			Adult grandchildren (n = 184)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Age	80.19	5.73	66–95	54.62	4.82	42–67	27.14	5.50	18–47
Years of education	13.07	2.14	7–17	14.56	1.92	12–17	14.77	1.77	11–17
Distance from grandparents (miles)	–	–	–	227.28	517.82	0–3,000	301.07	677.03	0–5,000
Number of adult children	3.94	2.01	1–12	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of adult grandchildren	5.88	4.10	1–20	–	–	–	–	–	–
Positive relationship quality ^a	–	–	–	4.27	0.67	1.5–5	3.78	0.88	1–5
	Proportion			Proportion			Proportion		
Male		.26			.36			.50	
Physical health ^b		.69			–			–	
Unmarried ^c		.61			.23			.75	
Not employed for pay ^d		.92			.24			.24	
Life problems ^e		–			.43			.55	

^aAverage scores of 2 items rated 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little bit*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *quite a bit*, and 5 = *a great deal*. ^b1 = *good health* and 0 = *poor health*. ^c1 = *not married* and 0 = *married or remarried*. ^d1 = *not employed for pay* and 0 = *employed for pay*. ^e1 = *having at least one problem* and 0 = *reporting no problems*.

Table 2*Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents' Emotional and Instrumental Support*

Variables	Emotional support		Instrumental support	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	8.29***	1.86	6.51***	1.63
Grandparent's affection^a				
For grandchild	0.55***	0.13	0.25*	0.11
For parent	-0.24	0.17	-0.05	0.15
Parent's needs				
Life problems ^b	0.41	0.23	0.09	0.20
Not employed for pay ^c	0.48	0.24	0.50*	0.21
Unmarried ^d	-0.03	0.25	-0.22	0.22
Grandchild's needs				
Life problems ^b	0.21	0.22	0.05	0.19
Unmarried ^d	-0.07	0.25	0.17	0.22
Student status ^e	0.44	0.36	0.39	0.31
<u>Covariates</u>				
Grandparent age	-0.06**	0.02	-0.03*	0.02
Grandparent gender ^f	0.13	0.23	0.21	0.20
Grandparent physical health ^g	-0.15	0.10	-0.12	0.09
Grandparent education in years	-0.12*	0.05	-0.12**	0.05
Number of adult grandchildren	-0.03	0.03	-0.04	0.02
Grandparent distance from grandchild	-0.00*	0.00	-0.00*	0.00
Parent gender ^f	-0.28	0.22	-0.18	0.19
Grandchild age	0.02	0.02	-0.00	0.02
Grandchild gender ^f	-0.32	0.21	-0.21	0.19
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.35		.23	

Note. *n* = 187.

^aAverage scores of 2 items rated 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little bit*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *quite a bit*, and 5 = *a great deal*. ^b1 = *having at least one problem* and 0 = *reporting no problems*. ^c1 = *not employed* and 0 = *employed for pay*. ^d1 = *not married* and 0 = *married or remarried*. ^e1 = *student* and 0 = *not student*. ^f1 = *male* and 0 = *female*. ^g1 = *good health* and 0 = *poor health*.

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Supplementary Table 1

Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents' Emotional and Instrumental Support from Affection

Variables	Emotional support		Instrumental support	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	8.93***	1.79	6.94***	1.57
Grandparent affection for grandchild ^a	0.68***	0.13	0.33**	0.11
Grandparent affection for parent ^a	-0.28	0.17	-0.10	0.15
<u>Covariates</u>				
Grandparent age	-0.06**	0.02	-0.04*	0.02
Grandparent gender ^b	0.01	0.24	0.16	0.21
Grandparent physical health ^c	-0.21*	0.10	-0.11	0.09
Grandparent education	-0.11*	0.05	-0.10*	0.04
Number of adult grandchildren	-0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.02
Grandparent distance from grandchild	-0.00**	0.00	-0.00*	0.00
Parent gender ^b	-0.31	0.22	-0.13	0.20
Grandchild age	0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02
Grandchild gender ^b	-0.41	0.21	-0.19	0.19
Adjusted R^2	.29		.16	

Note. $n = 192$.

^aAverage scores of 2 items rated 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little bit*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *quite a bit*, and 5 = *a great deal*. ^b1 = *male* and 0 = *female*. ^c1 = *good health* and 0 = *poor health*.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Table 2

Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents' Emotional and Instrumental Support from Parents' Needs

Variables	Emotional support		Instrumental support	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	9.49***	1.69	7.40***	1.44
Parent life problems ^a	0.57*	0.23	0.22	0.20
Parent not employed for pay ^b	0.54*	0.26	0.43	0.22
Parent unmarried ^c	0.03	0.27	-0.15	0.23
<u>Covariates</u>				
Grandparent age	-0.05*	0.02	-0.04*	0.02
Grandparent gender ^d	0.07	0.25	0.19	0.21
Grandparent physical health ^e	-0.15	0.10	-0.08	0.09
Grandparent education	-0.11*	0.05	-0.10*	0.04
Number of adult grandchildren	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.02
Grandparent distance from grandchild	-0.00*	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Parent gender ^d	-0.40	0.23	-0.16	0.20
Grandchild age	0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02
Grandchild gender ^d	-0.44	0.22	-0.19	0.18
Adjusted R^2	.23		.14	

Note. $n = 193$.

^a1 = having at least one problem and 0 = reporting no problems. ^b1 = not employed and 0 = employed for pay. ^c1 = not married and 0 = married or remarried. ^d1 = male and 0 = female. ^e1 = good health and 0 = poor health.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Table 3

Multiple Regression Models for Grandparents' Emotional and Instrumental Support from Grandchildren's Needs

Variables	Emotional support		Instrumental support	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	8.73***	1.82	7.00***	1.51
Grandchild life problems ^a	0.43	0.23	0.12	0.19
Grandchild unmarried ^b	0.67	0.38	0.51	0.32
Grandchild student status ^c	8.73	1.82	7.00	1.51
<u><i>Covariates</i></u>				
Grandparent age	-0.05*	0.02	-0.03	0.02
Grandparent gender ^d	0.18	0.25	0.24	0.21
Grandparent physical health ^e	-0.16	0.10	-0.13	0.09
Grandparent education	-0.13*	0.05	-0.13**	0.04
Number of adult grandchildren	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.02
Grandparent distance from grandchild	-0.00**	0.00	-0.00*	0.00
Parent gender ^d	-0.42	0.23	-0.24	0.19
Grandchild age	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.02
Grandchild gender ^d	-0.36	0.22	-0.19	0.19
Adjusted R^2	.22		.17	

Note. $n = 188$.

^a1 = having at least one problem and 0 = reporting no problems. ^b1 = not married and 0 = married or remarried. ^c1 = student and 0 = not student. ^d1 = male and 0 = female. ^e1 = good health and 0 = poor health.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

References

- Bangerter, L. R., Kim, K., Zarit, S. H., Birditt, K. S., & Fingerman, K. L. (2015). Perceptions of giving support and depressive symptoms in late life. *The Gerontologist*, 55, 770–779. doi:10.1093/geront/gnt210
- Bengtson, V. L., & Roberts, R. E. (1991). Intergenerational solidarity in aging families: An example of formal theory construction. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 53, 856–870. doi:10.2307/352993
- Beyers, W., & Seiffge-Krenke, I. (2007). Are friends and romantic partners the “best medicine”? How the quality of other close relations mediates the impact of changing family relationships on adjustment. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31, 559–568. doi:10.1177/0165025407080583
- Birditt, K. S., Fingerman, K. L., & Zarit, S. H. (2010). Adult children’s problems and successes: Implications for intergenerational ambivalence. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 65, 145–153. doi:10.1093/geronb/gbp125
- Birditt, K. S., Tighe, L. A., Fingerman, K. L., & Zarit, S. H. (2012). Intergenerational relationship quality across three generations. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 67, 627–638. doi:10.1093/geronb/gbs050
- Bucx, F., van Wel, F., & Knijn, T. (2012). Life course status and exchanges of support between young adults and parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74, 101–115. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00883.x

- Burleson, B. R. (2003). The experience and effects of emotional support: What the study of cultural and gender differences can tell us about close relationships, emotion, and interpersonal communication. *Personal Relationships*, 10, 1–23. doi:10.1111/1475-6811.00033
- Cherlin, A., & Furstenberg, F. F., Jr. (1985). Styles and strategies of grandparenting. In V. Bengtson & J. Robertson (Eds.), *Grandparenthood* (pp. 97–116). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cherlin, A., & Furstenberg, F. F., Jr. (1986). *The new American grandparent: A place in the family, a life apart*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic status, family processes, and individual development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72, 685–704. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00725.x
- Davey, A., Janke, M., & Savla, J. (2005). Antecedants of intergenerational support: Families in context and families as context. In M. Silverstein (Ed.), *Intergenerational relations across time and place* (pp. 29–54). New York, NY: Springer.
- Eggebeen, D. J., & Davey, A. (1998). Do safety nets work? The role of anticipated help in times of need. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60, 939–950. doi:10.2307/353636
- Eisinga, R., Grotenhuis, M. T., & Pelzer, B. (2013). The reliability of a two-item scale: Pearson, Cronbach, or Spearman-Brown? *International Journal of Public Health*, 58, 637–642. doi:10.1007/s00038-012-0416-3

- Fingerman, K. L. (2004). The role of offspring and in-laws in grandparents' ties to their grandchildren. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25, 1026–1049.
doi:10.1177/0192513X04265941
- Fingerman, K. L., Cheng, Y.-P., Tighe, L., Birditt, K. S., & Zarit, S. (2012). Relationships between young adults and their parents. In A. Booth, S. L. Brown, N. Landale, W. D. Manning, & S. McHale (Eds.), *Early adulthood in a family context* (pp. 59–85). New York, NY: Springer.
- Fingerman, K. L., Kim, K., Davis, E. M., Furstenberg, F. F., Jr., Birditt, K. S., & Zarit, S. H. (2015). “I’ll give you the world”: Parental socioeconomic background and assistance to young adult children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 77, 844–865.
doi:10.1111/jomf.12204
- Fingerman, K. L., Miller, L., Birditt, K. S., & Zarit, S. H. (2009). Giving to the good and the needy: Parental support of grown children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71, 1220–1233. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00665.x
- Fingerman, K. L., Pitzer, L. M., Chan, W., Birditt, K., Franks, M. M., & Zarit, S. (2011). Who gets what and why? Help middle-aged adults provide to parents and grown children. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 66B, 87–98. doi:10.1093/geronb/gbq009
- Furstenberg, F. F., Jr. (2010). On a new schedule: Transitions to adulthood and family change. *The Future of Children*, 20, 67–87. doi:10.1353/foc.0.0038

- Furstenberg, F. F., Jr., Hartnett, C. S., Kohli, M., & Zissimopoulos, J. M. (2015). The future of intergenerational relations in aging societies. *Daedalus*, 144, 31–40. doi:10.1162/DAED_a_00328
- Geurts, T., van Tilburg, T. G., & Poortman, A. R. (2012). The grandparent-grandchild relationship in childhood and adulthood: A matter of continuation? *Personal Relationships*, 19, 267–278. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6811.2011.01354.x
- Giarrusso, R., Feng, D., & Bengtson, V. L. (2005). The intergenerational stake phenomenon over 20 years. In M. Silverstein & K. W. Schaie (Eds.), *Annual review of gerontology and geriatrics* (pp. 55–76). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.
- Giarrusso, R., Feng, D., Silverstein, M., & Bengtson, V. L. (2001). Grandparent-adult grandchild affection and consensus cross-generational and cross-ethnic comparisons. *Journal of Family Issues*, 22, 456–477. doi:10.1177/019251301022004004
- Greenfield, E. A., & Marks, N. F. (2006). Linked lives: Adult children's problems and their parents' psychological and relational well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68, 442–454. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00263.x
- Grinstead, L. N., Leder, S., Jensen, S., & Bond, L. (2003). Review of research on the health of caregiving grandparents. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 44, 318–326. doi:10.1046/j.1365-2648.2003.02807.x

- Grundy, E., & Henretta, J. C. (2006). Between elderly parents and adult children: A new look at the intergenerational care provided by the 'sandwich generation.' *Ageing and Society*, 26, 707–722. doi:10.1017/S0144686X06004934
- Hagestad, G. O. (2006). Transfers between grandparents and grandchildren: The importance of taking a three-generation perspective. *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung—Journal of Family Research*, 18, 315–332.
- Hayslip, B., & Kaminski, P. L. (2005). Grandparents raising their grandchildren: A review of the literature and suggestions for practice. *The Gerontologist*, 45, 262–269. doi:10.1093/geront/45.2.262
- Hoff, A. (2007). Patterns of intergenerational support in grandparent-grandchild and parent-child relationships in Germany. *Ageing and Society*, 27, 643–665. doi:10.1017/S0144686X07006095
- Hughes, M. E., Waite, L. J., LaPierre, T. A., & Luo, Y. (2007). All in the family: The impact of caring for grandchildren on grandparents' health. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 62, S108–S119. doi:10.1093/geronb/62.2.s108
- Idler, E. L., & Kasl, S. V. (1995). Self-ratings of health: do they also predict change in functional ability? *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 50, S344–S353. doi:10.1093/geronb/50B.6.S344
- Johnson, M. K. (2013). Parental financial assistance and young adults' relationships with parents and well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 75, 713–733. doi:10.1111/jomf.12029

- Kemp, C. L. (2005). Dimensions of grandparent-adult grandchild relationships: From family ties to intergenerational friendships. *Canadian Journal on Aging, 24*, 161–177. doi:10.1353/cja.2005.0066
- Littell, R. C., Milliken, G. A., Stroup, W. W., & Wolfinger, R. D. (1996). *SAS system for linear mixed models*. Cary, NC: SAS Institute.
- Mills, T. L., Wakeman, M. A., & Fea, C. B. (2001). Adult grandchildren's perceptions of emotional closeness and consensus with their maternal and paternal grandparents. *Journal of Family Issues, 22*, 427–455. doi:10.1177/019251301022004003
- Monserud, M. A. (2008). Intergenerational relationships and affectual solidarity between grandparents and young adults. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*, 182–195. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00470.x
- Monserud, M. A. (2011). Changes in grandchildren's adult role statuses and their relationships with grandparents. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*, 425–451. doi:10.1177/0192513X10384466.
- Moorman, S. M., & Stokes, J. E. (2014). Solidarity in the grandparent–adult grandchild relationship and trajectories of depressive symptoms. *The Gerontologist*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1093/geront/gnu056
- Neugarten, B. L., & Weinstein, K. K. (1964). The changing American grandparent. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 26*, 199–204. doi:10.2307/349727
- Rossi, A. S., & Rossi, P. H. (1990). *Of human bonding: Parent-child relations across the life course*. New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

- Ruiz, S. A., & Silverstein, M. (2007). Relationships with grandparents and the emotional well-being of late adolescent and young adult grandchildren. *Journal of Social Issues*, 63, 793–808. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00537.x
- Schoeni, R. F., & Ross, K. E. (2005). Material assistance from families during the transition to adulthood. In R. A. Settersten, F. F. Furstenberg, & R. G. Rumbaut (Eds.), *On the frontier of adulthood: Theory, research, and public policy* (pp. 396–417). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Seiffge-Krenke, I. (2003). Testing theories of romantic development from adolescence to young adulthood: Evidence of a developmental sequence. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 27, 519–531. doi:10.1080/01650250344000145
- Silverstein, M., Gans, D., & Yang, F. M. (2006). Intergenerational support to aging parents the role of norms and needs. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27, 1068–1084. doi:10.1177/0192513X06288120
- Silverstein, M., & Marengo, A. (2001). How Americans enact the grandparent role across the family life course. *Journal of Family Issues*, 22, 493–522. doi:10.1177/019251301022004006
- Suitor, J. J., Pillemer, K., & Sechrist, J. (2006). Within-family differences in mothers' support to adult children. *The Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*, 61B, S10–S17. doi:10.1093/geronb/61.1.S10
- Suitor, J. J., Sechrist, J., & Pillemer, K. (2007). Within-family differences in mothers' support to adult children in Black and White families. *Research on Aging*, 29, 410–435. doi:10.1177/0164027507303636

- Swartz, T. T. (2009). Intergenerational family relations in adulthood: Patterns, variations, and implications in the contemporary United States. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 191–212. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134615
- Thiele, D. M., & Whelan, T. A. (2006). The nature and dimensions of the grandparent role. *Marriage and Family Review*, 40, 93–108. doi:10.1300/J002v40n01_06
- Thoits, P. A. (2011). Mechanisms linking social ties and support to physical and mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 52, 145–161.
doi:10.1177/0022146510395592
- Troll, L. E. (1983). Grandparents: The family watchdogs. In T. H. Brubaker (Ed.), *Family relationships in later life* (pp. 63–74). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Umberson, D. (1992). Relationships between adult children and their parents: Psychological consequences for both generations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 54, 664–674. doi:10.2307/353252
- Wood, S., & Liossis, P. (2007). Potentially stressful life events and emotional closeness between grandparents and adult grandchildren. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28, 380–398. doi:10.1177/0192513X06293893