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# The Length and Characteristics of the Grandparent Phase of Life: Variation by Race/Ethnicity

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Rachel Margolis

**Abstract**

Demographic changes impact the absolute and relative length of time that we spend in different family roles. In this paper, I examine variation in the length and characteristics of grandparenthood. First, I examine the timing and frequency of grandparenthood among older Americans and examine the sources of race/ethnic differences in why older Americans are not (yet) grandparents- childlessness, children are childless, or child/grandchild mortality. Second, I use the Sullivan method to chart the absolute and relative time spent in two states – grandchild-less and with grandchildren – by sex and race/ethnicity. Last, I examine whether there are race/ethnic differences in key characteristics of grandparenthood that may affect the amount or quality of interaction with grandchildren, such as disability status, labor force participation, and proximity to grandchildren. Results highlight large subgroup differences in the demography of grandparenthood. Implications for family relationships and care-giving are discussed.

**Author Contact Information**

Rachel Margolis, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario
Social Science Center #5326, London, Ontario N6C 5C2, Canada
Email: rachel.margolis@uwo.ca

## Background

Demographic changes impact the absolute and relative length of time that we spend in different family roles (Bengtson 2001; Crosnoe and Elder 2002; Glick and Park 1965; Treas and Bengtson 1982; Watkins, Menken and Bongaarts 1987; White and Preston 1996). One type of family relationship that has been much affected by mortality and fertility decline is grandparenthood. Americans will spend longer now as grandparents than earlier in history, due to mortality decline (White and Preston 1996; Watkins, Menken and Bongaarts 1987). Children and grandchildren are more likely to survive, and people more often live long enough to see grandchildren grow. However, the level of fertility and family formation patterns have also changed (Bongaarts and Feeney 1998; Bongaarts 2002; Bumpass and Lu 2000; Cherlin 2004; Teachman et al. 2000). Fertility decline and the postponement of partnership, marriage, and fertility affect the proportion of the population that ever become grandparents and the age at which grandparenthood begins. Changes in mortality and fertility may offset each other to some degree, with mortality increasing the length of time that one can spend as a grandparent and fertility pushing grandparenthood later.

Documenting the demography of grandparenthood and its characteristics is important for four main reasons. First, grandparents can provide key inputs to children, for cognitive achievement and personal development (Hareven 1978; Hagestad and Burton 1986). Second, grandparents can provide childcare if they live close enough and are in good health, which may ease the strain for the sandwich generation and also allow the parents in the middle generation to participate in the labor force (Aassve, Meroni and Pronzato 2012; Glaser and di Gessa 2012; Hank and Buber 2009; Igel and Szydlik 2011). Third, grandmothers play an important role in evolutionary explanations of longevity (Hawkes 2003) and if grandparenthood is being pushed

later and later, then this could help explain continued mortality decline at more advanced ages. Last, grandparenthood is reported to be one of the most satisfying parts of older age (Lye 1996), but it may be most satisfying when grandparents are in good health, retired from full-time work, and live close to grandchildren. If people look forward to the grandparent phase, then a longer than expected grandparent phase could positively affect inputs to health in order to be alive and active during this phase.

Race/ethnic differences in family formation, fertility, and mortality create large subgroup variation in the demography of grandparenthood. Earlier childbearing among African Americans and Hispanics lead to an earlier transition to grandparenthood among these groups than non-Hispanic whites in the U.S. (Smith et al. 1996. NCHS 2012; Raley and Sweeney 2009; Yang and Morgan 2003) and different patterns of family integration and multigenerational living arrangements mean different degrees of interaction with younger generations (Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986; Coward and Cutler 1991; Cohen and Casper 2002; Keene and Batson 2010; Mindel 1979). However, becoming a grandparent earlier may not mean a longer grandparent phase of life, given race/ethnic differences in mortality. In this paper, I examine whether earlier transitions to grandparenthood for ethnic minorities in the U.S. translate into longer grandparenthood phases of life, or whether this is offset by mortality differences. I also examine race/ethnic differences in the reasons for being grandchild-less by age, and whether there are race/ethnic differences in key characteristics of grandparenthood (disability, labor force participation, and proximity), which may affect the quality or degree of interaction with grandchildren.

*Race/Ethnic Differences in Grandparenthood in the United States*

The vast majority of research on grandparenthood in the United States focuses on multigenerational households, kin support and function, or grandparent-grandchild relationships. There are clear race/ethnic differences in household membership and three generation households (Coward and Cutler 1991; Cohen and Casper 2002; Keene and Batson 2010; Mindel 1979). This research shows that Hispanics and Blacks are much more likely than whites to live with grandchildren, but it doesn't tell us whether people *have* grandchildren. A second area of research is on race/ethnic differences in kin support and kin functions (Lee and Aytac 1998; Raley 1995; Roschelle 1997; Sarkisian et al. 2007; Stack 1974; Swartz 2009), with a focus on specific population subgroups like young grandparents of black single mothers (Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986; King and Elder 1995). A third area of research focuses on grandparent-grandchild relationships (Barranti 1985; Crosnoe and Elder 2002; Silverstein and Long 1998; Uhlenberg and Hammill 1998; Whitbeck, Hoyt, and Huck 1993).

Compared to these three areas of work, the demography of grandparenthood has been much less studied. Several researchers examined the demographics of grandparenthood in the 1980s and 1990s, charting the average age at becoming a grandparent and the average number of grandchildren (Sprey and Matthews 1982; Szinovacz 1998; Uhlenberg 1996). For example, Sprey and Matthews (1982) find that the age at becoming a grandparent has not changed over time. They write, "The median age at which mothers become grandmothers and has changed very little during this century. Women who married in the 1950s and 60s can expect to become grandmothers at slightly earlier ages 42 or 43 but for all the mothers who married in the 20$^{th}$ century, the median age is only slightly higher than 45" (Sprey and Matthews 1982). Similarly, using the National Survey of Families and Households, Szinovacz (1998) found that the

transition to grandparenthood (mean age at first grandchild among those who ever become grandparents) occurred at 45.8 for women and 48.7 for men occurs during middle age whereas the transition to great-grandparenthood typically happens in young old age 60-65. The mean, however, obscures a lot of variation by race and socioeconomic status (Swartz 2009). Szinovacz (1998) cites that close to one third experience off-time transitions, defined as either before 40 or after 60.

There are several reasons why a new study of the demography of grandparenthood is necessary. First, there have been important changes in fertility and mortality patterns over the 20-30 years since the most recent studies of the demography of grandparenthood in the U.S. On the one hand, grandparents are living longer, but on the other hand, fertility is lower and the mean age at first birth has increased. It is unclear to what extent these changes cancel each other out in determining the length of grandparenthood. Second, existing studies do not explicitly examine what proportion of people never become grandparents or the reasons for being grandchild-less at each age. I examine the reasons why there are differences in the frequency and timing of grandparenthood. Third, the length of grandparenthood depends not only on *when* one becomes a grandparent, but also on how long one will live. Previous work on race/ethnic differences in grandparenthood has not taken account of the large differences in mortality by race/ethnicity in the U.S. I use demographic methods to examine the absolute and relative length of grandparenthood, taking into account the timing of grandparenthood and the number of remaining years at each age. I examine to what extent earlier transitions to grandparenthood may be offset by differential mortality.

In summary, this paper contributes to the literature on race/ethnic differences in grandparenthood in the U.S. by examining two open questions. First, how does the frequency of

grandparenthood vary by sex and race/ethnicity and what are the sources of these differences today? Second, how do the absolute and relative time spent as a grandparent differ by sex and race/ethnicity, including both grandparenthood and remaining years of life given mortality conditions?

*Variation in Key Characteristics of the Grandparent Phase of Life*

In addition to large differences in fertility and mortality by race/ethnicity, there are also large differences in disability, labor force participation rates, and proximity to kin (Crimmins and Saito 2001; Mendes de Leon et al. 2005; Lee and Mather 2008; Sarkisian, Gerena and Gerstel 2007; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004), all of which can affect the amount or quality of interaction between grandparents and grandchildren. These characteristics of grandparents also affect whether they are available and able to provide childcare for grandchildren or whether they require care themselves. It may be that grandparenthood is the most satisfying when one is in good health, no longer works full-time and lives close to grandchildren. I examine how common this is and how it varies by race/ethnicity in the US.

**Research Questions**

In this paper, I address three main research questions:

1. How common is grandparenthood among older Americans and how does the frequency of grandparenthood vary by sex and race/ethnicity? I examine the source of race/ethnic differences in why older Americans are not (yet) grandparents – childlessness and their children being childless.

2. How do the absolute and relative time spent as a grandparent differ by sex and race/ethnicity in the United States?
3. Are there race/ethnic differences in key characteristics of grandparenthood that may affect the amount or quality of interaction with grandchildren, such as disability status, labor force participation, and proximity to grandchildren?

**Data**

Data for this analysis are drawn from two data sources. The first is the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), an aging study that is nationally representative of the U.S. population above age 50. The HRS Family Data file and Fat file, both prepared by RAND, contain information on the numbers of types of children and grandchildren. Other information about respondents, such as their disability status, labor force participation, and proximity to grandchildren are also available. These data are ideal because they include a nationally representative sample of older Americans, include an oversample of Hispanics and blacks, and include detailed data on respondents' characteristics. The second data source used is U.S. life tables by sex and race/ethnicity from the National Center for Health Statistics for the year 2008 (NCHS 2012). The year 2008 is examined because this is the most recent year for which the RAND family file includes information on children and grandchildren.

The analytic sample from the Health and Retirement Study is comprised of respondents who were alive in 2008 and interviewed in that survey wave, either directly or through a proxy interviewer (N=17,217). The sample includes only respondents ages 50 and above, thus excluding younger spouses (N=16,858). Two exclusions are made. The first is that 295 respondents who were noted as "other" race are excluded because life tables were not available

for this population. Last, 41 respondents who were missing data on children and grandchildren were excluded. The analytic sample for the HRS is 16,522, 98% of the age-eligible respondents. The data are weighted to be nationally representative of individuals over age 50 in the United States in 2008.

*Key Measures*

The demographic characteristics of age and sex are noted in the HRS tracker file. Race/ethnicity is coded as non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Hispanic. Children and grandchildren are coded in an inclusive way, including biological and non-biological children and their progeny. Respondents are coded as having children is they report any of their own biological, step, or other types of children. Whether respondents have any grandchildren is coded from the RAND Family Data file. If respondents have any grandchildren from biological, step, children in-law or other children, they are coded as being a grandparent.

*Other Measures*

Disability is coded as whether the respondent reports having any difficulty with any of the following tasks: walking several blocks, walking one block, walking across the room, climbing several flights of stairs, and climbing one flight of stairs. Labor force participation is coded as a dichotomous variable – whether the respondent is working full-time or not. Proximity to grandchildren is measured as whether the respondent lives within 10 miles of any of his/her children.

**Methods**

First, I chart the proportion of respondents that are grandparents by age, sex, and race/ethnicity for 2008. These descriptive charts show the reasons why respondents are not (yet) grandparents – whether they are childless, or their children are childless.

Second, I use the Sullivan method to estimate the remaining years at each age that people spend grandchild-less and as a grandparent. Person-years with and without grandchildren are calculated by applying age- and sex-specific cross-sectional prevalence rates of grandparenthood ($\pi_x$) to the person-years lived in different age categories ($_nL_x$) derived from period life tables (Jagger et al. 2006; Sullivan 1971). Person-years spent as a grandparent are calculated as the proportion in each age group that are grandparents multiplied by the number of person years lived in the age interval, ($\pi_x * {}_nL_x$), and person-years spent grandchild-less are calculated as ($1-\pi_x$)*($_nL_x$). The number of remaining years as a grandparent are calculated by taking the sum of person-years lived as a grandparent above age x divided by the number surviving to age x. Thus, $e_x$ as a grandparent is $(\sum \pi_x * {}_nL_x)/l_x$. The number of remaining years living grand-child free and as a grandparent sum to the number of remaining years from the period life table ($e_x$).

The Sullivan method is most often used to examine disability-free life expectancy, but here it is being applied to the transition to grandparenthood. The Sullivan methods allows the estimation of remaining years as a grandparent with data for a point in time. The weaknesses of the method that are cited for studying disability are not big problems for this analysis. First, the fact that the Sullivan method tends to overestimate time spent with disability because some people recover from disability, but the transition from a grandparent to grandchild-less should not create a large source of bias because child mortality is low. Second, the Sullivan methods uses the same life table for those in both states, which poses a problem for studying disability

because mortality is higher among the disabled than the healthy. However, there is no evidence that mortality differs by grandparent status.

The last part of the analysis examines whether there are race/ethnic differences in key characteristics of grandparenthood that may affect the intensity or quality of interaction with grandchildren –whether the respondent is disabled, whether he/she works full-time, and whether the respondent lives within 10 miles of at least one child. I use latent class analysis (LCA) to estimate how many classes of grandparent characteristics there are for each age group (50-59, 60-69, 70-79) and what the classes represent. Latent class analysis estimates the sizes and characteristics of a model with *n* classes, and then examines the log odds an individual *i* falls into a given latent class relative to the reference class. LCA models were estimated using the LCA Stata plugin and all models were weighted to be representative of the U.S. population above age 50 in 2008 (LCA Stata Plugin Version 1.0 2013; Lanza et al. 2011). After estimating the classes for each age group, I test whether there are race/ethnic differences in the propensities to be in the different classes of grandparenthood.

**Results**

The first set of results examines how the frequency of grandparenthood varies by sex and race/ethnicity, and the reasons why older Americans are not (yet) grandparents (childlessness or children being childless). Figure 1 presents the weighted percentages of adults that are grandparents by age, sex, and race/ethnicity in the U.S. in 2008. Among respondents in their 50s, there is a lot of variation by sex and race/ethnicity in the percentage with grandchildren. Less than half of non-Hispanic whites are grandparents at ages 50-54, 46% of white women and 37% of white men. However, about three quarters of Hispanics are grandparents by this time. Among

Blacks, almost all women (82%) are grandmothers by their early 50s, but only 55% of black men report having grandchildren. The variation in the percentage with grandchildren decreases among respondents in the early 60s, but by the late 60s, there is little variation in the frequency of grandparenthood across race and sex. At ages 65-69 and above, about 90% of respondents report being grandparents.

To examine the reasons why the grandchild-less are not yet grandparents, we turn to the blue and gray bars in Figures 1a and 1b. The blue bars at the top are those who are childless and the gray bars are those who have children, but their children have not (yet) had children. From ages 50-54 to 60-64, grandparenthood becomes more common and this is mostly due to children having children, rather than differences in childlessness. Rates of childlessness are quite low among adults 50 and above. The demographic groups examined here with the highest rates of childlessness are white and black men ages 50-54 (19%) and white women age 50-54 (17%). Among all other age, sex and race groups, childless is less than 10 percent. The large race and sex differences in grandparenthood in the 50s and early 60s is mostly due to low and late fertility among one's children. In the late 60s and above, there are few race and sex differences in grandparenthood or its causes.

The second question examines whether the absolute and relative time spent as a grandparent differ by race/ethnicity in the United States. Table 1 presents results from the Sullivan method, dividing remaining years of life into year spent with grandchildren and years grandchild-less. Key output shown in this table is also charted in Figure 2 (Remaining years as a grandparent), and Figure 3 (Remaining years grandchild-less).

At the population level, race/ethnic differences in the length of grandparenthood are determined by the frequency and timing of the the transition to grandparenthood and remaining

years of life at each age. Table 1 shows that there are large race/ethnic differences in both of these measures for women and men. Among women in their early 50s, blacks are most often grandparents, followed by Hispanics and then non-Hispanic whites. However, Hispanics have the lowest mortality, with 35.0 remaining years at age 50, while blacks have 30.4 years and non-Hispanic whites have 32.8 remaining years. When we take into account both grandparenthood and mortality, we see that at age 50, Hispanics have the longest period of grandparenthood ahead of them (29.8 years) and that the differences between black and white women decrease. Black women have 26.0 years of grandparenthood at age 50 and white women have 25.3 years. We see a similar pattern among Hispanic men as we did for the women, but not among black and white men. At age 50, Hispanic men have the longest period of remaining years (31.4) followed by white men (29.3 years) and then black men (25.4 years). Due to the high prevalence of grandparenthood among Hispanic men and low mortality rates, they have many years of grandparenthood ahead of them, 26.5 years at age 50. This is much higher than the remaining years of grandparenthood for white men (20.7 years) or black men (19.1 years). The results for remaining years as a grandparent are charted in Figure 3. Hispanic women have the most remaining years as a grandparent, followed by black and white women and Hispanic men. The groups with the fewest remaining years as a grandparent are white and then black men, given their higher mortality than women of their race group and lower frequency of grandparenthood at each age than the women.

Remaining years of life without grandchildren also varies by race and sex. This column of data from Table 1 is plotted in Figure 3. This period is largest among white men and then white women. At age 50, white men have 8.5 years grandchild-less and white women have 7.5

years. Black men have fewer grandchild-less years (6.3 years). Black women and Hispanic men and women have the fewest grandchild-less years, between 4 and 5.2 years at age 50.

The last research question addresses whether there are race/ethnic differences in key characteristics of grandparenthood that may affect the degree or quality of interaction with grandchildren. Using latent class analysis, I estimated the best fitting number of classes given four characteristics that affect interaction with grandchildren: disability status, labor force participation, geographic proximity to grandchildren, and whether one is a grandparent. The classes are shown in Table 2 for three age groups: ages 50-59, 60-69, and 70-79. The proportion of each race and sex group in each class is shown in the table. Three classes fit the data best for each of the three age groups, although the characteristics of the classes change over age. There are large differences by race and sex in the proportion of these demographic groups in the different classes.

Among respondents ages 50-59, most respondents were in a class characterized by being a grandparent and living within 10 miles of a child (Classes 1 and 2). Class one is characterized by grandparents who live close to children and are healthy and engaged in full-time work. This includes one third of white men, about a quarter of black and Hispanic men, and about one fifth of women. The second class also has grandchildren and have children that live nearby, but they are disabled and not working full-time. This group includes 35 percent of white men, about half of black and Hispanic men and white women, and almost two thirds of black and Hispanic women. The third class is characterized by those who do not have grandchildren, live more than 10 miles from children, and are healthy and engaged in the labor force full-time. Membership in this group was most common among white men (32%), white women (28%), and black men (25%), but less common among black women and Hispanics.

Among respondents ages 60-69, the three classes are all characterized by grandparenthood but vary on the other dimensions, some of which facilitate interaction with grandchildren, some of which may interfere with it. The first class lives close to children and is healthy and working full-time. This class comprises about 17% of the population and is more common among men than women. The second class lives close to children and is characterized by mobility problems and not working full-time. This is about half the sample and is more common among women (52-63%) than men (40-43%). The third class lives far from children and is in good health and fully engaged in the labor force. This group is 31 percent of the sample and is more prevalent among men, especially white men, of which 40 percent belong to this group and is least prevalent among Hispanic and black women (21-24%).

For respondents in their 70s, all three classes are characterized by having grandchildren and not working full-time. However, they vary on proximity to children and health status. The first class can be most engaged with grandchildren, as they live nearby and are in good health. This is a relatively small group, about 8 percent of the population. Membership is more common among white and black men (11%) and less common among women (5-7%). The second and third classes are both comprised by people with mobility problems, but the second class lives close to children and the third lives far from children. These two groups are split evenly, with 46 percent of the population in each group.

In summary, the characteristics that can facilitate or impede the quality and frequency of interaction with grandchildren in older age vary in importance over the adult life course. Moreover, there are large race and sex differences in the relative membership into different classes, which point to the importance of different factors by subgroup. There are three interesting points to note. First, between ages 50 and 69, non-Hispanic whites are much more

likely than other race groups to live further from their children, pointing to distance as a more important impediment to interaction with grandchildren among this group. Second, at younger ages, black and Hispanic women are much more likely to be disabled than other race and sex groups, but also more likely to not be working full-time, pointing to different patterns of interaction and care. Third, the group which is characterized by the most factors which facilitate interaction with grandchildren – living nearby, not being disabled, not working full-time, and having grandchildren, is a class only in the 70-79 age range. This group is comprised a relatively small proportion of the sample, about eight percent.

**Discussion**

Large differences by race/ethnicity in family formation, fertility, and mortality create varied demographic characteristics of grandparenthood. This paper builds on a large literature on grandparenthood in the United States in three ways. First, I examine whether earlier transitions to grandparenthood for Blacks and Hispanics are offset by differential mortality. Second, I examine the reasons why respondents are not (yet) grandparents and whether being childless or children being childless are more important for explaining why some groups are not (yet) grandparents. Last, I examine race/ethnic differences in key characteristics of grandparenthood which may affect the quality of degree of interaction with grandchildren.

Between ages 50 and 64, there are large differences by race and sex in the proportion with grandchildren. Less than half of non-Hispanic whites are grandparents at ages 50-54 (46% of white women and 37% of white men), but the majority of blacks and Hispanics are already grandparents by ages 50-54. The later transition to grandparenthood among whites reflects fertility postponement of both generations. Despite the large race and sex differences in the

frequency of having grandchildren among those 50-64, there are surprisingly few group differences above age 65. After 65, 87-91 percent of women and 80-85 percent of men have grandchildren. Between 10 and 20 percent of those above 65 report no grandchildren, half of which is due to childlessness and half which is due to their children being childless.

To what extent are the earlier transitions to grandparenthood among blacks and Hispanics offset by differential mortality? Using the Sullivan method, I estimated remaining years as a grandparent at each age for each race/sex group. Among women, Hispanics have the longest grandparent phase of life, due to earlier transitions to grandparenthood and low mortality. At age 50, Hispanic women have the longest period of grandparenthood ahead of them, 29.8 years. Despite higher mortality among black women, black and white women have similar remaining years as a grandparent at age 50, 26 years among black women and 25.3 years among white women. The earlier transitions to grandparenthood among blacks are canceled out by high mortality rates than whites. Among men, Hispanics have the longest grandparent phase, followed by white men, and then black men. There is tremendous variation across race/sex groups in the grandparent phase of life remaining at age 50. There is a decade of difference between the group with the most years as a grandparent- Hispanic women with 29.8 years and the group with the least time as a grandparent- black men with 19.1 years.

In addition to large differences in the length of the grandparent phase of life, there are also large race/ethnic differences in the characteristics of grandparents that may facilitate greater interaction with grandchildren. The specific characteristics that affect the quality of interaction with grandchildren vary in importance over the adult life course. Between ages 50 and 69, non-Hispanic whites are much more likely than other race groups to live further from their children, pointing to distance as a more important impediment to interaction with grandchildren among

this group. Among black and Hispanic women, disability is the factor that impede interaction with grandchildren, but among men, full-time work is a more important factor. Women may have more frequent interaction with grandchildren earlier in life than their partners, a finding which is paralleled in older work on grandparenthood (Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986). In the 60s and 70s, disability and distance become more important factors in inhibiting interaction with grandchildren, while work becomes a less important factor. The small size of the group characterized by all factors which facilitate interaction with grandchildren – living nearby, not being disabled, not working full-time, and having grandchildren. This was a class of older Americans only in the 70-79 age range is comprised a relatively small proportion of the sample, about eight percent.

There are limitations of this analysis. One is that the data do not allow the analysis of the prevalence of grandparenthood for a representative sample younger than age 50. Thus, this analysis focuses on the length of grandparenthood at the population level above age 50. Data sources with representative data on grandparenthood among a younger sample would be ideal, but are not available. Second, samples were not large enough to examine grandparenthood among other race groups. Last, the latent class analysis is preliminary and needs to be further developed to formally model and test group differences.

Despite limitations, this paper offers a new perspective on the examination of the length and characteristics of the grandparenthood phase of life and how it varies by sex and race/ethnicity in the U.S. Differences in fertility, family formation, and mortality create these large group differences in the length of grandparenthood and social factors like mobility and work affect types of interactions that occur. The length, timing, and characteristics of

grandparenthood have implications for the types and quality of family interactions and caregiving both upwards and downwards.

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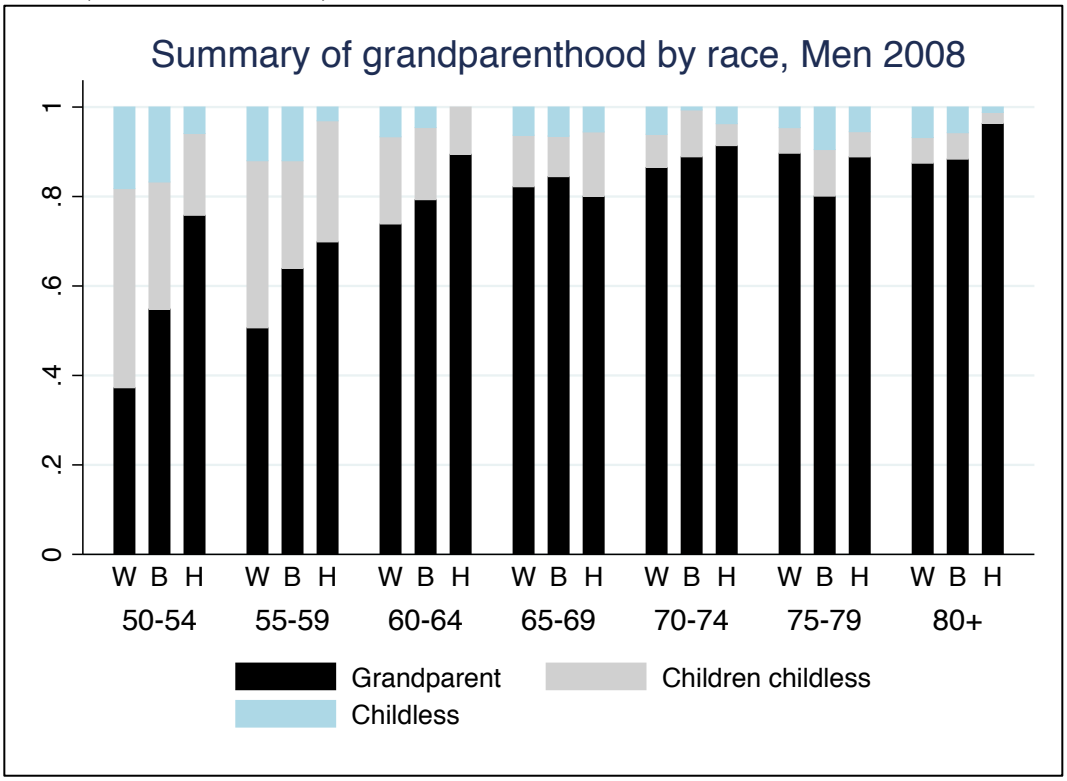
Table 1. Remaining life expectancy with and without grandchildren by sex and race/ethnicity, 2008

| Age | % with Grandchildren | Remaining years ($e_x$) | Remaining years as Grandparent | Remaining years Grandchild-less | % Remaining years as Grandparent | % Remaining years Grandchild-less |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **NH White Women** | | | | | | |
| 50-54 | 46.5 | 32.85 | 25.31 | 7.54 | 0.7705 | 0.2295 |
| 55-59 | 64.5 | 28.40 | 23.43 | 4.97 | 0.8249 | 0.1751 |
| 60-64 | 79.9 | 24.07 | 20.77 | 3.30 | 0.8627 | 0.1373 |
| 65-69 | 87.0 | 19.96 | 17.55 | 2.41 | 0.8790 | 0.1210 |
| 70-74 | 90.3 | 16.12 | 14.21 | 1.90 | 0.8819 | 0.1181 |
| 75-79 | 88.7 | 12.58 | 10.98 | 1.60 | 0.8731 | 0.1269 |
| 80+ | 86.5 | 9.42 | 8.15 | 1.27 | 0.8650 | 0.1350 |
| **NH Black Women** | | | | | | |
| 50-54 | 82.8 | 30.43 | 26.03 | 4.39 | 0.8556 | 0.1444 |
| 55-59 | 78.3 | 26.34 | 22.68 | 3.66 | 0.8609 | 0.1391 |
| 60-64 | 86.1 | 22.44 | 19.71 | 2.72 | 0.8787 | 0.1213 |
| 65-69 | 91.1 | 18.77 | 16.59 | 2.19 | 0.8836 | 0.1164 |
| 70-74 | 91.3 | 15.36 | 13.43 | 1.93 | 0.8742 | 0.1258 |
| 75-79 | 86.4 | 12.20 | 10.46 | 1.74 | 0.8571 | 0.1429 |
| 80+ | 85.3 | 9.41 | 8.02 | 1.38 | 0.8530 | 0.1470 |
| **Hispanic Women** | | | | | | |
| 50-54 | 74.5 | 35.06 | 29.84 | 5.21 | 0.8514 | 0.1486 |
| 55-59 | 77.8 | 30.51 | 26.51 | 4.00 | 0.8689 | 0.1311 |
| 60-64 | 90.2 | 26.08 | 23.12 | 2.96 | 0.8865 | 0.1135 |
| 65-69 | 87.0 | 21.81 | 19.26 | 2.55 | 0.8829 | 0.1171 |
| 70-74 | 87.6 | 17.79 | 15.77 | 2.02 | 0.8867 | 0.1133 |
| 75-79 | 87.8 | 14.03 | 12.50 | 1.53 | 0.8906 | 0.1094 |
| 80+ | 89.7 | 10.65 | 9.55 | 1.10 | 0.8970 | 0.1030 |
| **NH White men** | | | | | | |
| 50-54 | 37.2 | 29.26 | 20.73 | 8.53 | 0.7086 | 0.2914 |
| 55-59 | 53.4 | 25.10 | 19.50 | 5.60 | 0.7767 | 0.2233 |
| 60-64 | 74.0 | 21.11 | 17.64 | 3.47 | 0.8356 | 0.1644 |
| 65-69 | 82.5 | 17.34 | 14.98 | 2.36 | 0.8641 | 0.1359 |
| 70-74 | 86.5 | 13.85 | 12.18 | 1.68 | 0.8790 | 0.1210 |
| 75-79 | 90.0 | 10.70 | 9.48 | 1.22 | 0.8860 | 0.1140 |
| 80+ | 87.6 | 7.96 | 6.97 | 0.99 | 0.8760 | 0.1240 |
| **NH Black Men** | | | | | | |
| 50-54 | 54.8 | 25.43 | 19.11 | 6.31 | 0.7517 | 0.2483 |
| 55-59 | 65.8 | 21.71 | 17.37 | 4.34 | 0.8000 | 0.2000 |
| 60-64 | 79.3 | 18.38 | 15.44 | 2.93 | 0.8404 | 0.1596 |
| 65-69 | 84.4 | 15.28 | 13.09 | 2.19 | 0.8569 | 0.1431 |
| 70-74 | 88.9 | 12.47 | 10.76 | 1.71 | 0.8626 | 0.1374 |
| 75-79 | 80.1 | 9.83 | 8.33 | 1.50 | 0.8475 | 0.1525 |
| 80+ | 88.4 | 7.59 | 6.71 | 0.88 | 0.8840 | 0.1160 |
| **Hispanic Men** | | | | | | |
| 50-54 | 75.8 | 31.42 | 26.46 | 4.96 | 0.8422 | 0.1578 |
| 55-59 | 68.7 | 27.11 | 23.26 | 3.85 | 0.8579 | 0.1421 |
| 60-64 | 89.4 | 23.03 | 20.63 | 2.40 | 0.8958 | 0.1042 |
| 65-69 | 80.0 | 19.13 | 17.14 | 1.98 | 0.8963 | 0.1037 |
| 70-74 | 91.4 | 15.52 | 14.41 | 1.11 | 0.9287 | 0.0713 |
| 75-79 | 88.9 | 12.19 | 11.40 | 0.79 | 0.9351 | 0.0649 |
| 80+ | 96.3 | 9.17 | 8.83 | 0.34 | 0.9630 | 0.0370 |

Table 2. Average probability of being in each class, by age, sex and race/ethnic group, predicted from latent class analysis, weighted to representative of the U.S. population in 2008, Health and Retirement Study

| | **Class 1** | **Class 2** | **Class 3** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Ages 50-59** | Lives near children<br>No disability<br>Works full-time<br>Grandparent | Lives near children<br>Disabled<br>Not working full-time<br>Grandparent | Lives far from children<br>No disability<br>Works full-time<br>Not grandparent |
| White Men | 33.01 | 35.53 | 31.37 |
| Black Men | 23.47 | 51.13 | 25.39 |
| Hispanic Men | 27.78 | 48.45 | 23.76 |
| White Women | 21.85 | 50.13 | 28.02 |
| Black Women | 20.43 | 60.85 | 18.72 |
| Hispanic Women | 17.04 | 65.64 | 17.32 |
| **Total** | **26.64** | **47.78** | **26.64** |
| **Ages 60-69** | Lives near children<br>No disability<br>Works full-time<br>Grandparent | Lives near children<br>Disabled<br>Not working full-time<br>Grandparent | Lives far from children<br>No disability<br>Not working full-time<br>Grandparent |
| White Men | 19.96 | 40.26 | 39.78 |
| Black Men | 22.08 | 43.57 | 34.34 |
| Hispanic Men | 23.10 | 41.11 | 35.79 |
| White Women | 16.81 | 51.92 | 31.27 |
| Black Women | 17.40 | 58.28 | 24.32 |
| Hispanic Women | 15.53 | 62.95 | 21.52 |
| **Total** | **17.29** | **51.87** | **30.84** |
| **Ages 70-79** | Lives near children<br>No disability<br>Not working full-time<br>Grandparent | Lives near children<br>Disabled<br>Not working full-time<br>Grandparent | Lives far from children<br>Disabled<br>Not working full-time<br>Grandparent |
| White Men | 10.70 | 42.41 | 46.89 |
| Black Men | 10.94 | 41.77 | 47.29 |
| Hispanic Men | 8.54 | 45.06 | 46.40 |
| White Women | 6.82 | 47.61 | 45.57 |
| Black Women | 6.22 | 48.84 | 44.93 |
| Hispanic Women | 4.97 | 46.62 | 48.40 |
| **Total** | **8.17** | **45.78** | **46.05** |

Figures 1a (Men) and 1b (Women). Proportion grandparents, with childless children, and childless, by age, sex, and race/ethnicity, weighted to be representative of the U.S. population in 2008. (Data source: HRS)



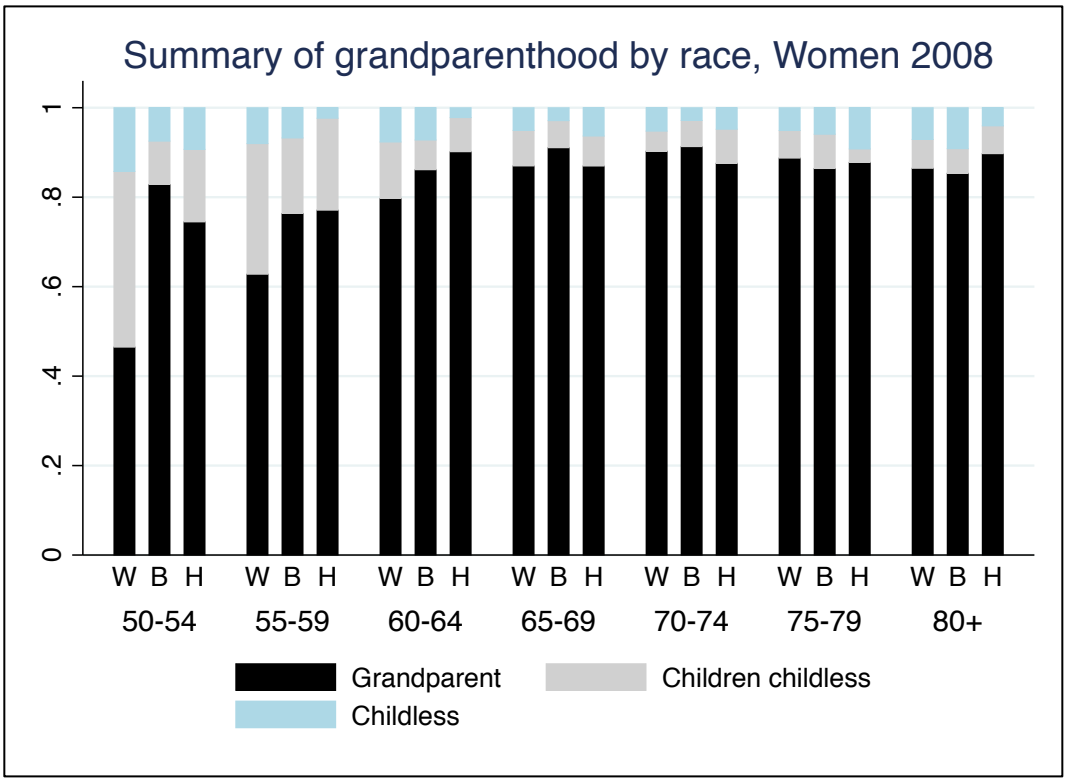
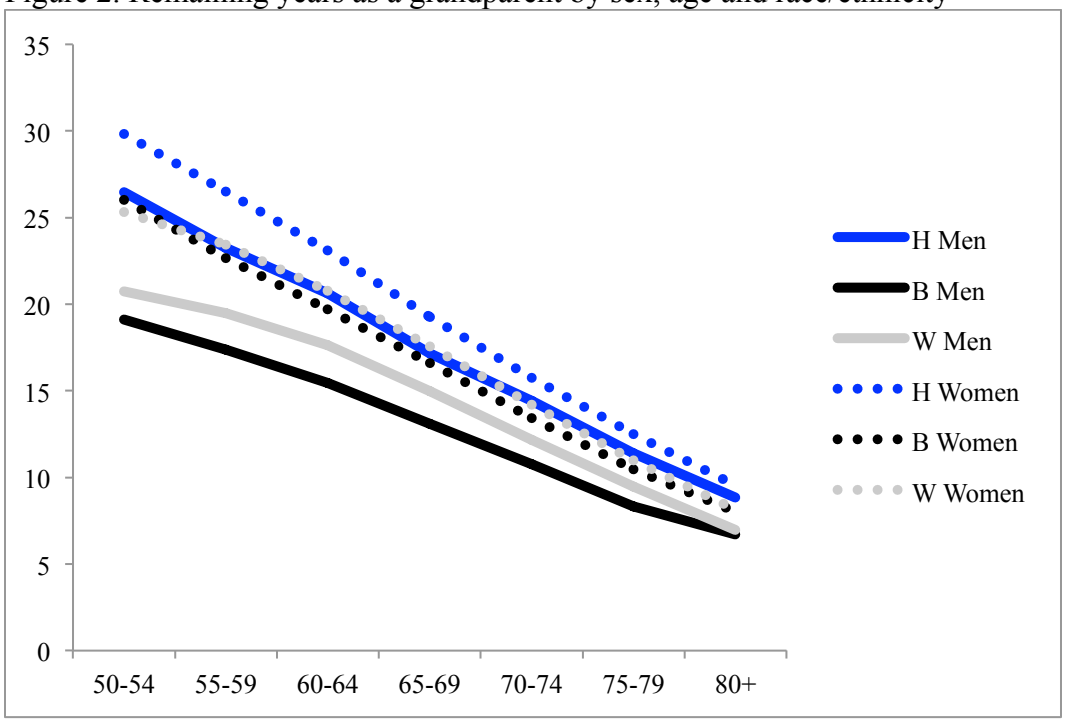
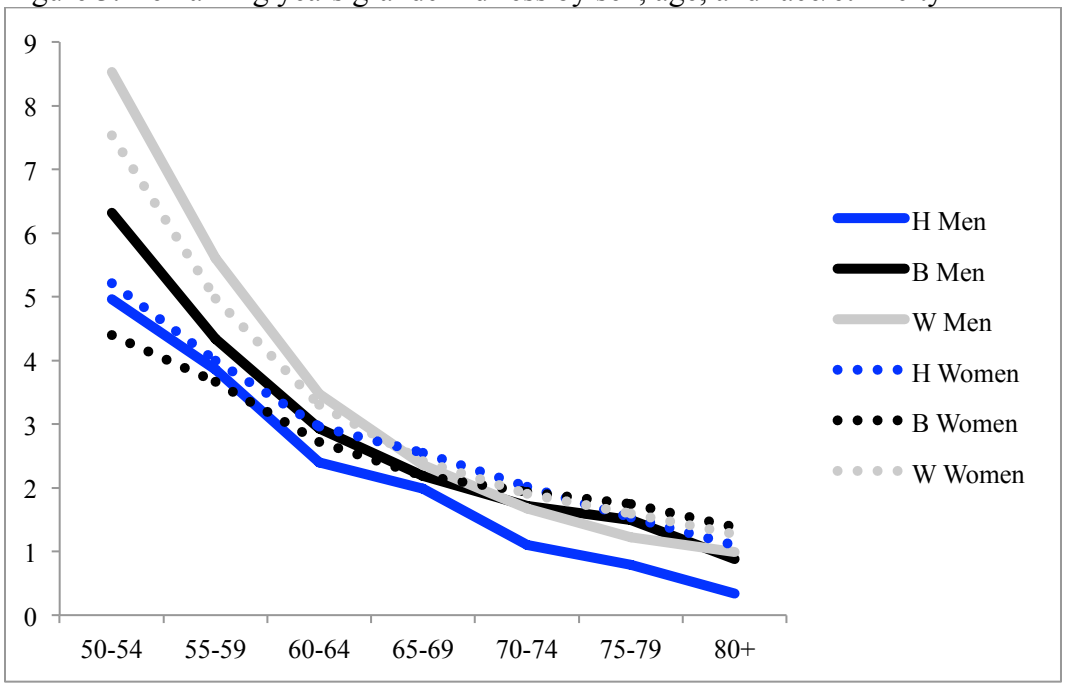



Figure 2. Remaining years as a grandparent by sex, age and race/ethnicity




Notes:
H denotes Hispanics. B denotes non-Hispanic blacks. W denotes non-Hispanic whites.

Figure 3. Remaining years grandchild-less by sex, age, and race/ethnicity




Notes:
H denotes Hispanics. B denotes non-Hispanic blacks. W denotes non-Hispanic whites.