

THE GRANDPARENT EXPERIENCE: AN INVESTIGATION
OF FACTORS RELATED TO GRANDPARENT STYLES
AND EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH BEING
A GRANDPARENT

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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MARY KNOX



**The Grandparent Experience: An Investigation of
Factors Related to Grandparent Styles and Emotional
Satisfaction with Being a Grandparent**

**by
Mary Knox**

**A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

One hundred and fifty-five (62 M, 93 F) grandparent volunteers (Mean age = 67) from St. John's or Mount Pearl, N^T were surveyed using a structured interview. Various grandparent styles (e.g., family-historian, fun-seeker, etc.) and factors related to grandparent satisfaction (e.g., role adjustment) were assessed. Consistent with earlier findings, distant-figure grandparents were more likely than were grandparents of other styles to agree that they saw their grandchild only during special occasions (e.g., Christmas); the fun-seeking style was negatively related to grandparents' age. Contrary to earlier findings, however, the surrogate-parent style was not found to be significantly more typical of grandmothers than grandfathers; the surrogate-parent style was not significantly correlated with feeling obliged to spend time with grandchildren; surrogate-parent grandparents were not significantly less satisfied with being a grandparent than were grandparents who were not surrogate parents; the fun-seeking style was not significantly related to grandchildren's age; young grandparents were not less involved with grandchildren than were old grandparents; grandparents who were highly representative of the formal-grandparent style agreed to involvement with raising grandchildren. Fun-seeking, surrogate-parent, indulgent, and family-historian styles

were positively associated with a composite satisfaction measure. Overall, respondents found the grandparent experience to be varied and emotionally satisfying.

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List of Matrix Abbreviations		
Abbreviation	Variable Label	Interview Schedule Item Number
SEX	Sex of grandparent	1
FB	Frequency of babysitting	46
EC	Emotional closeness	21
IND	Indulgent style	35
WST	Wanting to spend time with grandchild	36
BT	Being there for grandchild	39
AGE	Grandparents' age	Derived from 2
FUN	Fun-seeking style	37
MF	Mutual fun	38
EST	Enjoys spending time with grandchild	41
SUR	Surrogate-parent style	43
USE	Feeling Useful	23
CON	Confiding behaviour	25
HST	Have to spend time with grandchild	40
LFG	Looked forward to grandparenthood	10
EMP	Life empty without grandchild	28

FOR	Formal/Informal style	34
FH	Family-historian style	47
RSA	Role satisfaction	32
HEA	Perceived health status	3
EI	Education index	6
PTS	Preferred amount of time to spend with one's grandchild	20
RG	Raising grandchild left to parents	45
ES	Employment status	7b
HHS	Household size	5
GAP	Getting along with one's grandchild's parents	33
YGP	Years been a grandparent	8
NGC	Number of grandchildren	9
SGC	Sex of grandchild	12
LON	Loneliness measure	26
PUR	Purpose measure	27
AGC	Age of Grandchild	13
DIS	Geographical distance from grandchild	14

RAD	Role adjustment	31
SO	Special occasions	42
FSG	Frequency of seeing grandchild/ Distant-Figure style (low scores)	15
FPG	Frequency of phone contact	16
NEE	Needed measure	24
RCL	Role clarity	30
ASI	Attitude similarity	19
MEA	Meaning measure	29

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO GRANDPARENT RESEARCH

Grandparenthood is one of the oldest social roles in human experience. However, only relatively recently has the grandparent role become the object of scholarly attention (Bengtson, 1985; Kivett, 1991) and popular concern (Bengtson, 1985). This is partly due to health care improvements which are increasing the human life span and, in turn, the prevalence of three- and four-generational families (Barranti, 1985). For example, within the past 50 years, a ten-year-old's chance of having two living grandparents has increased from 40% to 50%. It is estimated that today's child will spend about 50% of his or her life in the grandparent role (Kivett, 1991).

According to Bengtson (1985), the increasing number of humans living long enough to become grandparents has been accompanied by increasing recognition of the grandparent role as varied. However, a consistent theme is that grandparenthood is typically a satisfying (Smith, 1991) and meaningful (Kivnick, 1983) experience.

1.2 LITERATURE ON GRANDPARENT STYLES

Rosow (1976) has pointed out that roles in later life often consist of social positions without normative expectations or, at best, with unclear ones. The

grandparent role, as it is often portrayed in the literature (e.g., Fischer & Silverman, 1982; Wood, 1982), approximates Rosow's (1976) description of the tenuous role. George (1980) has suggested that the vagueness of normative guidelines for grandparents might explain why individuals, by and large, pursue the style of relationship they find most comfortable. Although conceptualizations of the grandparent role have often been vague, some attempts have been made to classify grandparent behaviours (e.g., Isbister, 1989; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Robertson, 1977; Wood & Robertson, 1976). Seven types of grandparent styles that have been commonly cited in the grandparent literature are: formal style, fun-seeker, distant figure, surrogate parent, passive style, family historian, and indulgent style. These styles have generally been deduced from personal, semi-structured interviews. They fall along a continuum from heavy involvement (e.g., surrogate parent) to little involvement (e.g., distant figure).

1.2.1 Formal Style

According to Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), formal grandparents are those who adhere to what they regard as the proper role for grandparents. Although formal grandparents like to provide grandchildren with treats and to babysit occasionally, they maintain clearly demarcated lines between

being a parent and grandparent. Thirty-five percent of grandparents in Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study who provided complete data represented the formal style.

1.2.2 Fun-Seeking Style

According to Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), the fun-seeker is the grandparent whose social interactions with the grandchild are characterized by informality and having fun together. Emphasis is on mutual satisfaction. Both grandparent and grandchild are expected to have fun and to amuse one another. Authority lines are irrelevant to the fun-seeking grandparent. Twenty-eight percent of respondents in Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study represented the fun-seeking style of grandparent.

1.2.3 Distant-Figure Style

The distant-figure grandparent has been described by Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) as loving, but remote. He or she typically visits with grandchildren only on holidays and on special occasions such as Christmas time and birthdays. Infrequent contact with grandchildren is what Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) claim distinguishes the distant style from formal and passive grandparent styles. Twenty-five percent of respondents in their study represented the distant-figure style.

1.2.4 Surrogate-Parent Style

The grandparent who represents the surrogate-parent style assumes the actual caretaking responsibilities for the child (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964). This style typically occurs when the child's mother is employed, or otherwise unable to care for her child. As such, it is usually initiated by the child's parent rather than freely chosen (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Troll, 1980). In the case of adolescent childbirth, for example, the grandparent's help may be needed for a variety of reasons including parental inexperience in child care, lack of preparation for the parental role, the continuation of education, or absence of the father to assist in child care (Tinsley & Parke, 1984). The daily caretaker role is not common for most grandparents. For example, only eight percent of grandparents in Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study represented the surrogate-parent style.

1.2.5 Passive Style

The grandparent who represents the passive grandparent style is available to grandchildren when needed but remains in the background at other times (Bengtson & Robertson, 1985; Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986). In a theoretical review of the grandparent literature, Troll (1983) pointed out that passive grandparents may serve as *family watchdogs* who are

ready to offer assistance during times of family crisis such as divorce, financial troubles, or illness. Otherwise, they are hesitant to interfere.

1.2.6 Family-Historian Style

The term *family historian* was coined by Kornhaber and Woodward (1981) to describe the grandparent who fosters social continuity between past and future by the social construction of the family's biography. Family-historian grandparents bring to life deceased or distant relatives who exist for the child through the grandparent's words and images (Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981). Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) *reservoir-of-family-wisdom* style and Kivnick's (1983) *valued-elder* dimension of grandparent are similar to the family-historian style, though the latter is limited to the aspect of family biographer.

1.2.7 Indulgent Style

Indulgent grandparents have been described by various researchers (e.g., Kivnick, 1982; Robertson, 1977). Kivnick (1982) conducted interviews to find out the meaning of grandparenthood. Five dimensions of grandparent were deduced from interviews. The *spoil* dimension of grandparent, for example, described grandparents who were lenient toward grandchildren. Similarly, Robertson (1977)

asked grandmothers about the meaning of the grandmother role. Some grandmothers felt that grandmothers should be indulgent toward grandchildren and not worry about spoiling them.

1.2.8 Intercorrelations Among Styles

Some degree of overlap between various grandparent styles has been mentioned in the literature. For example, the fun-seeking style of grandparent has been associated with an informal style by Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) and Nahemow (1985).

1.3 EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH BEING A GRANDPARENT IN RELATION TO GRANDPARENT STYLES

Emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent has frequently been discussed in the grandparent literature. However, the concept has been characterized by different names (Hurme, 1991). For example, terms such as *individualized grandparenthood* (Robertson, 1977) and *centrality* (Kivnick, 1982) have been used to describe grandparent satisfaction.

The seven grandparent styles mentioned earlier have also been discussed in connection with grandparents' emotional satisfaction or dissatisfaction in the grandparent role. For example, the fun-seeking style has been described

as involving the mutual satisfaction of grandparent and grandchild (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964). According to Robertson (1977), individual and social forces toward grandparenthood are weak for distant-figure grandparents, suggesting emotional dissatisfaction with grandparent. The surrogate-parent style has been described as emotionally dissatisfying because it is typically not freely chosen (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Troll, 1980). Indirect evidence that passive-style grandparents may derive satisfaction in their grandparent role comes from Cumming and Henry's (1961) social disengagement theory. This theory suggests that progressive social disengagement with age is a normative sign of adjustment to the aging process. However, passivity has also been associated with depression (e.g., Allere, White, & Hornbuckle, 1990).

1.4 CORRELATES OF GRANDPARENTS' EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION

The grandparent experience is a diverse one. As a result, several factors have been associated with emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent. These factors range from demographic characteristics of the grandparent and grandchild to more qualitative factors, such as parental mediation. They will be discussed in the following sections.

1.4.1 Demographic Factors

Grandparents' Gender. Research has shown grandmothers to be more involved with grandparenting than are grandfathers (e.g., Atchley, 1988; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981; Peterson, 1989). In addition, gender differences in specific grandparent styles have been found (e.g., Crawford, 1981; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Sticker, 1991). The surrogate-parent style has been found to be more typical of grandmothers than grandfathers across the grandparent literature (e.g., Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Sticker, 1991; Townsend, 1963). This finding is consistent with literature on sex-role stereotypes which has characterized females as natural caregivers and nurturers (e.g., Feldman & Nash, 1979; Fiebert, 1990; Guberman, Mahau, & Maille, 1992).

In contrast to the unequivocal gender differences regarding the surrogate-parent style, gender differences pertaining to the distant-figure style have been mixed. Crawford (1981) found that more grandfathers than grandmothers adopted the distant-figure style whereas Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) found no significant differences in relation to this style.

No significant differences between grandmothers and grandfathers have been found in relation to fun-seeking (Crawford, 1981; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964) and formal (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964) grandparent styles. Similarly,

the *family-historian* style has not been found to be a sex-stereotypical behaviour (Hess & Markson, 1980).

Grandparents' Age. The ages of grandparents may be anywhere between 30 and 120 years. Some grandparents are energetic and youthful adults. Others are frail and distant, perhaps absorbed in their own failing health (Troll, 1983).

The grandparent's age is related to how he or she interacts with grandchildren. Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), for example, found that the young grandparents in their study exhibited fun-seeking and distant-figure styles more than did old grandparents. Similarly, Tinsley and Parke (1984) maintain that vigorous face-to-face play, either physical or toy-mediated, may be more prevalent among young than old grandparents. Better health and physical mobility (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986) is one explanation for young grandparents' adoption of a fun-seeking style. Another explanation is that younger grandparents' may be more involved than older grandparents with their own families, careers, and social lives (e.g., Nahemow, 1985).

The greater representation of the distant-figure style among young grandparents in various studies (e.g., Burton & Bengtson, 1985; Robertson, 1977) has been attributed to their desire to dissociate themselves from an *old age* role

(Burton & Bengtson, 1985). However, an alternative explanation is that preoccupation with their own careers and social lives, or caring for elderly parents may leave young grandparents little time to carry out traditionally prescribed roles (Nahemow, 1985).

According to Tinsley and Parke (1984), the surrogate-parent style is more typical of young grandparents (e.g., 35 - 45). Old grandparents have been found to represent the formal grandparent style (e.g., Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986; Peterson, 1989). Literature on the distant style of grandparent is mixed. Some researchers have claimed that the distant style is more common among young grandparents (e.g., Burton & Bengtson, 1985; Nahemow, 1985; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Robertson, 1977). Others have claimed that it is more common among old grandparents (e.g., Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986; Link, 1987). It is likely that different reasons for remoteness exist for young and older grandparents. For example, in contrast to young grandparents' desire to dissociate themselves from an old age role (Burton & Bengtson, 1985), remoteness among old grandparents is more likely to be the consequence of poor health and reduced mobility (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986). Corroborating evidence comes from a study assessing disability and functional change in an elderly cohort (Strawbridge, Kaplin, Camacho, & Cohen, 1992). In terms of

the formal style, Peterson (1989) suggests that older cohorts may have a more traditional view of grandparenting than younger cohorts. Alternatively, persons may become more formal with age. Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986) found that the passive style was more typical of older than younger grandparents. Social disengagement (Cumming & Henry, 1961) is one possible explanation for greater passivity among old grandparents.

Geographical Distance. Grandparents' geographical distance from grandchildren has been discussed as an important factor associated with actual (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986; Kennedy, 1992) and preferred (Fischer, 1983) social contact with grandchildren. Kennedy (1992) found that grandparents who lived further away had less social contact with grandchildren than those who lived closer. Fischer (1983) asked geographically-distant and geographically-close grandmothers how much social contact they would like to have with their grandchildren. She found that about half of the grandmothers who lived far away wanted more contact with their grandchildren compared to only 14% of close grandmothers. In addition, when asked about the impact of grandparenting, more geographically-distant (71%) than geographically-close (29%) grandmothers reported that their lives had not changed since becoming a

grandparent. How well (or poorly) grandparents get along with the middle generation (Gilford & Black, 1972; Robertson, 1975) is also apt to be related to grandparents' geographical distance from grandchildren.

Grandparents' Employment Status. Reaching the end of one's employment years, or entering retirement, may be associated with despair and hopelessness (Peck, 1968; Richardson & Kilty, 1991). According to various researchers (e.g., Peck, 1968), the ability to establish a sense of self-worth in activities beyond work differentiates persons who experience despair from those who find meaning and contentment in later years. Various researchers (e.g., Riley, Foner, Hess, & Toby, 1968) point out that the grandparent role may ease the transition from work to retirement by role substitution.

Robertson (1977) has looked at differences between grandparent types in relation to life style. Some grandparents were more involved in activities outside the family such as employment. These activities were their primary source of satisfaction. In contrast, grandchildren were viewed as their secondary source of satisfaction.

1.4.2 Social Contact

Various researchers have explored how grandparents' frequency of social contact with grandchildren is related to their emotional satisfaction or feelings of closeness to grandchildren. The evidence is mixed. Tinsley and Parke (1987), for example, found evidence of a positive correlation between social contact and grandparents' satisfaction with contact with grandchildren. Other researchers (e.g., Troll, Miller, & Atchley, 1979), however, have suggested an inverse relationship: the more older people's social lives are exclusively with children, the lower is their morale. Wood and Robertson (1976) assessed the relationship between the number of activities that grandparents share with grandchildren and grandparents' life satisfaction. However, no significant relationship was found. As Wood and Robertson (1976) and others (e.g., Troll et al., 1979) contend, socializing with friends may have a more positive impact on grandparents' lives than does socializing with non-peers such as grandchildren.

1.4.3 Role Timing

Another aspect of grandparent satisfaction has to do with whether or not entry into the grandparent role is chronologically on time (Burton & Bengtson, 1985), or age-appropriate (Neugarten, Moore, & Lowe, 1965). Seltzer

(1976) suggests that time-disordered roles arise when an individual's social roles are not temporally synchronized.

The grandparent role may be perceived as temporally asynchronous with other social roles when it occurs prematurely or late. When a role is perceived as premature or late, satisfaction in that role tends to be diminished (Marini, 1984). This is because of the increased likelihood that the role will conflict with family timetables (Hagestad & Burton, 1986).

Robinson (1989) has pointed out that premature grandparenthood may be burdensome if grandparents have to take on parental responsibilities. In addition, early grandparents may still be in their childrearing years (Benedek, 1970; Hurme, 1991). Their own children would therefore tend to occupy a more central position than grandchildren--a factor which would likely detract from the quality of grandparents' relationship with their grandchildren (Benedek, 1970; Hurme, 1991). Burton and Bengtson's (1985) assessment of age norms among grandmothers also provides evidence of dissatisfaction with the timing of the grandparent role. For example, Burton and Bengtson (1985) found that grandmothers who were propelled into the role prematurely often voiced discomfort with acquiring an old age role.

Becoming a grandparent early, however, may not

necessarily be a negative experience. For example, although it will take time for the role to lose its negative old age connotations, becoming a grandparent early means that grandparents will likely be healthy and physically mobile. Such factors are apt to facilitate social interaction with grandchildren. In contrast, late role onset means that vigorous play is apt to be limited (Tinsley & Parke, 1984). Indeed, late-entry grandparents in Hurme's (1991) study reported being too old and weak to enjoy grandchildren, or to follow their development.

1.4.4 Role Expectations

Another factor related to satisfaction with grandparenthood involves grandparents' role expectations. When role expectations are positive and fulfilled, life satisfaction is high (Bell, 1976). Role expectations have been intrinsically linked with role timing. When the role is *on schedule*, individuals have time to prepare for the role (Hagestad & Burton, 1986).

1.4.5 Perception of Control

Grandparents have little control over when they become grandparents. Likewise, they are apt to have minimal control over grandchildren's geographical proximity, divorce in the middle generation, and the middle-generation's

parenting styles (Bengtson & Robertson, 1985). Despite these uncontrollable factors, however, various researchers (e.g., Bengtson and Robertson, 1985) have argued that grandparents can still exert considerable influence over grandparent behaviours and, in turn, influence how satisfied they feel about their grandparent role. Grandparents with geographically distant grandchildren may maintain social contact by telephone.

1.4.6 Parental Mediation

Parental mediation is an important aspect of grandparents' relationships with grandchildren (Kennedy & Pfeifer, 1973; Robertson, 1975). For example, grandparents might be allowed to provide specific services and material support or to engage in certain expressive activities. However, they are apt to be discouraged by the norm of *independence* from interfering with parental authority. Essentially, the norm of independence prohibits grandparents from socializing, or controlling the lives of adult offspring or grandchildren (Riley et al., 1968). When grandparents willingly abide by the expectations and sanctions laid out by adult offspring, compatibility with adult offspring is apt to be maximized. In contrast, when grandparents encroach upon parental prerogatives of authority and responsibility, they may be denied not only

harmonious relationships with adult offspring, but warm relationships with grandchildren as well (Riley et al., 1968). Parents also serve as socializing agents of how their children should relate to older family members (e.g., Kennedy, 1992).

1.4.7 Grandparent Satisfaction in Relation to General Well-Being

Emotional well-being refers to a state of mind which includes feelings of happiness, contentment, and satisfaction with the conditions of one's life. The term is often interchangeably referred to as *life satisfaction* or *morale* (Kozma & Stones, 1978; Lee & Ishii-Kuntz, 1987). Several factors have been found to be concomitant with, or to engender a sense of emotional well-being. These include: feeling useful (Lawton, 1972; McCulloch, 1990); feeling needed (Horvath & Roelans, 1991; Lawton, 1972; Newman & Riess, 1992); having adequate social contact (Lawton, 1982; Liang, Dvorkin, Kahana, & Mazian, 1980; Mellor & Edelman, 1988); feeling that life is meaningful (Baum, 1988) or purposeful (Baum, 1988; Yarnell, 1971); and having a confidant (Lowenthal & Haven, 1968; Heller et al., 1991; Lawton, 1972).

According to Lawton (1972), the individual with high morale feels that he or she has attained something in life,

and is useful now. Such an individual has a sense of belonging, of having a place in the environment. Perceived loneliness is the sense of being isolated from, or ignored by others (Liang et al., 1980). Evidence of a negative relationship between perceived loneliness and the emotional well-being of older persons has been obtained by various researchers (e.g., Perlman, Gerson, & Spinner, 1978; Kivett & Scott, 1979; Snider, 1980). Baum (1988) investigated factors contributing to a sense of life meaning and purposefulness in aged persons. A variety of meaningful life events were reported (e.g., birth of a grandchild). Lowenthal and Haven (1968) noted that having a confidant is strongly associated with emotional well-being. It is possible that the concomitants of emotional well-being or life satisfaction that have been discussed here may be related to a specific aspect of life satisfaction, namely, satisfaction with being a grandparent.

1.5 THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Early studies have been criticized for viewing grandparenting in terms of static, unidimensional typologies which do not adequately reflect the grandparent role (Kivnick, 1982). As a result, later researchers (e.g., Kivnick, 1983) and writers (e.g., Pietropinto, 1985) have tended to conceptualize grandparenting as a more dynamic and complex phenomenon. As Pietropinto (1985) has pointed out, grandparent styles change over time: In the grandchildren's earliest years, nurturing and caretaking are common grandparent functions. For older grandchildren, the grandparent may serve as mentor, role model, and family historian.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate factors related to grandparent styles and satisfaction with being a grandparent. One aspect distinguishing this study from the individual studies that have been reviewed is that a greater number of potential satisfaction indices were assessed within a single study. Significant intercorrelations among these indices made it possible to derive a composite measure of grandparent satisfaction. This measure is more reliable due to its multidimensional composition. A second distinguishing aspect of this study is that the correlation of grandparent styles with the composite satisfaction measure made it possible to assess

not only which grandparent styles are more satisfying than others but *how*. The following predictions were made.

1.5.1 PREDICTIONS

(1) Infrequent Visiting By Distant-Figure Grandparents.

Compared to other grandparents, it is predicted that grandparents who are representative of the distant-figure style will tend to see grandchildren only on special occasions. This prediction is based on Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study.

(2) Gender Differences in Surrogate Parenting by Grandmothers. The surrogate-parent style is predicted to be more typical of grandmothers than grandfathers (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964). This prediction is based on literature on sex-role stereotypes which describes females as natural nurturers and caregivers (e.g., Fiebert, 1990; Guberman et al., 1992).

(3) The Obligatory Nature of the Surrogate-Parent Style. The surrogate-parent style of grandparent is predicted to be associated with *having* to spend time with grandchildren. As Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) and others (e.g., Troll, 1980) maintain, this style is usually assumed out of necessity. However, the increasing accessibility of

institutionalized daycare facilities (Shortlidge, Waite, & Suter, 1974; Zigler & Gordon, 1982) will be considered as a possible factor which may reduce this association. With greater availability of daycare, for example, more grandparents may feel comfortable deciding not to assume such childrearing responsibilities.

(4) The Fun-Seeking Style in Relation to Age of Grandparents and Grandchildren. Compared to older grandparents, it is predicted that younger grandparents will be more representative of the fun-seeker style (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Sticker, 1991). It is also predicted that grandparents with younger grandchildren will be more representative of the fun-seeking style than will grandparents with older grandchildren (Sticker, 1991).

(5) Grandparents' Involvement in Relation to Their Age. Compared to older grandparents, Robertson (1977) found younger grandparents to have more education and to be more likely to be employed. Consequently, younger grandparents were found to have more interests apart from grandchildren to occupy their time. On the basis of Robertson's (1977) findings, younger grandparents are predicted to be less involved than are older grandparents with grandparenting.

(6) Emotional Satisfaction with Being a Grandparent in Relation to the Surrogate-Parent Style. On the basis of earlier studies (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Troll, 1983), grandparents who are surrogate parents to grandchildren are predicted to be significantly less satisfied with grandparenthood than are grandparents who are not surrogate parents to grandchildren.

(7) The Distinction Between Parent and Grandparent Roles by Formal Style Grandparents. Compared to less formal grandparents, more formal grandparents are predicted to maintain a clear distinction between the role of parent and grandparent. This prediction is based on Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) definition of the formal-grandparent style.

1.5.2 AN ANALYSIS OF CORRELATES ASSOCIATED WITH EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH GRANDPARENTHOOD

To increase reliability, a composite index based on significant correlates of emotional satisfaction with grandparenthood were computed by adding together significantly intercorrelated measures. Sixteen possible measures of satisfaction with being a grandparent were analyzed. All of these items were assessed on a 5-point scale. Grandparents were asked to rate: (1) how emotionally

close they felt to their grandchild (Item 21); (2) their frequency of visits with their grandchild (Item 15); (3) how far they lived from their grandchild (Item 14); (4) the timing of the grandparent role (Item 11); (5) the extent to which they had looked forward to becoming a grandparent (Item 10); (6) how well they got along with their grandchild's parents (Item 33); (7) how much time they would like to spend with their grandchild (Item 20); (8) the extent to which their grandchild keeps them from feeling lonely (Item 26); (9) how useful their grandchild makes them feel (Item 23); (10) how needed their grandchild makes them feel (Item 24); (11) the extent to which they would confide in their grandchild (Item 25); (12) the extent to which their grandchild gives their life a sense of purpose (Item 27); (13) the extent to which life would be empty without their grandchild (Item 28); (14) the extent to which their grandchild gives their life meaning (Item 29); (15) the clarity of their grandparent role (Item 30); and (16) the extent to which they have adjusted to the grandparent role. These items are described more fully in the Grandparent Survey in Appendix A.i.

1.5.3 GRANDPARENT STYLES AND THEIR RELATION TO EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH BEING A GRANDPARENT (COMPOSITE INDEX)

Formal, fun-seeking, distant-figure, surrogate-parent (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964), passive (Bengtson & Robertson, 1985), family-historian (Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981) and indulgent (Kivnick, 1983; Robertson, 1977) grandparent styles will be correlated with the composite satisfaction index to see which styles, if any, will be significant correlates.

1.5.4 EXPLORATORY ANALYSES

Differences Between Grandparents. Differences between grandparents on survey items will be assessed in relation to the following background characteristics of grandparents or their grandchildren: grandparents' gender, age, and employment status; timing of the grandparent role; grandchildren's age; grandparents' geographical distance from grandchildren; and frequency of visits or phone contact with grandchildren. Other differences between grandparents will be assessed but are less central to the main predictions of this study. These differences will be presented in summary tables in Appendix C, but not discussed. These less thoroughly researched aspects of grandparenthood include: number of grandchildren and years as a grandparent; household size; grandchildren's gender;

and grandparents' marital, educational, and perceived health status.

Open-ended items. This study includes various open-ended items which have been derived from the various studies which have been reviewed. Such items are considered a useful way to gather detailed information that might be missed by items that use a fixed-alternative format. Open-ended items will be used to assess how it feels to enter grandparenthood early or late, factors which define the perfect grandparent, what grandparents consider to be the least satisfying and most satisfying thing about grandparenthood, why grandparent expectations have or have not been fulfilled, reasons why grandparents might not have been able to see grandchildren, reasons why becoming a widow might have affected contact frequency between grandparents and grandchildren, and what grandparents would change about their role if they could. At the end of the interview, grandparents will be invited to share additional comments.

GRANDPARENT SURVEY. A 60-item Grandparent Survey assessing various grandparent styles in relation to emotional satisfaction with grandparenthood was constructed for this Thesis (see Appendix A.i). Detailed coding information has been provided in Appendix A.ii.

2.0 METHOD

2.1 Subjects

Subjects were 155 grandparents (62 males, 93 females) living in St. John's and Mount Pearl, Newfoundland, Canada. Participation was voluntary, and sampling was purposive. Grandparents' ages ranged from 35 to 92, with a mean of 67.2 and standard deviation of 10.5. Grandmothers were slightly younger (\bar{X} = 66.36, SD = 11.047) than grandfathers (\bar{X} = 68.57; SD = 9.44).

The majority of grandparents were either married (64.50%) or widowed (29.70%). Smaller numbers were divorced (3.20%), separated (1.90%), or living with a common-law partner (0.60%). Almost half of the grandparents (47.7%) said they lived with one other person. A smaller number (31.0%) lived with two or more persons. The remainder (21.3%) lived alone.

In response to a question about their health, 25.2% reported that they were in excellent health, 49.0% reported good health, and 25.8% reported fair-to-poor health.

The number of years of education ranged from 4 to 22 years, with a mean of 11 years and a standard deviation of 2.85.

In terms of retirement status, grandparents reported that they were either retired (63.90%), not retired (16.1%), or that this item was not applicable since they had never

been in the paid workforce (20.0%).

The number of years as a grandparent ranged from less than one to 43 (\bar{X} = 16.41; MEDIAN = 15.00; \underline{SD} = 10.18). The number of grandchildren ranged from one to 30 (\bar{X} = 5.63; MEDIAN = 4.00; \underline{SD} = 4.73). Demographic characteristics of the sample are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Characteristic	Percent	Characteristic	Percent
Subject Recruitment Method		Marital Status	
Referral	78.1	Married	64.5
Door-to-Door	14.8	Widowed	29.7
Newspaper Advertisement	7.1	Other	5.8
		(e.g., Divorced, Separated)	
Gender		Health	
Male	40.0	Excellent	25.2
Female	60.0	Good	49.0
		Fair to Poor	25.8
Age Groups of Grandparent		Education Status	
Young Age Grp	33.5	Low Ed. Level	21.3
(30 - 62 yrs)		(4 - 10 yrs)	
Middle Age Grp	34.2	Mod. Ed. Level	47.7
(63 - 72 yrs)		(11 - 12 yrs)	
Old Age Grp	32.3	High Ed. Level	31.0
(73 - 93 yrs)		(13 - 22 yrs)	

Table 1 (continued). Demographic Characteristics of Sample			
Characteristic	Percent	Characteristic	Percent
Employment Status		Timing of Grandparent Role	
Employed (F-T/P-T)	16.1	Early/Very Early	25.8
Not Employed	63.9	On Time	44.5
Never Employed	20.0	Late/Very Late	29.7
Retirement Status		Years Been a Grandparent	
Retired	63.9	Low No. Yrs	34.8
Not Retired	16.1	(< 6 mos - 10 Yrs)	
N/A Since Never Worked	20.0	Med. No. Yrs	31.0
		(11 - 19 Yrs)	
		High No. Yrs	34.2
		(20 - 43 Yrs)	
Household Number		Number of Grandchildren	
Low Number	63.9	Low Number	27.1
(Alone)		(1 - 2)	
Medium Number	16.1	Medium Number	38.1
(One Other)		(3 - 5)	
High Number	20.0	High Number	34.8
(2 - 8 Others)		(6 - 30)	

2.2 Procedure

Recruitment. Three methods were used to recruit participants: (1) door-to-door, (2) newspaper advertisement and (3) reference. Door-to-door contact referred to the recruitment method of knocking on doors of potential grandparents who had not been referred to by previous participants in the study (see reference method). To maximize the possibility of contacting grandparents, door-to-door contact was restricted to the senior citizens' apartments or cottages of Maplewood, St. Luke's, and Masonic Park. Recruitment of grandparents through the convalescent homes at St. Luke's and Masonic Park was done with the assistance of the nursing supervisor on staff who compiled a list of grandparent volunteers. Most sample volunteers were recruited by referral from other grandparents (78.10%). Others were recruited by means of door-to-door enquiries (14.80%) and newspaper advertisements (7.10%). For a more detailed description of subject recruitment methods, please see Appendix B (ii-iv, inclusive).

The Interview. The study began by reading the grandparent a consent form which is shown in Appendix B (i). Then the Grandparent Survey was administered

interactively. The Grandparent Survey appears in Appendix A. Grandparent couples who participated in the study were interviewed separately to avoid problems of nonindependence. Separate interviews were also done so that any possible differences in response patterns between grandfathers and grandmothers would not be masked. In such cases, the individual who was not being interviewed was politely asked to wait in another room.

Page-sized cards (21.5 cm by 28.0 cm) depicting the 5-point Likert scale and category labels were provided to interviewees to facilitate responding. After reading a Survey item, the respondent was shown the response card corresponding to the item and asked to choose the response category that best expressed how he or she felt. A sample Survey item was used at the beginning of the interview for illustrative purposes. Numbers and letters on these cards were printed in large, bold typeface.

Most of the demographic items concerning the grandparents themselves, and the recording thereof, were straightforward. However, the recording of Item 5 was qualified in the case of grandparents living in a nursing home. Here, only the number of persons sharing the same sleeping quarters with the interviewee

(including the interviewee him or herself) were counted rather than all of the nursing home residents. Thus, for example, if there were two beds in the room of the interviewed grandparent, the number two was recorded.

The procedures for filling out the demographic chart on grandchildren were as follows. First, the grandchildren's names were recorded, along with gender and age information for each grandchild. Next, the grandparents were asked where each grandchild lived (i.e., town or city, province or state, country) and how frequently they visited with each child.

The majority of Survey items, following the background chart on grandchildren, pertained only to the most frequently seen grandchild. In the event that several grandchildren were seen with equal frequency, the name of one of the most often seen grandchildren was selected at random and the grandparent was asked to think of this grandchild.

After each interview, grandparents were asked if they knew any grandparents who might be willing to participate in the study. Persons mentioned were contacted following the procedure described in Appendix B.

3.0 RESULTS

3.1 TESTS OF PREDICTIONS

3.1.1 Infrequent Visiting by Distant-Figure Grandparents

Compared to grandparents who saw their grandchildren more often, distant-figure grandparents were predicted to see grandchildren only on special, ritual occasions (Item 42). This prediction was confirmed, $r(153) = -.36$, $p < .01$.

3.1.2 Gender Differences in Surrogate Parenting

It was predicted that the surrogate-parent style (Item 43) would be more typical of grandmothers than grandfathers. This prediction was not confirmed. Grandmothers ($\bar{X} = 1.47$, $SD = .50$) were no more likely than grandfathers ($\bar{X} = 1.48$, $SD = .50$) to assume a surrogate-parent style, $F(1, 154) = .02$, Mean Squared Error = .25, $p > .05$.

3.1.3 The Obligatory Nature of the Surrogate-Parent Style

The surrogate-parent style (Item 43) was predicted to be positively associated with *having* to spend time with grandchildren (Item 40). This prediction was not confirmed, $r(153) = .04$, $p > .05$.

3.1.4 The Fun-Seeking Style in Relation to Age of Grandparents and Grandchildren

This prediction was twofold, and pertained to the fun-seeking style of grandparent (Item 37). Part a of this prediction was that grandparents' age would be negatively associated with the fun-seeking style. Part b of this prediction was that grandchildren's age would be negatively associated with the fun-seeking style. Because grandparent and grandchild ages were positively correlated, $r(153) = .68$, partial correlations were calculated to test these predictions. Part a of this prediction was confirmed. The fun-seeking style was negatively related to grandparents' age and this relationship remained significant when the age of the grandchild was controlled, partial $r(152) = -.19$, $p < .01$. However, part b of this prediction was not confirmed. The fun-seeking style was not significantly related to grandchildren's age when the age of the grandparent was controlled, partial $r(152) = -.09$, $p > .05$.

3.1.5 Grandparents' Involvement in Relation to Their Age

Compared to older grandparents, younger grandparents were predicted (a) to be less involved with their grandchildren, (b) to be more likely to be

employed, and (c) to have more years of education. Involvement was operationalized in terms of frequency of visits with grandchildren (Item 15) and frequency of phone contact with grandchildren (Item 16).

Age of grandparents was not related to either frequency of visits with grandchildren (Part a), partial $r(152) = .01$, $p > .05$; or frequency of phone contact with grandchildren, partial $r(152) = -.04$, $p > .05$. The correlation between grandparents' age and employment status was positive (Part b), $r(153) = .51$, $p < .01$. Thus, younger grandparents were more likely to be employed than were older grandparents. As predicted, the correlation between grandparents' age and number of years of education was negative (Part c), $r(153) = -.28$, $p < .01$. Compared to older grandparents, younger grandparents had more years of education.

3.1.6 Emotional Satisfaction with Being a Grandparent in Relation to the Surrogate-Parent Style

Contrary to what was predicted, grandparents who reported being surrogate parents were not less emotionally satisfied with being a grandparent ($\bar{X} = 4.50$, $SD = .67$) than were grandparents who reported not being surrogate parents ($\bar{X} = 4.56$, $SD = .52$), $F(1, 154) = .34$, Mean Squared Error = .36, $p > .05$.

3.1.7 The Distinction Between Parent and Grandparent Roles by Formal-Style Grandparents

Formal-style grandparents were predicted to maintain a clear distinction between the role of parent and grandparent. Believing that a clear distinction between these roles should be maintained was operationalized in terms of agreement that raising grandchildren should be left to their parents (Item 45). The measure of formality was based on grandparents' description of their relationship with their grandchildren (Item 34). A negative correlation was predicted.

This prediction was not confirmed. Grandparents of the formal style did not agree that a clear distinction between parent and grandparent roles should be maintained, $r(153) = .18$, $p < .05$.

3.2 AN ANALYSIS OF CORRELATES ASSOCIATED WITH EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH GRANDPARENTHOOD

Seven variables out of 16 were positively and significantly correlated with satisfaction with being a grandparent. They were: adjustment to the grandparent role, $r(153) = .41$, $p < .01$; grandparent-role clarity, $r(153) = .34$, $p < .01$; getting along with grandchild's parents, $r(153) = .33$, $p < .01$; feeling useful because of grandchildren, $r(153) = .29$, $p < .01$; feeling needed

by grandchildren, $r(153) = .28$, $p < .01$; feeling emotionally close to grandchildren, $r(153) = .27$, $p < .01$; and feeling that life would be empty without grandchildren, $r(153) = .16$, $p < .05$.

3.3 GRANDPARENT STYLES AND THEIR RELATION TO EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH BEING A GRANDPARENT (COMPOSITE INDEX)

A composite index was created by adding together the measures of grandparent satisfaction which were intercorrelated. Three items made up the composite index: adjustment to the grandparent role (Item 31), feeling useful (Item 23), and feeling needed (Item 24) by one's grandchild. Four styles of grandparent were highly correlated with this composite index: the fun-seeking style, $r(153) = .36$, $p < .01$; the surrogate-parent style, $r(153) = .24$, $p < .01$; the indulgent style, $r(153) = .25$, $p < .01$; and the family-historian style, $r(153) = .20$, $p < .05$.

3.4 EXPLORATORY ANALYSES

3.4.1 Differences Between Grandmothers and Grandfathers

Compared to grandfathers, grandmothers babysat grandchildren more frequently, $r(153) = .19, p < .05$; felt closer to grandchildren, $r(153) = .20, p < .05$; were more likely to adopt an indulgent style of grandparent, $r(153) = .18, p < .05$; to want to spend time with grandchildren, $r(153) = .20, p < .05$; and to agree more strongly with the importance of being there for grandchildren, $r(153) = .20, p < .05$.

3.4.2 Differences Between Young and Old Grandparents

In assessments of differences between younger and older grandparents, partial correlation were used to control for the age of grandchildren.

Grandparents' age was positively associated with the likelihood of being employed, $r(153) = .51, p < .01$; looking forward to grandparenthood, partial $r(152) = .15, p < .05$; and the belief that raising grandchildren should be left to their parents, partial $r(152) = .17, p < .05$.

In contrast, grandparents' age was negatively associated with the fun-seeking style, partial $r(152) = -.19, p < .01$; viewing mutual fun as important; partial

$r(152) = -.19, p < .01$; enjoying time spent with grandchildren, partial $r(152) = -.15, p < .05$; wanting to spend time with grandchildren, partial $r(152) = -.14, p < .05$; playing a surrogate-parent role, partial $r(152) = -.20, p < .01$; and perceiving that grandchildren make one feel useful, partial $r(152) = -.14, p < .05$.

3.4.3 Differences Between Employed and Nonemployed Grandparents

Employment status was coded as 1 for *employed* and 2 for *not employed*. Grandparents' employment status was negatively correlated with wanting to spend time with grandchildren, $r(153) = -.18, p < .05$; the fun-seeking style, $r(153) = -.32, p < .01$; the importance of mutual fun with grandchildren, $r(153) = -.35, p < .01$; enjoying time spent with grandchildren, $r(153) = -.26, p < .01$; the surrogate-parent style, $r(153) = -.21, p < .01$; and with preferences in the amount of time that grandparents would like to spend with grandchildren, $r(153) = -.18, p < .05$.

Grandparents' employment status was positively correlated with grandparents' age, $r(153) = .51, p < .01$; feeling obliged to spend time with grandchildren, $r(153) = .27, p < .01$; and believing

that grandchildren should be raised by their parents,
 $\chi^2(153) = .17, p < .05$.

3.4.4 Differences Between Grandparents in Relation to Role Timing

Data were analyzed using analysis of variance, with role timing (Item 11) as the independent measure. Response categories were coded as 1 for late, 2 for on time, and 3 for early. The coding of dependent measures is shown in Appendix A.ii.

The timing of grandparents' entry into the grandparent role yielded a main effect on grandparents' frequency of babysitting grandchildren (Item 46), $F(2, 154) = 4.26$, Mean Squared Error = 1.59, $p < .05$. The significant F-value reflects a significant difference between early grandparents ($\bar{X} = 3.88$, $SD = 1.18$) and on-schedule grandparents ($\bar{X} = 3.14$; $SD = 1.34$); early grandparents babysat their grandchildren more frequently than did grandparents who entered their role on time. However, the difference in babysitting frequency between late grandparents ($\bar{X} = 3.37$, $SD = 1.20$) and early or on-schedule grandparents was not significant.

The timing of grandparents' entry into the grandparent role yielded a main effect on occurrence of

the surrogate-parent style, $F(2, 154) = 4.02$, Mean Squared Error = .24, $p < .05$. The significant F-value reflects a significant difference between early grandparents ($\bar{X} = 1.63$, $SD = .49$) and late grandparents ($\bar{X} = 1.33$, $SD = .47$); grandparents who reported entering the grandparent role early were more likely to assume a surrogate-parent style than were late grandparents. However, the difference in assuming or not assuming a surrogate-parent style between on-schedule grandparents ($\bar{X} = 1.49$, $SD = .50$) and early or late grandparents was not significant.

The timing of grandparents' entry into the grandparent role was related to grandparents' preferences in the amount of time they wished to spend with grandchildren (Item 20), $F(2, 154) = 5.20$, Mean Squared Error = .58, $p < .01$. The significant F-value reflects a significant difference between grandparents who reported entering the grandparent role early ($\bar{X} = 3.95$, $SD = .88$) and on-schedule grandparents ($\bar{X} = 3.46$, $SD = .65$); grandparents who reported entering the grandparent role early were more likely to report wanting to spend more time with grandchildren than were grandparents who reported entering the grandparent role on time. However, preference differences between late grandparents ($\bar{X} = 3.65$, $SD = .79$) and early or on-

schedule grandparents were not significant.

The timing of grandparents' entry into the grandparent role yielded a main effect on whether or not grandparents felt needed by grandchildren (Item 24), $F(2, 154) = 3.92$, Mean Squared Error = .41, $p < .05$. The significant F-value reflects a significant difference between early grandparents ($\bar{X} = 4.45$; $SD = .60$) and on-schedule grandparents ($\bar{X} = 4.13$; $SD = .62$); grandparents who reported entering the grandparent role early were more likely to strongly agree to feeling needed by grandchildren than were grandparents who reported entering the grandparent role on time. However, differences in feeling needed between late grandparents ($\bar{X} = 4.11$, $SD = .71$) and early or on-schedule grandparents were not significant.

3.4.5 Differences Between Grandparents in Relation to Geographical Distance from Grandchildren, Visiting, and Phone Contact with Grandchildren

Correlates of Distance. Grandparents' geographical distance from grandchildren was positively associated with wanting to spend more time with grandchildren, $r(153) = .25$, $p < .01$; seeing grandchildren only during special occasions such as Christmas time or birthdays, $r(153) = .56$, $p < .01$; and believing that raising grandchildren should be left to

their parents, $r(153) = .21, p < .01$. In contrast, distance was negatively associated with the indulgent style, $r(153) = -.16, p < .05$; grandparents' adjustment to the grandparent role, $r(153) = -.18, p < .05$; and frequency of visits with grandchildren, $r(153) = -.61, p < .01$.

Correlates of Visiting Frequency. How frequently grandparents saw their grandchildren was positively related to babysitting frequency, $r(153) = .19, p < .05$; the surrogate-parent style, $r(153) = .22, p < .01$; the indulgent style, $r(153) = .20, p < .05$; fun-seeking style, $r(153) = .17, p < .05$; viewing mutual-fun as important, $r(153) = .17, p < .05$; and perceptions of adjustment to the grandparent role, $r(153) = .19, p < .05$. In contrast, how frequently grandparents saw their grandchildren was negatively related to how much time they wanted to spend with grandchildren, $r(153) = -.26, p < .01$; believing that raising their grandchild should be left to their grandchild's parents, $r(153) = -.27, p < .01$; grandchildren's age, $r(153) = -.15, p < .05$; grandparents' geographical distance from grandchildren, $r(153) = -.61, p < .01$; and seeing grandchildren only during special occasions, $r(153) = -.36, p < .01$.

Correlates of Phone-Contact Frequency. The more frequently grandparents spoke with grandchildren on the phone, the closer they felt to grandchildren, $r = .26$, $p < .01$; the more informal they were with grandchildren, $r = .24$, $p < .01$; the more they wanted to spend time with grandchildren, $r(153) = .26$, $p < .01$; the more likely they were to feel needed by grandchildren, $r(153) = .20$, $p < .05$; and the more they enjoyed time spent with grandchildren, $r(153) = .17$, $p < .05$. In addition, phone-contact frequency was positively associated with babysitting grandchildren, $r(153) = .17$, $p < .05$. The more frequently grandparents babysat their grandchildren, the more frequently they also spoke with grandchildren on the phone.

3.4.6 Comments on Open-Ended Items

Multiple responses to open-ended items were common. As a result, open-ended items were analyzed according to response frequency. Due to the extent of response variability, however, some restriction had to be placed on how responses were categorized. Responses that comprised less than 5% of the total responses were categorized as *miscellaneous*. Grandparents' comments on open-ended items are

described in Tables 2 to 11.

**Early or late role-onset
(Item 48)**

Examples of positive, negative, and neutral comments on becoming grandparents early or late are shown in Table 2. The majority of comments made by these grandparents were positive.

Table 2. Comments about How Early or Late Entry into the Grandparent Role Made Grandparents Feel (Item 48)			
Role Timing	Comment Type		
	Examples of Positive Comments (62.5%)	Examples of Negative Comments (17.5%)	Examples of Neutral Comments (20%)
Early/ Very Early (N = 40)	"Happy" "Glad" "Proud"	"Disgusted" "Frustrated" "Traumatized"	"I had no feelings about it" "I didn't know if I was happy or unhappy"
Role Timing	Examples of Positive Comments (65%)	Examples of Negative Comments (11%)	Examples of Neutral Comments (24%)
Late/ Very Late (N = 46)	"Happy" "Great" "Excited"	"I felt jealous toward younger grandparents" "I felt I missed out on a lot"	"I didn't feel any different" "I took it in stride"

**The perfect grandparent
(Item 49)**

Grandparents were asked to describe the perfect grandparent. "Showing love or kindness" and "being helpful" were frequent comments. Additional comments are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Descriptions of the Perfect Grandparent (Item 49)	
Comment Type	Percent
"Showing love or kindness"	21
"Being helpful"	19
"Being a role model"	10
"Not interfering with how grandchildren are raised by parents"	9
"Being a disciplinarian"	7
"Giving the grandchild things or providing financial assistance"	6
"Spending time with grandchildren"	6
"Being a confidant or good listener"	5
Other comments	17
N = 359 Comments	

**The most satisfying thing about being a grandparent
(Item 50)**

Comments regarding the most satisfying thing about being a grandparent were varied. However, "time spent with grandchildren" and "loving or being loved" were frequently cited. Additional comments are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Comments About the Most Satisfying Thing About Being a Grandparent (Item 50)	
Comment Type	Percent
"Time spent with grandchildren"	23
"Loving or being loved"	17
"Seeing grandchildren's progress or development"	13
"Just having grandchildren or being grandparents"	9
"Freedom from parental responsibility"	7
"Immortality through grandchildren"	7
Other Comments	24
N = 225 Comments	

**The least satisfying thing about being a grandparent
(Item 51)**

Many grandparents could not think of anything "least satisfying" about being a grandparent. Of those who could, "not seeing grandchildren often enough" or "grandchildren live too far away" were common responses. Additional comments on this item are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Comments About the Least Satisfying Thing About Being a Grandparent (Item 51)	
Comment Type	Percent
"Can't think of anything least satisfying"	49
"Don't see grandchildren often enough"/ "Grandchildren live too far away"	17
"Not being able to interfere with the grandchild's upbringing"	5
"Seeing grandchildren misbehave"	4
Other Comments	25
N = 156 Comments	

**Grandparents' expectations
(Items 52-53)**

Most grandparents' reported fulfilled expectations. Comments are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. COMMENTS ON GRANDPARENT EXPECTATIONS (Items 52 - 53)	
FULFILLED EXPECTATIONS (N = 173 Responses)	
Comment Types	Percent
Reference to positive aspects of grandchild	57
Reference to positive aspects of grandparent-grandchild relationship	17
Reference to positive aspects of the grandparent	14
Reference to general grandparent experience as positive	11
Qualified positive comments	1
NONFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS (N = 12 Responses)	
Comment Type	Percent
Reference to negative aspects of grandchild	34
Reference to not seeing grandchild often enough	33
Other responses	33

**Wanted to see grandchild but unable to
(Items 54-55)**

Approximately 20% of grandparents indicated that there had been times when they wanted to see their grandchildren, but couldn't. Geographical distance between the grandparent and grandchild was a frequent comment. Additional comments are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Comments By Grandparents Who Wanted to See their Grandchild but were Unable to (Items 54 - 55)	
Comment Type	Percent
Geographical distance between the grandparent and grandchild	60
Grandparent or grandchild on holidays	17
Grandparent or grandchild sick	10
Disagreement with grandchild's parents	7
Other Comments	6
N = 30 Comments	

Impact of widowhood on social contact with grandchildren
(Items 56-57)

Most widowed grandparents reported that being widowed had not affected how frequently they saw their grandchild. Of the widowed grandparents whose amount of social contact with grandchildren was affected, more than half reported seeing their grandchild more often than they had when they were married. Comments on the impact of widowhood on social contact with grandchildren are shown in Table 8 and Table 9.

Table 8. Impact of Widowhood on Social contact with Grandchildren (Item 56)	
Comment Type	Percent
Change in social contact	28
No change in social contact	72
N = 46 Comments	

Table 9. Comments Made by Widowed Grandparents whose Social Contact with Grandchildren had Been Affected (Item 57)	
Comment Type	Percent
See grandchildren more often	62
See grandchildren less often	38
N = 13 Comments	

**What grandparents would change about their role
(Item 58)**

Most grandparents reported that they would not change anything or could not think of anything to change about their role. However, other comments were made. They are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Comments on What Grandparents would Change About their Role (Item 58)	
Comment Type	Percent
Would not change anything/ Could not think of anything to change	61
Grandparent wishes for less geographical distance from grandchild	8
Grandparent wishes to see grandchild more often	8
Grandparent would like to have more to give grandchild	5
Other comments	18
N = 157 Comments	

Additional Comments

At the end of the Survey, grandparents were asked if there was anything that they would like to say or add that they did not have a chance to express earlier in the interview. Over half of sampled grandparents provided additional comments. The most common comments had to do with positive aspects of the grandparent experience or positive aspects of their grandchild. Additional comments are shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Additional Comments	
Comment Type	Percent
Positive aspects of the grandparent experience	34
Positive aspects of their grandchild	14
Wishing that grandchildren lived closer	8
Being there for their grandchildren or grandchildren's parents	6
Describing what grandparent's role should be	5
Additional reasons for emotional closeness to grandchildren	5
Other comments	28
N = 128 Comments	

4.0 DISCUSSION

4.1 DISCUSSION OF PREDICTIONS

This study was primarily a descriptive investigation of grandparenthood. The fact that many predictions based on earlier studies were not confirmed may indicate the changing nature of grandparenthood. However, it may also indicate failure in many earlier studies to control for third variables, such as grandchildren's age when assessing correlates of grandparents' age and vice versa.

4.1.1 Infrequent Visiting by Distant-Figure Grandparents

Grandparents typifying the distant-figure style were more likely than were those less typical of this style to see grandchildren only during special occasions. These results are consistent with the distant-figure grandparents described by Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), and with the remote grandparents described by Robertson (1977). The characteristically remote grandparents in Robertson's (1977) study, for example, were distant and ritualistic in their interpersonal contact with grandchildren.

4.1.2 Gender Differences in Surrogate Parenting

Unlike Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) results, in the present study, the surrogate-parent style was no more typical of grandmothers than grandfathers. It could be that

sex-role stereotypes have eroded somewhat over the thirty years that have elapsed since Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study. Another explanation might have to do with differences in the way the surrogate-parent style was operationalized. For example, Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) operationalized surrogate parenting in terms of assuming the daily caretaking responsibility of grandchildren. In the present study, the daily involvement aspect of this style was not emphasized. The question asked was: "Apart from your role as a grandparent, have you at any time played the role of a parent to your grandchild?"

4.1.3 The Obligatory Nature of the Surrogate-Parent Style

The surrogate-parent style of grandparent was not significantly associated with feelings of obligation to spend time with grandchildren. This finding differs from those of Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) and Troll (1980). One explanation is that the surrogate-parent style was defined differently from the way it was defined by Neugarten and Weinstein (1964). Operational differences are discussed in section 4.1.2. A second explanation is that the increasing availability of subsidized daycare (Shortlidge et al., 1974; Zigler & Gordon, 1982) could mitigate grandparents' feelings of obligation when it comes to taking

on parental-type responsibilities with respect to grandchildren.

4.1.4 The Fun-Seeking Style in Relation to Age of Grandparents and Grandchildren

Grandparents' age was negatively and significantly associated with the fun-seeking style, thereby corroborating Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) findings. Better health and greater physical mobility (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986) might explain the greater prevalence of the fun-seeking style among younger grandparents. However, other factors may underlie this relationship as well. For example, Nahemow (1985) explains that younger grandparents are more likely than are older grandparents to view traditional lines of authority and concepts of age-appropriate behaviour as irrelevant. Thus, they are apt to be more relaxed in their roles. Nahemow's (1985) explanation might account for the positive association that was found between the fun-seeking style and grandparents' emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent.

Unlike findings by Sticker (1991), grandchildren's age was not significantly associated with the fun-seeking style. The discrepancy between Sticker's (1991) results and those obtained in this study may stem from the fact that, in the present study, grandparents' age was controlled when

assessing the correlation between grandchildren's age and the fun-seeking style.

4.1.5 Grandparents' Involvement in Relation to Their Age

Robertson (1977) found that, compared to older grandparents, younger grandparents had more education and were more likely to be employed. Education and employment were factors which Robertson (1977) attributed to younger grandparents' reduced involvement with their grandchildren. In the present study, however, young grandparents were not less involved than were old grandparents with their grandchildren even though they had more education and were more likely to be employed. Therefore, factors such as education and employment, while offering an explanation for how younger grandparents spend their time, did not seem to interfere with younger grandparents' degree of involvement or preoccupation with familial activities such as grandparenting. Using Robertson's (1977) terminology, it may be concluded that the younger grandparents in this study appear to be *both* extrafamilially- and intrafamilially-oriented. The discrepant findings between Robertson's (1977) study and the present one may be attributed to differences in methodology. For example, unlike the present study, Robertson (1977) did not control for grandchildren's age when assessing differences between young and old

grandparents' involvement with grandchildren.

4.1.6 Emotional Satisfaction with Being a Grandparent in Relation to the Surrogate-Parent Style

Contrary to what was expected, grandparents who were surrogate parents were not significantly less emotionally satisfied with being a grandparent than were grandparents who were not surrogate parents. One explanation has to do with an increase in child care alternatives. For example, since Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study, the percentage of children in daycare has risen markedly (Shortlidge et al., 1974; Zigler & Gordon, 1982). This is due, in part, to a greater percentage of mothers and grandmothers entering the work force (Shortlidge et al., 1974; Tinsley & Parke, 1984). The growing percentage of employed grandmothers may not only reduce the proportion of grandparents who are surrogate parents to their grandchildren but may also give grandparents more freedom to choose whether or not they will assume a surrogate-parent style of grandparent. Therefore, today's surrogate-parent grandparents may be more emotionally satisfied with being grandparents because their decision to help raise grandchildren has been based on choice rather than feelings of obligation.

4.1.7 The Distinction Between Parent and Grandparent Roles by Formal-Style Grandparents

Grandparents who reported being formal or very formal were more likely than informal grandparents to indicate wanting to be involved with raising grandchildren. These results do not support Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) characterization of the formal-style grandparent as one who maintains clearly demarcated lines between being a parent and grandparent. However, assuming that the parental role represents a position of power and authority, the results obtained here are consistent with other findings in the literature. For example, Kivnick (1982) noted that contemporary grandparents view their role as less associated with power and authority and more associated with warmth, indulgence, and pleasure without responsibility. Similarly, Nadel (1951) has pointed out that friendly equality and informal interactions with grandchildren are more prevalent when the grandparent does not hold a position of authority in the family.

4.2 AN ANALYSIS OF CORRELATES ASSOCIATED WITH EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH GRANDPARENTHOOD

Sixteen variables were assessed to see if they would be significant correlates of emotional satisfaction with grandparenthood. Seven of these variables were significant

correlates. In descending order of correlation size, they were: adjustment to the grandparent role, role clarity, getting along with one's grandchild's parents, feeling useful and needed by one's grandchild, feeling close to one's grandchild, and the feeling that life would be empty without one's grandchild.

The importance of the bridge generation to the grandparent-grandchild relationship (e.g., Robertson, 1975) is highlighted by these results. For example, adjustment to the grandparent role and role clarity likely depend upon the grandparents' relationship with the grandchild's parents.

These results have demonstrated that feeling useful and needed are viable concomitants of at least one aspect of life satisfaction, namely, satisfaction associated with being a grandparent. Grandparenthood fosters a sense of having attained something in life, of being useful. Grandparenthood also gives the individual a sense of belonging, of having a place in the environment. Similarly, the grandparent role might function as a substitute for one's work role upon retirement. Riley et al. (1968), for example, have referred to the grandparent role as a potential facilitator of self-worth in postemployment years.

Strong concurrence that life would be empty without grandchildren also suggests the substitutive and emotionally fulfilling function of the grandparent role as other roles

are left or become increasingly peripheral to daily living. The *empty-nest* syndrome which sometimes characterizes the post-childrearing years may leave parents feeling depressed and empty. Grandchildren may fill the emotional void.

4.3 GRANDPARENT STYLES AND THEIR RELATION TO EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION WITH BEING A GRANDPARENT (COMPOSITE INDEX)

Results indicate that fun-seeking, surrogate-parent, indulgent, and family-historian styles were highly correlated with respondents' emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent (composite index). The make-up of the composite satisfaction index suggests that grandparents who adopt these styles have adjusted to their grandparent role and feel useful and needed by grandchildren. In contrast, the distant-figure style was associated with low emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent. This finding corroborates Robertson's (1977) description of the remote grandparents. The strongest correlate of the composite index of satisfaction was the fun-seeking style of grandparent. Fun-seeking interactions with grandchildren have been described as rewarding (Nahemow, 1985) and mutually satisfying (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964).

Grandparent styles are apt to overlap to varying degrees. For example, being indulgent might be perceived by grandparents as a fun and emotionally satisfying activity.

4.4 EXPLORATORY ANALYSES

4.4.1 Differences Between Grandmothers and Grandfathers

The gender findings of the present study are consistent with earlier accounts of grandmothers' greater warmth (e.g., Peterson, 1989) and involvement in their grandchildren's lives (e.g., Atchley, 1988; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981; Peterson, 1989). For example, grandmothers reported babysitting grandchildren more frequently than did grandfathers. They felt closer to grandchildren. In addition, compared to grandfathers, grandmothers were more likely to report wanting to spend time with grandchildren, to strongly agree with the importance of being available to grandchildren, and to report adopting an indulgent style of grandparent. Gutmann (1975) has claimed that parenthood organizes the development and content of succeeding stages. Therefore, according to Gutmann (1975), the greater nurturance and involvement among grandmothers than grandfathers would likely be the result of the distinctive sex roles assumed by men and women earlier in the family life cycle.

Despite some gender differences, the majority of differences between grandmothers and grandfathers did not reach significance. For example, like the results obtained by Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), nonsignificant

differences were found between grandmothers and grandfathers in terms of distant-figure, fun-seeking, and formal styles. Nonsignificant gender differences were also found in relation to the family-historian style. This finding supports Hess and Markson's (1980) assertion that telling family stories is not a sex-stereotypical behaviour. In general, the absence of gender differences provide some support for Gutmann's (1977) claim of greater androgyny with age.

4.4.2 Differences Between Young and Old Grandparents

Young grandparents have been described as energetic and youthful adults. In contrast, old grandparents have been described as frail (Troll, 1983) and less involved in their grandchildren's lives (Link, 1987). Several theorists have compared young and old grandparents' experience of the grandparent role. For example, Benedek (1970), a psychodynamic theorist, has claimed that grandparenting is most satisfying to individuals past childbearing age.

Compared to younger grandparents, the older grandparents in this sample had older grandchildren. Older grandparents were less likely than were younger grandparents to be employed. Compared to old grandparents, young grandparents were less likely to report looking forward to grandparenthood. This latter finding could reflect young

grandparents' desire not to identify with an old age role (Burton and Bengtson (1985)).

Compared to young grandparents, old grandparents were more likely to believe that raising grandchildren should be left to the grandchildren's parents. In addition, old grandparents were less likely to report wanting to spend time with grandchildren. Grandparents' health, particularly if very poor, is apt to have a mediating influence on attitudes toward childrearing. For example, older grandparents' failing health might preclude the desire, or ability, to help raise grandchildren. Hurme (1991) has pointed out that older, infirm grandparents have difficulty with simply following their grandchildren's development.

Compared to old grandparents, young grandparent were more likely to adopt a fun-seeking style of grandparent, to view mutual fun as important, and to enjoy spending time with grandchildren. These results are consistent with earlier accounts by Nahemow (1985) and Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) and may reflect cohort differences in perceptions of grandparenting (Link, 1987). For example, interviews with grandparents (Nahemow, 1985; Robertson, 1977) have revealed that young grandparents are more involved with their own social lives and careers than are old grandparents. Consequently, young grandparents are more likely to emphasize having fun with grandchildren than being

figures of authority.

Compared to old grandparents, young grandparents were more likely to report being surrogate parents to grandchildren. One explanation is that young grandparents are more likely to be affected by unplanned teenage pregnancy (e.g., Burton & Bengtson, 1985; Troll, 1980) and, in turn, asked to help take care of their grandchild. Young grandparents were also more likely to report that grandchildren made them feel useful. Being surrogate parents to grandchildren may have been one way in which young grandparents felt useful.

Grandparents' age was not associated with several styles of grandparent. For example, in contrast to findings by Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), young grandparents were no more likely than old grandparents to adopt the distant-figure style. In addition, unlike what these researchers found, old grandparents were not significantly more formal than were young grandparents. One explanation for lack of association between the formal style of grandparent and grandparents' age may be that old grandparents today no longer adhere to a formal view of grandparenting (Peterson, 1989). Another explanation is that grandparents' relationship with the middle generation may be a better predictor of the formal grandparent style than grandparents' age per se. For example, formal grandparents got along less

well with their grandchild's parents than did grandparents with a more informal orientation. In addition, compared to informal grandparents, formal grandparents were more likely to disagree that raising grandchildren should be left to their grandchildren's parents. As Apple (1956) has maintained, formality is fostered by association of grandparents with family authority. In contrast, informality is fostered by dissociation from family authority.

Nonsignificant differences between young and old grandparents were also found in relation to passive, family-historian, and indulgent styles. These results suggest that behaviours such as telling family stories about olden days and providing grandchildren with treats are normative grandparent behaviours independent of the grandparent's particular age. Indulgence has been described as a style which is congruent with normative expectations about the grandparent role (Robertson, 1977).

According to Neugarten (1975), increased life expectancy is responsible for altering social patterns. In an article written twenty years ago, Neugarten (1975) predicted that the age of seventy-five would become a new symbolic marker in the life cycle which distinguishes between the young-old (individuals between fifty-five and seventy-five) and the old-old (individuals older than

seventy-five). For the young-old, Neugarten (1975) predicted that the norms governing what individuals ought to do would become less effective regulators of behaviour. Instead, the behaviour of the young-old would be more convincingly predicted by opportunities consonant with their needs, abilities, and desires. The greater diversity in grandparent styles among the young grandparents in this study, such as by being both fun-seekers and surrogate parents, seems to corroborate Neugarten's (1975) prediction for the young-old.

Various critics of Cumming and Henry's (1961) social disengagement theory (e.g., Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1964; Maddox, 1964, 1965) disagree that perceived scarcity of time is primarily a function of age. In the present study, the relationship between visiting preferences (Item 20) and grandparents' age was not significant. However, a significant negative relationship was found between grandparents' visiting preferences and actual visiting frequency. These findings therefore substantiate the argument made by these critics of the important role that social and personality factors play as potential modifiers of social disengagement.

4.4.3 Differences Between Employed and Nonemployed Grandparents

Employed grandparents were similar to Robertson's (1977) *appropriated* type of grandparents. They were relatively young and had few grandchildren. Employed grandparents were also comparable to the young, fun-seeking grandparents in Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study. They reported having fun when they were with grandchildren, viewed mutual fun as important, and enjoyed time spent with grandchildren.

Compared to grandparents who were not employed, employed grandparents were more likely to adopt the surrogate-parent style. In addition, employed grandparents were more likely to disagree that raising grandchildren was the parents' responsibility. The age difference between employed and nonemployed grandparents might account for such disparate attitudes about childrearing and grandparent responsibilities. For example, employed grandparents would likely be younger than nonemployed grandparents. Thomas (1986) found that young grandparents expressed greater readiness than did old grandparents to offer childrearing advice. She attributed this finding to young grandparents' more recent experiences with active parenting.

The concurrence of surrogate-parent and fun-seeking styles among employed grandparents contradicts some earlier

reports of the relatively dissatisfying (Burton & Bengtson, 1985) and obligatory (Troll, 1983) nature of the surrogate-parent style. One explanation to account for surrogate-parent and fun-seeking styles among employed grandparents is that surrogate parenting may have been considered a pastime of choice for working grandparents. Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) have described the fun-seeking grandparent as one who views grandchildren as a source of leisure activity. It could be that the frequency of surrogate parenting may have a moderating influence on whether this style is accompanied by a fun-seeking or authoritarian orientation toward grandchildren.

Compared to grandparents who were not employed, employed grandparents indicated that they wanted, rather than felt obliged, to spend time with grandchildren. Moreover, employed grandparents expressed a desire to spend more time with grandchildren than they currently did. Less availability of time to spend with grandchildren due to work-related demands is a likely explanation for wanting to see grandchildren more often. Nonemployed grandparents, in contrast, indicated wanting to spend the same amount of time with grandchildren. This could be because of relatively fewer restrictions on when, and how often, they could see grandchildren.

Employment has been found by various researchers (e.g.,

Riddick, 1985) to be positively related to life satisfaction. The depiction here of employed grandparents' greater fun and enjoyment of grandchildren might reflect grandparenthood as one contributor to life satisfaction. Support for this explanation comes from Robertson's (1977) description of apporportioned grandparents. For example, besides a greater likelihood of being employed, apporportioned grandparents also rated high in life satisfaction.

Nonemployed grandparents' perception of grandparenting as obligatory and reduced enjoyment of grandchildren suggests that the grandparent role may not play as compensatory a function for these grandparents as Kivnick (1982) has suggested in her compensatory-deprivation model of grandparent status. Nonemployed grandparents were older and had been grandparents for a longer period of time than had employed grandparents. Consequently, it could be that the novelty of the grandparent experience had worn off for this group.

4.4.4 Differences Between Grandparents in Relation to Role Timing

Compared to grandparents who entered the grandparent role *on schedule*, respondents who entered the grandparent role early were more likely to babysit grandchildren. Similarly, early grandparents were more likely than were

late grandparents to assume the surrogate-parent style. These findings corroborate findings by Burton and Bengtson (1985). Various researchers (e.g., Benedek, 1970; Hurme, 1991; Robinson, 1989) contend that premature grandparenthood is likely to be burdensome, particularly for surrogate parents. However, no differences in emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent were found in relation to the timing of the grandparent role. One possible explanation is that the grandparents who were interviewed were volunteers. Therefore, compared to nonvolunteers, they might have found the grandparent role more emotionally satisfying regardless of differences in role timing.

Time-consuming factors, such as still raising one's own children or being employed, might reduce early grandparents' time with grandchildren. This would explain early grandparents' greater desire to see grandchildren more often. Perhaps the surrogate-parenting or supportive-parenting styles which were common among early grandparents are more strongly associated with feeling needed than are other grandparent styles. Early grandparents' desire to see grandchildren more often is an important finding since it suggests that the quality of their relationship with grandchildren may not be as down-graded by the timing of their role as some researchers have claimed (e.g., Benedek, 1970; Burton & Bengtson, 1985; Hurme, 1991).

Compared to grandparents who reported being on time, respondents who entered the grandparent role early agreed more strongly that grandchildren make them feel needed. One explanation is that the surrogate-parenting or babysitting functions which were common among early grandparents engendered feelings of being needed more than did other grandparent styles.

4.4.5 Differences Between Grandparents in Relation to Geographical Distance from Grandchildren, Visiting, and Phone Contact with Grandchildren

Correlates of Geographical distance. Geographical distance was investigated as an important factor associated with the quantity and quality of grandparents' relationship with their grandchildren. Results indicated that grandparents' distance from grandchildren was positively associated with wanting to spend more time with grandchildren and seeing grandchildren only on special occasions such as Christmas time or birthdays. The finding that distant grandparents saw their grandchildren relatively infrequently corroborates research by Kennedy (1992). Distant grandparents' desire to spend more time with their grandchildren corroborates Fischer's (1983) study of grandmotherhood.

Distance from grandchildren was positively correlated with the belief that grandchildren should be raised by their

parents. Thus, compared to grandparents who lived close to grandchildren, grandparents who were further away were more likely to uphold the norm of independence (Riley et al., 1968) or noninterference (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986). A frequent comment regarding the least satisfying aspect of grandparenthood was not being able to be involved with the grandchild's upbringing. The greater agreement among distant grandparents that raising grandchildren should be left to their parents may reflect less opportunity to interact with grandchildren in a supportive-parenting capacity. Conversely, the greater disagreement among nearby grandparents that raising grandchildren should be left to their parents may reflect not only a greater desire to have input in how their grandchildren are raised but also greater temptation to violate the norm of noninterference.

Compared to grandparents who lived close to their grandchildren, distant grandparents experienced poor role adjustment. Fischer (1983) has talked about the alienation of remote grandparents. Poor role adjustment may be one sign of alienation in the grandparent role. The identification of factors underlying reasons for grandparents' distance from grandchildren would be enlightening. For example, grandparents' greater distance from grandchildren may be associated with a poor relationship with their grandchildren's parents.

Alternatively, grandchildren may have moved away to find employment.

Distance was negatively associated with the indulgent style. The finding that grandparents living closer to grandchildren were more indulgent may simply reflect their greater opportunity for being indulgent toward grandchildren.

Correlates of Visiting Frequency. Literature on the relation between contact with grandchildren and emotional satisfaction with grandparenthood is mixed. For example, this association has been found to be positive (e.g., Tinsley & Parke, 1978) and negative (e.g., Troll et al., 1979). The present results not only assessed visiting-frequency differences in relation to satisfaction with being a grandparent but in relation to a variety of other grandparent variables as well.

How frequently grandparents saw their grandchildren was positively related to babysitting grandchildren, surrogate-parent, indulgent, and fun-seeking styles, and to the perceived importance of mutual fun. One explanation to account for these positive correlations is that grandparents who saw their grandchildren relatively frequently were those who babysat grandchildren. If so, grandparents who babysat grandchildren might do so in a variety of ways, such as by

being parent-like disciplinarians or by being lenient, fun-seeking companions.

How frequently grandparents saw their grandchildren was negatively related to believing that raising grandchildren should be left to their parents, grandchildren's age, and seeing grandchildren only during special occasions. One explanation for this pattern of findings is that perhaps grandparents who saw their grandchildren with greater frequency did so because they babysat their grandchildren, thereby willingly sharing in childrearing responsibilities with their grandchildren's parents. Indeed, both surrogate-parent and babysitting-frequency items were positively associated with how often grandparents saw their grandchildren.

Grandparents who saw their grandchildren less often were geographically distant from grandchildren and reported wanting to spend more time with grandchildren. Such results are supported by research by Cherlin and Furstenburg (1986). Cherlin and Furstenburg (1986) looked at geographically remote, companionate, and involved grandparents. Three quarters of remote grandparents indicated that they spent a "lot less time than they would like" with the study child compared to twenty-eight percent of companionate grandparents and twenty-three percent of involved grandparents. When asked to list reasons for

dissatisfaction with the amount of time spent with their grandchild, ninety-three percent of remote grandparents in their study agreed that the study child "lived too far away" compared to thirty-eight percent of the companionate grandparents and nineteen percent of the involved grandparents. Less common comments made by remote grandparents regarding impediments to more frequent contact were that everyone was "too busy."

The remote grandparents in the present study also reported being less adjusted to the grandparent role. If less adjustment implies reduced satisfaction with grandparenting, these results corroborate Robertson's (1977) description of distant-figure grandparents. For example, Robertson (1977) found remote grandparents to have lower life satisfaction. In addition, they had no strong expectations or attitudes regarding grandchildren, suggesting indifference toward grandparenthood or that the role held limited meaning for them. However, remote grandparents were not *significantly* less satisfied with grandparenthood than were grandparents who saw their grandchildren more frequently. This implies that grandparents with a limited amount of interaction with grandchildren may still derive satisfaction from the grandparent experience. Indeed, Nahemow (1985) has reported that grandparenthood may still be important to grandparents

who see their grandchild relatively infrequently.

The function that the grandparent role serves may be a more relevant indicator of grandparents' emotional satisfaction with being a grandparent than their amount of interaction with grandchildren per se. Weiss (1969) has identified five types of functions relationships might serve: (1) reassurance of worth; (2) intimacy; (3) social integration or sharing of concerns; (4) opportunity for nurturant behaviour; and (5) assistance. According to such a functionalist perspective, the grandparent who has only intermittent contact with grandchildren, such as the informal, companionate grandparent described by Nahemow (1985), might experience his or her grandparent role as a means of achieving emotional intimacy and reassurance of worth.

Correlates of Phone-Contact Frequency. The grandparent experience seems to be enriched when grandparents maintain close ties with grandchildren. Contact with grandchildren by telephone may reduce feelings of alienation that might otherwise arise if grandchildren are geographically distant. As Litwak (1965) has noted, communication with grandchildren by phone produces almost as strong a bonding as does face-to-face association.

The results of this study support Litwak's (1965)

claim, as well as claims made by Bengtson and Robertson (1985) linking the perception of control in the grandparent role with emotional satisfaction with grandparenthood. For example, the more frequently grandparents spoke with grandchildren on the phone, the closer they felt to them, the more informal they were with them, the more they desired to spend time with them, the more they enjoyed time spent with them, and the more needed grandchildren made them feel.

The frequency of babysitting grandchildren was also positively associated with grandparents' frequency of phone contact with grandchildren. Communication by phone would likely entail making arrangements for babysitting with grandchildren's parents, with young grandchildren being put on the phone to say hello to grandparents. Another explanation is that grandparents felt closer to grandchildren they babysat frequently. As a result, they may have spoken on the phone with these grandchildren more frequently than with grandchildren whom they seldom babysat.

Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) looked at the meanings associated with grandparenting. Some grandparents described themselves as resource persons. They emphasized the ways they were able to help grandchildren. This might include providing financial aid or sharing the wisdom they had gained from a lifetime of human experience. The positive association between feeling needed by grandchildren and

conversing with grandchildren on the phone might reflect grandparents' perceptions of themselves as resource persons for grandchildren.

Interestingly, grandparents' emotional closeness to grandchildren was a significant correlate of their amount of contact with grandchildren when contact was by telephone but not in person. Therefore, these results suggest that the two types of contact with grandchildren that were looked at, face-to-face and telephone contact, despite being somewhat similar, are not necessarily equivalent.

4.4.6 Comments on Open-Ended Items

The positive comments given by early grandparents included feeling "happy," "glad," and "proud." Late grandparents' positive comments were similar. Negative comments given by early grandparents were varied. However, some common comments such as "disgusted," "frustrated," and "traumatized" were made. These comments reflect the unexpectedness or unpreparedness of these grandparents upon entering their new role. As Hagestad and Burton (1986) pointed out, when the grandparent role occurs early, individuals have little time to prepare for the transition by reorienting their expectations. Negative comments given by late grandparents included "feeling jealous toward younger grandparents" or that one had "missed out on a lot."

Interestingly, although more early than late grandparents had negative comments about how they felt when they became grandparents, early grandparents agreed more strongly to enjoying time spend with grandchildren than did late grandparents. Thus, although entering the grandparent role earlier than expected may have been a negative experience at the time, early grandparents' relatively high enjoyment of time spent with grandchildren at the time of the interview seems to reflect subsequent adjustment to, and satisfaction with, being a grandparent. Compared to grandparents who entered the grandparent role early, late grandparents felt more ambivalent about the timing of their role, as indicated by more mixed or neutral comments.

Grandparents were asked to describe the perfect grandparent. The perfect grandparent was most frequently characterized as someone who showed love or was helpful. Similarly, Wood and Robertson (1976) asked grandparents about their concept of a good grandparent. The majority of grandfathers and grandmothers in their study described a good grandparent as someone who loves and enjoys one's grandchild and helps them out whenever possible. In general, grandparents' descriptions in this study of the perfect grandparent were similar to descriptions obtained by Wood and Robertson (1976) in reference to a good grandparent. As such, both studies depicted the ideal

grandparent as a comforting presence in grandchildren's lives.

Respondents were asked what the most satisfying thing was about being a grandparent. The three most popular responses were "time spent with grandchildren," "loving or being loved," and "seeing grandchildren's progress or development." Such comments attest to grandparents' active enjoyment of the grandparent experience. Crawford (1981) characterized grandparents as instrumental participants in their grandchildren's lives. According to Crawford (1981), the grandparent role may rekindle interest in life for middle-aged and older persons. When grandparents in Crawford's (1981) study were encouraged to talk about the best thing about the grandparent role, "returned affection" was a frequent comment.

Respondents in the present study were also asked what the least satisfying thing was about being a grandparent. Forty-nine percent of grandparents could not think of anything "least satisfying." However, of those could think of a dissatisfying aspect of the role, frequent reference was given to not seeing grandchildren often enough or to the fact that grandchildren lived too far away. In contrast, grandparents in Crawford's (1981) study who identified the worst thing about grandparenthood frequently commented on how old being a grandparent made them feel.

Respondents were asked if their expectations of being a grandparent had been fulfilled. Over three-quarters of the comments were positive. For example, of comments indicating fulfilled expectations, the most frequent type of comment pertained to some positive aspect of the grandchild's behaviour or development. In contrast, comments indicating nonfulfilled expectations had to do with some negative aspect of the grandchild or not seeing one's grandchild often enough.

Grandparents were asked if there had ever been a time when they wanted to see their grandchild but couldn't. Most grandparents had no difficulty seeing their grandchild when they so wanted. Of grandparents who, at some time or other, could not see their grandchild, a commonly mentioned reason was being geographical distant from their grandchild. No grandparents mentioned conflicts with their grandchild's parents as a reason for not seeing their grandchild. These results therefore provide evidence of positive relationships between grandparents and the bridge generation.

Being widowed did not have a large impact on the grandparent role. For example, less than half (i.e., 39%) of widowed grandparents reported that they saw their grandchild neither more frequently nor less frequently than they did prior to becoming widowed.

Respondents were asked what they would change about

their grandparent role if they could make changes. Over half of grandparents indicated that they would not change anything or could not think of anything to change. Of those who commented, the most frequent wishes were for less geographical distance between their grandchild and themselves or to see their grandchild more often.

At the end of the interview, grandparents were encouraged to make additional comments about anything that they would like to say or add that they did not have a chance to express earlier in the interview. The most common comments had to do with positive aspects of the grandparent experience or with positive aspects of one's grandchild. Overall, comments indicated that grandparenting was an emotionally satisfying experience for this sample of Newfoundland grandparents.

4.4.7 Concluding Comments and Suggestions for Future Research

Various researchers (e.g., Robertson, 1977; Kivnick, 1983) have convincingly demonstrated that the grandparent role is not as tenuous (e.g., Fischer & Silverman, 1982) or ambiguous (Wood, 1982) as has often been suggested. Indeed, perceiving the grandparent role as vague is a bias which is apt to impede thorough research.

If a deeper understanding of grandparents' role in

the family network is to be achieved, a broader and more systematic approach to research is needed. Such a systematic approach should entail more concrete operationalization of grandparent-related variables than has previously been the case. For example, Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) have described formal-style grandparents as adhering to what they perceive as their proper and prescribed grandparent role. However, due to changing normative expectations, the formal style today would likely be different from the formal style of grandparent twenty or thirty years ago.

Lack of replication of many earlier grandparent findings does not necessarily reflect ambiguously-worded survey items, interviewer bias, or other threats to reliability. Rather, it may indicate that society's values are changing and so are grandparents (Nahemow, 1985). For example, at any given point in history, cohorts are of different ages. At the same ages, each is in a different historical era. Hess and Waring (1978) point out that cohorts vary on a number of different dimensions, including life course experiences and the needs and resources which they bring to their grandparent role. Different life course experiences might explain some of the differences that were found between Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) study and this study. For example, young grandparents were not

significantly more characteristic of the distant-figure style than were older grandparents. In addition, unlike what these researchers found, old grandparents were not significantly more formal than were younger grandparents.

Various disengagement theorists (e.g., Crawford, 1981) have posited that family roles, including that of grandparent, become more prominent as other roles are relinquished. However, the differences between young and older grandparents that were found in this study indicate that grandparenthood, as a role spanning both middle and old age, should not be viewed as a homogeneous phenomenon in terms of role saliency.

The grandparents' role and impact on family dynamics have also been investigated from the grandchild's perspective (e.g., Franks, Hughes, Phelps, & Williams, 1993; Kennedy, 1992). Various researchers (e.g., Hoffman, 1979-1980) have suggested the need to investigate both the grandparent and grandchild since this kinship relationship is apt to be viewed differently by each dyad member.

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Appendix A

A.i. GRANDPARENT SURVEY

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:

I will begin by asking some background questions. At any point in the interview, please feel free to ask questions or elaborate upon any of your responses.

1. [Do not read item] Record respondent's sex.

☐ MALE
☐ FEMALE

2. What is your birthdate?

____/____/____
month / day / year

3. Compared to other people your own age, how would you rate your health?

☐ EXCELLENT
☐ GOOD
☐ FAIR
☐ POOR

4. What is your current marital status?

☐ MARRIED
☐ WIDOWED
☐ COMMON-LAW
☐ SINGLE
☐ DIVORCED
☐ OTHER;

PLEASE SPECIFY _____

5. Including yourself, how many people live in your household? _____

6. (a) What is the highest grade of education that you have completed? _____

(b) Do you have any postsecondary education?

_____ YES
_____ NO

(c) [If yes], how many years of postsecondary education do you have?

_____ YEARS

7. (a) What is your current retirement status?

_____ RETIRED
_____ NOT RETIRED
_____ N/A

(b) Which employment status applies to you?

_____ FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT
_____ PART-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT
_____ UNEMPLOYED
_____ N/A

8. How many years have you been a grandparent? _____

9. How many grandchildren do you have? _____
(Do not include great-grandchildren)

For the following item, you will be required to choose the response category (i.e., 1 out of 5) that best describes you. In fact, many of the items you will now be asked will require you to choose the answer that you personally feel is

best. [The respondent is now given a sample response card with the numbers 1 through 5 presented on it, along with their corresponding response categories. Numbers and category labels are both printed in large, bold lettering.]

EXAMPLE: Using the response card in front of you, how would you respond to the following statement: I am in favour of the ban on cod fishing?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

The answer here would be strongly agree (i.e., 5) if you were strongly in favour of the codfish ban. However, if you felt less strongly, you might choose 4 (agree). If you were opposed to the ban, you might choose 2 (disagree) or even 1 (strongly disagree), depending upon how strongly opposed you felt. Three might be chosen to indicate a neutral or "no opinion" response.

10. How would you respond to this item: before I had any grandchildren, I looked forward to becoming a grandparent?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

11. Using the response card in front of you, how would you respond to this statement: I feel I became a grandparent

5 MUCH EARLIER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
4 EARLIER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
3 SAME TIME AS FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
2 LATER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
1 MUCH LATER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GRANDCHILDREN						
	NAME OF GRANDCHILD	SEX (12)	AGE (13)	WHERE GRANDCHILD LIVES* (14)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF VISITS** (15)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF PHONE CONTACT (16)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GRANDCHILDREN (continued)						
	NAME OF GRANDCHILD	SEX (12)	AGE (13)	WHERE GRANDCHILD LIVES* (14)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF VISITS** (15)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF PHONE CONTACT (16)
13						
14						
15						
16						

* L = LIVES WITH GRANDCHILD (E.G., ST. JOHN'S-L)

** REGARDLESS OF WHERE THE VISIT TAKES PLACE (E.G., IN GRANDPARENT'S HOME OR GRANDCHILD'S HOME).

THE GRANDPARENT'S GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE:

17. Which grandchild do you feel closest to? _____

18. Which grandchild do you see most frequently? _____

For the remaining items, I would like you to think of
[insert grandchild's name]. It will be the grandchild whom
you see the most frequently. [If several grandchildren are
seen with equal frequency (but more frequently than others),
the name of one of these grandchildren is drawn by lot and
the respondent is asked to think of this grandchild to
facilitate responding.]

19. On a scale ranging from 1 - 5, how similar would you
say that [insert grandchild's name] attitudes are to
the attitudes that you hold?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY DISSIMILAR

VERY SIMILAR

20. Using the response card in front of you, how would you
respond to the following statement: in terms of
spending time with [insert grandchild's name], I would
like to spend

1 2 3 4 5

MUCH LESS TIME

MUCH MORE TIME

21. On a scale from 1 - 5, how "emotionally" close do you feel you are to your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]? _____

1 2 3 4 5

VERY DISTANT

VERY CLOSE

22. How would you respond to the following item about yourself: if it was not for [insert grandchild's name], I would feel lonely?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

23. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name]
makes me feel

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

VERY USELESS

VERY USEFUL.

24. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name]
makes me feel

1 2 3 4 5

VERY REJECTED

VERY NEEDED

25. What would be your answer to the following statement:
if I had a problem, I would confide in [insert
grandchild's name]? _____

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

26. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name] keeps me from feeling lonely?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

27. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name] gives my life a sense of purpose?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

28. Life would be empty without [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

29. How would you respond to the statement: [insert grandchild's name] gives my life meaning?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

30. Using this response card, how would you respond to this item: my concept of my role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent is

1 2 3 4 5

VERY UNCLEAR

VERY CLEAR

31. Using the same response card, how would you respond to the following statement: I have adjusted to my role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

32. On a scale from 1 - 5, how satisfied would you say you are with your role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY DISSATISFIED

VERY SATISFIED

33. On a scale from 1 - 5, how well do you get along with [insert grandchild's name] parents?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY POORLY

VERY WELL

34. Using your response card, how would you respond to the statement: my relationship with [insert grandchild's name] is

1 2 3 4 5

VERY FORMAL

VERY INFORMAL

35. Using this response card, how would you respond to the statement: I provide treats for [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY INFREQUENTLY

VERY FREQUENTLY

36. How would you respond to this statement: I spend time with [insert grandchild's name] because I want to?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

37. How would you respond to this item: I have fun when I am with [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

38. It is important that [insert grandchild's name] and I **both** have fun when we are together?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

39. My primary responsibility to [insert grandchild's name] is being there in case he or she needs me?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

40. I spend time with [insert grandchild's name] because I have to?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

41. I enjoy spending time with [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

42. Please answer either **yes** or **no**: do you only hear from [insert grandchild's name] during special occasions such as Christmas or birthdays?

 YES
 NO

43. Please answer either **yes** or **no**: apart from your role as a grandparent, have you at any time played the role of a parent to your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]?

 YES
 NO

44. [If yes], how frequently have you been involved in the role of a parent to your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY INFREQUENTLY

VERY FREQUENTLY

45. Using this response card, how would you respond to the statement: I believe that the raising of [insert grandchild's name] should be left to his or her parents?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

46. How frequently have you babysat [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY INFREQUENTLY

VERY FREQUENTLY

47. How would you respond to the statement: an important part of my grandparent role is telling family stories about the *olden days*?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

E. (MOSTLY) OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

[Item 48 is to be asked only if the respondent indicated in Item 10 that he or she became a grandparent relatively earlier or later than friends within the same age bracket]

48. You mentioned earlier in the interview that you became a grandparent [e.g., later] than your friends. Please describe in your own words how this made you feel.
49. In your own words, describe the perfect grandparent. *[Probe, if needed--What is it that a perfect grandparent does?]*
50. *What do you think is the most satisfying thing about being a grandparent?*
51. *What do you think is the least satisfying thing about being a grandparent?*

52. Have your expectations of being [insert grandchild's name] grandparent been fulfilled?

☐ YES
☐ NO

53. Why?/Why not?

54. Has there ever been a time when you wanted to see [insert grandchild's name], but couldn't?

☐ YES
☐ NO

55. [Ask only if previous response was "yes"] Why?

56. [Ask only if respondent is widowed] Has being widowed changed how frequently you see [insert grandchild's name]?
name?

☐ YES
☐ NO

57. If yes, why?

There are only a few more questions.

58. If you could change anything about your role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent, what would it be?

Please take a few minutes at this time to reflect about your experience as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent.

59. Is there anything that you would like to say or add that you did not have a chance to express earlier in this survey?

☐ YES
☐ NO

60. [If yes], what might that be?

Thank-you for your participation in this study.

A.ii. Detailed Coding and Procedural Information

1. [Do not read item] Record respondent's sex.

1 MALE
2 FEMALE

2. What is your birthdate?

 / /
month / day / year

[EACH RESPONSE TO ITEM 2 IS CONVERTED TO THE GRANDPARENT'S AGE AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW BY SUBTRACTING THE BIRTHDATE YEAR FROM THE INTERVIEW YEAR. NOTE THAT FOR GRANDPARENTS WITH BIRTHDAYS OCCURRING AFTER THE INTERVIEW DATE, IT IS NECESSARY TO SUBTRACT 1 AFTER INITIAL CALCULATIONS.]

3. Compared to other people your own age, how would you rate your health?

4 EXCELLENT
3 GOOD
2 FAIR
1 POOR

4. What is your current marital status?

1 MARRIED
2 COMMON-LAW
3 DIVORCED
4 SEPARATED
5 WIDOWED

5. Including yourself, how many people live in your household?

[THE RAW SCORE WHICH IS PROVIDED IS USED TO CALCULATE HOUSEHOLD SIZE]

6. (a) What is the highest grade of education that you have completed?

- (b) Do you have any postsecondary education?

2 YES
1 NO

- (c) [If yes], how many years of postsecondary education do you have?

_____ YEARS

[ITEMS 6a AND 6c (IF APPLICABLE) WERE ADDED TOGETHER. IN THE EVENT WHERE THE NUMBER OF POSTSECONDARY YEARS OF EDUCATION WAS INCLUDED IN THE RESPONSE TO ITEM 6a, ITEMS 6b AND 6c WERE STILL ASKED, WITH THE INTERVIEWER ASKING AS A RELIABILITY CHECK HOW MANY TOTAL YEARS OF EDUCATION THE RESPONDENT HAD--INCLUDING POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION.]

7. What is your current retirement status?

1 RETIRED
2 NOT RETIRED
3 NONAPPLICABLE; GRANDPARENT WAS NEVER A PAID EMPLOYEE

8. How many years have you been a grandparent? _____

[RAW SCORES WERE USED FOR ANALYSIS. NUMBER OF YEARS WAS ROUNDED TO THE NEAREST WHOLE NUMBER IN CASES WHERE PARTIAL YEARS WERE INCLUDED IN THE RESPONSE.]

9. How many grandchildren do you have? _____

[RAW SCORES WERE USED FOR ANALYSIS. GRANDCHILDREN NOT ALREADY BORN WERE NOT COUNTED]

[PROCEDURAL INSTRUCTIONS, TO BE READ ALOUD TO THE RESPONDENT BY THE INTERVIEWER] For the following item, you will be required to choose the response category (i.e., 1 out of 5) that best describes you. In fact, many of the items you will now be asked will require you to choose the answer that you personally feel is best. [INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWER: THE RESPONDENT IS NOW GIVEN A SAMPLE RESPONSE CARD WITH THE NUMBERS 1 THROUGH 5 PRESENTED ON IT, ALONG WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING RESPONSE CATEGORIES. NUMBERS AND CATEGORY LABELS ARE BOTH PRINTED IN LARGE, BOLD LETTERING.]

EXAMPLE: Using the response card in front of you, how would you respond to the following statement: I am in favour of the ban on cod fishing?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

[INSTRUCTIONS READ TO RESPONDENT] The answer here would be strongly agree (i.e., 5) if you were strongly in favour of the codfish ban. However, if you felt less strongly, you might choose 4 (agree). If you were opposed to the ban, you might choose 2 (disagree) or even 1 (strongly disagree), depending upon how strongly opposed you felt. Three might be chosen to indicate a neutral or "no opinion" response.

10. How would you respond to this item: before I had any grandchild, I looked forward to becoming a grandparent?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

11. Using the response card in front of you, how would you respond to this statement: I feel I became a grandparent

5 MUCH EARLIER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
4 EARLIER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
3 SAME TIME AS FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
2 LATER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET
1 MUCH LATER THAN FRIENDS IN MY AGE BRACKET

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GRANDCHILDREN						
	NAME OF GRANDCHILD	SEX (12)	AGE (13)	WHERE GRANDCHILD LIVES* (14)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF VISITS** (15)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF PHONE CONTACT (16)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GRANDCHILDREN (continued)						
	NAME OF GRANDCHILD	SEX (12)	AGE (13)	WHERE GRANDCHILD LIVES* (14)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF VISITS** (15)	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF PHONE CONTACT (16)
13						
14						
15						
16						

* L = LIVES WITH GRANDCHILD (E.G., ST. JOHN'S-L)

** REGARDLESS OF WHERE THE VISIT TAKES PLACE (E.G., IN GRANDPARENT'S HOME OR GRANDCHILD'S HOME).

THE GRANDPARENT'S GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE:

VARIABLES TAKEN FROM THE CHART AND THEIR CORRESPONDING
CODES:

[ITEM 12] SEX OF GRANDCHILD:

- | | |
|----------|--------|
| <u>1</u> | MALE |
| <u>2</u> | FEMALE |

[ITEM 13] AGE OF GRANDCHILD:

[RAW AGE RECORDED. ROUNDED TO NEAREST WHOLE NUMBERS IF
NECESSARY]

[ITEM 14] CODING OF GEOGRAPHICAL-DISTANCE VARIABLE:

ONCE THE CHART OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GRANDCHILDREN
HAS BEEN FILLED OUT ALONG WITH THE GRANDPARENT'S
GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE, THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTANCE
BETWEEN THE GRANDCHILD WHO IS SEEN THE MOST FREQUENTLY AND
GRANDPARENT CAN BE COMPUTED, AS FOLLOWS:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| <u>1</u> | GRANDPARENT AND GRANDCHILD LIVE IN THE SAME HOUSE |
| <u>2</u> | GRANDPARENT AND GRANDCHILD LIVE IN THE SAME
GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE (E.G., ST. JOHN'S) BUT DIFFERENT
HOUSE |
| <u>3</u> | GRANDPARENT AND GRANDCHILD LIVE IN THE SAME PROVINCE
BUT DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE |
| <u>4</u> | GRANDCHILD LIVES OUTSIDE OF NEWFOUNDLAND |

[ITEM 15] AVERAGE FREQUENCY THAT GRANDCHILD IS SEEN:

The grandparent's response was converted to the number
of days within the past 365 days (i.e., since the date of
the interview) that the grandparent had seen the grandchild.
The grandparent was asked, "On average, how frequently do
you visit your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]? In

addition, grandparents were told that the number of visits was being asked, not where the visit took place (e.g., in the grandparent's or grandchild's home). To facilitate both response accuracy and ease of responding, grandparents were allowed to answer according to how they recalled such information (e.g., twice a week, once a month, twice a year). When a prompt was needed, grandparents were asked-- "Would it be once a month?" The answer (e.g., "Yes," "less often," or "more often") provided a guideline as to whether further prompting was needed.

[ITEM 16] AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF PHONE CONTACT WITH GRANDCHILD:

The Grandparent's response was converted to the number of days within the past 365 days (i.e., since the date of the interview) that the grandparent had spoken on the phone with the grandchild. The grandparent was asked, "On average, how frequently do you talk on the telephone with your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]?"

17. Which grandchild do you feel closest to? _____

[THE NAME OF THIS GRANDCHILD IS RECORDED]

Pilot testing revealed that some participants' had difficulty saying which grandchild they felt closest to. To liberate grandparents from this inherent unwillingness to express favoritism, the following probe was therefore used, if needed, during the actual testing--"If you had to choose which grandchild you feel closest to, which one would it be?" If the grandparent still could not choose, "cannot choose" was recorded.

18. Which grandchild do you see most frequently? _____

[THE NAME OF THIS GRANDCHILD IS RECORDED]

[A VARIABLE IS CREATED AS TO WHETHER THERE IS A MATCH

(CODED "1") BETWEEN THE GRANDCHILD THE GRANDPARENT
FEELS CLOSEST TO AND THE GRANDCHILD THE GRANDPARENT
SEES MOST FREQUENTLY OR NO MATCH (CODED "2")].

[INSTRUCTIONS READ TO RESPONDENT] For the remaining items, I
would like you to think of [insert grandchild's name]. It
will be the grandchild whom you see the most frequently.

[If several grandchildren are seen with equal frequency (but
more frequently than others), the name of one of these
grandchildren is drawn by lot and the respondent is asked to
think of this grandchild to facilitate responding.]

19. On a scale ranging from 1 - 5, how similar would you
say that [insert grandchild's name] attitudes are to
the attitudes that you hold?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY DISSIMILAR

VERY SIMILAR

20. Using the response card in front of you, how would you
respond to the following statement: in terms of
spending time with [insert grandchild's name], I would
like to spend

1 2 3 4 5

MUCH LESS TIME

MUCH MORE TIME

21. On a scale from 1 - 5, how "emotionally" close do you feel you are to your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]? _____

1 2 3 4 5
 VERY DISTANT VERY CLOSE

22. How would you respond to the following item about yourself: if it was not for [insert grandchild's name], I would feel lonely?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE STRONGLY AGREE

23. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name] makes me feel

1 2 3 4 5
 VERY USELESS VERY USEFUL

24. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name]
makes me feel

1 2 3 4 5
 VERY REJECTED VERY NEEDED

25. What would be your answer to the following statement:
if I had a problem, I would confide in [insert
grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5
 STRONGLY DISAGREE STRONGLY AGREE

26. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name] keeps me from feeling lonely?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

27. Having a grandchild like [insert grandchild's name] gives my life a sense of purpose?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

28. Life would be empty without [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

29. How would you respond to the statement: [insert grandchild's name] gives my life meaning?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

30. Using this response card, how would you respond to this item: my concept of my role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent is

1 2 3 4 5

VERY UNCLEAR

VERY CLEAR

31. Using the same response card, how would you respond to the following statement: I have adjusted to my role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

32. On a scale from 1 - 5, how satisfied would you say you are with your role as [insert grandchild's name] grandparent?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY DISSATISFIED

VERY SATISFIED

33. On a scale from 1 - 5, how well do you get along with [insert grandchild's name] parents?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY POORLY

VERY WELL

34. Using your response card, how would you respond to the statement: my relationship with [insert grandchild's name] is

1 2 3 4 5

VERY FORMAL

VERY INFORMAL

35. Using this response card, how would you respond to the statement: I provide treats for [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY INFREQUENTLY

VERY FREQUENTLY

36. How would you respond to this statement: I spend time with [insert grandchild's name] because I want to?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

37. How would you respond to this item: I have fun when I am with [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

38. It is important that [insert grandchild's name] and I **both** have fun when we are together?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

39. My primary responsibility to [insert grandchild's name] is being there in case he or she needs me?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

40. I spend time with [insert grandchild's name] because I have to?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

41. I enjoy spending time with [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

42. Please answer either **yes** or **no**: do you *only* hear from [insert grandchild's name] during special occasions such as Christmas or birthdays?

2 YES
1 NO

43. Please answer either **yes** or **no**: apart from your role as a grandparent, have you at any time played the role of a parent to your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]?

2 YES
1 NO

44. [If yes], how frequently have you been involved in the role of a parent to your grandchild, [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY INFREQUENTLY

VERY FREQUENTLY

45. Using this response card, how would you respond to the statement: I believe that the raising of [insert grandchild's name] should be left to his or her parents?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

46. How frequently have you babysat [insert grandchild's name]?

1 2 3 4 5

VERY INFREQUENTLY

VERY FREQUENTLY

47. How would you respond to the statement: an important part of my grandparent role is telling family stories about the *olden days*?

1 2 3 4 5

STRONGLY DISAGREE

STRONGLY AGREE

E. (MOSTLY) OPEN-ENDED ITEMS

Section E contained mostly open-ended items. The coding of open-ended items has been described in the results section. Any closed-ended items following item 48 required a "yes" or "no" responses. "Yes" responses were coded as 2 and "no" responses were coded as 1.

[ADDITIONAL PROCEDURAL COMMENTS] The possibility that a grandparent might have a question about how to answer a Survey item was considered. If such a situation arose, the interviewer was trained to respond, "It's your interpretation that counts. There's no right or wrong answer."

Appendix B**B.i. Consent form***

Hello. My name is Mary Knox. I am a Masters of Science student at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The study I am conducting involves the assessment of how you feel about being a grandparent. Should you decide to participate in the study, I hope that it will be an interesting and fruitful experience for you. Participation is voluntary. No one will be able to identify you by your responses because responses will not be reported individually.

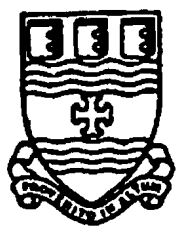
* To be orally presented before the interview begins.

B.ii. Door-to-door and telephone-contact dialogue

Hello. My name is Mary Knox and I am an M.Sc. student at Memorial University. I am conducting a study about being a grandparent. Is there a grandparent living at your residence?" (Pause for response) "--I am looking for volunteers for my study. Would you be interested in participating?" (Pause for response; if the response is affirmative, then continue) "--What time would be convenient for you?" (Pause for response; record response or suggest alternatives, depending on appointment book) "--What is your exact address?" (Copy down; repeat back for verification)-- "I will call you the day prior to your appointment for confirmation. Do you have any questions?" (Any questions are answered at this time.) "Thank-you. Bye." (Hang-up)

**B.iii. Referral Method of Subject Recruitment
(after participant has been interviewed)**

"Do you know of any grandparents who might be interested in helping out with the study?" (At this time, leave card with my name and telephone numbers and a brief message--e.g., "I am an M.Sc. student at Memorial University. I am conducting a study of grandparents. Volunteers are needed. Then make the following suggestion) "--If someone you contact is interested in the study, then you may give him or her the card with my name and number on it or give this information over the telephone. Then that person may contact me."



Memorial

University of Newfoundland

ATTENTION GRANDPARENTS

I am conducting a survey of grandparents. If you are a grandparent and interested in taking part in the survey, please contact Mary Knox (M.Sc. Student) at

722-8166

Appendix C

Table C.1. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Grandparent Variables

	SEX	FB	EC	IND	WST	BT	AGE	FUN	MF	EST	SUR	USE
SEX	1.00											
FB	.19*	1.00										
EC	.20*	.11	1.00									
IND	.18*	.13	.21**	1.00								
WST	.20*	.16	.49**	.23**	1.00							
BT	.20*	.02	.17*	.05	.18*	1.00						
AGE	-.10	-.23**	-.06	.01	-.22**	.05	1.00					
FUN	.08	.14	.28**	.21**	.46**	.09	-.33**	1.00				
MF	.05	.08	.28**	.20*	.43**	.17*	-.34**	.87**	1.00			
EST	.05	.12	.30**	.23**	.43**	.10	-.29**	.67**	.62**	1.00		
SUR	-.01	.33**	-.05	-.08	.06	.05	-.19*	.16	.16*	.07	1.00	
USE	.12	.20*	.34**	.18*	.26**	.05	-.13	.28**	.30**	.36**	.16*	1.00

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

**Table C.1. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Grandparent Variables
(Continued)**

	SEX	FB	EC	IND	WST	BT	AGE	FUN	MF	EST	SUR	USE
CON	.14	.08	.15	.06	.05	.04	.23**	.07	.02	.02	.08	.23**
HST	.09	-.06	-.01	.06	-.15	-.13	.18*	-.06	-.16*	-.08	.04	.07
LFG	-.10	.14	.08	.03	.09	.15	.12	.10	.14	.19*	.09	.09
EMP	.02	.14	.29**	.05	.28**	.10	.07	.32**	.33**	.25**	.18*	.32**
FOR	.01	.10	.08	.04	.19*	.03	-.15	.10	.07	.20*	-.16*	.11
FH	.10	.15	.20*	.02	.17*	.28**	.09	.06	.14	.11	.18*	.15
RSA	.05	.05	.27**	.16	.23**	.06	.07	.12	.08	.12	.13	.29**
HEA	.09	-.06	-.08	-.10	-.01	-.02	-.21**	-.08	-.05	-.10	.00	-.03
EI	-.10	.07	-.06	-.18*	-.01	-.05	-.28**	.07	.06	.05	-.01	-.09

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Table C.1. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Grandparent Variables
(continued)

	SEX	FB	EC	IND	WST	BT	AGE	FUN	MF	EST	SUR	USE
PST	-.12	.05	.14	.04	.16*	-.02	.00	.05	.07	.12	-.01	.16*
RG	-.01	-.16	-.05	.13	-.05	.01	.14	.02	.05	.08	-.15	.03
ES	.04	-.05	-.02	.11	-.18*	.11	.51**	-.32**	-.35**	-.26**	-.21**	-.03
HHS	-.06	.12	.01	.01	.11	-.08	-.45**	.26**	.29**	.13	.26**	.01
GAP	-.01	-.01	.24**	.07	.10	.13	.13	.07	.07	.19*	-.06	.16*
YGP	.06	-.19*	-.00	.07	-.14	.12	.78**	-.23**	-.23**	-.19*	-.09	.04
NGC	.02	-.24**	-.10	.17*	-.09	.08	.39**	-.11	-.09	-.02	-.20*	.06
SGC	-.08	-.05	.13	-.04	.05	-.05	-.15	.03	.06	.09	.12	-.02
LON	-.05	.16*	.35**	.05	.22**	.10	-.02	.20*	.25**	.21**	.21**	.23**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

**Table C.1. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Grandparent Variables
(Continued)**

	SEX	FB	EC	IND	WST	BT	AGE	FUN	MF	EST	SUR	USE
PUR	.12	.20*	.28**	.02	.19*	.16*	-.13	.30**	.34**	.28**	.30**	.45**
AGC	.05	-.25**	-.02	-.02	-.18*	.06	.68**	-.29**	-.31**	-.27**	-.06	-.04
DIS	.02	-.04	.05	-.16*	-.07	-.06	.04	-.11	-.12	.02	-.11	.00
RAD	.08	.07	.21**	.16*	.27**	.07	.04	.27**	.20*	.29**	.16*	.29**
SO	-.01	-.11	-.01	-.22**	-.21**	-.07	.05	.03	.02	-.03	-.04	-.08
FSG	-.01	.19*	.10	.20*	.12	.14	-.13	.17*	.17*	.13	.22**	.14
FPG	.12	.17*	.26**	.10	.26**	.07	-.06	.01	-.05	.17*	-.05	.14
NEE	-.04	.31**	.34**	.21**	.15	.02	-.06	.25**	.24**	.21**	.21**	.49**
RCL	.04	.03	.13	.08	.15	.08	.06	.27**	.29**	.25**	-.09	.36**
ASI	.03	-.03	.08	.18*	-.02	.16	.06	.19*	.17*	.16*	.01	.04
MEA	.11	.31**	.30**	.09	.31**	.17*	-.06	.39**	.36**	.35**	.25**	.46**

* p < .05; ** p < .01

**Table C.1. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Grandparent Variables
(Continued)**

	PTS	RG	ES	HHS	GAP	YGP	NGC	SGC	LON
PTS	1.00								
RG	-.06	1.00							
ES	-.18*	.17*	1.00						
HHS	-.06	-.23**	-.42**	1.00					
GAP	.01	.15	.06	-.31**	1.00				
YGP	.00	.06	.41**	-.44**	.08	1.00			
NGC	-.02	.12	.22**	-.21**	.10	.55**	1.00		
SGC	.05	-.05	-.07	.11	.07	-.11	-.08	1.00	
LON	.02	-.14	-.01	-.01	.04	.07	-.07	.21**	1.00

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table C.1. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Grandparent Variables
(Continued)

	PUR	AGC	DIS	RAD	SO	FSG	FPG	NEE	RCL	ASI	MEA
PUR	1.00										
AGC	-.06	1.00									
DIS	.06	.03	1.00								
RAD	.17*	.01	-.18*	1.00							
SO	.10	.05	.56**	-.33**	1.00						
FSG	.12	-.20*	-.61**	.19*	-.36**	1.00					
FPG	.08	-.05	.08	.06	-.14	.15	1.00				
NEE	.42**	.02	-.03	.17*	-.02	.14	.20*	1.00			
RCL	.24**	.00	-.07	.25**	.00	.04	-.02	.24**	1.00		
ASI	.14	.10	.05	.05	.00	.09	.08	.15	.13	1.00	
MEA	.69**	.00	-.07	.31**	.01	.14	.12	.46**	.33**	.11	1.00

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table C.2. Looking Forward to Being a Grandparent
(Item 10) as a Function of Grandparents' Marital Status*

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	F- Prob.
Between Groups	2	5.89	2.94	4.94	.01
Within Groups	152	90.50	.60		
Total	154	96.39			

* There was a significant main effect of grandparents' marital status on looking forward to being a grandparent, $F(2, 154) = 4.94$, Mean Squared Error = .60, $p = .01$. The significant F-value reflected a significant difference between divorced or separated grandparents ($\bar{X} = 3.67$; $SD = .87$) and both married ($\bar{X} = 4.50$, $SD = .77$) and widowed ($\bar{X} = 4.50$, $SD = .75$) grandparents. Divorced or separated grandparents agreed less strongly than did married and widowed grandparents that they looked forward to grandparenthood.

Table C.3. Belief that Life Would be Empty without Grandchildren (Item 28) as a Function of Grandparents' Marital Status*

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between Groups	2	16.68	8.34	6.78	.00
Within Groups	152	186.90	1.23		
Total	154	203.57			

* There was a significant main effect of grandparents' marital status on the belief that life would be empty without grandchildren, $F(2, 154) = 6.78$, Mean Squared Error = 1.23, $p < .001$. The significant F-value reflected a significant difference between divorced or separated grandparents ($\bar{X} = 2.56$, $SD = 1.13$) and both married ($\bar{X} = 3.82$; $SD = 1.10$) and widowed ($\bar{X} = 4.04$; $SD = 1.11$) grandparents. Divorced or separated grandparents agreed less strongly than did married and widowed grandparents that they would feel empty without their grandchild.



