THE ROLE OF GRANDPARENTS IN THE LIVES OF YOUTH

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Several recent trends have increased the salience of the role of grandparents in the lives of their grandchildren. Life expectancy has increased from less than 50 years in 1900 to almost 80 years in 2000, meaning that more grandparents are able to enjoy sustained relationships with their grandchildren into adolescence and adulthood. Additionally, increasing numbers of children are living without both biological parents in the household. Grandparents may play a particularly important role in for these children, potentially compensating for the time, attention and money that is lacking due to the absence of a parent. Thus, grandparents have the potential to play an influential role in the lives of their grandchildren. Despite this, the role of grandparents in the lives of adolescents remains an under-studied topic.

This study seeks to better understand the role of grandparents in the lives of grandchildren by addressing the following questions: What are the implications of grandparent involvement for children? What factors mediate and moderate the influence of grandparents on grandchildren?

Background

Previous research on grandparents has typically fallen into two categories: studies of the involvement of grandparents when they do not live with their grandchildren (e.g., Cherlin and Furstenbeg, 1986; Mueller, Wilhelm and Elder, 2002), and studies of the influence of grandparents on grandchildren in three-generational families (e.g., Gordon, Chase-Lansdale, and Brooks-Gunn, 2004; Dunifon and Kowaleski-Jones, 2006). The current paper focuses on grandparent involvement when the grandparent and grandchild do not live together.

Much of the previous research on this topic is based on interviews with grandparents, and has used cluster analysis to classify grandparents into profiles based on their involvement with grandchildren (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1986; Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998; Mueller and Elder, 2003). One of the first such studies was by Cherlin and Furstenberg, who classified grandparent styles as remote,

companionate, or involved. A recent study of Iowa grandparents identified five profiles of grandparent relationships: influential, supportive, passive, authority-oriented, and detached (Mueller, Wilhelm and Elder, 2002). Cherlin and Furstenberg found that African-American grandparents were more involved with their grandchildren than white grandparents, exhibiting more parent-like behaviors such as providing discipline.

Other studies have examined the factors predicting grandparent involvement, typically measuring involvement in terms of frequency of physical contact (such as visits) between the grandparent and grandchildren. These studies consistently find geographical proximity to be the strongest factor associated with grandparent involvement. Other important predictors include the grandparent's relationship with the parent, the number of grandchildren, and grandparent employment (Mueller and Elder, 2003). Matrilineal grandparents tend to be more involved with their grandchildren (Uhlenberg and Hammill, 1998), and grandmothers tend to be more involved than grandfathers (Silverstein and Marenco, 2001). Few studies have gone beyond measures of frequency of contact to examine other, more specific, aspects of grandparent involvement with youth that may not be as constrained by geographical proximity, such as giving advice, calling on the phone, or writing letters.

The studies noted above use grandparent, rather than grandchild, reports to measure grandparent-grandchild interactions. One exception is King and Elder (1995), who obtain reports about contact with grandparents and the quality of the relationship from a sample of white, rural Iowa children. They find that grandchildren who perceive a positive relationship between their parents and grandparents report greater closeness to their grandparents.

Very few studies have gone beyond documenting profiles of non-resident grandparent involvement with grandchildren to examine how grandparent involvement influences child well-being. Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986) found no relationship between contact with grandparents and children's behavior problems. However, they did not examine a wider range of measures of grandparent

involvement. The current study uses grandchildren's reports of several dimensions of the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship to predict child well-being.

There are several pathways through which grandparent involvement could influence children. For example, grandparent involvement could be associated with changes in the amount of income available in a grandchild's household, if grandparents may provide direct financial support to their grandchildren and their parents. Grandparents may also provide other types of support, such as advice and emotional support to parents. This could translate into decreased parental stress or improvements in parental emotional health, which in turn could be associated with improved parenting behaviors. On the other hand, it is possible that grandparents could increase stress within families if, by their involvement, they interfere or subvert parents' parenting behaviors. This study will focus specifically on parenting behaviors as a key pathway through which grandparents may influence children.

Grandparent involvement may be most important for children living with a single parent. Previous analyses have shown that, for some children, having a grandparent in the household helps offset the detrimental associations between single-parenthood and delinquency (Dunifon and Kowaleski-Jones, 2006). The current paper will examine whether children living with a single parent derive particular benefits from grandparent involvement.

It is also expected that there may be race differences in the influence of grandparents on children. Some previous studies indicate that African-American grandparents play a more parent-like role with their grandchildren than do white grandparents (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1986; Silverstein and Marenco, 2001), although other research has found no race differences in grandparent involvement (Aquilino, 1996). Thus, there may be racial differences in the type of relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, and in the role that these relationships play in influencing child well-being.

Finally, the potential benefits of the grandparent-grandchild relationship may be strongest for those grandchildren who live closest to their grandparents. As described below, the measure of grandparent-grandchild relationship quality used in this study does not rely on living close to one's

grandparent; rather, it captures things such as frequency of phone calls or letters, asking grandparents for advice, and feelings towards the grandparent. However, it is possible that the grandchildren who derive the most benefits from these aspects of the grandparent-grandchild relationship are those who live close enough to their grandparents to see them frequently.

Additionally, previous research indicates that parents serve as important gatekeepers in the grandparent-grandchild relationships. We will therefore examine whether the parent-grandparent relationship quality exerts a unique influence on child well-being, and whether this influence differs from that of the grandchild-grandparent relationship quality.

It is important to note that children who report a closer relationship with their grandparents may be a select group; for example, grandparents may be more emotionally close to children who are already doing well in school, or who are successful in other domains. In other words, there may be unmeasured characteristics of children or their families that are associated both with grandparent involvement and with child outcomes. To address issues of selection, a series of alternative analyses will be conducted, using the number of living grandparents the child has as a proxy for potential grandparent involvement.

To summarize, then, this study uses a measure of the grandparent-grandchild relationship that is reported by grandchildren and does not rely on living close to the grandparent to predict child well-being. We also examine whether parenting behaviors serve as a mediator between grandparent closeness and child well-being, and whether several factors moderate this relationship as well.

Data

The analyses presented here use data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). The NSFH began in 1987-1988 with an interview of a nationally-representative sample of 13,007 households. A second wave was collected in 1992-1994 and included interviews with one focal child per family: aged 10-17 or 18-23. A third wave was collected in 2001-2002 and also included interviews with those focal children now aged 18-34 (Sweet and Bumpass, 1996). All together, data was collected on 2,505 focal children. The NSFH has the richest data on grandparent involvement of any

national dataset. Focal children were asked questions about which of their grandparents were living, how often they have contact with each grandparent, whether they ask each grandparent for advice, and how close they feel to each grandparent.

Additionally, these youth's parents were asked questions about grandparent involvement (i.e., the involvement of the parent's parents), including their closeness to the grandparent, frequency of contact, receipt of support from the grandparent (in terms of money, errands, child care, or emotional support) and geographical distance from the grandparent. One main respondent from the household, either the focal child's father or mother, was chosen for this interview. Thus the parent-reported information about relationship and contact with the child's grandparents is based on the reports from this main respondent, some of whom were fathers and some who were mothers of the focal child.

The analyses presented here utilize the second wave of the NSFH, using data for the 1,415 focal children who were aged 10-17 at wave 2. We restricted our analyses to those children who did not have a grandparent living in the household (N=1270). In the second wave, the average age of the focal child in this sample was 13.73 years (S.D =2.17 years).

Measures

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables used in this analysis capture two domains of child well-being. Behavioral regulation is measured with two scales capturing internalizing and externalizing behavior problems. These scales use responses to questions asked of the parents as a part of a self administered interview. The survey contained items from the Behavioral Problems Index (BPI) described in Chase Lansdale, Mott, Brooks-Gunn and Phillips (1991). Externalizing behavior problems (15 items) included items such as "argues too much", "bullies or is cruel to others", "breaks things deliberately", "has a very strong temper and loses it easily" and "is disobedient at school". Parents respond by indicating whether these behaviors are not true (1), sometimes true (2) or often true (3) for their child. This variable ranges from 10 to 43. Internalizing behavior (8 items) consists of variables such as "is unhappy, sad or

depressed", "feels worthless or inferior" and "is withdrawn". The parents responded using the same response categories as in the externalizing behavior problems scale. This variable ranged from 5 to 23.

Child well-being is also measured in the area of school performance, using a measure of grades in school reported by the focal child. This variable had categories that ranged from 1 "mostly A's and B's" to 8 "F's", as well as intermediate categories such as "A's and B's" (2), "B's" (3) and so on. A lower score on this scale represents a higher grade in school.

Independent Variables

Relationship of Children with Grandparents. In order to measure the relationship of the focal child with their living grandparents, a composite variable was created, taking into account three different aspects of relationship quality with grandparents as reported by the focal child. The first variable measures how frequently a child was in contact with his/her grandparents through activities such as talking on the phone or receiving letters (on a scale of 0 "not at all" to 5 "several times a week"), averaged across all living grandparents. The second variable is a relationship quality scale reporting how close a child felt to his/her living grandparents (on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 representing "not at all close" and 10 representing "extremely close"), again averaged across all living grandparents. The third variable used in the composite was a measure of how likely it was that a child would consult or confide in any grandparent if they had a major decision to make. This variable was on a scale from 0, "definitely wouldn't", to 4, "definitely would". In order to create the composite variable using these three items, each item was standardized to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. We then created our composite measure of the child's report of their relationship quality with their grandparents by taking the mean of these three standardized variables.

Relationship of Child's Parents with their own Parents. In order to measure parent-grandparent relationships, we used the focal child's parent's report of their relationship quality with all of their living parents. This measure used data from the main respondent interview in the NSFH, and was based on questions asking the main respondent (i.e., the child's parent) about the quality of their relationship with

each of their living parents, step parents or in-laws on a scale of 0 “really bad” to 10 “absolutely perfect”. We took the mean of these variables across all living parents, step-parents and in-laws.

Parenting Variables. As noted above, one route through which grandparent involvement could influence children is by influencing parenting behavior. We examined several parenting measures based on focal child reports. A variable measuring **parental warmth** was created using variables that measured the number of days in the preceding week the child was hugged or kissed by the parent (ranging from 0 to 7) and how often a child’s parents praised the focal child (on a scale of 0 “never” to 4 “almost every day”). The parental warmth variable was created by summing these two variables, creating a scale ranging from 0 to 11, with higher scores indicating more parental warmth.

To measure **harsh parenting** practices, we used a variable that was the sum of a measure indicating how many times a parent spanked the focal child in the preceding week (ranging from 0 to 14) and how often the parent yelled or shouted at the focal child (ranging from 0 “never” to 4 “all the time”). This variable thus ranged from 0 to 18 and higher scores on this scale represented harsher parenting practices.

Another parenting measure captured **parental monitoring** of children. This variable, ranging from 0 to 4, is the average of two variables; one that measured how much the focal child’s parents knew what they do with their free time and a second that measured how much the parents knew about who the focal child spent their free time with (both variables on a scale of 0 “nothing at all” to 4 “everything”). A higher score thus indicated higher monitoring of children by their parents.

Finally, we utilized a variable measuring the number of days per week that the focal child had **dinner with their parents**, ranging from 0 to 7 days.

Number of living grandparents. Some analyses use the number of focal child’s grandparents who were alive during the time of the survey as a proxy for grandparent involvement. This measure is simply the sum of the number of both maternal and paternal grandparents who were alive for each focal child and

ranged from 0 to 4. Another variable measured the total number of maternal grandparents alive, ranging from 0 to 2. Finally, a third variable indicated whether the child's maternal grandmother was alive.

Control Variables

All analyses control for individual, family and demographic characteristics of children, their parents and their families. For the focal children, we controlled for their age, gender (coded 1 if boy) and for race using a set of mutually exclusive dummy variables indicating whether the child was non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, or of another race/ethnicity. Parent education was measured using dummy variables indicating whether the parent had no high school degree, only a high school degree, some college or a college degree. Analyses also controlled for family structure using indicators of whether the child was living with: married biological parents, only a single mother, only a single father, a cohabiting mother, a cohabiting father, a father and a step-mother, or a mother and step-father. Other demographic controls included variables that indicated whether the main respondent (i.e. the child's parent answering the main NSFH survey) was female, whether the mother was employed, age of the parent, and family income.

Results

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the variables employed in this study. In the second wave of the NSFH, the average internalizing behavior problems score for the focal children was 10.51 out of a maximum of 23, the average externalizing behavior problems score was 22.21 out of a maximum of 43, and average reported grades was 3.07 (out of a scale of 1 to 8 in which higher scores indicate worse grades). As noted above, the composite measure of children's relationship quality with their grandparents was standardized; hence the mean of this variable hence is near 0 with a standard deviation of 0.74. The parent-reported variable measuring the quality of the parent-grandparent relationship had a mean of 7.44 (S.D= 1.89), based on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.

Looking at the parenting measures, parental warmth had a mean of 6.59 (based on a scale from 0 to 11); harsh parenting had a mean of 1.30 (based on a scale from 0 to 14); parental monitoring had an average of 2.75 (based on a scale from 0 to 4); and the number of days in the preceding week that children had dinner with their parents had a mean value of 4.84 (based on a scale from 0 to 7).

Among the demographic variables, the average age for children in the sample was 13.77 years and the average adult respondent (child's parent) in the sample was 39.65 years old. In terms of their family structures, 50% of the children lived with their married biological parents whereas about 20% of the children were living with their mothers who were unmarried. The majority of the sample, 72.7%, was White (non-Hispanic) whereas 17.6 % of the children were non-Hispanic Black. Among the children in the sample, 85.9% had mothers who were employed during the time of the survey and the average family income in the sample was $39,426.

Of the information compiled about grandparents, the average number of grandparents who were alive at the time of the survey was 2.73. The average number of maternal grandparents who were alive was 1.47, and 83.9% of the children in the sample had a maternal grandmother who was alive.

We used Ordinary Least Squares regressions to examine the association between children's relationships with their grandparents and their behavioral and school outcomes. Table 2 presents the results of our basic model in which we regress children's externalizing and internalizing behavior problems and grades on the composite measure of children's self-reported relationship with their grandparents, controlling for the other measures listed above. The analyses in Table 2 showed no apparent significant associations between the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship and their children's behavior problems and grades.[1]

Table 3 presents results of analyses, in which parent-reported relationship quality scale with all of their parents (the focal child's grandparents) are used to predict child outcomes. Here, higher quality

[1] We also ran regressions that including each of the component variables (contact with grandparent, closeness with grandparent and if the child would confide in the grandparent) separately, rather than the component measure. These three measures were not significantly associated with the outcomes examined.

parent-grandparent relationships are associated with lower internalizing behavior problems (coefficient of -0.128) and lower externalizing behavior problems (coefficient of -0.219) in children. These results were significant at the 0.01 level. This variable however was not significantly associated with children's grades.

The next set of analyses relates the grandparent relationship measures from Tables 2 and 3 to the set of parenting behaviors. Table 4 presents the results of analyses regressing parenting measures on the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship, as reported by the grandchild. Here we see that the child-reported relationship quality is significantly associated with all of the parenting variables examined, showing a positive association with parental warmth (coefficient of 0.547), monitoring (coefficient of 0.182) and the number of days the child had dinner with his/her parents in the last week (coefficient of 0.270). The grandparent-grandchild relationship was negatively associated with harsh parenting practices among parents (coefficient of -0.146). All of these results were statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 5 presents results of analyses using the average parent-reported relationship quality with their parents to predict the parenting measures. This parent-grandparent relationship variable was negatively associated with harsh parenting (coefficient of -0.033), significant at the 0.10 level, and positively associated with the number of days a child had dinner with his/her parents in the last week (coefficient of 0.073).

As noted above, it is possible that children's reports of the quality of their relationship with their grandparents may be associated with unmeasured factors that are also correlated with our measures of interest, specifically child well-being and parenting behavior. We performed a series of analyses to address this issue of selection by using proxies for grandparent involvement that are likely not correlated with child outcomes or parenting behavior. First, a measure of the number of living grandparents the child had was used as a proxy for potential grandparent involvement. Additionally, because other research has shown that matrilineal grandparents tend to be more involved with their grandchildren (Uhlenberg and Hammill, 1998), and that grandmothers tend to be more involved than grandfathers

(Silverstein and Marenco, 2001), another way that we indirectly capture the potential for greater grandparent involvement is to use indicators of whether a child has at least one living grandparent on the maternal side and whether the child has a living grandmother. These measures were used to predict the measures of parenting behavior, shown in Table 4 (we did not use these measures to predict child outcomes, shown in Table 2, because there were no baseline associations between the child-reported grandparent-grandchild relationship and these outcomes). If the results of these analyses are similar to those shown in Table 4, then this provides suggestive evidence (but not proof) that selection into grandparent involvement is not a determining factor in the association between grandparent involvement and parenting behavior. If the results of analyses using the alternative measures of grandparent involvement differ from those using the more direct measures then this would represent an important contribution to the literature, which largely has not addressed issues of selection when examining grandparent involvement (one exception is Gordon et al, 2004).

This set of analyses is presented in Table 6. The first set of results indicates a significant association between the number of living grandparents and measures of parental warmth and monitoring of children (coefficients 0.170 and 0.043 respectively). These results were significant at the 0.10 level and are consistent with the results shown in Table 4. For the remaining outcomes, however, there were no significant associations, in contrast to the results in Table 4.

The next set of analyses presented in Table 6 use the number of living maternal grandparents and finds no statistically significant associations with the measures of parenting behavior. Finally, the last set of columns use the variable indicating whether the child had a living maternal grandmother. This measure was not significantly associated with the parenting practices of the focal child's parents.

Extensions

As noted above, grandparents may play a particularly important role in single parent families. Additionally, grandparents may exert the greatest influence on children when they live closer to them. Finally, the influence of grandparents on children may differ by race. In order to test these hypotheses,

we ran separate regressions which examined whether living with a single parent, living very close to a grandparent (i.e., living within 20 miles of the grandparent), or being non-white modified the associations between child-reported and parent-reported relationship quality variables with grandparents and the set of outcomes examined above. Results (not shown here) did not indicate any significant difference in the influence of child- or parent-reported relationship quality with the grandparent and the set of outcomes we examined for any of these groups.

Discussion and Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to address the following questions: What are the implications of grandparent involvement for children? What factors mediate and moderate the influence of grandparents on grandchildren? We focused on a nationally-representative sample of children not living with their grandparents, and used a measure of the grandparent-grandchild relationship that was independent of the geographical distance between grandparents and grandchildren. We contrasted this measure with parental reports of how close they feel to the child's grandparents.

The results suggest that grandparent-grandchild relationship quality was not associated with any of our three measures of child well-being. However, the quality of the grandparent-parent relationship was a significant predictor of improved behavior among children. This latter finding should be interpreted with caution, as it could potentially be the result of selection bias. Perhaps parents who report having a higher quality relationship with their parents are also more prone to report that their children are better behaved; they may be more optimistic or generally biased towards positive reporting, for example. Because this study relied only on cross-sectional data, it is very difficult to tease out the causality of these results.

It is noteworthy that, even with this cross-sectional data, we did not find any relationship between the grandparent-grandchild relationship and child well-being. We also did not find that sub-groups of children, such as those living with a single parent, those living close to their grandparents, or racial or ethnic minorities, derived any benefits from grandparent involvement in terms of behavior problems or

grades. This is consistent with the findings of Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986), who suggested that grandparents may play more of a "backstage" role in children's lives with very few detectable influences on children. This evidence of a limited role for grandparents is in contrast to studies examining the influence of grandparent co-residence on children, which finds that children can benefit when a grandparent lives in the household (Dunifon and Kowaleski-Jones, 2006). Perhaps it is only grandparent involvement at this very high level (i.e., living with a child), that influences children. More research is needed in order to truly understand whether grandparents play an influential role in the lives of grandchildren when they do not live with them. Future work could examine whether other measures of grandparent involvement, such as the provision of financial assistance, benefit children or their parents. Additionally, future work can examine a wider set of measures of child well-being, including delinquency or sexual behavior, that may be more influenced by grandparents. Finally, it is possible that younger children are more influenced by their grandparents; other work can examine this as well.

In contrast to the null findings when predicting child well-being, the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship was a significant predictor of improved parenting behavior. Specifically, when children reported a better relationship with their grandparents, they also reported that their own parents were less harsh, exhibited more warmth, monitored their behavior more, and ate dinner more often with them. Again, this could be a selection issue such that children who are more optimistic and positive about their grandparents also feel the same way about their parents, regardless of parents' actual behavior. We attempted to address selection by using several proxies for the grandparent-grandchild relationship: the number of living grandparents, the number of maternal grandparents, and whether the maternal grandmother was living. Overall, the results of these additional analyses were not consistent with those using the direct measure of the grandparent-grandchild relationship, suggesting caution in interpreting the earlier results. These results highlight the importance of addressing issues of selection when relating grandparent involvement to parent and child outcomes, and represent an important contribution to the

literature, which largely has not addressed issues of selection when examining grandparent involvement (one exception is Gordon et al, 2004).

This paper has some important limitations that must be noted. First, it relies on cross-sectional data, thereby limiting our ability to tease out causality. Future work can employ the third wave of the NSFH to examine how grandparent involvement (or parent-grandparent closeness) in childhood may be associated with young adult outcomes, controlling for prior measures of child well-being. Additionally, as noted above, future work can take advantage of a wider set of measures of grandparent involvement, including the provision of financial assistance; could use measures of grandparent involvement reported by the grandparents; and could examine a wider age range of children.

In all, though, this study takes a first step in advancing the very sparse literature seeking to understand how the involvement of non-resident grandparents influences children. Thus far, results do not suggest a strong influence of grandparent involvement for children. Additionally, our results provide evidence of the importance of addressing issues of selection when examining the types of relationships studied here. More work is needed to better understand the ways in which grandparents may or may not influence children.

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Table 1. Table of Means

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Internalizing Behavior Scale	1243	10.515	2.629	5	23
Externalizing Behavior Scale	1243	22.208	5.670	10	43
Grades	1241	3.075	1.605	1	8
Avg. Child-Grandparent Relationship	1242	0.002	0.743	-2.384	1.453
Avg. Parent-Grandparent Relationship	1266	7.440	1.889	0	10
Parental Warmth	1270	6.592	3.556	0	11
Harsh Parenting	1270	1.298	1.273	0	18
Parental Monitoring	1264	2.750	0.864	0	4
Days child ate dinner with parents	1219	4.835	2.353	0	7
Grandparent lives 20 miles or less from Child	1245	0.296	0.457	0	1
Number of grandparents who are alive	1262	2.727	1.036	0	4
Number of maternal grandparents alive	1261	1.468	0.646	0	2
Maternal Grandmother is Alive	1258	0.839	0.367	0	1
Age of Focal Child	1268	13.774	2.171	9	19
Sex of Focal Child (1 if boy)	1270	0.495	0.500	0	1
Child White Non Hispanic	1267	0.727	0.446	0	1
Child Black Non Hispanic	1267	0.176	0.381	0	1
Child Hispanic	1267	0.083	0.276	0	1
Child of Other Race	1267	0.014	0.118	0	1
Age of Main Respondent	1267	39.652	5.952	25	68
Child's mom is employed	1199	0.860	0.347	0	1
Main Respondent is Female	1267	0.661	0.474	0	1
Parent has no HS Degree	1267	0.148	0.356	0	1
Parent only has a HS Degree	1267	0.647	0.478	0	1
Parent has a College Degree	1267	0.112	0.316	0	1
Parent has some College	1267	0.092	0.290	0	1
Child lives with single mom	1267	0.198	0.399	0	1
Child lives with single dad	1267	0.029	0.168	0	1
Child lives with cohabiting mom	1267	0.032	0.177	0	1
Child lives with cohabiting dad	1267	0.013	0.112	0	1
Child lives with married mom & stepdad	1267	0.151	0.358	0	1
Child lives with married dad & stepmom	1267	0.073	0.261	0	1
Child lives with married biological parents	1267	0.504	0.500	0	1
Family Income (000s)	1270	39.426	39.766	0	700

Table 2. Using the Grandchild-Grandparent Relationship to Predict Child Outcomes

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Grades
Avg, Child-Grandparent Relationship	-0.094	-0.222	0.015
	(0.106)	(0.225)	(0.062)
Age of Focal Child	0.014	-0.088	0.164***
	(0.038)	(0.081)	(0.022)
Sex of Focal Child	0.328**	1.651***	0.489***
	(0.151)	(0.321)	(0.088)
Child is Black Non Hispanic	-0.863***	-1.423***	0.341***
	(0.218)	(0.462)	(0.126)
Child is Hispanic	-0.291	-0.513	-0.170
	(0.305)	(0.648)	(0.174)
Child is of Other Race	-0.490	-1.101	-0.426
	(0.647)	(1.372)	(0.386)
Main Respondent is Female	-0.203	-0.499	0.152
	(0.216)	(0.457)	(0.125)
Age of Main Respondent	-0.023	-0.077**	-0.012
	(0.014)	(0.031)	(0.008)
Parent only has a HS Degree	-0.096	-0.500	-0.569***
	(0.245)	(0.520)	(0.143)
Parent has a College Degree	-0.061	-0.571	-0.755***
	(0.319)	(0.677)	(0.185)
Parent has some College	-0.095	-0.145	-0.647***
	(0.339)	(0.719)	(0.196)
Child lives with single mom	0.395	0.885*	0.096
	(0.251)	(0.531)	(0.146)
Child lives with single dad	0.107	0.596	-0.018
	(0.538)	(1.141)	(0.300)
Child lives with cohabiting mom	0.852*	2.548***	0.740***
	(0.454)	(0.963)	(0.266)
Child lives with cohabiting dad	-0.454	1.273	0.065
	(0.702)	(1.489)	(0.393)
Child lives with married mom & step dad	0.431*	1.265**	0.159
	(0.240)	(0.508)	(0.138)
Child lives with married dad & step mom	0.366	1.073	0.367**
	(0.316)	(0.670)	(0.182)
Family Income (000s)	-0.004*	-0.007	-0.003**
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.001)
Child's mom is employed	-0.131	-0.658	0.011
	(0.252)	(0.534)	(0.147)
Constant	11.441***	26.767***	1.404***
	(0.747)	(1.583)	(0.431)
Observations	1147	1147	1145
R-squared	0.034	0.061	0.130

Note: Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 3. Using the Parent-Grandparent Relationship to Predict Child Outcomes

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Grades
Avg. Parent-Grandparent Relationship	-0.128***	-0.219**	-0.012
	(0.042)	(0.089)	(0.024)
Age of Focal Child	0.021	-0.080	0.164***
	(0.037)	(0.079)	(0.022)
Sex of Focal Child	0.364**	1.683***	0.470***
	(0.150)	(0.319)	(0.087)
Child is Black Non Hispanic	-0.825***	-1.377***	0.326***
	(0.216)	(0.459)	(0.125)
Child is Hispanic	-0.178	-0.326	-0.111
	(0.301)	(0.641)	(0.172)
Child is of Other Race	-0.311	-0.623	-0.350
	(0.627)	(1.335)	(0.374)
Main Respondent is Female	-0.198	-0.497	0.156
	(0.214)	(0.455)	(0.124)
Age of Main Respondent	-0.020	-0.073**	-0.012
	(0.014)	(0.030)	(0.008)
Parent only has a HS Degree	-0.022	-0.411	-0.564***
	(0.242)	(0.515)	(0.141)
Parent has a College Degree	0.009	-0.492	-0.749***
	(0.314)	(0.668)	(0.182)
Parent has some College	0.011	-0.009	-0.633***
	(0.334)	(0.712)	(0.193)
Child lives with single mom	0.365	0.856	0.103
	(0.249)	(0.530)	(0.145)
Child lives with single dad	0.097	0.486	-0.009
	(0.536)	(1.141)	(0.299)
Child lives with cohabiting mom	0.860*	2.735***	0.760***
	(0.444)	(0.946)	(0.260)
Child lives with cohabiting dad	0.057	2.394*	0.074
	(0.679)	(1.444)	(0.380)
Child lives with married mom & step dad	0.433*	1.316***	0.164
	(0.237)	(0.504)	(0.137)
Child lives with married dad & step mom	0.321	1.006	0.366**
	(0.311)	(0.662)	(0.179)
Family Income (000s)	-0.004*	-0.007	-0.003**
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.001)
Child's mom is employed	-0.183	-0.866	-0.002
	(0.249)	(0.530)	(0.145)
Constant	12.126***	28.185***	1.484***
	(0.764)	(1.625)	(0.439)
Observations	1168	1168	1167
R-squared	0.044	0.071	0.131

Note: Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 4. Using the Grandchild-Grandparent Relationship to Predict Parenting

	Parental Warmth	Harsh Parenting	Parental Monitoring	Days child ate dinner w. parents
Avg, Child-Grandparent Relationship	0.547***	-0.146***	0.182***	0.270***
	(0.135)	(0.048)	(0.034)	(0.090)
Age of Focal Child	-0.523***	-0.011	-0.065***	-0.402***
	(0.048)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.032)
Sex of Focal Child	-0.472**	0.000	-0.183***	0.353***
	(0.192)	(0.068)	(0.048)	(0.127)
Child is Black Non Hispanic	-1.193***	0.450***	-0.222***	-0.594***
	(0.275)	(0.097)	(0.069)	(0.182)
Child is Hispanic	0.214	-0.123	-0.024	-0.483*
	(0.380)	(0.134)	(0.095)	(0.251)
Child is of Other Race	-1.289	0.482*	-0.159	-0.363
	(0.826)	(0.291)	(0.207)	(0.537)
Main Respondent is Female	-0.204	0.048	0.020	-0.141
	(0.273)	(0.096)	(0.068)	(0.178)
Age of Main Respondent	0.042**	-0.009	0.008*	-0.001
	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.012)
Parent only has a HS Degree	0.493	-0.327***	0.009	-0.068
	(0.309)	(0.109)	(0.077)	(0.204)
Parent has a College Degree	0.311	-0.312**	0.015	-0.362
	(0.403)	(0.142)	(0.101)	(0.267)
Parent has some College	0.440	-0.285*	0.041	-0.213
	(0.426)	(0.150)	(0.107)	(0.282)
Child lives with single mom	-0.373	0.091	-0.057	-0.288
	(0.317)	(0.112)	(0.079)	(0.210)
Child lives with single dad	-1.356**	-0.076	0.063	-0.309
	(0.647)	(0.228)	(0.162)	(0.432)
Child lives with cohabiting mom	-0.561	-0.059	0.038	-0.846**
	(0.572)	(0.202)	(0.143)	(0.372)
Child lives with cohabiting dad	-0.251	0.264	-0.315	-0.560
	(0.867)	(0.306)	(0.217)	(0.564)
Child lives with married mom & step dad	-0.775**	-0.289***	-0.072	-0.265
	(0.303)	(0.107)	(0.076)	(0.202)
Child lives with married dad & step mom	-1.176***	-0.250*	-0.212**	-0.093
	(0.401)	(0.142)	(0.101)	(0.277)
Family Income (000s)	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Child's mom is employed	0.372	0.111	0.026	0.077
	(0.321)	(0.113)	(0.081)	(0.214)
Constant	12.350***	1.927***	3.472***	10.737***
	(0.936)	(0.330)	(0.235)	(0.624)
Observations	1169	1169	1165	1124
R-squared	0.165	0.059	0.087	0.186

Note: Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 5. Using the Parent-Grandparent Relationship to Predict Parenting

	Parental Warmth	Harsh Parenting	Parental Monitoring	Days child ate dinner w. parents
Avg, Parent -Grandparent Relationship	0.018	-0.033*	0.010	0.073**
	(0.053)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.035)
Age of Focal Child	-0.562***	-0.004	-0.079***	-0.428***
	(0.047)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.032)
Sex of Focal Child	-0.447**	-0.017	-0.174***	0.346***
	(0.191)	(0.067)	(0.048)	(0.126)
Child is Black Non Hispanic	-1.002***	0.418***	-0.159**	-0.604***
	(0.274)	(0.096)	(0.069)	(0.181)
Child is Hispanic	0.088	-0.100	-0.070	-0.594**
	(0.378)	(0.133)	(0.095)	(0.249)
Child is of Other Race	-1.523*	0.638**	-0.165	-0.481
	(0.806)	(0.283)	(0.204)	(0.523)
Main Respondent is Female	-0.194	0.037	0.025	-0.142
	(0.272)	(0.096)	(0.069)	(0.178)
Age of Main Respondent	0.035*	-0.006	0.004	-0.004
	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.012)
Parent only has a HS Degree	0.443	-0.344***	-0.000	-0.131
	(0.307)	(0.108)	(0.078)	(0.202)
Parent has a College Degree	0.215	-0.353**	0.022	-0.442*
	(0.399)	(0.140)	(0.101)	(0.264)
Parent has some College	0.434	-0.302**	0.022	-0.282
	(0.423)	(0.149)	(0.107)	(0.279)
Child lives with single mom	-0.440	0.110	-0.087	-0.271
	(0.317)	(0.112)	(0.080)	(0.210)
Child lives with single dad	-1.215*	-0.080	0.082	-0.265
	(0.648)	(0.228)	(0.164)	(0.432)
Child lives with cohabiting mom	-0.504	-0.091	-0.025	-0.696*
	(0.564)	(0.198)	(0.143)	(0.366)
Child lives with cohabiting dad	-0.491	0.181	-0.361*	-0.562
	(0.845)	(0.297)	(0.214)	(0.549)
Child lives with married mom & step dad	-0.796***	-0.295***	-0.078	-0.262
	(0.302)	(0.106)	(0.076)	(0.201)
Child lives with married dad & step mom	-1.070***	-0.234*	-0.191*	-0.094
	(0.398)	(0.140)	(0.101)	(0.273)
Family Income (000s)	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Child's mom is employed	0.387	0.124	0.009	0.085
	(0.319)	(0.112)	(0.081)	(0.212)
Constant	13.045***	1.967***	3.731***	10.727***
	(0.964)	(0.339)	(0.245)	(0.643)
Observations	1191	1191	1185	1145
R-squared	0.156	0.054	0.066	0.190

Note: Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 6 (Columns 1-9): Using Number of Grandparents Alive to Predict Parenting

	Number of Grandparents Alive				Number of Maternal Grandparents Alive			
	Parental Warmth	**Harsh Parenting**	**Parental Monitoring**	**Days child ate dinner w. parents**	**Parental Warmth**	**Harsh Parenting**	**Parental Monitoring**	**Days child ate dinner w. parents**
Num. of Grandparents Alive	0.170*	-0.032	0.043*	0.019				
	(0.100)	(0.035)	(0.025)	(0.066)				
Num. of Maternal GP Alive					0.102	-0.067	0.064	-0.009
					(0.153)	(0.054)	(0.039)	(0.102)
Maternal Grandmother Alive								
Age of Focal Child	-0.555***	-0.004	-0.078***	-0.424***	-0.559***	-0.005	-0.078***	-0.424***
	(0.048)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.032)	(0.048)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.032)
Sex of Focal Child	-0.421**	-0.029	-0.169***	0.353***	-0.437**	-0.029	-0.173***	0.355***
	(0.191)	(0.067)	(0.048)	(0.127)	(0.191)	(0.067)	(0.048)	(0.127)
Child is Black Non Hispanic	-0.894***	0.365***	-0.125*	-0.527***	-0.949***	0.372***	-0.127*	-0.549***
	(0.276)	(0.097)	(0.070)	(0.183)	(0.273)	(0.096)	(0.069)	(0.181)
Child is Hispanic	0.113	-0.123	-0.056	-0.545**	0.062	-0.126	-0.064	-0.548**
	(0.378)	(0.133)	(0.095)	(0.249)	(0.378)	(0.133)	(0.095)	(0.249)
Child is of Other Race	-1.468*	0.632**	-0.151	-0.502	-1.503*	0.625**	-0.148	-0.513
	(0.806)	(0.285)	(0.204)	(0.524)	(0.807)	(0.285)	(0.203)	(0.525)
Main Respondent is Female	-0.163	0.024	0.037	-0.120	-0.176	0.025	0.036	-0.123
	(0.273)	(0.096)	(0.069)	(0.178)	(0.273)	(0.096)	(0.069)	(0.178)
Age of Main Respondent	0.045**	-0.009	0.007	-0.002	0.038**	-0.009	0.006	-0.003
	(0.019)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.012)
Parent only has a HS Degree	0.387	-0.340***	-0.013	-0.127	0.407	-0.345***	-0.019	-0.107
	(0.309)	(0.109)	(0.078)	(0.204)	(0.309)	(0.109)	(0.078)	(0.204)
Parent has a College Degree	0.237	-0.330**	0.022	-0.398	0.240	-0.335**	0.015	-0.381
	(0.401)	(0.142)	(0.101)	(0.266)	(0.402)	(0.142)	(0.101)	(0.266)
Parent has some College	0.430	-0.318**	0.024	-0.252	0.435	-0.330**	0.022	-0.236
	(0.422)	(0.149)	(0.107)	(0.280)	(0.423)	(0.149)	(0.107)	(0.280)
Child lives with single mom	-0.476	0.126	-0.100	-0.323	-0.488	0.134	-0.110	-0.318
	(0.316)	(0.112)	(0.080)	(0.210)	(0.317)	(0.112)	(0.080)	(0.211)
Child lives with single dad	-1.282**	-0.104	0.079	-0.275	-1.269*	-0.102	0.080	-0.274
	(0.648)	(0.229)	(0.164)	(0.433)	(0.649)	(0.229)	(0.164)	(0.434)
Child lives with cohabiting mom	-0.604	-0.015	-0.037	-0.757**	-0.674	-0.010	-0.051	-0.765**
	(0.557)	(0.197)	(0.141)	(0.363)	(0.556)	(0.196)	(0.140)	(0.362)
Child lives with cohabiting dad	-0.467	0.186	-0.354*	-0.591	-0.479	0.183	-0.354*	-0.594
	(0.844)	(0.298)	(0.213)	(0.549)	(0.845)	(0.298)	(0.213)	(0.549)
Child lives with mar. mom & step dad	-0.712**	-0.308***	-0.062	-0.273	-0.738**	-0.296***	-0.066	-0.287
	(0.304)	(0.107)	(0.077)	(0.203)	(0.303)	(0.107)	(0.077)	(0.202)
Child lives with married dad & step mom	-1.085***	-0.247*	-0.195*	-0.125	-1.103***	-0.249*	-0.195*	-0.128
	(0.400)	(0.141)	(0.101)	(0.276)	(0.400)	(0.141)	(0.101)	(0.276)
Family Income (000s)	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.002	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Child's mom is employed	0.347	0.121	0.006	0.048	0.329	0.127	-0.000	0.046
	(0.320)	(0.113)	(0.081)	(0.213)	(0.320)	(0.113)	(0.081)	(0.213)
Constant	12.245***	1.937***	3.557***	11.087***	12.930***	1.951***	3.645***	11.180***
	(1.049)	(0.370)	(0.266)	(0.699)	(0.990)	(0.349)	(0.251)	(0.660)
Observations	1185	1185	1181	1140	1184	1184	1180	1139
R-squared	0.156	0.052	0.067	0.185	0.155	0.053	0.068	0.184

Table 6 Contd. (Columns 1; 10-13): Using Number of Grandparents Alive to Predict Parenting

	Maternal Grandmother Alive			
	Parental Warmth	**Harsh Parenting**	**Parental Monitoring**	**Days child ate dinner w. parents**
Num. of Grandparents (GP)Alive				
Num. of Maternal GP Alive				
Maternal Grandmother Alive	0.001 (0.265)	0.053 (0.094)	0.034 (0.067)	-0.022 (0.178)
Age of Focal Child	-0.562*** (0.048)	-0.001 (0.017)	-0.080*** (0.012)	-0.425*** (0.032)
Sex of Focal Child	-0.438** (0.192)	-0.023 (0.068)	-0.175*** (0.048)	0.347*** (0.127)
Child is Black Non Hispanic	-0.959*** (0.272)	0.375*** (0.096)	-0.131* (0.069)	-0.536*** (0.180)
Child is Hispanic	0.050 (0.377)	-0.111 (0.133)	-0.072 (0.095)	-0.548** (0.249)
Child is of Other Race	-1.528* (0.806)	0.650** (0.284)	-0.163 (0.203)	-0.514 (0.524)
Main Respondent is Female	-0.179 (0.273)	0.023 (0.096)	0.034 (0.069)	-0.119 (0.179)
Age of Main Respondent	0.035* (0.018)	-0.008 (0.006)	0.005 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.012)
Parent only has a HS Degree	0.426 (0.309)	-0.363*** (0.109)	-0.009 (0.078)	-0.105 (0.204)
Parent has a College Degree	0.237 (0.402)	-0.343** (0.142)	0.020 (0.102)	-0.393 (0.267)
Parent has some College	0.437 (0.423)	-0.325** (0.149)	0.023 (0.107)	-0.239 (0.280)
Child lives with single mom	-0.479 (0.317)	0.122 (0.112)	-0.106 (0.080)	-0.321 (0.211)
Child lives with single dad	-1.280** (0.650)	-0.119 (0.229)	0.080 (0.164)	-0.267 (0.434)
Child lives with cohabiting mom	-0.697 (0.556)	-0.005 (0.196)	-0.058 (0.140)	-0.761** (0.362)
Child lives with cohabiting dad	-0.490 (0.846)	0.181 (0.298)	-0.363* (0.213)	-0.591 (0.550)
Child lives with mar. mom & step dad	-0.731** (0.304)	-0.312*** (0.107)	-0.057 (0.077)	-0.274 (0.203)
Child lives with married dad & step mom	-1.213*** (0.404)	-0.251* (0.142)	-0.216** (0.102)	-0.127 (0.279)
Family Income (000s)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Child's mom is employed	0.310 (0.321)	0.120 (0.113)	-0.001 (0.081)	0.047 (0.214)
Constant	13.272*** (0.964)	1.751*** (0.340)	3.772*** (0.244)	11.152*** (0.642)
Observations R-squared	1181 0.155	1181 0.052	1177 0.067	1136 0.184

Note: Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%